

**VIRGIL**  
**THE ECLOGUES**  
**THE GEORGICS**



**BERSERKER**

---

**BOOKS**

---





# THE WORKS OF VIRGIL

WITH A COMMENTARY BY

JOHN CONINGTON, M.A.

LATE PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

AND

HENRY NETTLESHIP, M.A.

FORMERLY CORPUS PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

VOL. I. ECLOGUES AND GEORGICS

FIFTH EDITION REVISED BY

F. HAVERFIELD, M.A.

STUDENT AND TUTOR OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD



LONDON

GEORGE BELL AND SONS

1898

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Vol. I. ECLOGUES AND GEORGICS.	1st ed. by Conington . . . . .	1858
	2nd     ,,     (revised) . . . . .	1865
	3rd     ,,     (reprint). . . . .	1872
	4th    revised and enlarged by Net- tleship . . . . .	1881
	5th    the present edition . . . . .	1898
Vol. II. AENEID I.—VI. . . . .	1st ed. by Conington . . . . .	1863
	2nd    revised by Long and Nettle- ship . . . . .	1872
	3rd     ,,     ,, (reprint) . . . . .	1876
	4th    revised by Nettleship . . . . .	1884
Vol. III. AENEID VII.—XII. . . . .	1st ed. by Conington and Nettleship . . . . .	1871
	2nd    revised by Long and Nettle- ship . . . . .	1874
	3rd    revised by Nettleship . . . . .	1883

PA  
6804  
A2  
1898

[DEDICATION OF THE FIRST EDITION.]

TO

GOLDWIN SMITH, M.A.,

REGIUS PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY IN THE

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,

THIS EDITION OF VIRGIL,

ORIGINALLY UNDERTAKEN IN CONJUNCTION WITH HIM,

IS INSCRIBED,

IN MEMORY OF A FRIENDSHIP OF MANY YEARS.



## CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PREFACE TO THE FIFTH EDITION . . . . .	ix
PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION . . . . .	xi
LIFE OF VIRGIL. (H. NETTLESHIP.) . . . . .	xvii
ON SOME OF THE EARLY CRITICISMS OF VIRGIL'S POETRY. (H. N.) . . . . .	xxix
THE ANCIENT COMMENTATORS ON VIRGIL. (H. N.) . . . . .	liv
THE TEXT OF VIRGIL. (H. N.) . . . . .	ci
INTRODUCTION TO THE ECLOGUES. (J. CONINGTON.) . . . . .	1
DATES OF THE ECLOGUES. (H. NETTLESHIP.) . . . . .	21
ECLOGUES . . . . .	23
ON THE LATER BUCOLIC POETS OF ROME . . . . .	126
INTRODUCTION TO THE GEORGICS . . . . .	135
GEORGICS . . . . .	166
ON THE LATER DIDACTIC POETS OF ROME . . . . .	402
INDEX . . . . .	415





## PREFACE TO THE FIFTH EDITION.

THE first three editions of this volume were the work of Mr. Conington. The fourth edition was revised and enlarged by Mr. Nettleship. The orthography was recast, references adapted to recent texts, additional notes inserted, and four elaborate essays prefixed to the commentary by way of a general introduction.

The present edition differs in several ways from its predecessor. Mr. Nettleship at his death left some *Marginalia*, and my first task has been to incorporate these materials. They are indicated by square brackets with the initials H. N., as Mr. Nettleship himself indicated his additions in the fourth edition. At the same time I have added to, corrected, or condensed the commentary as seemed desirable in a work which had in many parts remained unaltered since it was published forty years ago. I have tried to take account of the contributions made to Virgilian studies since 1884, for instance Ribbeck's new edition, Thilo's edition and the first volume of his 'Servius,' Hoffmann's collation of the Medicean manuscript, the writings of Deuticke and others. The critical notes, some of which dated from the era before Ribbeck, have been recast, and the text has been altered to that which Mr. Nettleship prepared for Dr. Postgate's *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum*. I have slightly added to the Introduction, by enlarging the section on the text with what, I hope, may be convenient details. I have also reconstructed the Index. Square brackets without initials indicate generally my additions, but I have not been over-careful to label *minutiae* or new matter which, like that in the section on the text, is purely an amplification of the old. Externally I have tried to make the commentary more readily useful by breaking up long notes into appropriate paragraphs, and the publishers have given the book

what I think will be admitted to be improved types. The net result of these various changes is a slight decrease in the size of the volume.

I am unwilling to close this preface without bearing witness to the heavy loss which Latin scholarship sustained by Mr. Nettleship's death. I have tried elsewhere to estimate his worth—in the *Classical Review*—and Professor Bywater has done it far better in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. My own debt to him, as pupil and as friend, has been very great in Latin scholarship. I can only regret that he did not live to give to this volume that thorough revision which I have no doubt he would have given.

I have to thank my friend Mr. G. E. Marindin for reading a large part of the proofs and helping me to many very real improvements.

F. HAVERFIELD.

HEATH'S COURT,  
*December 31, 1897.*

## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

(EXTRACTS.)

AT the time when I undertook this edition of Virgil in 1852, I had, as the public are aware, the advantage of being associated with another editor, the distinguished friend to whom I have now the satisfaction of a second time inscribing it. In 1854 he was called to other duties, which removed him from Oxford, while they engrossed his time ; and I had to continue the work alone. Those who know him will be able to feel how much he might have contributed to the illustration of an author one of whose chief characteristics is his subtle delicacy of expression, and who requires in those who would appreciate him, not only the power of an analytical critic, but the sympathy of a practised master of the Latin language. Even as it is, this volume owes not a little to Mr. Goldwin Smith's assistance. The Eclogues, the first two Georgics, and a part of the third we read together. The notes on the latter part of the first Georgic, the whole of the second, and the early part of the third, were, to a considerable extent, prepared by us in concert for publication : those on the first five Eclogues are based on some which he composed by himself : and many passages in both poems have since been discussed between us. The editorial responsibility is however entirely mine, and I have exercised it freely with reference to the materials which he allowed me to use, adding, altering, and suppressing, as I deemed best. One important remark, affecting the interpretation of the first Eclogue, I have thought it right to assign distinctly to him, as it appears to me new and valuable (p. 13). On the other hand I fear it is not impossible that the notes may betray, here and there, even after the present revision, a trace of that inconsistency which is perhaps almost inseparable from a divided editorship,



though it is also conceivable that indications of this kind may have arisen from changes in my own opinion, such as it is no less natural to expect in the course of a protracted work.

Even a transient glance at the contents of the present volume will show that the production of it must necessarily have been a work of time. It does not profess, indeed, any more than the other editions of the *Bibliotheca Classica*, to be a work for the learned, the result of elaborate original research. No manuscripts have been consulted in the formation of the text: a very large portion of the notes may be found in the commentaries of others.

In writing my notes I have had no one class of readers exclusively in view, but have aimed at producing a commentary which should contain such information as is suited to the various wants of a somewhat mixed body—those who constitute the highest classes in the larger schools, and those who read for classical honours at the Universities. As a general rule, however, I have said nothing where I did not think it possible that a doubt might arise in the mind of a fairly instructed reader. My custom has been to take every line as it came before me, and ask myself whether I thoroughly understood it; and this process has often led me to entertain difficulties which had not previously made themselves felt. Some of these I have come to think of importance: others a little consideration has sufficed to dispel: but it seemed worth while to endeavour to preclude the latter no less than the former. I have not in general desired to furnish information of a kind which is to be found in Lexicons, or in well-known Dictionaries of Antiquities, Biography and Mythology, and Geography.

The essays which I have ventured to introduce in different parts of the volume are intended in one way or another to illustrate the literary peculiarities of Virgil's poems. Here, as elsewhere, I have written rather for learners than for scholars: I have sought to popularize what already exists in less accessible forms. Two of these essays, those introductory to the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics*, were substantially delivered as public lectures before the University: the remaining two, which are of much slighter texture, were written for the present publication.

With regard to the text, I may refer generally to what I have



said in the Preface to my second volume. The publication of Ribbeck's *apparatus criticus* has made a new recension necessary, though here as well as in the Aeneid I have accepted his facts without holding myself bound by his judgment. The more important varieties I have mentioned in the notes, particularizing the MSS. in which they are found, and noticing even transcriptional errors when they seemed to suggest any critical considerations. Doubtless the text of Virgil cannot yet be said to be fixed : but it is satisfactory to know that so much has been added to our materials for fixing it. Meantime it may be asserted even with more confidence than before that there are few writers whose text is in so satisfactory a state as Virgil's. Variations there are, and probably will continue to be, as some of the most eminent of the ancient grammarians appear to have made independent recensions, each of which would naturally have distinctive peculiarities. But the choice generally lies between words, each of which has considerable probability, external and internal ; and though the critic may not always feel sure that he has before him the actual hand of Virgil, he is not left to the hopeless confusion which unskilful transcribers have introduced into the text of other authors. The more important MSS., though not always accurate representatives even of their own recension, supply each other's defects : the less important may in general be passed over entirely. The need of critical conjecture is almost wholly removed. Even the two instances where, in the first edition, following other editors, I had disturbed the text without any external authority, have now disappeared. In Eclogue VII, v. 54, Lachmann and Madvig have shown ' quaeque ' to be the true reading : in Eclogue VIII, though there is no authority for leaving out the burden contained in v. 76, there is authority for introducing a corresponding burden after v. 28, which I have accordingly done.

In the notes I have availed myself largely of the labours of my predecessors. Servius and Philargyrius I have used constantly, though it is likely that some few of their remarks may have escaped me, as I have studied them chiefly in the commentary attached to the Delphin and Variorum Classics, where they seem not to have been reprinted quite entire.<sup>1</sup> The same collection has

<sup>1</sup> [In this (fifth) edition, Servius is quoted from Thilo's edition. No distinction has

supplied me with many of the notes of Germanus, Cerda, Taubmann, Emmenessius,<sup>1</sup> and others. This field had been partially reaped by Heyne; but I found that he had left me something to glean. From Cerda in particular, whose own complete commentary I have sometimes consulted, I have derived some additional parallel passages, though he is fond of accumulating matter which is not strictly relevant. Trapp's notes, appended to his translation, are not without good sense, but do not show much learning or poetical feeling. Martyn's commentary has been constantly at my side, and has been of some use, independently of its botanical and agricultural information, as containing the opinions of others, particularly Catrou, whose own edition I have never seen. Heyne's explanatory notes deserve much of the praise they have received, but they are deficient in minute attention to the author's language. I have used Voss's commentary on the Eclogues (in Reinhardt's Latin translation) with advantage, frequently availing myself of his research even where I could not accept his views; his commentary on the Georgics I have unfortunately been unable to procure, though I have no reason to believe that it is an uncommon book. The explanatory notes of Wagner are few, though more numerous than those of Spohn and Wunderlich, which he has incorporated in his edition of Heyne; they are however generally valuable, while his *Quaestiones Virgilianae* exhibit very great care and diligence. The merits of Forbiger's edition are chiefly those of a compilation; but it contains a large amount of exegetical matter; it leaves few difficulties unnoticed; and its references to grammars and other works where points of language are examined deserve much commendation. I have made great use of it, levying on it the same kind of contributions which it has levied on others. To Mr. Keightley I owe a more personal acknowledgment, as he was kind enough, when I was preparing my first edition, to place in my hands a copy of his Notes on the Eclogues and Georgics, containing

been made between Servius proper and the additions sometimes called Daniel's Servius. The difference between the two is not very important for an explanatory commentary, and Mr. Nettleship attributed both to Servius, see p. xcvi, note.]

<sup>1</sup> [The dates are Germanus (Germain Vaillant de Guelle, Bishop of Orleans) 1575, the Spaniard Cerda's first edition 1608, Taubmann 1618, Emmenessius 1680. Other early editions quoted are N. Heinsius 1676, Ruæus 1682, Masvicius 1717.]



many MS. corrections and additions, and also to favour me with his opinion on certain points by letter. His book has been chiefly useful to me in relation to agricultural and botanical matters, but I have derived considerable advantage from his independent judgment as a general commentator, though frequently compelled to differ from him on questions of scholarship. From Ladewig's German school commentary (I speak of the first edition only) I have gained something, though his novelties of interpretation seem to me frequently untrue, and his conjectural deviations from the received text unfortunate.

I have carefully studied the valuable review of the first edition of this volume by my friend Mr. Munro, in the *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*, frequently adopting his views, and never rejecting them without full consideration. And I have introduced not a few suggestions from a body of remarks kindly forwarded to me by Mr. Blackburn, Rector of Selham in Sussex, who speaks not only as a student of Virgil, but as a man accustomed to country pursuits. While, however, I trust that from these and other sources various improvements will be discovered in the explanatory part of the present edition, it is right to say that it will be found to be substantially unaltered.

As subsidiary works, bearing on the subject of the *Georgics*, I have consulted Dickson's *Husbandry of the Ancients*, and Dr. Daubeny's recently published *Lectures on Roman Husbandry*; but my knowledge has, I fear, not been always sufficient to enable me to use them with effect. The grammar to which I have most frequently referred is Madvig's; the lexicon, Forcellini's.

In concluding the Preface to my first edition, I spoke of my obligations to Mr. Long and his lamented colleague. To their supervision were due the removal of many errors, and the accession of some new information. At the same time I said that their criticisms had very considerably abated the confidence with which I offered the volume to the public: and though the favourable opinion of most of my reviewers, and the sale of a large impression, seem to show that the work has in the main been approved, I have learned quite enough, both from my own increased experience and from the observations of others, to prevent me from

xvi      PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

withdrawing the expression of self-distrust. Where so much has been successfully questioned, it is impossible not to be afraid that there remains behind much more, not only open to dispute, but actually erroneous. I can only say, as before, that I shall be very grateful to any reader who will help me towards accuracy by pointing out my mistakes. Meantime, I may perhaps put in a plea for indulgence on account of the wide field over which the notes extend. A body of several thousands of propositions on a great variety of subjects can hardly fail to yield a large percentage of error.

.      JOHN CONINGTON.

1865.

## LIFE OF VIRGIL.

§ 1. AUTHORITIES. § 2. CHILDHOOD. § 3. EARLY POEMS. § 4. EARLY MANHOOD, THE ECLOGUES. § 5. THE GEORGICS. § 6. THE AENEID. § 7. DEATH. GENERAL DETAILS.

§ 1. THE fullest and most authentic life of Virgil now existing is that prefixed to the commentaries of Aelius and Tiberius Donatus. This memoir, which was formerly attributed to Ti. Donatus, is now by the almost universal consent of scholars assigned to Suetonius.<sup>1</sup> There is also a Life prefixed to the commentary which bears the name of Probus, which may also be ultimately based upon Suetonius, but whose author, whoever he was and whatever authorities he followed, cannot be acquitted of either ignorance or carelessness.<sup>2</sup> And a short memoir is also prefixed to the commentary of Servius, which, although it is for the most part merely a confused abridgment of the work of Suetonius, contains some additional matter, notably the statement that the lines about Helen in the second Aeneid (vv. 566 foll.) were Virgil's own, and were struck out of his manuscript by Varius and Tuca.

The memoir by Suetonius, in the form in which we now possess it, does not perhaps contain all that Suetonius wrote about Virgil, but so far as it extends its value is all-important. For Suetonius, a diligent and conscientious collector of facts, had access to documents contemporaneous with the poet himself,<sup>3</sup> including his correspondence with

<sup>1</sup> Arguments in support of this theory will be found in my edition of the memoir (Ancient Lives of Vergil, Clarendon Press, 1879). I should have added to those already adduced the fact that Jerome, in his additions to the Eusebian chronicle, which in this part are universally acknowledged to come from Suetonius, uses language about Virgil identical with that of the Life attributed to Donatus.—A. Abr. 1948, 1960, 1965, 2003 = Vita Vergilii 2, 7, 35, 36. [See also J. W. Beck in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. cxxxiii 502.]

<sup>2</sup> He puts the confiscation of Virgil's estate immediately after the *bellum Mutinense* (43 B.C.), instead of after the battle of Philippi. [See also the criticisms of Thilo in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. cxlix 290.]

<sup>3</sup> Quintilian, x iii 8, 'Vergilium quoque paucissimos die composuisse versus auctor est Varius.' Gellius, xvii 10, 'amici familiaresque Vergilii in iis quae de ingenio moribusque eius memoriae tradiderunt.' Tacitus, Dial. 13, 'testes Augusti (ad Vergilium) litterae.' Macrobius, Sat. i xxiv 11, preserves a fragment of the correspondence between Augustus and Virgil.



Augustus, and memoirs of him by the poet Varius and other friends. Fragments only of these original authorities have come down to us, but, so far as it goes, the information which they convey corresponds accurately enough with that given by Suetonius.

Such are the sources from which I have drawn the following short account of the life of Virgil.

§ 2. Publius Vergilius Maro was born on the fifteenth of October, in the year 70 B.C., in which Cn. Pompeius Magnus and M. Licinius Crassus were for the first time consuls, at Andes, a *pagus* in the territory of Mantua.<sup>1</sup> The name *Andes* is Celtic, and so apparently is *Vergilius*.<sup>2</sup> The poet's father was a man of humble origin. According to some accounts he was a worker in pottery, but most authorities represented him as the hired servant of one Magius, a courier,<sup>3</sup> whose daughter Magia he at length married. His mother's name is doubtless in great part responsible for the mediæval notion which made Virgil ('*Magiae filius*') a magician.

If we may trust the authorities mentioned by Suetonius, Virgil's father managed to enrich himself by buying up tracts of woodland and by keeping bees. There is nothing improbable in this statement, as the time when he was thus engaged may well have been the era of the Sullan proscriptions, when land would be cheap. It is probable that Virgil's love for the country was fostered by his early surroundings.

Although of humble origin himself, Virgil's father, like Horace's, seems to have been anxious to give his son the best education attainable. Virgil spent his boyhood at Cremona, and took his *toga virilis* there on his fifteenth birthday (Oct. 15, B.C. 55), on the very day when the poet Lucretius died.<sup>4</sup> By an odd coincidence, Pompeius and Crassus were a second time consuls in this year. From Cremona Virgil went to Milan, and shortly afterwards to Rome. Here he studied rhetoric under the best masters,<sup>5</sup> among others (if we may believe the short biography

<sup>1</sup> Suetonius, 2, 'in pago qui Andes dicitur et abest a Mantua non procul.' Jerome a. Abr. 1948, 'Vergilius Maro in pago qui Andes dicitur, haut procul a Mantua.' The memoir attributed to Probus calls Andes a *vicus*, and places it some thirty miles from Mantua. But Andes must have been much nearer to Mantua: see *Ancient Lives of Vergil*, etc., p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> [For *Andes* see Holder's *Altkeltischer Sprachschatz*. Vergilius and Magius were common names in Cisalpine Gaul; see the index to *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* v.]

<sup>3</sup> Suetonius, 1, 'quem quidam opificem figulum, plures Magi cuiusdam vitiatoris initio mercennarium, mox ob industriam generum tradiderunt, egregieque substantiae silvis coemendis et apibus curandis auxisse reculam.' (I conjecture *substantiam* . . . *reculae*.)

<sup>4</sup> Suetonius, VI 7; Jerome a. Abr. 1965.

<sup>5</sup> Probus.

given in two Berne manuscripts) Epidius, who also numbered Antonius and Octavianus among his pupils. The earliest specimen quoted of his poetry is a couplet said to have been written in his boyhood as an epitaph on a brigand Ballista, the master of a school of gladiators:

‘ Monte sub hoc lapidum tegitur Ballista sepultus ;  
nocte die tutum carpe, viator, iter.’<sup>1</sup>

Suetonius says that among his other studies Virgil paid attention to medicine and astrology.<sup>2</sup> A notice in the Verona scholia informs us also that he studied philosophy under Siron, a celebrated Epicurean.<sup>3</sup> There are some pretty lines in the collection of the minor poems (*κατὰ λεπτόν*) attributed to Virgil, in which the boy expresses the delight with which he is abandoning rhetoric and grammar, and even poetry, for philosophy:

‘ Ite hinc, inanes, ite, rhetorum ampullae,  
inflata rore non Achaico verba ;  
et vos, Stiloque Tarquitique Varroque,  
scholasticorum natio madens pingui,  
ite hinc, inane cymbalon iuventutis.  
tuque o mearum cura,<sup>4</sup> Sexte, curarum  
vale, Sabine ; iam valete, formosi ;  
nos ad beatos vela mittimus portus,  
magni petentes docta dicta Sironis,  
vitamque ab omni vindicabimus cura.  
ite hinc, Camenae, vos quoque ite iam, sane  
dulces Camenae, (nam, fatebimur verum,  
dulces fuistis) ; et tamen meas cartas  
Revisitote, sed pudenter et raro.’

No scholars, as far as I am aware, see any objection to accepting these lines as genuine. If they are so, they are an interesting testimony to the aspiration for philosophical culture which Virgil expresses again in the second Georgic, and which never left him.

Like Horace, Virgil long felt the influence of the Epicurean system, to a part of which at least he expresses his adherence in a passage in the first Georgic (v. 415 foll.). And we may well believe that it was partly due to the teaching of Siron that Virgil conceived that deep admiration for Lucretius which no careful critic has failed to detect.

§ 3. Suetonius says that at the age of sixteen Virgil wrote the *Culex*,<sup>5</sup> meaning thereby, I suppose, the worthless hexameter poem which has

<sup>1</sup> Suetonius, 17 ; Servius.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Ecl. vi 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Causa*, Haupt.

<sup>5</sup> Suetonius, 17, ‘ deinde (scripsit) catalepton et priapia et epigrammata et diras, item Cirim et Culicem cum esset annorum xvi. Scripsit etiam, de qua ambigitur, Aetnam.’ Servius : ‘ scripsit etiam septem sive octo libros hos : Cirin, Aetnam,



come down to us under that name, and which concludes as Suetonius says Virgil's poem concluded. Suetonius is not alone responsible for this statement, for a literary tradition as old as Lucan<sup>1</sup> assigned this piece to Virgil's youth or boyhood. The poem is poor enough in itself, and (as Mr. Munro has pointed out to me) stands sufficiently condemned on metrical grounds. For the author of the *Culex* is careful in the matter of elisions,<sup>2</sup> never, if possible, allowing two long vowels to coalesce. This strictness is inconceivable in Virgil's youth. A poet who even in his ripest work allowed himself the greatest freedom in eliding vowels is not likely to have been preternaturally scrupulous in his seventeenth year.<sup>3</sup>

No one now thinks of attributing the *Ciris* or the *Aetna* to Virgil. The workmanship of the *Copa* and the *Moretum* is not unworthy of the Augustan age; but this does not, of course, prove that they are from the hand of Virgil.

Of the short poems known under the various names of *Catalecton*, *Catalepta*, and *Catalecta*, but more rightly, as Bergk and Unger have shown, named *Catalepton* (*τὰ κατὰ λεπτόν*, or minor poems), the second, '*Corinthiorum amator iste verborum*,' is expressly attributed to Virgil by Quintilian (VIII iii 27), though even this testimony cannot be accepted as conclusive. Of the fifth, '*Ite hinc inanes, ite, rhetorum ampullae*,' I have already spoken; there seems no reason to doubt the genuineness of the tenth, '*Sabinus ille quem videtis hospites*,' a parody of Catullus'

*Culicem, Priapeia, catalepton, epigrammata, Copam, diras*.' I doubt whether these two statements can be taken as independent. There is considerable critical difficulty about the passage. In Suetonius the Canonician MS., which, though late, represents a good tradition, reads *moretum* for *catalepton*: and Servius' words *septem sive octo* require explanation. My own opinion is that Suetonius wrote *deinde Culicem cum esset annorum xvi*, and that the rest is an interpolation. Servius' *septem sive octo* I should explain by supposing that *epigrammata* and *catalepton* refer to the same set of minor poems: that one word was written over the other as an explanation, and thus crept into the text, and that the scribe, in doubt whether to count *epigrammata* and *catalepton* as two sets of poems or one, saved his conscience by adding *sive octo* after *septem*. Baehrens, however, in his edition of these poems (Leipzig, 1880), accepts the text of Suetonius and Servius, whom he treats as independent authorities, as genuine, and contends that the title *catalepton* includes *all* the minor poems attributed to Virgil, and that the true title of the short pieces is *epigrammata* or *praefusiones*. I agree with him that *epigrammata* would be a very good term to designate the short pieces, but I doubt whether *τὰ κατὰ λεπτόν* could include the larger ones, and suspect that *epigrammata* and *catalepton* were synonymous.

<sup>1</sup> Suetonius, *Vita Lucani*.

<sup>2</sup> Baehrens also lays stress upon this point in the work just quoted (p. 26).

<sup>3</sup> [Prof. R. Ellis (*Classical Rev.* x 183) ascribes the *Culex* to some imitator of Virgil, familiar with the Georgics and possibly with the Aeneid, who wrote not very long after Actium.]

phasellus. The eighth, 'Villula quae Sironis eras,' purports to be written by Virgil in the year 41, when he was flying from his home. He addresses the villa of his master Siron, and implores it to give shelter and a home to him and his father. This poem has as good a claim to acceptance as any in the collection; but the thirteenth, the author of which speaks of himself as a soldier accustomed to hard campaigning, cannot possibly be by Virgil. The third ('Aspice quem valido subnixum gloria regno') may very well, as I have argued elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> apply to Phraates, and in that case must belong to the year 32 B.C., the thirty-eighth of Virgil's age. Considering this fact it can hardly, perhaps, be pronounced worthy of him. Of the sixth and the twelfth all that can be said is that they are lampoons in the manner of Catullus. Two poems (4 and 11) are addressed apparently to Octavius Musa, an historian of note. The authorship both of these and the rest of the collection remains at present uncertain.

§ 4. But, whatever be the case with regard to these poems, we must look to the Eclogues and Georgics if we would learn anything of the studies and political leanings of Virgil's early manhood. To take the last point first, it must never be forgotten that Virgil's boyhood was passed in the full blaze of Julius Caesar's glory. Virgil was a boy of fifteen when Caesar invaded Britain; an expedition which impressed the fancy even of the hostile Catullus. And there were nearer ties which bound Virgil's native country to Caesar. In 49 B.C. (the twenty-first of Virgil's age) Caesar, who had for nineteen years been patron of Gallia Transpadana, conferred full Roman citizenship on its inhabitants. The whole career of the Dictator must, in fact, have deeply impressed the imagination of the young poet. The literary men of the previous generation had mostly espoused the cause of the republic; but a change, for which the course of events quite sufficiently accounts, began with Sallust, Virgil, and Varius. If the fifth Eclogue is rightly referred to Julius Caesar, we may take this poem as well as the conclusion of the first Georgic as Virgil's tribute to the man whom he regarded as the saviour of his country.

Turning now to Virgil's early studies, it is clear from the Eclogues and the Georgics that they were mainly devoted to the Alexandrian poets, and among the Roman poets to Lucretius (witness the sixth Eclogue), to Helvius Cinna, and to Varius. These last he expressly mentions as writers whose fame he would fain emulate if he could.<sup>2</sup> Helvius Cinna, whose poem on Smyrna, admired of Catullus, had

<sup>1</sup> Ancient Lives of Vergil, p. 34 foll. I am glad to find that Bæhrens has arrived independently at the same conclusion.

<sup>2</sup> E. ix 36. 'Nam neque adhuc Varro videor nec dicere Cinna Digna' (41 B.C.)



occupied him nine years, is said in a notice preserved by Philargyrius to have given the occasion for Horace's precept 'nonumque prematur in annum.' We may conjecture that he was admired by Virgil as setting an example of severe learning and minute study of form. Varius may have inspired Virgil with the love of epic and tragedy. It is curious that before he began the Eclogues he attempted a poem on Roman history, but found the subject uncongenial to his then frame of mind.<sup>1</sup>

The Ciceronian age, barren of epic, tragedy, and comedy, had produced only lyric, didactic, and learned poetry. Virgil's youth was passed under the direct influence of the Alexandrian school and its followers in Italy; with Cornelius Gallus, one of the most distinguished among the 'cantores Euphorionis,' he was on terms of intimate friendship.<sup>2</sup> It is remarkable how Virgil's genius and tact enabled him to avoid the characteristic faults of the Alexandrians and their imitators. *Non hic te carmine ficto Atque per ambages et longa exorsa tenebo.* Their merits he makes his own, their refinement and their beauty; but there is nothing to show that he had ever any taste for the obscurity and affectate mythology which Catullus and Propertius and probably Cinna allowed to blemish much of their writing.

Before the year 41 B.C., Virgil had been fortunate enough to win the friendship of Asinius Pollio,<sup>3</sup> whom he mentions in the third Eclogue as encouraging his attempts in the way of pastoral poetry, as well as that of Cornelius Gallus and Alfenus Varus. Pollio was *legatus* in Gallia Cisalpina in 43 B.C.; whether Virgil knew him before this is not certain. When the troubles of the year 41 came, and Virgil, like Propertius and Tibullus, was ejected from his estate, the influence of these three friends procured its restitution from Octavianus, who found it a hard task to silence the complaints of the ejected landowners, without giving dangerous offence to his veterans.<sup>4</sup>

In the quarrel which attended Virgil's expulsion from his farm he was aided by the wealthy and accomplished Etruscan *equus*, C. Cilnius Maecenas, with whom he had previously been acquainted, and was afterwards on terms of intimate friendship.<sup>5</sup> The Eclogues, published

<sup>1</sup> Suetonius, 19, 'Cum res Romanas incohasset, offensus materia ad Bucolica transit.' Ecl. VI 3, 'Cum canerem reges et proelia, Cynthius aurem Vellit et admonuit.'

<sup>2</sup> See the sixth and tenth Eclogues.

<sup>3</sup> Ecl. III 84, 'Pollio amat nostram, quamvis est rustica, Musam.'

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion of the history of these events as bearing on the first and ninth Eclogues, see the Excursus at the end of Eclogue IX, [and Thilo in Fleckeisen's *Jahrb.* cxlix 301.]

<sup>5</sup> Suetonius, 20.



probably in 37 B.C. or thereabouts,<sup>1</sup> were intended, says Suetonius, as a thank-offering to Gallus, Pollio, and Varus. The first is, of course, intended as a compliment to Octavianus; but of the remaining nine, two (the fourth and eighth) are dedicated to Pollio, two (the sixth and ninth) to Varus, and one (the tenth) to Gallus, who is also mentioned in terms of the greatest affection in the sixth.

The acquaintance of Horace with Virgil must have begun before the publication of the Eclogues. It was either in the year 40 or 38 or 37 (the year when the last Eclogue was probably composed), that Virgil, with Varius and Tucca, the future editors of his *Aeneid*, joined Horace at Sinuessa on a journey to Brundisium.<sup>2</sup> Horace speaks of Virgil as at that time one of his most intimate friends, as if their acquaintance were now of long standing. The only relic, as far as I am aware, of the early period of this friendship is the twelfth ode of Horace's fourth book, which, in spite of the fact that this book was published after Virgil's death, it seems reasonable to refer to him. The ode, which Horace perhaps had not cared to publish before, is addressed to a Vergilius whom Horace asks to dinner on condition of his bringing with him a box of nard in exchange for Horace's wine. The language of the poem would very well suit the time when both poets were young and Horace poor, and before his introduction by Virgil, the *iuvenum nobilium cliens*, to the circle of Maecenas.

Horace's judgment of the Eclogues<sup>3</sup> is well known: 'molle atque facetum (epos) Vergilio adnuerunt gaudentes rure Camenae,' the Muses have granted him tenderness and refined wit in his hexameter writing. The literary sympathy and intimate friendship between Horace and Virgil was of immense importance as affecting the history of Roman literature. It was they who, while enjoining a closer study of the Greek masterpieces in their length and breadth than had hitherto been given to them, formed the classical style of Roman poetry, and showed how close imitation of great models was compatible with a free and noble manner, untainted by pedantry or servility. I have endeavoured elsewhere<sup>4</sup> to collect some of the passages which resemble each other in the earlier works of these twin poets, thus attesting (in all probability) a constant and intimate communication between them.

The Eclogues, says Suetonius,<sup>5</sup> were so popular that they were often

<sup>1</sup> The chronology of the Eclogues is discussed in the introduction to those poems, pp. 21, 22. Ribbeck assigns them to B.C. 42-39.

<sup>2</sup> Sat. I v 40.

<sup>3</sup> Sat. I x. The date of this satire cannot be later than 32 B.C., and the *Georgics* were not finished till 29.

<sup>4</sup> *Ancient Lives, etc.*, pp. 62, 63.

<sup>5</sup> Sueton. 26.

recited in the theatre. The same was the case with some of the poems of Ovid. On one occasion, if we may believe Tacitus,<sup>1</sup> the whole audience rose on hearing some of Virgil's verses, and testified their homage to the poet, who happened to be present.

§ 5. When Virgil began the Georgics there is no positive evidence to determine. They were undertaken partly in honour of Maecenas,<sup>2</sup> as a token of gratitude for the assistance which he had given the poet in the troubles of the year 41. The line in the first Georgic (509), *hic movet Euphrates, illic Germania bellum*, is usually taken as referring to the events of 37 B.C.; but it is possible (see the note on the passage) that it may have been written in 33 or 32. We know<sup>3</sup> that the Georgics were read to Octavianus after his return from the East in 29 B.C. This then is their *terminus ad quem*: the only *terminus a quo* is the passage alluding to the *portus Iulius* in the second Georgic (161). This harbour was completed by Agrippa in 37 B.C., and the verses in question cannot therefore be earlier than that event. And these limits tally sufficiently with the statement of Suetonius<sup>4</sup> that the Georgics were written in seven years.

Yet, if we are to press literally the concluding lines of the fourth Georgic, Virgil must have written the bulk of the three first Georgics at Naples in the years 31-29, when Octavianus was settling the affairs of the East.<sup>5</sup> The expressions of Virgil in this place need not, however, mean more than that he was generally occupied with the work at that time. He appears to have worked at the Georgics very slowly, writing only a very few lines every day;<sup>6</sup> and it may well be that although he had begun the poem as early as B.C. 36, the final touches were added between 31 and 29. The Georgics themselves do not offer much in the way of internal evidence towards enabling us to decide when different parts were composed. The openings of the first and third Georgic, I incline to think, were written for the recitation of 29 B.C., later, that is, than anything else in the whole work: the conclusions of the first and of the second Georgic are, perhaps, best referred to the end of 33 or the beginning of 32 B.C. The conclusion of the fourth Georgic was re-written after 26 (p. xxvi).

The opening of the third Georgic would be more easily intelligible could we suppose that the book was written either in Greece, or after a visit to that country. There is something to be urged in favour of this hypothesis. In the third ode of his first book, Horace speaks of a Vergilius, whom he calls *animae dimidium meae*, and for whom he prays a safe journey to the coast of Attica. It is difficult, if not impossible, to suppose that this Vergilius can be any one but our Virgil. The only re-

<sup>1</sup> Dial. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Sueton. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 27, and my note.

<sup>4</sup> Sueton. 25.

<sup>5</sup> G. iv fin.

<sup>6</sup> Sueton. 22.



corded journey of Virgil to Greece is that which he made B.C. 19, a little while before his death; but to this it is impossible that Horace can be alluding, the ode in question having been written much earlier. May Horace then be referring to a journey taken by Virgil about the time when the third Georgic was written?<sup>1</sup>

§ 6. In the year 31 came the battle of Actium; in 29 Octavianus returned to Italy from the East. Virgil, who with the assistance of Maecenas read the Georgics to him at Atella, seems to have intended at this time to write an epic poem in celebration of his exploits. The poets were busy upon the battle of Actium, and Virgil was for the time caught by the general enthusiasm. But he cannot have entertained the idea for long. Like Horace, he, for some reason or other, seems to have shrunk from the direct celebration of the acts of any person: thus in the sixth Eclogue he refuses to perform this service for Varus. Perhaps he thought, like Horace, that Varius was the right man to treat such subjects: *Scriberis Vario fortis et hostium Victor, Maeonii carminis aliti*. However this may be, he preferred a wider field, and turned his thoughts to the Aeneid.

He was engaged for the rest of his life, ten years, on this great epic, which he never lived to finish. Suetonius<sup>2</sup> preserves a very important notice regarding the manner in which the Aeneid was composed. Virgil drafted it in prose, and then wrote the books in no particular order, but just as the fancy took him. This fact fully accounts for the numerous inconsistencies in the narrative as we have it. The narrative of the wanderings of Aeneas in the third book is not to be reconciled with that given in the first and fifth; the fifth interferes with the course of events as narrated in the fourth and sixth, and is inconsistent with the sixth in its account of the death of Palinurus.

There seems no doubt that the third book was written before the second. For in the second Creusa foretells to Aeneas that he is destined to come to the land of the Tiber, while in the third he is represented as acting in entire forgetfulness of this prophecy: a fact easily explained if we suppose that the second book was written after the third. For the rest, there are very few notes of time to aid us in determining how Virgil distributed his work over the ten years he was able to give to it. He must very soon after beginning his labours have read parts of the new poem to his friends. In a poem written in or about 26 B.C. (III 26), Propertius has the well-known lines—

<sup>1</sup> My friend Mr. T. W. Jackson, of Worcester College, has noticed that the third Georgic seems pervaded by a poet's enthusiasm for Greece.

<sup>2</sup> 23, 'Aeneida prosa prius oratione formatam digestamque in xii libros particulatim componere instituit, prout liberet quidque et nihil in ordinem arripiens.'

‘Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Grai,  
Nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade,’

which show that he was one of the friends who were admitted by Virgil to listen and criticise.<sup>1</sup> I have elsewhere<sup>2</sup> endeavoured to collect other evidence of this fact drawn from coincidences of language between Propertius and Virgil.

In 26 and 25 B.C. Augustus was absent in Spain, and wrote to Virgil pressing him to send him either his first sketch of the Aeneid, or any paragraph or passage he pleased.<sup>3</sup> Virgil refused,<sup>4</sup> urging that he had as yet nothing sufficiently finished, and dwelling on the vastness of the material, and the new studies that he was about to give to the subject. The second, fourth, and sixth books were, however, at length read to Augustus and Octavia. This must have been after the death of the young Marcellus in 23 B.C. When Virgil came to the famous passage, ‘Tu Marcellus eris,’ Octavia is said to have fallen into a long swoon.<sup>5</sup>

The events of 19 B.C. are alluded to in the sixth and seventh books (VI 794, VII 606), which shows that Virgil was still busy with this part of the Aeneid till within a short time of his death. Ribbeck supposes that he was also engaged in the latter years of his life upon a fresh edition of the Georgics. However this may be, there seems no reason to doubt that the end of the fourth Georgic was altered in or after the year 26, when the poet Gallus came to his tragical and untimely end. The original conclusion of the book, which in some way or other had been intended by Virgil as a compliment to Gallus, was, at the instance of Augustus, cut out, and the episode of Aristaeus substituted for it.<sup>6</sup>

§ 7. In the year 19 Virgil had intended to travel into Greece and Asia Minor, with the view of spending three years there in finishing and

<sup>1</sup> Suetonius, 33, ‘recitavit et pluribus, sed neque frequenter et ea fere de quibus ambigebat, quo magis iudicium hominum experiretur.’

<sup>2</sup> Ancient Lives, etc., p. 67. [Rothstein, in *Hermes* XXIV (1889) 1-34, argues that Virgil copied Propertius in the Aeneid, while Propertius copied the Georgics and Eclogues.]

<sup>3</sup> Sueton. 31, ‘supplicibus atque etiam minacibus per iocum litteris efflagitabat ut sibi “de Aeneide,” ut ipsius verba sunt, “vel prima carminis ὑπογραφή vel quod libet colon mitteretur.”’

<sup>4</sup> Macrob. Sat. I xxiv 11, ‘tanta incohata res est ut paene vitio mentis tantum opus ingressus mihi videar.’

<sup>5</sup> Suetonius, 31, ‘cui (Augusto) tamen multo post perfecta quae demum materia tres omnino libros recitavit, secundum quartum et sextum, sed hunc notabili Octaviae adfectione, quae cum recitationi interesset, ad illos de filio suo versus “Tu Marcellus eris” defecisse fertur atque aegre fociata est.’

<sup>6</sup> Servius, G. IV 1, ‘sciendum, ut supra diximus, ultimam partem huius libri esse mutatam. Nam laudes Galli habuit locus ille qui nunc Orpheus continet fabulam, quae inserta est postquam irato Augusto Gallus occisus est.’



polishing the *Aeneid*.<sup>1</sup> This done, he hoped to devote the rest of his life to philosophy. But it was not to be. At Athens he met Augustus, who was returning from the East, and decided to return with him to Italy. On a very hot September day he went to Megara, and afterwards fell ill. He was worse when he arrived, after an uninterrupted voyage, at Brundisium, where he died a few days afterwards, on the 20th of September.

Before leaving Italy Virgil had tried in vain to extract a promise from Varius that if anything should happen to him, he would burn the *Aeneid*. On his deathbed he constantly asked for his manuscript to burn it; but this request being also refused he left his writings in his will to Varius and Tucca, with the proviso that they were to publish nothing which had not been already given to the world. With the sanction of Augustus, and the *Aeneid* was published by Varius and Tucca, with such corrections only as were absolutely necessary, even the unfinished verses being left as they stood.<sup>2</sup>

Virgil is said to have been tall, dark, and of a rustic appearance. His health was indifferent, for he suffered from weakness in the throat and stomach, as well as from headaches and spitting of blood. Little is known of his character, but what is known is (with doubtful exceptions) in his favour. His own language about his poems in the *Eclogues* leads us to imagine him fastidious, modest, and sensitive, and this apparently was the general impression. The modesty of his looks procured him at Naples the punning nickname of *Parthenias*. He objected very much to the demonstrations made in his honour if ever he appeared in the streets of Rome, an event, if we may believe Suetonius, of very rare occurrence.<sup>3</sup>

He was a very bad speaker,<sup>4</sup> and failed completely when in his early life he attempted the profession of advocate. But his reading was so beautiful that<sup>5</sup> Julius Montanus, a contemporary poet, said that verses

<sup>1</sup> Sueton. 35 foll.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 39-41. 'Egerat cum Vario priusquam Italia decederet ut si quid sibi accidisset *Aeneida* combureret; at is facturum se pernegarat. Igitur in extrema valetudine adsidue scrinia desideravit crematurus ipse; verum nemine offerente nihil quidem nominatim de ea cavit, ceterum eidem Vario ac simul Tuccae scripta sua sub ea condicione legavit ne quid ederent quod non a se editum esset. Edidit autem auctore Augusto Varius, sed summatim emendata, ut qui versus etiam imperfectos sicuti erant reliquerit': *ib.* 37. 'L. Varius et Plotium Tuccam, qui eius *Aeneida* post obitum iussu Caesaris emendaverunt.'

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 8-12.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 15-16, 'egit et causam apud iudices unam omnino, nec amplius quam semel, nam et in sermone tardissimum ac paene indocto similem fuisse *Melissus* tradidit.'

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 28-29.

which in themselves seemed lifeless and trivial sounded well when he recited them.

Virgil's father must, if we may trust the little poem in the *Catalepton* addressed to the villa of Siron,<sup>1</sup> have been alive at the time of the confiscations of 41 B.C. He was blind at the time of his death.<sup>2</sup> Virgil had two brothers, Silo and Flaccus. Silo died in his boyhood; Flaccus, who died in riper years, is said by Suetonius to have been the *Daphnis* of the fifth *Eclogue*.<sup>3</sup> Virgil's mother, *Magia*, survived her husband and married again. A son, named *Valerius Proculus*, was the issue of this union.

Virgil seems to have been much beloved by his friends, among whom perhaps the most intimate were *Horace*, *Quintilius Varus*, *Varius*, and *Tucca*.<sup>4</sup> *Horace* describes<sup>5</sup> *Virgil* and *Varius*, whom he constantly mentions together, as most transparent and lovable souls.

Owing to the generosity of his friends *Virgil* enjoyed a fortune of nearly £100,000. It is interesting to know that when *Augustus* offered him the property of an exiled citizen, whose name has not been preserved, he could not bring himself to accept it. He was seldom at Rome, though he had a house there near the gardens of *Maecenas*, and spent most of his time in Sicily or Campania.<sup>6</sup> Half of his property he left to his half-brother *Valerius Proculus*, a quarter to *Augustus*, a twelfth part to *Maecenas*, and the rest to *Varius* and *Tucca*. His remains were taken to *Naples* and buried in a tomb on the road to *Puteoli*, with the epitaph—

‘ Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc  
Parthenope : cecini pascua, rura, duces.’<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Catal.* viii. ‘ Villula quae Sironis eras et pauper agelle,  
verum illi domino tu quoque deliciae,  
me tibi et hos una mecum, quos semper amavi,  
si quid de patria tristius audiero,  
commendo, in primisque patrem : tu nunc eris illi  
Mantua quod fuerat quodque Cremona prius.’

<sup>2</sup> *Sueton.* 14.

<sup>4</sup> *Probus.*

<sup>6</sup> *Sueton.* 12-13.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 14.

<sup>5</sup> *Sat.* 1-v.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 36-37.

## ON SOME OF THE EARLY CRITICISMS OF VIRGIL'S POETRY.

THAT Virgil was attacked during his life-time for his innovations in style we are assured by express statements in the memoir by Suetonius. After his death Carvilius Pictor published an Aeneidomastix, on the analogy of the Homeromastix of Zoilus, and the Ciceromastix mentioned at the beginning of the seventh book of Aulus Gellius; Herennius collected his *vitia*, which I suppose means faults of expression, Perellius Faustus his plagiarisms (*furta*); while an apparently neutral work, called *ὁμοιώτητες*, or a collection of his translations from the Greek, by Octavius Avitus, filled eight books.

A reply to the *obtretractores Vergilii* was written by Asconius Pedianus; a fact which may throw some light on the date of the works mentioned by Suetonius. For Asconius lived in the first part of the first century A.D.; and if, as it is reasonable from the language of Suetonius to infer, his work was a reply to the three books of Carvilius Pictor, Herennius, and Perellius Faustus, it follows that those works cannot have been published at any very great distance of time from Virgil's death, which took place in 19 B.C.

I propose to ask whether it is possible to trace any remains of these criticisms, and the replies to them, in the notes of Servius<sup>1</sup> and Macrobius, or elsewhere.

### I.

And first as to criticisms passed upon Virgil for new combinations of words. Agrippa said that Virgil had been suborned by Maecenas to invent a new kind of affectation (*κακοζήλια*), which consisted in an unusual employment of ordinary words,<sup>2</sup> and was therefore difficult of detection. With this criticism I am strongly inclined to connect a passage in Horace's *Ars Poetica* (v. 45 foll.), a work which, as Michaelis<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the following pages, when the name of Servius is mentioned without any addition, the so-called Vulgate or uninterpolated text of Servius is meant. By Servius (Dan.), on the other hand, is meant the Servius edited by Peter Daniel, and containing the additional notes printed by Thilo (in his recent edition) in italics. The relation of these notes to those of the Vulgate is discussed below in the section on Servius.

<sup>2</sup> Sueton. 44, 'M. Vipsanius a Maecenate eum suppositum appellabat novae cacozeliae repertorem, non tumidae nec exilis, sed ex communibus verbis atque ideo latentis.'

<sup>3</sup> In the *Commentationes Philologicae* recently published in honour of Mommsen.



has recently argued, may very probably have been written when Virgil was alive—

'In verbis etiam tenuis cautusque serendis,  
hoc amet, hoc spernat promissi carminis auctor :  
dixeris egregie, notum si callida verbum  
reddiderit iunctura novum.'

Horace asserts that new combinations of ordinary words, if made with nicety and caution (*tenuis cautusque*), are to be put down to a poet's credit. Now in the whole context of this passage (to which I shall have to return again) Horace is defending himself and his school against the attacks of hostile criticism; and it is therefore very probable that his remarks about new combinations of words may be intended as a covert reply to such charges as that brought by Agrippa.

Herennius, says Suetonius, made a collection of Virgil's *vitia*. *Vitium* would, I suppose, mean any fault in style or expression. Quintilian says of *κακοζήλια* (VIII iii 56), that it is *omnium in eloquentia vitiorum pessimum*. *Vitia*, therefore, would include affectation real or alleged, and we can hardly doubt that the work of Herennius included instances of this. Perhaps it may also have included the *vitia in versibus quae a nonnullis imperite reprehenduntur* mentioned by Macrobius v xiv 1: such alleged metrical errors as *arietat in portas, parietibus textum caecis, duros obice postes, quin protinus omnia, arbutus horrida*. Macrobius goes on (ib. § 5) to mention verses *vulsis ac rasis similes et nihil differentes ab usu loquendi*, as *omnia vincit Amor, et nos cedamus Amori: Nudus in ignota, Palinure, iacebis harena*. These are defended by the example of Homer: but the words *vulsis ac rasis similes* have all the air of a quotation from a hostile critic. It must be remembered that Macrobius' Saturnalia is a mere succession of extracts from older works, sometimes strung together in no logical order, and without anything to show where the transition from one writer to another is to be looked for. The only interest in reading him is, therefore, that he makes us curious to get back, if possible, to the sources on which he is drawing.

In Macrobius vi vi Servius is represented as quoting some instances of new figures, or combinations of words, employed by Virgil, 'Vates iste venerabilis varie modo verba modo sensus figurando multum Latinitati leporis adiecit.' His instances are *Supposita de matre nothos furatae creavit, creavit* being used for *creari fecit: tepida recentem Caede locum: socii cesserunt aequore iusso: caeso sparsurus sanguine flammis: vota deum primo victor solvebat Eoo: et me consortem nati concede sepulchro: illa viam celerans par mille coloribus arcum*, and some others, two only of which I will quote as bearing specially on the question before us: '*frontem obscenam rugis arat: arat* non nimie sed pulchre dictum'; and '*discolor unde auri per ramos aura refulsit: quid enim est aura auri, aut quemadmodum aura refulget? Sed tamen pulchre usurpavit.*'

The two last comments which I have quoted are plainly answers to hostile criticisms; in the last, indeed, the very wording of the criticism



is given: *Quid enim est aura auri*, etc. A careful reader of Macrobius, who has observed the very slovenly style of his patchwork, will be not disinclined to infer that perhaps all the passages quoted from § 2 to § 11 of this chapter had been fixed upon for attack by collectors (whether Herennius or others) of the *vitia Vergilii*, and were subsequently defended by friendly critics. And here it will be well to compare the Servius of Macrobius' Dialogue with the *scholia* which go under the name of Servius, in order, if possible, to ascertain the relation between them. I shall exhibit the two in parallel columns:

THE SERVIUS OF MACROBIUS.

*Nothos furata creavit*: ut ipsa creaverit quos creari fecit.

*Tepidaque recentem Caede locum*, cum locus *recens caede* nove dictus sit.

*Socii cesserunt aequore iusso*, pro eo quod est *iussi cesserunt*.

*Caeso sparsurus sanguine flammam*: qui ex caesis videlicet profunditur.

*Vota deum primo victor solvebat Eo*. Pro *quae dis vota sunt*.

*Me consortem nati concede sepulchro*. Alius dixisset, *et me consortem nato concede sepulchri*.

*Illa viam celerans per mille coloribus arcum*: id est *per arcum mille colorum*.

*Spolia . . . coniciunt igni*; pro *in ignem*.

*Corpore tela modo atque oculis vigilantibus exit*. *Tela exit*, pro *vitat*.

*Senior leto canentia lumina solvit*; pro *vetustate senilia*.

*Exesaeque arboris antro*: pro *caverna*.

*Frontem obscenam rugis arat*. *Arat* non nimie sed pulchre dictum.

*Ter circum aerato circumfert tegmine silvam*. Pro *iaculis*.

*Vir gregis*, pro *capro*.

*Oraque corticibus sumunt horrenda cavatis*. *Ora* pro *personis*.

*Discolor unde auri per ramos aura refluxit*. Quid enim est *aura auri*, aut quemadmodum *aura refugit*? Sed tamen pulchre usurpavit.

*Similis frondescit virga metallo*. Quam bene usus est *frondescit metallo*!

THE SERVIUS OF THE COMMENTARY.

Silent.

Aen. IX 455. Hypallage est pro *tepidum locum recentis caede*. Unde multi legunt *tepidumque recentis Caede locum*.

Aen. X 444. Pro *ipsi iussi*. (Probus.)

Aen. XI 82. Pro *caesorum*.

Aen. XI 4. Subaudimus *tempore*.

Aen. X 906. Silent.

Aen. V 609. Aut subaudis *factum*, aut antiptosis est *mille colorum*.

Aen. XI 193. Silent.

Aen. V 438, *exit*, *vitat*, *declinat*: unde de Venulo (XI 750) *et vim viribus exit*. Et hoc verbo bis usus est.

Aen. X 418, aut hypallage est pro *ipse canens*, aut physicam rem dicit. Dicuntur enim pupillae mortis tempore albescere.

Georg. IV 44. Silent.

Aen. VII 417. Silent.

Aen. X 887. Silent.

Ecl. VII 7 (Dan.). Horatius (Od. I xvii 7) *olentis uxoris mariti*, et Theocritus (VIII 49) ὃ τράγε, τὰν λευκὰν ἀγῶν ἀνερ.

Georg. II 387, qui ea (ludicra) exercebant, propter verecundiam remedium hoc adhibuerunt, ne agnoscerentur, ut personas factas de arborum corticibus sumerent.

Aen. VI 204. *Auri aura*, splendor auri. Horatius (Od. II viii 23) *tua ne retardet Aura maritos*, i.e. splendor. Hinc et aurum dicitur a splendore qui est in eo metallo.

Aen. VI 144. *frondescit*, in naturam redit; et honeste locutus est dicens *habet frondes sui metalli*.

## THE SERVIUS OF MACROBIUS.

*Nigri cum lacte veneni . . . nigro imponere nomen lactis.*

*Haud aliter iustae quibus est Mezentius irae. Odio esse aliquem usitatum; irae esse inventum Maronis est.*

## THE SERVIUS OF THE COMMENTARY.

Aen. IV 514, *nigri* aut noxii, quia nigri fiunt homines post venenum, aut certi illud est, quia sunt herbae nigri lactis, id est suci. Dicunt autem per periphrasin agreste papaver significari.

Aen. X 716. Silent.

Without quoting all the instances of novel refinement in language given in Macrobius, we are, I think, justified in asserting that there were a number of expressions in Virgil which were felt to require defence or explanation. That Macrobius had in his hands some work or works in which they were attacked, or, at least, remarked upon, may be inferred from two facts. First, it will be observed that in at least four of the notes above quoted, he seems to be giving the actual words of an adversary: I mean those on Aen. VII 417, VI 204, IV 514 (here the words are now mutilated), and X 716. Secondly, the criticisms fall roughly under heads, though Macrobius does not say so. *Recens caede, caeso sanguine*, are instances of an uncommon use of adjectives; *vota deum, consortem nati, mille coloribus arcum, coniciunt igni*, of an uncommon use of cases: *tela exit*, of an uncommon use of a verb. The instances which follow are cases of metaphors: *canentia lumina, arboris antro, frontem arat, aerato circumfert tegmine silvam, vir gregis, aquae mons, telorum seges, jerreus imber*. Then comes a mention of some expressions not easily reduceable under any particular head, as *Dona laboratae Cereris*: and, finally, a note on Virgil's use of one word for another, as *ora* for *personas*.

Supposing the whole passage to be an extract from some collection of such expressions, these two facts will be easily explained. A comparison of the notes given in parallel columns will, I think, show that the Servius of the Saturnalia stands in no relation of dependence to the real Servius. The real Servius is sometimes silent where Macrobius has a note; sometimes he is fuller, sometimes less full than Macrobius; sometimes he seems to be defending Virgil against an objection; sometimes his remark adds something new, or is altogether different. At the same time, the same passages are, on the whole, commented on in both; and this fact, when put together with that of the discrepancies just noticed, points to the conclusion that both are ultimately derived from the same source. (See further pp. xlv and xlix.)

To this source, whatever it was, we may, perhaps, owe the following notes in the commentary bearing the name of Servius: Aen. VII 7, '*tendit iter velis*: aliud est iter velis tendere, aliud per vela iter (per iter vela?)'. Et multi dicunt improprie dictum, multi nimium proprie.' Aen. XII 524, '*quaeritur quid sit virgulta sonantia lauro*;' compare the remark on *aura* quoted above, '*quid est enim aura auri*?' Aen. XII 591, *ater odor*: nove.'



## II.

But it was remarked not only that Virgil ventured on new combinations of words, but that he invented new words. Here, again, it is perhaps allowable to start from the previously-quoted passage in the *Ars Poetica* (vv. 48 foll.) :

‘ Si forte necesse est  
indiciis monstrare recentibus abdita rerum,  
fingere cinctutis non exaudita Cethegis  
continget, dabiturque licentia sumpta pudenter,  
et nova fictaque nuper habebunt verba fidem, si  
Graeco fonte cadant, parce detorta. quid autem?  
Caecilio Plautoque dabit Romanus, ademptum  
Vergilio Varioque? ego cur, acquirere pauca  
si possum, invideor, cum lingua Catonis et Enni  
sermonem patrum ditaverit, et nova rerum  
nomina protulerit?’

Here Virgil is mentioned by name, and it is distinctly implied that he was attacked for the invention of new words. Horace says that words lately coined will pass current if derived, with sparing alteration, from a Greek source. I am not sure that I clearly understand what this means. But that Virgil was attacked for his use of Greek words is clear from Macrobius i xxiv 7, ‘ si . . mille alia multum pudenda seu in verbis modo Graecis modo barbaris, seu in ipsa dispositione operis deprehenderentur.’ Compare v xvii 15, ‘ postremo Graecae linguae quam se libenter addixerit de crebris quae usurpat vocabulis aestimate :’ and the critic mentions *dius*, *daedala*, *trieterica*, *choreas*, *hyalus*, and some others, concluding thus, after noticing the poet’s predilection for Greek inflections, ‘ denique omnia carmina sua Graece maluit inscribere, *Bucolica Georgica Aeneis*, cuius nominis figuratio a regula Latinitatis aliena est.’

In the sixth book of the *Saturnalia* (iv 17) Virgil is defended for this proceeding by the argument that other writers had used Greek words before him : ‘ inseruit operi suo et Graeca verba, sed non primus hoc ausus.’ *Lychni*, *aethra*, *daedalus*, *reboant* are then justified by the example of older poets ; and the critic remarks ‘ sed hac licentia largius usi sunt veteres, parcius Maro : quippe illi dixerunt et *pausam* et *machaeram* et *asotiam* et *malacen* et alia similia.’ This is Horace’s argument : why should not Virgil and Varius be allowed what was not forbidden to Caecilius, Plautus, Ennius and Cato ?

But Virgil (Macrobius i xxiv 7) was charged also with using barbarian, that is, non-Latin words. There is a very short answer to this in the sixth book of the *Saturnalia* (iv 23) ‘ necnon et Punicis Oscisque verbis usi sunt veteres : quorum imitatione Vergilius peregrina verba non respuit.’ The instances given are *urus*, ‘ Gallica vox qua feri boves significantur,’ and *camurus*. On *urus* Servius on *Georg.* ii 374 says ‘ *silvestres uri*, i.e. boves agrestes, qui in Pyrenaeo monte nascuntur, inter Gallias et Hispanias posito.’ On *camurus* Macrobius has virtually the same note as Servius and Philargyrius on *Georg.* iii 55, and is probably therefore drawing upon the same source, which I hope to show

was either the *De Verborum Significatu* of Verrius Flaccus, or some work immediately dependent upon it.

In the following chapter Virgil is defended on the ground of ancient precedent for the use of several words, partly simple, partly compound, 'quae ab ipso ficta creduntur.' The simple words are *Mulciber*, *petulcus*, *liquidus* as an epithet of *ignis*, *tristis* in the sense of *bitter*, *auritus*: the compounds are *turicremus*, *Arcitenens*, *silvicola*, *velivolus*, *vitisator*, *noctivagus*, *nubigena*, *umbraculum*, *discludo*. And a similar plea is urged in favour of certain apparently new senses given by Virgil to ordinary words, as to *additus* in *Teucris addita Iuno*: to *vomit* in *totis vomit aedibus undam*: to *agmen* in *leni fluit agmine Thybris*: to *crepitans* in *crepitantibus urere flammis*: to *horret* in *ferreus hastis Horret ager*: to *transmittunt* in *transmittunt cursu campos*: to *defluo* in *tota cohors*. . . . *relictis Ad terram defluxit equis*: to *deductus* in *deductum dicere carmen*: to *proiectus* in *proiectaque saxa Pachyni*: to *tempestivus* in *tempestivam silvis evertere pinum*.

Servius has short notes only on *additus*, *horret*, and *umbracula* (A. VI 90, XI 601, E. IX 42 [Dan.]), which agree in substance with those of Macrobius, but are mere abridgments of them. On *liquidus* Servius (Dan.) on E. VI 33 quotes the same passage from Lucretius as Macrobius.

We may here notice some other criticisms of the same kind preserved by other authors. Gellius I xxi 5 quotes a note of Hyginus on the word *amaror*: 'non enim primus finxit hoc verbum Vergilius insolenter' (implying that Virgil had been accused of inventing the word) 'sed in carminibus Lucretii inventum est, nec est aspernatus auctoritatem poetae ingenio et facundia praecellentis.' Quintilian I v 65 mentions an objection to the word *imperterritus*, noticing the fact that the two prepositions contradict each other; and Servius on A. x 770 seems to be making excuses for Virgil. So Servius VIII 433 (Dan.) *instabant*, 'nova locutio, *curram et rotas instabant*:' x 835 (Dan.) *acclinis*, 'quis ante hunc?' XII 7 '*latronem*, venatorem: quis ante hunc? Varro tamen dicit hoc nomen posse habere etiam Latinam etymologiam,' etc. Hyginus (ap. Gell. VII 6) blamed the phrase *praepectibus pennis*, which was defended by parallels from Ennius and Matius. Gellius x xxix 4 says that in G. I 203 *atque* was thought obscure, and interprets it as = *statim*; so Nonius, p. 530. The phrase *tunicam squalentem auro* was again defended by ancient example (Gellius II vi 19). Servius on A. XII 517 (Dan.) says of *exosus* in that line 'quaeritur sane quis primus *exosum* pro *peroso* dixerit,' and (Aen. III 384) excuses *lentandus* as occurring 'in annalibus.'

From these criticisms, which attribute to Virgil the invention of new words, or a new or rare application of old ones, we should be careful to separate such remarks as that of Cornutus on *vexare* (Gellius II 6 = Macrobius VI vii 4) 'incuriose et abiecte in his versibus verbum posuit;' on *inlaudati Busiridis*: 'hoc enim verbum *inlaudati* non est idoneum ad exprimendam sceleratissimi hominis detestationem;' and that quoted from the same writer on the words *dixerat ille aliquid magnum* by Servius on Aen. x 547, 'Cornutus ut sordidum improbat.'

The notes of Gellius and Macrobius on *vexare* and *inlaudatus*, it



should be observed, throw fresh light on the relation of the Servius of the Saturnalia to the real Servius, who has the remark on *vexare* (Ecl. vi 75<sup>1</sup>) in a shorter form, and without any mention of objections; while in his note on *inlaudatus* (Georg. iii 4) he takes no account of the discussion carried on in Gellius and Macrobius, but simply explains the word as = *qui laudari non debeat*. With these criticisms compare Servius on Aen. viii 731, 'hunc versum notant critici quasi superfluo et inutiliter additum, nec convenientem gravitati eius, namque est magis neotericus;' Aen. xi 53, 'hoc quidam ἀνέκδοτον (ἀνεπίκον?) et vulgare accipiunt; sed decenter ad exprimendum patris adfectum nunc ad patrem redit.'

## III.

I now come to consider some of the criticisms made upon Virgil's management of his story in the Aeneid. Macrobius i xxiv 2 speaks of 'multa pudenda . . . in dispositione operis.'

In the *Ars Poetica* (143 foll.) Horace lays down the principle that the Homeric order of narrative (as distinguished, for instance, we may suppose him to mean, from that of Apollonius Rhodius) is that which an epic poet ought to follow:

'Non fumum ex fulgore, sed ex fumo dare lucem  
cogitat, ut speciosa dehinc miracula promat,  
Antiphaten Scyllamque et cum Cyclope Charybdim;  
nec reditum Diomedis ab interitu Meleagri,  
nec gemino bellum Troianum orditur ab ovo;  
semper ad eventum festinat, et in medias res  
non secus ac notas auditorem rapit,' etc.

I am inclined to think that this passage again is intended as a defence of Virgil. At any rate, the point in question is treated by the early commentators, and in his reply to the *obtrectatores Vergilii* we know that Asconius set himself in particular to answer criticisms *circa historiam*, which would, I suppose, include unfavourable remarks on the order of the narrative.

That such remarks had been made appears clearly from Servius, Aen. p. 4 (Thilo): 'ordo quoque manifestus est, licet quidem dicant secundum (librum) primum esse, tertium secundum, et primum tertium . . . nescientes hanc esse artem poeticam, ut a mediis incipientes per narrationem prima reddamus.' And on Aen. i 34, 'ut Homerus omisit initia belli Troiani, sic hic non ab initio coepit erroris.' Again, with regard to the whole plan of the Aeneid, which was intended by Virgil to include both an Iliad and an Odyssey, 'prius de erroribus Aeneae dicit, post de bello' (Aen. i 1).

Now these remarks are no more than a condensation of the passage assigned to Eustathius in the fifth book of the Saturnalia (ii 6), 'Aeneis ipsa nonne ab Homero mutuata est errorem primum ex Odyssea, deinde ex Iliade pugnas? quin operis ordinem necessario rerum ordo mutavit,

<sup>1</sup> The Lemovicensis here adds the same illustrations of *vexare* as are given in Gellius ii 6.



cum apud Homerum prius Iliacum bellum gestum sit, deinde revertenti de Troia error contigerit Ulixi, apud Maronem vero Aeneae navigatio bella quae postea in Italia sunt gesta praecesserit. . . . Nec illud cum magna cura relaturus sum, licet, ut aestimo, non omnibus observatum, quod cum primo versu promississet producturum se de Troiae litoribus Aenean . . . ubi ad ianuam narrandi venit, Aeneae classem non de Troia sed de Sicilia producit . . .

Quod totum Homericis filis contextuit. Ille enim vitans in poemate historicorum similitudinem, quibus lex est incipere ab initio rerum, et continuam narrationem ad finem usque perducere, *ipse poetica disciplina a rerum medio coepit et ad initium post reversus est. Ergo Ulixis errorem non incipit a Troiano litore describere, sed facit eum primo navigantem de insula Calypsonis. . . . Scylla quoque et Charybdis et Circe decenter attingitur.*

The words *nec illud magna cum cura . . . de Sicilia producit* form a remark virtually identical with that quoted by Servius, that the Aeneid ought to begin with the fall of Troy. The answer to this is an appeal to the example of Homer, expressed in words which I have italicized, because they are almost a paraphrase of Horace's lines in the *Ars Poetica*. Is the whole passage in Macrobius a mutilated quotation from the work of Asconius *contra obtractatores Vergilii*.

I have noticed one or two other passages in Servius which bear on the same point: Aen. IV 1 'Iunctus quoque (quartus liber) superioribus est, quod artis esse videtur, ut frequenter diximus. Nam ex abrupto vitiosus est transitus; licet stulte quidam dicant hunc tertio non esse coniunctum. . . . Cum enim tertium sic clausit, *factoque hic fine quievit*, subsequutus est *At regina gravi, etc.*' Aen. VI 752 'huc tetendit ut celebret Romanos, et praecipue Augustum. Nam qui bene considerant, invenient omnem Romanam historiam ab Aeneae adventu usque ad sua tempora summatim celebrasse Vergilium. Quod ideo latet quia confusus est ordo,' etc. Aen. IX 1 'quem transitum quidam culpant, nescientes, etc.' Compare further Macrobius V XIV 11 'item divinus ille vates (Homerus) res vel paulo vel multo ante transactas opportune ad narrationis suae seriem revocat, ut et historicum stilum vitet non per ordinem digerendo quae gesta sunt, nec tamen praeteritorum nobis notitiam subtrahat. . . . Vergilius omne hoc genus pulcherrime aemulatus est.'

So much with regard to the order in which Virgil tells his story: let us now pass on to some of the criticisms passed upon the incidents of his narrative. His enemies compared the Aeneid, passage by passage, with the Iliad and Odyssey, with the view of showing its inferiority; his friends replied as best they could, sometimes attempting to show that Virgil had surpassed his model. Here are instances, which I have endeavoured to arrange under heads:

*The causes of Juno's anger against the Trojans, as compared with that of Apollo against the Greeks.*—Macrobius V II 6 'Homerus in primo, cum vellet iniquum Graecis Apollinem facere, causam struxit de sacerdotis iniuria; hic, ut Troianis Iunonem faceret infestam, causarum sibi congruam comparavit.'

*The cause of the war between Aeneas and Latinus, as compared with*

*that of the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon.*—Macrob. v xvii 1 ‘ubi rerum necessitas exegit a Marone dispositionem incohendi belli, quam non habuit Homerus (quippe qui Achillis iram exordium sibi fecerit, quae decimo demum belli anno contigit), laboravit ad rei novae partum. Cervum fortuito saucium fecit causam tumultus. Sed ubi vidit hoc leve nimisque puerile, dolorem auxit agrestium, ut impetus eorum sufficeret ad bellum. Sed nec servos Latini, et maxime stabula regia curantes, atque ideo quid foederis cum Troianis Latinus icerit ex muneribus equorum et curus iugalis non ignorantes, bellum generis domini oportebat inferre. Quid igitur? Deorum maxima deducitur e caelo, et maxima Furiarum de Tartaris adsciscitur: sparguntur angues velut in scena parturientes furorem: regina non solum de penetralibus reverentiae matronalis educitur, sed et per urbem mediam cogitur facere discursus: nec hoc contenta silvas petit accitis reliquis matribus in societatem furoris. Bacchatur chorus quondam pudicus, et orgia insana celebrantur. Quid plura? Maluissem Maronem et in hac parte apud auctorem suum vel apud quemlibet Graecorum alium quod sequeretur habuisse.’

There is no doubt about the *animus* of this critic, who expresses himself in a nervous Latin style of which I shall have to give some more instances below. Take for instance the following remarks on the Virgilian and Homeric catalogues, which I cannot help suspecting are from the same hand. Macrob. v xv 2 ‘Homerus praetermissis Athenis ac Lacedaemone vel ipsis Mycenis, unde erat rector exercitus, Boetiam in catalogo sui capite locavit, non ob loci aliquam dignitatem, sed notissimum promuntorium ad exordium sibi narrationis elegit, unde progrediens modo mediterranea modo maritima iuncta describit, inde rursus ad utrumque situm cohaerentium locorum disciplina describentis velut iter agentis accedit, nec ullo saltu cohaerentiam regionum in libro suo hiare permittit, sed hoc viandi more procedens redit unde digressus est, et ita finitur quicquid enumeratio eius amplectitur; contra Vergilius nullum in commemorandis regionibus ordinem servat, sed locorum seriem saltibus lacerat. Adducit primum Clusio et Cosis Massicum; Abas hunc sequitur manu Populoniae Ilvaeque comitatus; post hos Asilan miserunt Pisae, quae in quam longinqua sint Etruriae parte notius est quam ut adnotandum sit; inde mox redit Caere et Pyrgos et Gravidias, loca urbi proxima, quibus duces Astorem dedit; hinc rapit illum Cinirus ad Liguriam, Ocnus Mantuam. Sed nec in catalogo auxiliorum Turni, si velis situm locorum mente percurrere, invenies illum continentiam regionum secutum.’

And again, with regard to the style of the two catalogues, § 14, ‘in catalogo suo curavit Vergilius vitare fastidium, quod Homerus alia ratione non cavit eadem figura saepe repetita, οἱ δ’ Ἀσπληθόν’ ἐναίον, οἱ δ’ Εὐβοίαν ἔχον. . . . Hic autem variat, velut dedecus aut crimen vitans repetitionem, *primus init bellum Tyrrhenis asper ab oris. Filius huic iuxta Lausus. . . .* Has copias fortasse putat aliquis divinae illi simplicitati praefendas; sed nescio quo modo Homerum repetitio illa unice decet, et est genio antiqui poetae digna enumerationique conveniens, quod in loco, mera nomina relaturus, non incurvavit se neque minute torsit dedu-



cendo stilum per singulorum varietates, sed stat in consuetudine percentium, tamquam per aciem dispositos enumerans, quod non aliis quam numerorum fit vocabulis,' etc. §§ 6-9 are in the same style, blaming Virgil for introducing names into his narrative which he has omitted in his catalogue, and omitting on the other hand to assign any part in the war to those whom he has mentioned there.<sup>1</sup> In § 10 Virgil is charged with inconsistent repetitions of the same name, as of Corinaeus, who is killed in the ninth book and kills Ebusus in the twelfth.

In § 18, on the other hand, Virgil is said, in one passage of his catalogue, to have almost surpassed Homer: but otherwise Macrobius has preserved nothing except hostile criticisms on this part of Virgil's work. As to Virgil's carelessness or want of invention in the matter of proper names, there is a remark in Servius (Aen. xii 542 Dan.) which reminds the reader very much of what is said in Macrobius: 'Et quidam reprehendunt Vergilium in hoc loco quod in nominum inventionem deficitur. Iam enim in nono Crethea a Turno occisum inducit ut *Crethea Musarum comitem*. Sed et apud Homerum [talìa invenies?] nam et Pylaemonem et Adrastum bis ponit et alios complures.'

The fact that Servius, whose remarks are mostly on the side of Virgil, makes a reply on this point, suggests the possibility that he was drawing upon a work in which the question was treated in a sense favourable to his author.

Servius records some remarks of a similar kind, sometimes favourable, sometimes unfavourable, on matters of detail. Aen. iii 590 (Dan.) 'arguitur in hac Achaemenidis descriptione Vergilius negligentiae Homericae narrationis; Ulixes enim inter initia erroris sui ad Cyclophas venit; quemadmodum ergo Aeneas post septimum annum quam a Troia profectus est socium Ulixis invenit? praesertim cum eum tribus mensibus in regione Cyclopum dicat moratum, et mox Aeneas de Sicilia ad Africam venisse dicatur.' This is not in Macrobius; nor again the following: Aen. ix 264 'atqui secundum Homerum Arisba Troianis misit auxilium et ab Achille subversa est. Sed accipimus aut ante bellum Graecorum Arisbam a Troianis captam et in amicitiae foedus admissam, aut certe pocula haec data ab Heleno,' etc.

Aen. vii 803, 'prudenter post impletam commemorationem virorum transit ad feminas. Ita enim et de Troianis loquitur, qui ultimum Amazonum auxilium postulaverunt. Quae res ab Homero praetermissa est.' Aen. viii 625 (Dan.) 'sane interest inter hunc et Homeri clipeum. Illic enim singula dum fiunt narrantur, hic vero perfecto opere noscuntur; nam et hic arma prius accepit Aeneas quam spectaret, ibi postquam omnia narrata sunt, sic a Thetide deferuntur ad Achillem. Opportune ergo Vergilius,' etc. Macrobius v-xvi 9, 'Eumedes Dolonis proles bello praeclara animo manibusque parentem refort, cum apud Homerum Dolon imbellis sit.'

Servius on Aen. xii 266, 'hoc loco ab Homeri oeconomia recessit. Ille (autem?) inducit Minervam persuadentem Pandaro ut iacto in

<sup>1</sup> Compare Servius on Aen. ix 584, 'incertum ex qua recondita historia Arcentem istum induxerit . . . et quid homo Siculus in hoc bello fecit (faciat?) quem nusquam supra cum Aenea dicit ad Italiam pervenisse.'

Menelaum telo dissipet foedera. Hic vero dicit ipsum augurem telum sponte torsisse, et occidisse unum de novem fratribus.' Aen. ix 269 (Dan.) 'honestius fecit ultro offerri, cum Homerus fecerit Dolonem Achillis currus improbe postulantem.' Aen. ix 804 'melius quam Homerus hunc locum executus est; salvo enim sensu vitavit et fabulosa et vilia. Nam ille ipsas minas exsequitur.'

To these may be added the following remarks on Virgil's treatment of theology and mythology: Macrobius v xvi 8 'Fortunam Homerus nescire maluit, et soli decreto, quam *μοῖραν* vocat, omnia regenda committit, adeo ut hoc vocabulum *τύχη* in nulla parte Homerici voluminis nominetur. Contra Vergilius non solum novit et meminit, sed omnipotentiam quoque eidem tribuit, quam et philosophi qui eam nominant nihil sua vi posse, sed decreti sive providentiae ministram esse voluerunt. . . .<sup>1</sup> Aegaeon apud Homerum auxilium est Iovi; hunc contra Iovem armant versus Maronis. . . . Nullam commemorationem de iudicio Paridis Homerus admittit. Idem vates Ganymedem non ut Iunonis paelicem a Iove raptum, sed Iovialium poculorum ministrum in caelum a dis adscitum refert. . . . Vergilius tantam deam, quod cuius de honestis feminis deforme est, velut specie victam Paride iudicante doluisse et propter Catamiti paelicatum totam gentem eius vexasse commemorat.'

Under this head falls the criticism on the *petitio Veneris impudica* of Aen. viii 370, which is noticed both by Servius there and by Macrobius i xxiv 2, and that upon Pilumnus and Orithyia mentioned by Servius on Aen. xii 83, 'unde critici culpant hoc loco Vergilium, dicentes incongruum esse figmentum. Namque Orithyia cum Atheniensis fuerit, filia Terrigenae, et a Borea in Thraciam rapta sit, quemadmodum potuit Pilumno, qui erat in Italia, equos dare?' Further we may notice the remark of Servius on Aen. iii 46, that there were persons who blamed Virgil for inventing the change of ships into nymphs in the ninth book, for the story of the golden bough in the sixth book, and for the mission of Iris to Dido at the end of the fourth book. The last-mentioned criticism, we know, came from Cornutus; Macrobius v xix 2, 'Iris a Iunone missa abscidit ei crinem et ad Orcum refert. Hanc Vergilius non de nihilo fabulam fingit, sicut vir alias doctissimus Cornutus existimat, qui adnotationem eiusmodi adposuit his versibus; "Unde haec historia, ut crinis auferendus sit morientibus, ignoratur; sed adsuevit poetico more aliquid fingere, *ut de aureo ramo*." Sed me pudet quod tantus vir, Graecarum etiam doctissimus litterarum, ignoravit Euripidis nobilissimam fabulam Alcestim,' etc. Servius (Dan.) says in a short note, 'Euripides Alcestim Diti sacratum habuisse crinem dicit, quod poeta transtulit ad Didonem:' and on Aen. iii 46, 'sed hoc purgatur Euripidis exemplo, qui de Alcesti hoc dixit, cum subiret fatum mariti.' On Aen. ix 82, Servius says of the change of the fleet into nymphs 'figmentum hoc licet poeticum sit, tamen, quia exemplo caret, notatur a criticis. Unde longo prooemio excusatur.' In the passage from Macrobius I have italicized the words *ut de aureo ramo*, because

<sup>1</sup> Compare Servius (Dan.) on Aen. x 567.



they make it probable, I think, that the note of Servius on Aen. III 46, which mentions the golden bough in the same breath with the mission of Iris to Dido and the change of ships into nymphs, is an abridgment from Cornutus.

It was of course noticed that Virgil altered the current traditions about Aeneas for the sake of poetical effect; the two main instances of this being the episode of Dido in the fourth Aeneid, and the account of the death of Turnus in the twelfth. Macrobius v xvii 4, 'bene in rem suam vertit quicquid ubicunque invenit imitandum; adeo ut de Argonauticorum quarto, quorum scriptor est Apollonius, librum Aeneidos suae quartum totum paene formaverit ad Didonem vel Aenean, amatoriam incontinentiam Medae circa Iasonem transferendo. Quod ita elegantius auctore digessit, ut fabula lascivientis Didonis, quam falsam novit universitas, per tot saecula speciem veritatis obtineat,' etc. Servius (Dan.) on Aen. iv 459, 'nam quod de Didone et Aenea dicitur falsum est. Constat enim Aenean CCCXL annis ante aedificationem Romae venisse in Italiam, cum Karthago non nisi XL annis ante aedificationem Romae constructa sit.' And with regard to Turnus, Servius on Aen. ix 745, 'plerique sed non idonei commentatores dicunt in hoc loco occisum Turnum, sed causa oeconomiae gloriam a poeta Aeneae esse servatam, quod falsum est. Nam si veritatem historiae requiras, primo proelio interemptus est Latinus; inde ubi Turnus Aeneam vidit superiorem, Mezentii imploravit auxilium; secundo proelio Turnus occisus est, et nihilominus Aeneas postea non comparuit; tertio proelio Mezentium occidit Ascanius. Hoc Livius dicit et Cato in Originibus.' To these notes may be added those of Servius on Aen. xi 271 about the birds of Diomedes; 'hoc loco nullus dubitat fabulae huius ordinem a Vergilio esse conversum. Nam Diomedis socios constat in aves esse conversos post ducis sui interitum, quem extinctum impatienter dolebant;' and on Aen. vi 359 about Velia: 'sane sciendum Veliam tempore quo Aeneas ad Italiam venit nondum fuisse. Ergo aut anticipatio est, quae, ut supra diximus, si ex poetae persona fiat, tolerabilis est, si autem per alium, vitiosissima est.'<sup>1</sup>

I will add here some other miscellaneous criticisms on details in the narrative of the Aeneid which I have noticed in Servius. Many more are collected by M. Thomas in his essay on Servius p. 247 foll.

I 71, 'notant Vergilium critici, qui marito promittit uxorem; quod excusat regia licentia.'

II 668, 'notant hoc critici, quia saepius armari aliquos dicit cum exarmatos nunquam ostendat.'

iv 509 (Dan.), 'quaeritur a quibusdam quae sit haec sacerdos, quia illam ipsam accipi volunt quae supra dicta est, tamquam ficta a Didone.'

iv 546, 'quomodo *vix*, cum dicat ipse (I 361) *conveniunt quibus aut*

<sup>1</sup> This is an abridgment of Hyginus ap. Gell. x 16. On vi 122 Servius' note reminds us of Hyginus, ib. § 11: '*quid Thesea: durum exemplum. Unde nec immoratus est in eo. Dicit autem inferos debere patere pietati, qui patuerunt infanda cupienti. Nam hic ad rapiendam Proserpinam ierat cum Pirithoo, et illic retentus luit poenas, ut sedet aeternumque sedebit.*' Hyginus' criticisms are mostly on matters of history or mythology.



*odium crudele tyranni Aut metus acer erat?* Si ultro convenerunt, quomodo *vix* se dicit *revellisse*? Comp. Aen. I 361, 'metuebant laedendi, hoc est qui timebant ne laederentur; unde est illud in quarto *et quos Sidonia vix urbe revelli*, quia non voluntate, sed odio aut timore convenerant.'

IV 674, *morientem nomine clamat*. 'Multi quaerunt quomodo procedat hoc, cum eius nomen nusquam sequatur.'

V 410, 'Quare *haec germanus Eryx quondam tuus arma ferebat*, si isti sunt caestus quibus contra Herculem dimicavit? Solvitur, isti quidem sunt caestus quibus Eryx dimicavit, sed si quis illius vidisset caestus, id est Herculis, quibus contra Erycem tristi congressione pugnavit.'

*Quod si quis*, etc. 'Quare duas res pro uno posuit, cum debuisset dicere aut caestus aut arma? Solvitur sic; *caestus* sunt quibus caeduntur, *arma*, omnia illa caestuum quibus braccia innectuntur.'

V 493, 'quomodo Mnestheus, cum Cloanthus victor extiterit? Solvitur, sed victor Mnestheus virtute, qui de ultimo ad tertium locum venit,' etc.

V 517, 'Sane sciendum hunc totum locum ab Homero esse sump-tum. Unde inanis est vituperatio Aeneae quod suspenderit avem matrem.'

V 521, 'Culpat in hoc loco Vergilium Vergiliomastix; artem enim in vacuo aëre ostendere non potuit.'

V 626. Inconsistencies in the chronology are pointed out, and the commentator remarks 'ergo constat hanc quaestionem unam esse de insolubilibus, quas non dubium est emendaturum fuisse Vergilium.'

VI 661, 'quasi quis castus esse possit post mortem. Sed aliud dicit, *i.e.* qui fuerunt casti dum in communiione vitae versarentur.'

VII 268, 'male multi arguunt Vergilium, quod Latinum induxit ultro filiam pollicentem, nec oraculum considerantes, quia Italo penitus dari non poterat, nec Aeneae meritum, quem dicebat rogari.'

VII 519, 'quare, cum di inferi inducuntur, signam bucina datur? Solvitur, quia bucina ex cornu caprae fiat, et quod sit proprie Ditis hostia.'

VIII 23, 'negant omnes Physici lumen lunae aliud ex se reddere; et vituperatur hoc dicto Vergilius, quod tamen tolerabile est, quia non lunam, sed imaginem dixit lunae, quam a sole lumen accipere manifestum est.'

VIII 291, 'sane critici frustra culpant Vergilium, quod praesentibus Troianis Troiae laudari introduxit excidium, non respicientes quia hoc ratio fecit hymnorum, quibus aliquid subtrahere sacrilegium est.'

VIII 498 (Dan.), 'quibusdam sane displicet quod aruspicias nomen non addiderit.'

IX 75, 'quaeritur quid ibi faciant foci. Sed in carminibus quaedam nec ad subtilitatem nec ad veritatem exigenda sunt. Aut certe focos quos ibi habere potuerunt.'

IX 367. Scholia Veronensia; 'hoc loco adnotant Probus et Sulpicius contrarium illi esse (VII 600) *saepsit se tectis, rerumque reliquit habenas*.' Servius: 'non est contrarium illi loco, *saepsit*, etc.'

x 157, 'notatur a criticis Vergilius hoc loco, quemadmodum sic cito dixit potuisse naves Aeneae fieri?' quod excusat pictura, etc.

x 845, '*ad caelum tendit palmas et corpore inhaeret*: uno eodemque tempore non potuisse eum et inhaerere corpori et manus ad caelum levare.'

x 861, 'hoc loco notant Vergilium critici quod homini sacrilego dedit prudentem sententiam.'

xI 188, '*fulgentibus armis*: frustra hoc epitheton notant critici, quasi circumeuntes rogos alia arma habere debuerint.'

xII 769 (Dan.), 'quaeritur cur terreno deo nautae dona suspenderint.'

## IV.

I now come to the criticisms on Virgil's imitations of Homeric verses, similes, and language, in which it is possible to distinguish clearly a favourable, a hostile, and a neutral class.

Of favourable criticisms a number of instances are to be found in Macrobius v 11 and 12; the eleventh chapter dealing with cases in which Virgil is supposed to have surpassed Homer, the twelfth with cases in which he is said to have equalled him.

On Aen. I 430 it is observed 'non negabo Vergilium in transferendo densius excoluisse. Vides apes descriptas a Vergilio opifices, ab Homero vagas; alter discursum et solam volatus varietatem, alter exprimit nativae artis officium.' On I 198, 'in his quoque versibus Maro extitit locupletior interpres. Ulixes ad socios unam commemoravit aerumnam; hic ad sperandam praesentis mali absolutionem gemini casus hortatur eventum. Deinde ille obscurius dixit *καὶ τοῦ τῶνδε μνήσεσθαι οἴω*, hic apertius *forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit*.' Aen. II 626, III 513 are criticised in the same spirit. The criticism on Aen. IV 367 is identical with that assigned by Gellius (xII i 20) to Favorinus. As there is no perceptible difference of style between this passage and its surrounding, it may fairly be inferred that the whole of Macrobius' eleventh chapter came from the same source, a commentary or treatise older than Gellius.

Comparing Macrobius here with Servius, we find that on some of the passages noticed by Macrobius Servius is silent, viz., Aen. I 430, 198, II 626, III 513, V 144, XII 339, II 470, IV 612, IX 546. On others he has the short remark *Homericæ comparatio est*, or the like: viz., VII 466 (Dan.), IX 679 (Dan.), VI 6, XII 67, VII 12 (Dan.), X 740.

But in the tenth chapter we come again upon a style with which we have already been made familiar. A number of instances are quoted in which Virgil is without mercy pronounced to have fallen below Homer. Aen. X 554, 'ad quem non potuit conatus Maronis accedere;' II 222, 'inspecto hic utriusque filo quantam distantiam deprehendes!' So on Aen. III 119, II 304, where he says, 'duas parabolas temeravit ut unam faceret, trahens hinc ignem, inde torrentem, et dignitatem neutrius implevit;' II 416, 'idem et hoc vitium quod superius incurrit:' III 130, 622, VI 582, 'locum loco si compares, pudendam invenies differentiam:' IX 104, 'iusiurandum vero ex alio Homeri loco sumpsit, ut translationis sterilitas hac adiectione compensaretur;' IX 181, 'minus gratam fecit



Latinam descriptionem;’ ix 551, ‘vides in angustum Latinam parabolam sic esse contractam ut nihil possit esse ieiunius . . . in tanta ergo differentia paene erubescendum est comparare;’ x 360, ‘quanta sit differentia utriusque loci lectori aestimandum relinquo;’ xi 751, ‘his praetermissis quae animam parabolae dabant, velut exanimum in Latinis versibus corpus remansit.’ And so on Aen. iv 176, x 270, on which line Servius, as if quoting from a hostile critic, says ‘hoc autem *iste* violentius posuit, quod ille stellae tantum facit comparationem, hic etiam stellae pestiferae;’ and on vii 785, viii 620, x 101, xii 149, 725. On the last passage Servius seems to be making a defence: ‘sciendum locum hunc a Vergilio esse translatum ut in Homero lectus est.’ But with the exceptions just mentioned Servius touches on none of the verses so roughly handled in Macrobius except ix 106 (Dan.), x 361, and xi 751.

To these instances I add the remark in Macrobius v iii 1: ‘*νεύρην μὲν μαστῶ πέλασεν, τόξῳ δὲ σίδηρον.* Totam rem quanto compendio lingua ditior explicavit: vester, licet periodo usus, idem tamen dixit? *Adduxit longe capita,*’ etc.

Servius on Aen. i 92 (Dan.): ‘reprehenditur sane hoc loco Vergilius quod improprie hos versus Homeri transtulerit . . . nam *frigore soluta membra* longe aliud est quam *λύτο γούνατα*, et *duplices tendens ad sidera palmas* molle, cum illud magis altum et heroicae personae, *πρὸς ὃν μεγάλητορα θυμόν.* Praeterea quis interdiu manus ad sidera tollit, aut quis ad caelum manus tollens non aliud precatur potius quam dicit?’ iv 367 (Dan.), ‘sane quidam absurde putant Caucasum et tigres a Didone memoratas, quia nec Didoni perturbatae venire in mentem Caucasus (*Caucasi*?) potuit, nec tigres iuxta eum cognitae, et hoc Hyrcanae: nam quod ait *genuit Caucasus*, elaboravit dicendo *genuit* incredibilibus facere de monte masculini generis, sed hic imitatur Graecos, qui magis proprie *γλαυκὴ δὲ σε τίκτε θάλασσα.*’ And, although Pindar, not Homer, is in question, we may here quote the severe criticism on Virgil’s description of Etna in eruption (Gellius xvii 10 = Macrobius v xvii 7): ‘Ille Graecus (Pindarus) quidem fontes imitus ignes eructare et fluere amnes fumi et flammaram fulva et tortuosa volumina in plagas maris ferre, quasi quosdam igneos amnes, luculente dixit. At hic vester *atram nubem turbine piceo et favilla fumante ῥόον καπνοῦ αἶθωνα* interpretari volens crasse et immodice congescit, *globos* atque *flammarum*, quod ille *κροννοῦς* dixerat, duriter posuit et *ἀκύρως*. Hoc vero vel inenarrabile est quod *nubem atram fumare* dixit *turbine piceo et favilla candente*. Non enim fumare solent neque atra esse quae sunt candentia, nisi forte *candente* dixit pervulgate et improprie pro *ferventi*, non pro *relucenti*, nam *candens* scilicet a *candore* dictum, non a *calore*. Quod autem *scopulos eructari et erigi* eosdemque ipsos statim *liquefieri et gemere* atque *glomerari sub auras* dixit, hoc nec a Pindaro scriptum nec unquam fando auditum, et omnium quae monstra dicuntur monstruosissimum est.’<sup>1</sup>

There is a great deal of neutral criticism on Virgil’s translations from Homer in the third chapter, and on to the tenth of Macrobius’ fifth book,

<sup>1</sup> The whole question of translation from Greek poets into Latin is discussed in Gellius ix 9, where a criticism of Probus is quoted on the passage about Diana in the first Aeneid. Compare also Gellius xiii 27.

which I cannot suppose to have come from the same source as the acrimonious remarks above quoted. It is not at all improbable that it is derived directly or indirectly from the *ὁμοιότητες* of Q. Octavius Avitus (Suetonius, *Vita Vergilii* 45), a work in eight volumes, which 'quos et unde versus transtulerit continent.' One is struck at once with the close resemblance between these words and those of Macrobius, v vii 7, 'capita locorum, ubi longa narratio est, dixisse sufficet, ut *quid unde natum sit lector inveniat*:' and v iii 1, 'si vultis me et ipsos proferre versus ad verbum paene translatos.'

I will proceed, as shortly as possible, to compare the passages cited by Macrobius under this head with the corresponding notes in Servius.

Macrobius v iii 2, Aen. xi 860. Hostile criticism already quoted. Servius: 'Homericæ est ista descriptio.'

v iii 3: Aen. iii 192: Servius is silent.

v iii 4: Georg. iv 361: Servius is silent.

v iii 5: Aen. vi 578 Servius: (Dan.) 'et sic Homerus de Tartaro.'

v iii 7: Aen. xi 794: Servius is silent.

v iii 8: Aen. iii 97: Servius is silent.

v iii 9: Aen. i 92: Servius (Dan.) adds the hostile criticism quoted above, which is not in Macrobius.

v iii 10: Aen. xi 483: Servius: 'haec omnis oratio verbum ad verbum de Homero translata est.'

v iii 11, 12: Aen. iv 177, vi 522: Servius is silent.

v iii 13: Aen. xii 206: Servius: 'Homeri locus verbum ad verbum.'

v iii 18: Aen. i 159: Servius is silent.

Macrobius goes on to quote Aen. i 65, 71, 81, 306, 326, 372, 411, all of which are unnoticed by Servius; and so the case stands with Aen. i 498, 588, 595; ii 1, 3, 31, 250, 274, 341, 355.

Macrobius v v 11: Aen. ii 379: Servius (Dan.) 'Homerus *δράκοντα* dixit.'

v v 12: Aen. ii 471: Servius (Dan.) *βεβρωκώς κακὰ φάρμακα*.

v v 13, 14: Aen. ii 496, 792: Servius is silent.

v vi 1: Aen. iii 192: Servius is silent.

v vi 2: Aen. iii 486: Servius is silent.

v vi 3: Aen. iii 270: Servius (Dan.) 'hae omnes insulae Graeciae sunt quas Homerus secutus . . . de Graeco in Latinum transtulit.'

v vi 4: Aen. iii 420: Servius: 'Homerus hanc dicit immortale monstrum fuisse.'

v vi 7: Aen. iii 489: Servius: 'quo sermone etiam Homerus in simili utitur significatione.'

v vi 8, 9: Aen. iii 566, iv 691: Servius is silent.

v vi 11: Aen. iv 238: Servius is silent.

v vi 13: Aen. iv 441: Servius is silent.

v vi 15: Aen. iv 584: Servius is silent.

v vii 1: Aen. v 8: Servius is silent.

v vii 2, 3, 4: Aen. v 98, 259, 315: Servius is silent.

v vii 5: Aen. v 426: Macrobius does not mention Apollonius, but Servius (Dan.) says, 'est totus hic locus de Apollonio translatus.'

v vii 6: Aen. v 485: Servius (Dan.) 'ex Homero transtulit.'



v vii 7 : Aen. v 487 : Servius is silent.

On Aen. v 740 ; vi 214, 232 ; vii 197, 198 ; viii 560 ; ix 18, 138, 146, 308, 782 ; x 467 ; xi 191, Servius is silent ; but he agrees with Macrobius in noticing Aen. vi 278 (Dan.), 362 (where he quotes another line, Iliad i 4), 595 (Dan.), 625 ; vii 14, 699 (Dan.) ; viii 182, 455 (Dan.), 589 (Dan.) ; ix 307, 319, 328 (Dan.), 459 (Dan.) ; x 270 (Dan.) ; xi 484 ; ix 435 (Dan.).

So far we have seen that Servius omits some, but notices many of the passages quoted by Macrobius ; but on the following passages he or his ancient interpolator have notes which are not found in Macrobius : Aen. ii 7, 278, 503, 604 ; iii 98, 138, 246, 590, 623, 635, 678 ; iv 33, 367, 496, 613, 647 ; v 1, 85, 468, 487, 556, 594 ; vi 1, 56, 251, 436, 468, 532, 650, 894 ; vii 1, 20, 26, 225, 282, 550, 641 ; viii 250, 274, 461 ; ix 1, 106, 264, 269, 348, 359, 437, 502, 709, 767, 804 ; x 115, 361, 488, 842, 900 ; xi 90, 101, 183, 381, 492, 664, 739, 863 ; xii 84, 102, 116, 142, 206, 212, 266, 309, 546, 691, 725, 896, 908, 952.

These lists are sufficient to show the minute diligence with which Virgil's translations from Homer had been hunted up. With regard to Servius and Macrobius, they tend, I think, to support the hypothesis which I have already put forward (p. xxxii), that neither of these commentators is borrowing from the other, but that both are drawing on common sources. These sources may very probably have been the *ῥημολόγηται* of Octavius Avitus, and the *furta* of Perellius Faustus, or extracts from both.

## V.

The sixth book of the Saturnalia opens with a collection of passages borrowed by Virgil from Latin poets, Ennius, Lucilius, Lucretius, and others. The introductory remarks have the air of a reply to some hostile observations such as may, perhaps, have been made by Perellius Faustus in his collection of *furta*. 'Etsi vereor ne dum ostendere cupio quantum Vergilius noster ex antiquiorum lectione profecerit, et quos ex omnibus flores vel quae in carminis sui decorem ex diversis ornamenta libaverit, *occasione reprehendendi vel imperitis vel malignis ministrum, exprobrantibus tanto viro alieni usurpationem, nec considerantibus hunc esse fructum legendi, aemulari ea quae in aliis probes, etc.*'

Comparing Servius and Macrobius on this point also, we find that none of the passages touched upon in the first chapter of the sixth book of the Saturnalia are noticed by Servius, except Aen. i 530, ix 422 (Dan.), 528 (Dan.), xii 552. In the second chapter Lucretius and Virgil are compared in detail. Servius' notes (which only mention the fact of the borrowing) correspond on Georg. iii 287, and on the passage at the end of the third Georgic describing the pestilence : but in §§ 15 and onward come a number of passages on which Servius has no remark. In § 31 the words of Macrobius partly correspond with those of Servius (Dan.) on Aen. i 198, 'totus hic locus de Naevii Belli Punici libro (i ?) translatus est : ' and on Aen. i 170, Servius (Dan.) again mentions Naevius.

In the third chapter some passages are examined which had been first translated from the Greek by a Roman poet, and afterwards handled afresh by Virgil. The only one of these which Servius notices is Aen. II 492 foll., and this is only to mention the parallel passage in Homer.<sup>1</sup>

VI.

In the eighteenth and following chapters of the fifth book of the Saturnalia Macrobius has elaborate comments on passages in which Virgil is said to have drawn upon recondite Greek sources. Let us briefly compare these with the corresponding notes, where there are any, in Servius.

Georg. I 17, *pocula Acheloia*: Servius (Dan.) has a very brief extract of these remarks.

Aen. VII 689, *vestigia nuda sinistri Instituire pedis*: Servius says merely 'traxit hoc a Graeciae more.'

Aen. 4 fin., *nondum illi flavum*, etc. Servius (Dan.), again merely abridging, says, 'Euripides Alcestim Diti sacratum habuisse crinem dicit, quod poeta transtulit ad Didonem.'

Aen. IV 513, *falcibus ahenis*: Servius is silent.

Aen. IX 584, *ara Palici*: the same story is mentioned by Servius.

Georg. I 100, *umida solstitia atque hiemes orate serenas*, etc. Here the whole note of Servius (Dan.) is virtually identical with that of Macrobius, though not so clear or accurate. The paraphrase in Macrob. V XX 14, 'cum ea sit anni temperies, ut hiemps serena sit, solstitium vero imbricum, fructus optime proveniunt,' is identical in both commentators: and both also quote the rustic verse, 'hiberno pulvere, verno luto, grandia farra, Camille, metes.'

Georg. IV 380, Aen. III 66: *carchesia, cymbia*. These comments are not in Servius.

Aen. XI 532, *Opis*. Servius (Dan.) has the same words about Alexander Aetolus.

Aen. I 42, *ipsa Iovis rapidum iaculata e nubibus ignem*. This note is not in Servius.

Georg. III 391, *munere sic niveo lanae*. Not Servius but Philargyrius has this comment in a shorter form: 'huius opinionis auctor est Nicander: nec poterat esse nisi Graecus.'

The conclusion which I draw from this comparison is again that Servius,<sup>2</sup> Philargyrius and Macrobius are drawing upon the same source. And that this source was one work, not several, is, I think, rendered probable by the uniformity of style which characterizes the whole of

<sup>1</sup> Ennius is often quoted by Servius and the later commentators in illustration of points of grammar or language, and so it is with other older Latin poets. Although the literary debt of Virgil to Lucretius was fully recognized by the ancient critics (Gellius I xxi 7), Servius generally quotes Lucretius only for the purpose of illustrating points of grammar or philosophy.

<sup>2</sup> Or rather his ancient interpolator. I do not however think it necessary to suppose that this writer is borrowing directly from Macrobius, as in other places he either ignores him or is quite independent of him. (See note on p. liii below.)



these notes as given in their fuller form by Macrobius. Add Macrobius i iii 10 on *torquet medios nox umida cursus* (Aen. v 738).

VII.

I now come to a number of remarks in the third book of the *Saturnalia*, in which Virgil's knowledge of religious antiquities is discussed. As before, I shall compare Macrobius and Servius on each note.

Macrobius iii 1: this note, on purification by a running stream, is abridged in Servius on Aen. iv 635.

iii ii 1: Aen. v 237: *porriciam* and *proiciam*: again abridged in Servius.

iii ii 6: *voti reus*: 'vox propria sacrorum est,' etc. So Servius.

iii ii 7: Aen. iv 219: *aram manibus apprehendere, ara* and *asa*. Much of this note is in Servius (Dan.) on Aen. iv 219 and vi 124.

iii ii 10: *vitulari*; *laetum paeana*: Aen. vi 657: Servius is silent.

iii ii 15: *faciam vitula*: Ecl. iii 77: Servius in a note independent of Macrobius says, 'ut *faciam ture, faciam agna*.'

iii ii 17: Aen. i 373, *et vacet annales nostrorum audire laborum*: Aeneas pontifex: Servius (Dan.) has the same note, but in a fuller form.

iii iii 2: *sacrum, sanctum, profanum*: Servius (Dan.) has the gist of this note on Aen. xii 779.

iii iii 8: *religiosus, religio*: Servius (Dan.) has the same note, but without mentioning Festus, on Georg. i 269.

iii iv 1 foll.: *delubrum*: Servius (Dan.) on Aen. iv 56 has the same quotation from Varro, and on ii 225 he quotes another note from Masurius Sabinus (Dan.).

iii iv 6: *Penates*: so Servius (Dan.) on Aen. i 378, iii 119, ii 296, 325, iii 12, 134.

iii v 1: *hostiae*: so Servius on Aen. ii 119 (Dan.), iii 231, 456, v 483.

iii v 4: *litare*: so Servius on Aen. ii 119 (Dan.).

iii v 7: *ambarvalis hostia*: so Servius on Ecl. iii 77, v 75, Georg. i 345.

iii v 8: *invita hostia*: so Servius on Georg. ii 395, Aen. ix 627.

iii v 9: *contemptor divum Mesentius* } These notes are not in Servius.

iii vi 1: Ἀπόλλων γενίτωρ

iii vi 9: *Hercules victor*: so Servius (Dan.) on Aen. viii 363.

iii vi 12: *domus Pinaria*: so Servius (Dan.) on Aen. viii 270.

iii vi 16: *sedili*: so Servius, but shortly, on Aen. viii 176.

iii vi 17: *aperto capite*: so Servius on Aen. iii 407.

iii vii 1: *Pollio*: so Servius (Dan.) on Ecl. iv 43, nearly word for word.

iii vii 3 foll.: *telisque sacrarunt Evandri*: so Servius (Dan.), partly word for word, on Aen. x 419.

iii viii 1: *ducente deo*: Servius (Dan.) has a note of nearly equal fullness on Aen. ii 632, with a passage from Sallust which is not in Macrobius.



xlviii VIRGIL AND HIS ANCIENT CRITICS.

III viii 4 : *in astris* : Servius is here silent.

III viii 6 : *Camille* : so Servius (Dan.), word for word, on Aen. II 543.

III viii 8 : *mos* : on Aen. VII 601, Servius has a note quite independent of this, and indeed says that Virgil is not correct in his facts.

III ix 1 : *excessere omnes*, etc. : this is abridged by Servius (Dan.) on Aen. II 351.

To these criticisms may be added the following remarks in Servius : Aen. IV 29 (Dan.) : 'sane caerimoniis veterum Flaminicam nisi unum virum habere non licet, quod hic ex persona Didonis exequitur . . . nec Flamini aliam ducere licebat uxorem, nisi post mortem Flaminicae uxoris, quod expeditur quia post mortem Didonis Laviniam duxit.'

Aen. IV 103 (Dan.) : 'sciendum tamen in hac conventionem Aeneae atque Didonis ubique Vergilium in persona Aeneae flaminem, in Didonis flaminicam praesentare.'

Aen. IV 137 (Dan.) : 'veteri caerimiarum iure praeceptum est ut flaminica venenato operata sit.' A long note follows on the dress of the *flaminica*.

Aen. IV 166 : '*prima et Tellus* : satis perite loquitur. Nam secundum Etruscam disciplinam nihil tam incongruum nubentibus quam terrae motus vel caeli dicitur. Quidam sane Tellurem praesesse nuptiis tradunt, nam et in auspiciis nuptiarum vocatur,' etc. There is more of the same kind in the notes on Aen. IV 262-3 (Dan.), 339 (Dan.), 374, 518 (Dan.), 646 (Dan.); VI 210 (Dan.); VII 190; VIII 106 (Dan.), 363 (Dan.), 550, foll. (Dan.); XI 76 (Dan.).

But in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth chapters of Macrobius' third book we have some hostile criticisms in the style of which so many specimens have been already quoted under other heads. On Aen. III 21, it is remarked : 'Ecce pontifex tuus apud quas aras mactetur ignorat, cum vel aedituis haec nota sint et veterum non tacuerit industria.' The attack is replied to ; and both attack and reply are abridged by Servius on Aen. III 21 as follows : 'contra rationem Iovi taurum sacrificat . . . ubique enim Iovi iuvenum legimus immolatum . . . adeo ut hinc putetur subsequendum esse prodigium.'

Macrobius III xi 1 : *miti dilue Baccho* : *in mensam laeti libant*. The attack and reply are given in a shorter form in Servius on G. I 344 and Aen. VIII 279 (Dan.), 'quaeritur sane cur in mensam et non in aram libaverint,' etc. But Servius has not the remarks on *mitis* and on *mulsum* in §§ 9 and 10.

III xii 1 : Aen. VIII 285 : on this alleged *geminus error* of Virgil Servius (Dan.) has a note in substance much the same as that of Macrobius.

III xii 10 : Aen. IV 57 : Virgil is said 'toto caelo errasse cum Dido sua rem divinam pro nuptiis faceret *Legiferae Cereri*, etc. Et quasi expurgatus adiecit *Iunoni ante omnes*, etc.

Serv. A. IV 57 (Dan.) : 'Alii dicunt hos deos quos commemoravit nuptiis esse contrarios, Cereremque propter raptum filiae nuptias execratam, etc., etc. Male ergo invocat hos Dido, quae sibi nuptias optat Aeneae,' etc. The note is very long and full, but I suspect that

Macrobius, a fragment only of whose comment remains, has more of the original wording.

Compare also Macrobius i xv 10, with Servius on Aen. VIII 654 ; Macrobius i xvii 4, with Serv. on Aen. i 8.

The result of the foregoing comparisons between Servius and Macrobius is this: that in the great majority of cases where Servius and Macrobius have identical notes, those of Macrobius are far the fuller, clearer, and more logical; that in the collections of parallel passages from Homer Macrobius has some which Servius has not, Servius many more which Macrobius has not, and there are many in common. Hence the natural inference is not (as Ribbeck thinks) that Macrobius was using a fuller form of the actual commentary of Servius than that which we now possess, but that both Macrobius and Servius were drawing upon older commentaries and criticisms.

Is it possible to say with any degree of certainty to whom these works or any of them can be assigned?

Taking the hostile criticisms in Macrobius and Servius first, with the exception of those which can with certainty be assigned to Cornutus and Hyginus (see pp. lvi, lvii), I would observe that there are a number of precisely the same character and often worded in the same vigorous and acrimonious style; I mean those which deal chiefly with minute points of logic or narrative and less often with points of expression. Such are (1) the unfavourable remarks upon the order of the narrative in the Aeneid (p. xxxv foll.); (2) those in which Virgil is blamed for want of invention in his incidents, or for observing a wrong order and adopting an artificial style in his catalogues, or for forgetful repetitions of the same name, or inconsistency in his narrative, or divergence from Homer, or false taste, or bad mythology, or other minor faults akin to these (pp. xxxvii-xlii); (3) those in which Virgil is declared to have fallen below Homer in similar and other passages borrowed from him (pp. xlii, xliii); (4) those in which he is charged with ignorance of religious antiquities (p. xlvi foll.).

Now if I am right in saying that these criticisms are expressed in the same venomous but idiomatic style; if it be true, as it is so far as I have observed, that they are all directed against passages in the Aeneid (the only exception is an apparent one, Macrobius III xi 1, where Georg. i 344 is quoted; but this is instantly followed by a line from the eighth Aeneid: *in octavo*)—it is natural to infer that they come from the Aeneidomastix of Carvilius Pictor, which is quoted by Servius on Aen. v 521.

Besides this, two other works of hostile criticism are mentioned by Suetonius: the *vitia* of Herennius and the *furta* of Perellius Faustus.

It is possible, though I do not like to say more, that the criticisms quoted on p. xxx foll. were taken from the work of Herennius. As to the *furta*, it is very difficult to pronounce with any amount of assurance what was the scope and extent of the work. It may or may not have included collections of Virgil's plagiarisms from Homer and the Greeks, as well as of passages taken from Latin authors. But I am inclined



in any case to suspect that the passages from Latin authors collected in the sixth book of Macrobius came directly or indirectly from this work. It is remarkable that in this book there are apologetic remarks on the propensity of the ancient writers to steal from one another: 1 3, 'exprobrantibus tanto viro alieni usurpationem, nec considerantibus hunc esse fructum legendi, aemulari ea quae in aliis probes,' etc. Compare VI ii 33, 'nec Tullio compilando, dummodo undique ornamenta sibi conferret, abstinuit': a hostile remark admitted inadvertently, as so often, by Macrobius into a context where it is out of place. Now these general remarks about plagiarism would have been better in place at the head of the passages from Homer collected in the fifth book: and I am tempted therefore to suppose that they were suggested by observations on this question which Macrobius found in the works from which he got the instances quoted in Book VI. This work may or may not have been the *furta* of Perellius Faustus. But it seems in any case to have been a work which Servius did not much use, for (except in the case of Ennius) he quotes from Latin authors mainly for the purpose of grammatical, or historical, or philosophical illustration.

The passages of neutral tone, in which Virgil's obligations to Homer are simply pointed out, it is natural to assign to the *ὁμοιότητες* of Octavius Avitus; whether this is also the case with the passages in which Virgil is said to have drawn upon recondite Greek sources is, I should think, doubtful, nor am I at present able to offer any hypothesis on this point.

Turning to the passages where Virgil is defended against hostile criticism, it is natural to suppose that when his alleged plagiarisms from Homer, or alleged mistakes or want of management in his narrative are in question, the ultimate source of the notes both in Servius and Macrobius is the work of Asconius Contra obtretractores Vergilii.

It is less easy to conjecture what were the sources of the minute verbal criticisms on which we dwelt at length in previous pages; but there is considerable presumption that some of them at least are as old as Verrius Flaccus. I have drawn out the following lists with a view of eliciting the points common to Macrobius with Nonius, Festus, Gellius, Servius, Philargyrius, and the Verona scholia.

Macrobius VI iv 2, *addita: adfixa* et per hoc infesta. Hoc iam dixerat Lucilius in libro XIV his versibus 'Si mihi non praetor siet additus atque agitet me.'

Servius A. VI 90, *additus*: est autem verbum Lucilii.

§ 3. *Vomit undam: agmen* of a river. These notes are only found in Macrobius.

§ 5. *Crepitantibus flammis*. Macrobius illustrates only from Lucretius. Nonius, p. 255, quotes the passage in Virgil in a note on *crepare*.

§ 6. *Ferreus hastis Horret ager*. Macrobius illustrates from Ennius. Serv. A. XI 601: *Horret*, terribilis est: est autem versus Ennianus vituperatus a Lucilio dicente per irrisionem, eum debuisse dicere *horret et alget*.

*Tremulum lumen*. Macrobius only.



§ 8. *Umbraculum*. Macrobius illustrates from Varro and Cicero (de Legibus and Brutus). Servius E. ix 41 (Dan.) has a different quotation from Cicero, 'umbraculisque silvestribus.'

§§ 9, 10, 11. *Transmitto, defluo, discludo*. Macrobius only.

§ 12. *Deductus*. Macrobius says *deductum pro tenui et subtili* eleganter positum est, illustrating from Afranius, Cornificius, and Pomponius. Schol. Veron. E. vi 5, *deductum* carmen, tenue, gracile, subtile. Serv. ib. *deductum* . . . tenue: translatio a lana, quae deducitur in tenuitatem. Nonius, p. 289 (s.v. *deducere*), *deductum* dicitur molle et suave: Vergilius Bucolicis . . . 'deductum dicere carmen.' The expression *deductum carmen* is praised by Quintilian viii 2, as 'proprie dictum, id est, quo nihil inveniri possit significantius.'

§ 14. *Proiectum*. Macrobius illustrates from Sisenna, and quotes the subst. *proiectus*—*ūs* from Lucretius: si secundum veteres, *porro iacta*. Nonius, p. 373, s.v. *proicere*: *proiectum*, longe iactum, extensum: M. Tullius de Signis 'sed quod erat eiusmodi loco, atque ita proiecta in altum.' Vergilius Aeneidos lib. iii 'proiectaque saxa Pachyni Radimus;' and other instances are given from Cicero. Servius, A. iii 699 (Dan.), *proiecta*, porrecta, extensa, ut (A. x 587) 'proiecto dum pede laevo,' a passage quoted by Macrobius.

§ 16. *Tempestitiva pinus*. Macrobius only.

§ 17-22. Greek words.

§ 17. *Lychnus*. Macrobius quotes Ennius, Lucretius, and Lucilius. Serv. A. i 776, *lychni*; Graeco sermone usus est, ne vile aliquid introferret.

§ 19. *Aethra*. Illustrated only by Macrobius.

§ 20. *Daedala Circe*. This note I have shown (pp. liv, lv) comes from Verrius Flaccus.

§ 21. *Reboant*. Macrobius illustrates from Lucretius: Nonius, p. 79, s.v. *bount*, quotes the passage under discussion, G. iii 223, illustrating also from Pacuvius and Varro, and remarking *bount* a boum mugitibus. Servius, G. iii 223, says of *reboo*, est autem Graecum verbum. Nam apud Latinos nullum verbum est quod ante *o* finalem *o* habeat, excepto *inchoo*; quod tamen maiores aliter scribebant, aspirationem interponentes duabus vocalibus, et dicebant *inchoo*. Festus, p. 30, *boare*, id est *clamare*, a Graeco descendit, p. 107, *inchoare* videtur ex Graeco originem trahere, quod Hesiodus omnium rerum initium esse dixerit *chaos*; see on *cohum*, p. 39. Diomedes, p. 365 K., *inchoo inchoavi*: sic dicendum putat Iulius Modestus, quia sit compositum a *chao*, initio rerum. Sed Verrius Flaccus in postrema syllaba aspirandum probavit: *cohum* enim apud veteres *mundum* significat, unde subtractum *inchoare*.

It would seem from these notices that two etymologies were suggested for *boo* and *inchoo*, a Latin (*boves, cohum*) and a Greek one (*βοῶν, chaos*); and I should be inclined to infer that both words were discussed fully by Verrius Flaccus, from whom Macrobius may directly or indirectly have derived his note.

§ 22. *Pausa*. Nonius, p. 158, illustrates this word from Accius and Lucilius.

The remaining Greek words are discussed in Macrobius only.

§ 23. Foreign words. *Urus*. Macrobius only.

*Camurus*. This note, as I have shown (see p. lv), comes, or may come, from Verrius Flaccus.

Macrobius vi v 3. Epithets. *Petulcus*: this note (see p. lv) may come from Verrius Flaccus.

§ 4. *Liquidus*, as an epithet of fire. Macrobius illustrates from Lucretius, adding *liquidus simul ignis* pro *puro vel lucido*, seu pro *effuso et abundanti*. Servius, E. vi 33, *liquidus simul ignis*, puri, id est aetherei; (Dan. adds) quem Cicero *ignitum liquorem* dixit. Lucretius, 'devolet in terram liquidus color aureus ignis.' A. vi 202, *liquidum* (aëra) pro *puro* dixit. Nonius, p. 334, has a long note on *liquidus*, which he explains as = *suavis* or *dulcis*, *purus*, *mollis* or *fluxus*. The three notes all seem to come from the same source, which is probably not later than the age of Trajan (see p. lxxvi foll.).

§ 5. *Tristis* = *amarus*. Macrobius illustrates from Ennius: so Servius (Dan.) on G. i 75: comp. Servius and Philargyrius on G. ii 126. Nonius, p. 409, *triste*, *amarum*: Vergilius Georgicorum lib. i 'tristisque lupini Sustuleris fragiles calamos.'

§ 6. *Auritus* (*auritos lepores*, G. i 308). Macrobius illustrates the word from Afranius, 'aurito parente.' Servius, G. i 308, *auritos*, maiores habentes aures. Horatius aliter ait 'Doctum et auritas fidibus canoris Ducere quercus,' sensum audiendi habentes: comp. Nonius, p. 129, *inauritus*, quod non audiat. Festus, p. 8, *auritus* a magnis auribus, ut sunt asinorum aut leporum. It may be that Verrius Flaccus in his original note had quoted both Afranius and Virgil.

§ 7. *Turicremus* (Aen. iv 453, 'turicremis aris'). Macrobius illustrates from Lucretius: Servius (Dan.) says 'nomen mire compositum.'

§ 10. *Velivolus*. Macrobius quotes Livius Andronicus and Ennius: Serv. A. i 224, has a note nearly identical with his, but quoting Ennius only.

§ 11. *Vitisator*. Macrobius illustrates from Accius: Serv. A. vii 179, says *vitisator*: non inventor vitis, sed qui vitis genus demonstravit Italis populis.

§ 12. *Noctivagus*. Macrobius illustrates from Egnatius. Servius, A. x 206 (Dan.), says 'nomen mire compositum.'

§ 13. *Nubigena*. This word (like *arcitenens* and *silvicola*) is discussed by Macrobius only.

Before leaving these lists I would call attention to the fact that they show signs of having been extracted from alphabetical series: *additus*, *agmen*, *crepito*, *horrere*, *tremulus*, *umbraculum* (*transmitto*): *defluo*, *discludo*, *deductus*, *proiectus*, *tempestivus*: (*lychnus*) *aethra*, *daedalus*, *reboo*: *camurus*, *Mulciber*, *petulcus*: (*liquidus*, *tristis*, *auritus*): *turicremus*, *velivolus*, *vitisator*: *arcitenens*, *silvicola*: *noctivagus*, *nubigena*. There is also a slight tendency to put words from the same authors together: thus *agmen*, *crepito*, *horreo*, *tremulus*, are all illustrated from Ennius; so *lychnus* and *aethra*; *daedalus* and *reboo*, *petulcus* and *liquidus*, from Lucretius: *arcitenens* and *silvicola* from Naevius.

These facts alone might fairly lead us to suspect that Macrobius is drawing upon glosses or philological works of respectable antiquity.



But the suspicion becomes something stronger when we find that some of the notes are traceable to Verrius Flaccus (*daedalus, camurus, petulcus, auritus*, and perhaps *rebo*), that others are common to Macrobius and Nonius, and others again to those two writers, with Servius and other later commentators. For I have endeavoured to show further on (p. lxiv foll.) that the Virgilian notes which are common to Nonius and the later commentators cannot be assigned to a later date than the age of Trajan. And the conclusion to which we are led in the case of the *scholia*, whose origin we can directly or indirectly trace, it is natural to extend to those of whose sources we are ignorant.

## NOTE.

It was not until after these sheets had been sent to press that I was able to procure two pamphlets, by Drs. Linke and Wissowa, *De Macrobiani Saturnaliorum fontibus*, Breslau, 1880. Dr. Linke, who goes much more fully than Dr. Wissowa into the question of the sources of the Virgilian criticisms in Macrobius, has come to the conclusion (1) that the additional notes in Daniel's Servius are ancient interpolations: (2) that the Servius of our commentary stands in no relation of dependence to the Servius of the Saturnalia; (3) that the ancient interpolators of Servius borrowed, in a great many instances, directly from Macrobius; (4) that there are some cases, nevertheless, where this cannot have been the case: (5) that Macrobius III 1-12 is taken from two different manuals, of uncertain date, each of which probably contained information borrowed ultimately from Verrius Flaccus.

With regard to (1) and (3) I would observe that the additional notes in Daniel's Servius may be interpolations, but that whether they are so or not, they are, in my opinion, taken not from Macrobius, but from a continuous commentary. For (1) they often extend without a break over continuous lines; (2) they sometimes give information which is not found in Macrobius; (3) they sometimes, in a very striking way, ignore what is to be found in him, as notably in the case of his sixth book (see p. xlv-1). I entirely agree with Dr. Linke as to the relation between our Servius and the Servius of the Saturnalia; with regard to Macrobius III 1-12 I am not convinced that he is right, as chapters 10, 11 and 12 may come from the *Aeneidomastix*.



## THE ANCIENT COMMENTATORS ON VIRGIL.

### 1. CAECILIUS EPIROTA.

IT was not long before the poems of Virgil began to afford matter for discussion to lexicographers, grammarians, and writers on antiquity. The first scholar who actually lectured upon Virgil was Quintus Caecilius Epirota, for information about whom we are entirely dependent upon Suetonius (*De Grammaticis*, 16). He was, it appears, a freedman of Pomponius Atticus, the friend of Cicero, and was born at Tusculum. His *cognomen* suggests that he may have been the child of Epirot parents, brought over, perhaps, from the estates of Atticus in Epirus. The daughter of Atticus was married to Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, and Caecilius was tutor to this lady. On account of a suspicion which arose against him with regard to his conduct in this relation, he left the family of Agrippa and lived henceforth on terms of intimate friendship with the poet Cornelius Gallus. His character was so unfavourably regarded by Augustus that this intimacy was the occasion of one of the gravest charges brought against Gallus by the emperor. After the condemnation and death of Gallus, Caecilius opened a school for a few young men, to whom he lectured on Virgil and other contemporary poets. Whether this was before Virgil's death or not there is no evidence to decide. A verse written upon him by Domitius Marsus—

‘Epirota, tenellorum nutricula vatum,’

seems to be pointed at the real or supposed effeminacy of his character.

### 2. VERRIUS FLACCUS.

Verrius Flaccus, the compiler of the first Latin lexicon ever written, must have paid a great deal of attention to Virgil. His work *De Verborum Significatu* has, as is well known, survived only in the abridgments of Festus and Paulus. Even in these, a considerable number of quotations from Virgil is to be found; and I am inclined to think that several of the original glosses of Verrius may be partially reconstructed from later writers, notably from Nonius and Macrobius, who seem to have preserved them in a fuller form than Paulus or even Festus. Thus (1) Paulus has preserved the following gloss on *daedalus* (p. 68, Müller), *Daedalam* a varietate rerum artificiorumque dictum esse *apud Lucretium terram*, *apud Ennium Minervam*, *apud Vergilium Circen*, facile est intellegere. Macrobius vi iv 2 remarks that Virgil says

*daedala Circe* because Lucretius had said *daedala tellus*. It seems from this that Verrius must have had an article in which the *daedala tellus* of Lucretius and the *daedala Circe* of Virgil were quoted together. The case was probably similar (2) with Verrius' article on *camurus*. Fest. p. 43 says *camara* and *camuri boves* a curvatione ex Graeco κἀμνη dicuntur. Nonius, p. 30, has the following note: *camurum* obtortum, unde et *camerae* tecta in curvitatē formata. Vergilius Georgicorum lib. III (v. 55), 'Et camuris hirtae sub cornibus aures.' Commenting on this line Macrobius vi iv 23 says *camurus* peregrinum verbum est, id est in se redeuntibus. Et forte nos quoque *camaram* hac ratione figuravimus. Servius, in his note on the passage of the third Georgic, says, *camuris*, id est *curvis*. Unde et *camerae* appellantur, and Philargyrius brings us very near to the gloss in Paulus, *camuri* boves sunt qui conversa introrsus cornua habent. I conjecture that these remarks all represent parts of a full note in Verrius Flaccus, in which *camuri boves*, *camurae aures*, and *camera* were discussed together. (3) On p. 206 Festus has a note on *petulcus* which he illustrates from Virgil's fourth Georgic (*haedique petulci*), from Lucretius, and from Afranius. It is instructive to find that Macrobius, in his comment on the line in the fourth Georgic, also quotes the same line of Lucretius in illustration of the word.

I have little doubt that had the work of Verrius De Verborum Significatu been preserved in its original extent, it would be possible to multiply these examples of comments drawn from articles in his lexicon in which Virgil was quoted. It is much easier to collect instances in which the De Verborum Significatu was used by late commentators for general purposes of illustration. (1) Take for instance the note in Festus p. 298 on the word *summussi*. *Summussi* dicebantur *murmuratores*. Naevius: 'Odi, inquit, *summussos*; proinde aperte dice, quid siet quod times.' Ennius in sexto Annalium: 'Intus in occulto *mussabant*,' et Ennius in Andromache . . . *Mussare silere* est: nam [Iuvenius in Anagnorizomene], 'quod potes sile cela occulta tege tace *mussa* mane.' Philargyrius on Georg. iv 188, *mussant*: hic *murmurant*. Quae vox ponitur in tacendi significatione, ut apud Ennium in xvii, 'non possunt *mussare* boni qui facta labore Nixi militiae peperere.' Interdum autem pro *dubito*, ut (A. xii 657) '*mussat* rex ipse Latinus, Quos generos vocet.' *Mussant* autem *murmurant*. Ennius in x sic ait, 'Expectans si *mussaret* quae denique pausa Pugnandi fieret.' Serv. A. xii 657 *mussat*, modo dubitat; Dan. adds, . . . Veteres *mussat* pro timet. Ennius *mussare* pro *tacere* posuit. Clodius Tuscus: '*mussare* est ex Graeco; comprimere oculos Graeci μῦσαι dicunt.' And Nonius, p. 427, distinguishes *mussare* and *murmurare*.

(2) Paulus, p. 368, on *vescus*. *Vescus* fastidiosus. *Ve* enim pro *pusillo* utebantur. Lucretius *vescum* dixit edacem, cum ait 'nec mare quae impendent vesco sale saxa peresa. Gellius xvi v 6 has words to the same effect, but Nonius, p. 186, seems to preserve a better form of this gloss, in which it is clear that Paulus or Festus have confused quotation and interpretation: *Vescum* minutum, obscurum. Lucilius lib. xxvi 'quam *fastidiosum* ac *vescum* cum Falcidio videre.' Vergilius Georgicorum lib. III (175) 'nec *vescas* salicum frondes.' Afranius in



Sororibus, 'At puer est vescis imbecillus viribus.' Turning now to Philargyrius on Georgic III 175, we find *Vescas*: teneras et exiles. Nam *vescum* apud antiquos significabat *macrum*, et quasi quod escam non reciperet. Afranius in Sororibus, 'At puer est vescis imbecillus viribus.' Sed vide ne *vescas appetibiles* dixeris. Lucretius certe pro *edace* posuit, ut 'vesco sale saxa peresa.' Serv. G. III 175, *vescas frondes*, siccae et teneras. Nam *vescum* hoc est proprie, unde et telae aranearum *vescae* nominantur, comp. Serv. G. IV 130.

(3) Paulus, p. 321, *pagani* a pagis dicti. *Pagi* dicti a fontibus, quod eadem aqua uterentur. Aquae enim lingua Dorica *παγαι* appellabantur. Serv. G. II 381: primi ludi theatrales ex Liberalibus nati sunt: ideo ait *veteres ludi* . . . *Pagos et compita circum*: id est, per quadrvia, quae *compita* appellantur, ab eo quod multae viae in unum confluant, et villas, quae *pagi ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν* appellantur, id est a fontibus, circa quos villae consueverant condi. Unde et *pagani* dicti sunt quasi ex uno fonte potantes.

Did space permit I could give many more examples of this phenomenon, the existence of which was first revealed to me by a minute comparison between Festus and Paulus on the one hand, and Servius, Philargyrius and the Verona scholia on the other. But to pursue this question into all its details is a task which hardly falls within the scope of the present essay: and I proceed therefore to speak of another eminent scholar of the same period who gave some attention to Virgil, C. Iulius Hyginus.<sup>1</sup>

### 3. HYGINUS.<sup>2</sup>

Hyginus was, as we know from Gellius XVI 6 and I 21, the author of a special work upon Virgil: *Commentarii in Vergilium, or libri de Vergilio facti*, as Gellius calls it. There is no evidence that this work was a regular continuous commentary on Virgil; and had it been of this nature, there can hardly be any doubt that Hyginus' name would have appeared far more frequently than it has in the commentaries of Servius or Philargyrius, or the Verona scholia.

We may conveniently divide the remarks of Hyginus which have been preserved by Gellius and the later commentators into those which refer (1) to the text, (2) to interpretation of language, (3) to history and antiquities, religious or political.

(1) In Aen. XII 120 he defended from Virgil's own manuscript the reading 'velati limo:' and in Georgic II 247 *amaror*, appealing in like manner to a good MS. Gellius, I XXI 5, who gives us this information, remarks, 'non enim primus finxit hoc verbum Vergilius insolenter, sed in carminibus Lucretii inventum est, nec est asperratus auctoritatem poetae

<sup>1</sup> Some notes by Verrius may perhaps survive under the name Ebrius. See G. IV 77, where the Berne scholia say, 'in Ebrii nactae, non nactae:' comp. Paulus, p. 276 M. Compare similarly the Berne note on G. IV 88, 'ambo iuxta Ebrium,' with Paulus (Festus, p. 4 M.) and Serv. on E. V 68, A. XII 342, and Iul. Rom. ap. Charis. p. 119 K. So also on G. IV 175 the Berne note, 'forcipe in Ebrii,' etc., recurs in Fest. p. 84 M., Nonius, p. 531, Philarg. and Charis, p. 94 K.

<sup>2</sup> Suetonius De Illustribus Grammaticis, 20.



ingenii et facundiae praecellentis.' An observation for which he may be indebted either to Hyginus or to Verrius Flaccus, in whose works it is probable that there was a not inconsiderable amount of common matter.

(2) Gellius xvi vi 15 preserves a note of Hyginus upon the word *bidens*, which he interprets as meaning a sheep with the two prominent teeth which mark its full growth. Whether this interpretation was due to Hyginus or to Verrius Flaccus, whether either of them borrowed it from the other, or both adopted it independently, cannot be ascertained with certainty: but it is worth notice that the explanation adopted by Hyginus is identical with that given in Paulus p. 33, s. v. *bidental*. In Aen. vi 15, he found fault with the expression *praepetibus pennis*.<sup>1</sup> His objection is not expressly noticed in the commentary of Servius, who, however, appears to be tacitly replying to it. And in vii 187, he criticised the zeugma *lituo et succinctus trabea*.<sup>2</sup>

(3) Hyginus, who had made considerable studies in Roman history, was not slow to observe the error by which Virgil in the sixth Aeneid (837) confuses the conquerors of Macedonia and of Greece.<sup>1</sup> Servius, again without mentioning Hyginus, is at the pains to attempt a solution of the difficulty which cannot be called successful. The same is the case with Hyginus' remark on Aen. vi 359, that Velia was not founded at the time when Aeneas is represented as coming thither;<sup>1</sup> and with his observation that Theseus is spoken of at one time as remaining in hell for ever, and in another as an instance of a hero who had returned thence (Aen. vi 122, 617). As the name of Hyginus is not mentioned in these cases by Servius, it is natural to infer that his criticisms were only known to the later commentator at second or third hand. There are instances, however, in which Servius mentions Hyginus by name. Thus he is quoted on Aen. i 277, 530, on points connected with the early history of Rome and Italy; and so on Aen. ii 15, and vii 47. His work *De Urbibus Italicis* is mentioned in general terms by Servius on Aen. vii 678, and that *De Familiis Troianis* on Aen. v 389. Both works were probably much used by the later commentators on Virgil, and much of their contents may have found its way into Servius.

#### 4. IULIUS MODESTUS.

Ribbeck conjectures that this scholar, the freedman of Hyginus (Suetonius *De Illustribus Grammaticis* 20), who commented on Horace, made also some scattered remarks upon Virgil. I am not aware, however, that any Virgilian notes are in existence which can with certainty be referred to him. The name of Aufidius Modestus occurs (if the reading be certain) in a note by Philargyrius on the words *conjurato Histro* (Georg. ii 497); but can we be certain that the same person is intended? Ribbeck thinks that the long note in Nonius, p. 377, on *tenuis* and *protinus* comes from the *Quaestiones confusae* of Iulius Modestus. And undoubtedly Philargyrius on Georg. iii 53 (*crurum tenuis*) remarks, Modestus *tenuis* pro *fine* accipit, and Nonius says *ipsum*

<sup>1</sup> Gellius v 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* x 16.

## lviii THE ANCIENT COMMENTATORS ON VIRGIL.

*tenu* . . . maxime finem terminumque designat. It is, however, at least as probable that both Modestus and Nonius owed their information to Verrius Flaccus, for in Festus, p. 367, we read *tenu* significat finem, ut cum dicimus *hactenus*. And more of this note on *tenu* I suspect is to be found in the note of Servius on Aen. vi 62, *hactenus, hucusque*: id est hic sit finis. Nam *tenu* est proprie extrema pars arcus, ut Plautus ostendit (Bacch. iv vi 23) 'ita intendi tenu,' unde tractum est ut *hactenus hucusque* significet. However the case may really have stood, we have here again, as in the instance of the note on *bidens*, a valuable specimen of the scholarship of the Augustan age.

### 5. L. ANNAEUS CORNUTUS.

Cornutus, the contemporary and friend of Silius Italicus, and the revered tutor of Persius, was banished by Nero A.D. 68. He was the author of commentarii Aeneidos, which are mentioned by Charisius, pp. 100 and 102, and apparently of remarks on the Eclogues. A few of his notes are quoted in the Verona scholia and in the commentary of Servius. In Aen. i 45, he would have preferred 'infixit' to 'infixit' as more forcible (*vehementius*): in Aen. i 150, he defended *volant* against *volunt*, and in Aen. ix 348, he read for 'multa morte recepit' 'multa nocte recepit.' These specimens do not impress us very deeply with a sense of his critical power; nor does he always appear to much advantage as an interpreter. In Aen. ix 675, for instance, he took 'commissa' as equivalent to 'clausa'; an interpretation improbable in itself, and which is wholly ignored in the note on this passage in Nonius p. 249. A few other notes of Cornutus, hardly worth quoting here, may be found in Servius and the Verona scholia.

Several objections of his to points of detail in Virgil's language and in his management of his story have been preserved by Gellius and Macrobius. He took exception to the word *veasse* in Ecl. vi 76, where Servius appeals to Probus in the poet's defence (comp. Gell. ii 6). He found fault with the conclusion of the fourth Aeneid: 'unde haec historia, ut crinis auferendus sit morientibus, ignoratur,' are his words quoted in Macrobius v xix 2. It was naturally replied that Virgil was simply following the Alcestis of Euripides. Not much more attention need be paid to his complaint that Virgil in Aen. v 488 has made Aeneas shoot a bird sacred to his own mother, or to his criticisms (preserved by Gellius ix 10) of the wording of Aeneid viii 405.

### 6. AEMILIUS ASPER.<sup>1</sup>

It is uncertain whether this distinguished scholar lived before or after Probus. The fact that no mention is made of him by Suetonius in his work De Illustribus Grammaticis makes very strongly in favour

<sup>1</sup> Jerome, c. Ruf. 472, 'Aspi in Vergilium et Sallustium Commentarios.' 'Asper, Cornutus, et alii innumerabiles requiruntur ut quilibet poeta possit intellegi,' says Augustine, Util. Cred. § 17. [Lämmerhirt in Commentationes phil. Ienenses iv 401 argues that Asper lived about the end of the second century A.D.]



of the later date; nor can there be said to be any positive evidence for the earlier one. It is true that in a note of the Verona scholia on A. ix 373, Asper is said to have raised a question with regard to the word *sublustris* which was answered by Probus: but this need prove no more than that Asper, if he knew of the answer given by Probus, was not satisfied by it. Nor can anything be inferred from the fact that on A. x 539 Asper's reading *armis* is mentioned before that preferred by Probus, *albis*. The conjecture of Bergk, who would read "Ἀσπερος for Ἄπερος in Suidas' notice of Heraclides Ponticus, could only be accepted were it certain on other grounds that Asper lived in the reign of Claudius. Nothing again can be concluded from the fact that the commentary on the Eclogues and Georgics which bears the name of Probus quotes Asper as an authority; for (as we shall see below) this commentary is probably in great part spurious.

However this may be, Asper was the author of a regular commentary not only on Virgil but on Terence and Sallust. A considerable number of his notes are preserved, apparently in their original form, in the Verona scholia. Others are to be found in Philargyrius and Servius; and I have little doubt that much more of Asper's work is embodied in the commentary of Servius than its author chooses to acknowledge. For if we compare the notes which the Verona scholia expressly assign to Asper with the corresponding notes in Servius, we constantly find that the latter has virtually the same comment in an abridged form, and without any hint of its source. From this fact we may infer almost with certainty that had the Verona scholia or any other commentary of equal fulness come down to us unimpaired, we should have found that Servius was indebted to Asper to a far greater extent than we should otherwise have been led to suspect. Many of the numerous quotations from Terence and Sallust scattered through the notes of Servius are, I can hardly doubt, taken from Asper, who, as we shall see in a moment, was fond of illustrating his notes from Sallust.<sup>1</sup>

The remarks of Asper, whether they refer to matters of textual criticism or of interpretation, are for the most part scholarlike and interesting even when they fail to carry conviction. In Aen. x 539, he preferred to read *insignibus armis* to *insignibus albis*, basing his preference on a quotation from Sallust. But there can hardly be a doubt that Probus was right here in reading *albis*. In Aen. x 673 he was clearly right in reading *quosne*, not *quosve*, and in line 737 of the same book as clearly wrong in reading *viris* for *viri*. In xi 801 I should be inclined to infer from the note in Servius that Asper was led from an apparent parallel in Sallust to read *auras*, the old genitive singular, for *aurae*. In G. iv 238, he (as we learn from the Berne scholia) rightly defended *in volnere* as against *in volnera*.

Of Asper's sense and insight as an interpreter all remaining indications would lead us to think highly. In Aen. ix 418, for instance, he pointed out that *per tempus utrumque* must be taken as = *inter tempus utrumque*; in Georg. ii 324 (*vere tument terrae*) his good sense told him

<sup>1</sup> This applies perhaps to the Sallustian quotations in Donatus on Terence.



1x THE ANCIENT COMMENTATORS ON VIRGIL.

that *terrae* was nom. pl., not (as Donatus took it three centuries afterwards) the gen. sing.; in Aen. IX 386 he took *imprudens* as = *ignorans se evasisse*. Other explanations of his appear more ingenious than sound: as, for instance, when in X 188 he took *crimen vestrum* to mean *causa vestrae mutationis*: or when in Aen. II 305 he explained *montano flumine* as = *magno flumine*: or in Aen. IV 146 *picti Agathyrsi* as *stigmatosi*, tattooed, an opinion from which Servius dissents: or in IX 678 *armati ferro* as = *ferrea corda habentes*. Some of his notes on points of interpretation appear to have come from Verrius Flaccus. Thus he says on Aen. X 6 (see Scholia Veronensia) that *quianam* is an archaic word. Servius, whose note does not name Asper but is probably indebted to him, quotes *quianam* from Ennius. Now this was also the case with Verrius Flaccus' note on the word (Festus, p. 257), though the instances quoted by Festus and Servius are not identical. So also perhaps with the note on *sinum lactis* in the Verona scholia on Ecl. VII 33 'Asper. *Sinum* est vas vinarium, ut Cicero significat, non, ut quidam, lactarium. Plautus in Curculione (I i 75), *Cedo puere sinum*. Et respondetur. *Quasi tu lagoenam dicas in qua Chium vinum solet esse*. *Sinus* ergo vas patulum . . . e *stinus* vocitatum . . . Varro de Vita Populi Romani lib. I *lepistam* vas dicebant ubi erat vinum in mensa positum, aut *galeola* aut *sino*. Tria enim haec similia sunt, pro quibus nunc *acratophoron* ponitur.' With this note, which is also given in Servius (Dan.) without acknowledgment, must be compared that in Nonius p. 547. *Sinum* et *galeolas*, vasa sinuosa. Vergilius in Bucolicis (VII 33) 'sinum lactis, et haec te liba, Priape, quotannis Expectare sat est.' Varro de Vita Populi Romani lib. I 'ubi erat vinum in mensa positum aut *galeola* aut *sino*.' *Lepista*, vas aheneum. Varro de Vita Populi Romani lib. I 'ut fere habent aheneum (? alii) qui venditant oleum. *Lepistae* etiam nunc Sabinorum fanis pauperioribus plerisque aut fictiles sunt aut ahenae.' Now the note on *lepista* probably comes from Verrius Flaccus, for Paulus, p. 115, says, '*lepista* genus vasis aquarii': and many other notes in the fifteenth book of Nonius, De genere vasorum vel poculorum, can be shown to have been derived from that author: those namely on *aula*, *pelvis*, *patella*, *cymbia*, *orca*, *catinus*, *calpar*, *armillum*, and *creterrae*. (Compare Paulus, pp. 23, 247, 248, 51, 180, 169, 65, 53.)

On Aen. VII 485, Asper, as quoted in the Verona scholia, remarks: 'nomen Tyrrhi ab historicis traxit—Tyrrhum enim aiunt fuisse pastorem apud quem Lavinia delituit tum cum Ascanium timens fugit in silvas—Hic Latini vilicus traditur fuisse.' This note Ribbeck (Prol. p. 134) thinks may have come from Cato.

Notes of Asper on the character of Mezentius as *contemptor divum*, and on the Potitii and Pinarii, are quoted by Macrobius Sat. III v 9. Of the first of these Servius has nothing, but of the second he has a great deal in his comment on Aen. VIII 270.

I will conclude by giving a list of the notes which are expressly assigned to Asper by the Verona scholia, or Philargyrius, but which are given by Servius, sometimes in an abridged form, without acknowledgment of their source. These are, so far as I have been able to ascertain, that on *sinum lactis*, Ecl. VII 33; on *infelicitis Ulixi*, Aen. III

## THE ANCIENT COMMENTATORS ON VIRGIL. lxi

691; on Camarina, Aen. III 701; on *exin*, Aen. VII 341; probably on Aen. IX 360 and 363; on *sublustris*, Aen. IX 373; on *imprudens*, Aen. IX 386; on *quianam*, Aen. X 6, and on *non nullius numinis*, Georg. IV 453.

### 7. M. VALERIUS PROBUS.

M. Valerius Probus, of the flourishing colony of Berytus in Syria, betook himself to the study of scholarship, if we may believe Suetonius, only after failing in an attempt to succeed in a more active profession ('*diu centuriatum (centurionatum?) petiit donec ad studia se contulit*'). The study of the ancient authors—and such was the self-confidence of the Augustan writers and their immediate successors, that Cicero, Lucretius, Catullus, and Varro were counted and perhaps half despised as ancients long before the first century had run its course—soon began to languish at Rome. But these writers maintained their reputation out of Italy, and the curiosity of Probus was awakened by reading some of them with a provincial lecturer. The study of these authors inspired him to go on to others, and regardless of the fact that the pains he was spending were likely to gain him nothing but discredit, he determined to devote his life to the emendation, punctuation, and explanation of ancient texts. Among these he appears to have paid special attention to Terence, Lucretius, and Virgil. Probus published little of importance in his life-time, but left a considerable posthumous work in the shape of a '*Silva observationum sermonis antiqui*,' from which a great deal, I suspect, has filtered into the work of the later grammarians.

Probus was alive, as we may infer from Martial's address to his third book (III ii 12, '*illo vindice nec Probum timeto*'), in 88 A.D.: but his merits had been recognized at Rome some thirty years before.<sup>1</sup> He did not open a school, or form pupils in the ordinary sense of the word. But he had admirers with whom, like Socrates in a higher path of speculation, he would converse, and perhaps did more in this way than he would have done by direct teaching to stimulate the love of antiquity which marks the scholars of the generation which followed him. His influence is very marked in the *Noctes Atticae* of Gellius, who had known and conversed with friends of Probus.

Judging from the remains of his notes which have been preserved in Servius and other later writers,<sup>2</sup> one would be inclined to assign to him without question the first place among the commentators on Virgil. His remarks on the text of the poet are of the utmost value, whether we regard them as based on his own conjectures, or (as I am more inclined to suppose) on the inspection of excellent manuscripts now lost. That Probus did not spare himself the labour of consulting the oldest accessible documents we know from Gellius XIII xxi 4, where he is said to have examined a manuscript of the first *Georgic* corrected by the hand

<sup>1</sup> Jerome to A.D. 56, '*Probus Berytius eruditissimus grammaticorum Romae agnoscitur.*'

<sup>2</sup> Diomedes, p. 342, has explanations of Virgilian passages which may come from Probus and certainly agree with Servius' notes: see, for example, *Ecl.* VIII 72.



of Virgil himself, with the view of settling the question whether the acc. pl. of *urbs* should be spelt *urbis* or *urbes*. He had probably also looked at good copies of the Aeneid before he appealed to Aen. II 224, 460 and III 106 on the matter. His common sense is as notable as his industry. The question, he maintained, would have been decided by Virgil not in pedantic accordance with a fixed rule, but according to the judgment of his ear.

In Aen. VII 773 the undoubtedly true reading *Phoebigenam*, which is found in none of our manuscripts, is due to Probus. It is difficult to believe that he hit upon this by conjecture, or (to put the same statement in another way) that Varius and Tucca would have allowed the meaningless reading *Poenigenam*, which has taken possession of the existing copies, to remain in the text of Virgil. The same remark applies to his defence of *floros crines* against *flavos crines* in Aen. XII 605. *Floros* he defended by an appeal to ancient authors; and it is worth noticing that Nonius, p. 109, has a note on *florus* illustrated from Naevius. Is Nonius drawing upon the notes of Probus, as Ribbeck is inclined to think he is in his seventh book, or are both dependent on some earlier lexicographical authority? In Aen. X 539, Probus was doubtless right in reading *insignibus albis*, not *insignibus armis* with Asper. More questionable is his judgment in the case of Aen. I 44, where he would have us read *transfixo tempore*, not *transfixo pectore*. In Aen. I 441 he rightly defended by an example from Sallust *laetissimus umbrae* against *laetissimus umbra* (compare Servius (Dan.) on Aen. XI 338). In VIII 406 he (and after him Carminius) wished to read *infusum* for *infusus*. In IX 814 he defended *aeger anhelitus* as against *acer anhelitus*. In G. I 277 he read *Horcus*, not *Orcus*.

These are instances of his power as a textual critic: let us now consider some examples of his notes on grammar and interpretation. Servius on the first line of the first Aeneid informs us that Probus (following Cicero and Caesar) laid it down that *Troia*, *Graios*, *Aiax*, should be written with *ii*: a scholar's canon which is not supported by the evidence of good inscriptions. From this fact Ribbeck thinks it possible that Gellius, when in IV 17 he defends the orthography *iniice*, *subiicit*, *obiicibus*, may be following in the track of Probus (Prol. p. 139). On Aen. I 194, he made a distinction between the active and passive forms of *partio* and other verbs of the same kind. It should be observed that Nonius in treating of these words (pp. 472, 474) makes no distinction between the two forms: a fact which suggests that he and Probus followed independent sources, or that Probus made the distinction on his own judgment. The same is the case with regard to Nonius in the note quoted from Probus on Aen. IV 359, *nemo haurit vocem*. Nonius, p. 319, quotes Virgil's words 'vocemque his auribus hausi' as a good instance of metaphorical expression, just as does Quintilian VIII III 54. In Aen. III 3 Probus took *fumat* not as the present but as the contracted perfect. On VI 473 he apparently had a dissertation on the word *pristinus* ('de hoc sermone quaerit Probus et alii,' says Servius). It would be interesting to know what relation this discussion bore to the notes of Verrius Flaccus on the same word (Fest. pp. 226, 253). In X 303 he ingeniously remarked that *vadi dorso* was equivalent to



## THE ANCIENT COMMENTATORS ON VIRGIL. lxiii

*vado*, as *dorso nemoris* (G. III 436) to *memori*. To the words *aequore iusso* (Aen. x 444) he put the sign *alogus*, implying that they defied a rational construction. On Aen. XII 174, he explained *altaria* as meaning 'ea quae in altaria funduntur' (comp. the Schol. Veron. on Aen. v 93). In E. VI 76 he defended the word *vexasse* against the objections of Cornutus (Serv. ad. I, comp. Gell. II 6 = Macrob. VI VII 4): and it is not at all improbable, as Ribbeck suggests, that the whole of the sixth chapter of Gellius' second book is taken from the commentary of Probus. On A. IX 373 he defended 'sublustri noctis in umbra' by the example of Horace's 'nocte sublustri' (Schol. Veronensia), a parallel which Servius borrows without acknowledgment.

Not that Probus was blindly partial to his author. 'Probo displicet *salsus sudor*,' says Servius and the Verona scholia on A. II 173; he would have preferred the omission of A. IV 418, 'puppibus et laeti nautae imposuere coronas'; of the story about Camilla in A. XI 554 he said that it was *ἀπίθανον πλάσμα*, an incredible fiction. Gellius IX IX 12, tells us that he was very severe upon Virgil's description of Dido as compared with that by Homer of Nausicaa, which Virgil is copying. Of A. IX 369 ('equites ex urbe Latini Ibant, et regi Turno responsa ferebant') the Verona scholia tell us that Probus and Sulpicius Apollinaris (that is, probably, Probus as quoted by Sulpicius Apollinaris) complained that it was inconsistent with VII 600, 'saepsit se tectis rerumque reliquit habenas.'

Such are some of the scanty relics of one of the most important commentaries, perhaps the most important commentary on Virgil that antiquity produced. Of the existing commentary which bears the name of Probus it would be rash to say that it contains nothing which can be traced to the hand of the master; but that the bulk of it can be his it is impossible to suppose. To say nothing of the gross historical blunder with which the commentary on the Eclogues opens—assigning as it does the confiscation of Virgil's estate to the time which followed the battle of Actium—it must be observed that the general character of the work corresponds in no way with what we should expect from the account given of Probus by Suetonius (Ill. Gramm. 24), according to which it was almost entirely to questions of grammar and criticism that he devoted his attention. The remains of Probus' commentary on Virgil which have been preserved by later writers bear out, as will have been seen from the specimens which I have quoted, the observation of Suetonius. Very few of them touch on questions of history or antiquities: one only, on Aen. x 18 ('hominum divumque aeterna potestas'), contains matter of a quasi-philosophical character. Now if there is one thing noticeable about the commentary on the Eclogues and Georgics which bears the name of Probus, it is that it is concerned almost entirely with points of mythology, history, geography, and theosophy. Nor can its quality as a whole, though here and there it gives us a valuable remark, be pronounced at all worthy of what might have been expected from the great scholar of Berytus.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It should be observed that the opening remarks on the supposed origin of bucolic poetry are in substance identical with those of Diomedes, p. 488 foll., and also with those of Servius at the beginning of his commentary. Now the whole section of

8. RELICS OF COMMENTARIES PRESERVED IN THE DE COMPENDIOSA DOCTRINA OF NONIUS (pp. lxiv-lxxxvii).

I strongly suspect that a great many of the observations made by Probus in his commentaries on ancient usage, as well as other remains of the work of scholars of the first century A.D., may be recovered from later writers, and notably from Nonius Marcellus, the well-known African scholar of the fourth century. The *De Compendiosa Doctrina* of Nonius is a medley of mutilated scholarship which, for the sake of convenience, we may distribute under three heads: first, lexicographical: Books I, II, IV, V, VI, and part of XII; second, grammatical: Books III, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, and part of XII; third, antiquarian: Books XIII-XX. The antiquity of his authorities is sufficiently established by the single fact that, with four or five exceptions, he quotes no author of later date than the Augustan age.

Of the lexicographical and antiquarian books I could, did space permit, show that much is ultimately due to Verrius Flaccus, although I suspect that it came to Nonius through the hands of other scholars, such as Caesellius Vindex, and Suetonius. The fourth book (*De Varia Significatione Verborum*), which occupies more than a third of the whole treatise, and is also in point of matter the most important part of it, is remarkable for the enormous number of quotations from Virgil which it contains. It may indeed be said without exaggeration that there are very few articles in this section in which Virgil is not quoted. This fact seems to point to the conclusion that the writer from whose works the fourth book of Nonius was taken, was a great student of Virgil, as well as (in his way) a lexicographer.

But in the case of the grammatical books of Nonius, we can go further, and assert that much of them is distinctly traceable to Pliny and Probus. Taking the third book (*De Indiscretis Generibus*) first, we may observe that the subject of doubtful gender had occupied the attention of grammarians in the first century A.D. So much may be inferred from the language of Quintilian ix iii 6), who speaks as if he had manuals before him in which the subject was treated. One of these may have been the book of Probus, *De dubiis generibus* (probably part of his *Silva Observationum*), cited by Priscian (I, p. 169, 171 Keil). Let us proceed to consider the relation between this work and the third book of Nonius.<sup>1</sup>

Diomedes in which these observations occur is supposed by Keil (and very plausibly) to come from Suetonius. If this be the case, the commentary attributed to Probus is at once stamped as spurious. [Kübler, *de Probi commentariis Vergilianis* (Berlin, 1882), suggests that the commentary was written in the fourth century.]

The grammatical treatises (*Catholicon* and *Instituta Artium*) which bear the name of Probus are not now, so far as I know, attributed by any scholar to Probus of Berytus: see Keil's preface to the fourth volume of his *Grammatici Latini*.

<sup>1</sup> [See also *Journal of Philology* xv, reprinted in *Nettleship's Essays*, second series, pp. 169-170.]



## (I) BOOK III. DE INDISCRETIS GENERIBUS.

Priscian, in the passage already quoted, gives a list which he took, as he says, from the treatises of Caper and Probus de dubiis generibus. This list is partly alphabetical. 'Vetustissimi in multis, ut diximus, supra dictarum terminationum inveniuntur confudisse genera, nulla significationis differentia coacti, sed sola auctoritate, ut *hic et haec aspergo, alvus, arcus, adeptus vel adipēs, charta, cardo, cinis vel ciner, cervix, collis, crux, calx, cupressus, platanus, populus, laurus, aquila, crinis, carbasus, colus, hic et haec cassis, clunis, hic et haec conscia (?)*, callis, fornax, frutex, grex, frons frontis, hic et haec humus, imbrex, latex. Accius 'non calida latice lautus: *lembus, linter, lepus, agnus, leo, pampinus, perdix, hic et haec palumbes, hic et haec faex, rudens ὁ πρόρονος, socrus, supparus κερύμιον et hoc supparum, senex, stirps, torris ὁ δαλόε, tiaras, Tibris, amnis, torques, trames, vesper, hi et hae vepres.*' This list is alphabetical, with three exceptions. After *cupressus* come *platanus, populus, laurus, aquila*: after *lepus, agnus*, and after *Tibris, amnis*: a fact to which I shall recur in a moment.

This list only includes instances of confusion between the masculine and feminine genders. Priscian goes on to give instances of confusion between the masculine and neuter, or the masculine, feminine, and neuter: *guttur, murmur, glomus, fretus, dorsus, gelus, Hister, Rhenus, Tanagra, Metaurus, Iberus, Vulturinus, Oceanus, iubar, liquor, papaver, penus, pecus, retis, sexus, specus, sal.*

These lists are (with the exceptions noticed) alphabetical, and so far resemble the third book of Nonius. And of the words thus catalogued by Priscian in this passage, thirty-one out of seventy-two are to be found in Nonius. I might have said thirty-one out of sixty-eight, for the words *platanus, populus, laurus*, and *aquila* (which are absent in Nonius), are intruded in Priscian in a place where, alphabetically, they have no right to stand, the alphabetical order proceeding properly from *cupressus* to *crinis*.

Priscian distinctly tells us that he has taken his lists from Caper and Probus: and it would, therefore, be easy to infer that the third book of Nonius also comes from the same sources. But the question is somewhat complicated by the relations of the third book of Nonius to Charisius, which must now be briefly considered.

Charisius, pp. 70-109, has a section in which, among other instances of anomaly and doubtful usage in grammar, the question of words with a double gender is discussed. The main characteristics of this section are, (1) that the words are not arranged in alphabetical order, but in small groups which are sometimes alphabetical, sometimes formed according to the meaning of the words, but often, as far as we can see, quite casual; (2) that stress is constantly laid on the difference in meaning of similar words, or different genders, or different forms, of the same word; (3) that Persius is the latest author quoted; (4) that the latest authority quoted is Pliny's work *dubii sermonis*: while Verrius Flaccus, Iulius Modestus, and Varro are not seldom cited.

On comparing this section of Charisius with the third book of Nonius, we find that upwards of forty words discussed are common to

both works : and that in a considerable number of instances a passage quoted in Charisius by way of illustration is also cited to illustrate the same word in Nonius. This is the case, for instance, with *alvus*, *anguis*, *balteus*, *cinis*, *contagio*, *calx*, *caseus*, *frenus*, *forum*, *grex*, *intubus*, *praesepia*, *panis*, *palumbes*, *penus*, *papaver*, *sexus*, *sibilus*, *sanguis*, *stirps*, *tapete*, *vulgus*. It must be added that it seldom, if ever, happens that this coincidence in the passages cited extends to more than one quotation among several adduced.

The section of Charisius differs, however, from the third book of Nonius in three important particulars. In the first place, it does not treat merely of the question of gender, but of other difficulties of form as well, as of anomalies in declension, the comparison of adjectives, the formation of adverbs, and the derivation of nouns ; secondly, it is not arranged alphabetically ; and thirdly, it considers differences of gender very often as indications of difference in meaning, while Nonius confines himself almost entirely to the question of form. It is reasonable, then, to infer that this section of Charisius was drawn from some work which dealt with anomaly in formation in a sporadic and miscellaneous way, not by way of lists strictly drawn up in alphabetical order, or confined to particular branches of the subject.

Proceeding now to compare this part of Charisius with the corresponding parts of Priscian, we find the same kind of relation existing between Charisius and Priscian as between Charisius and Nonius, namely, that Priscian seems, in contrast to Charisius, to be drawing upon a strictly grammatical work or works. Some of the words (about fourteen, I think) are treated by all three writers, Nonius, Charisius, and Priscian : these are *alvus*, *charta*, *clunes*, *cinis*, *calx*, *crines*, *grex*, *palumbes*, *penus*, *papaver*, *sexus*, *sal*, *sanguis*, and *stirps*.

Returning, then, to Nonius, we find that his alphabetical arrangement, his grammatical treatment, and the considerable number of instances common to both writers, suggest a close relation between his third book and the sources of Priscian 1, pp. 169-71, and a relation of some kind, though not nearly so close, between this book and the sources of Charisius, pp. 70-109.

We know that Probus and Caper treated separately of the question of doubtful gender (*de dubiis generibus*). I think it, then, extremely probable that Nonius' third book is neither more nor less than an extract from the work of one or the other of these writers.<sup>1</sup> Charisius, on the other hand, in the section which we have been considering, was, I believe, drawing either directly or indirectly upon Pliny's books *dubii sermonis*. This I think probable, not merely from the express mention of Pliny's name, but also from the range of the quotations. And the coincidences between Charisius and Nonius I would explain by supposing that Probus either drew upon Pliny's treatise, which he may well have done, as he outlived Pliny by some years, or that he used the same authorities. (Comp. Prisc. 1, p. 393, Plinium et Probum.)

Before quitting this part of my subject, I would observe that there

<sup>1</sup> For the relation between Caper and Probus, see Keil's preface to the last volume of his *Grammatici Latini* and vol. v, p. 570.



## THE ANCIENT COMMENTATORS ON VIRGIL. lxvii

are various points of contact between the third book of Nonius and Verrius Flaccus. It is remarkable, also, that Verrius is often cited by Charisius in the section so often alluded to. The natural inference is that Probus and Pliny both drew largely upon the lexicon and the grammatical treatises of Verrius.

### (2) BOOK VII. DE CONTRARIIS GENERIBUS VERBORUM.

This book mostly consists of notes upon verbs, which in old Latin were used both as actives and as deponents, or (in other words) verbs whose deponent form was also used as a passive.

There are also remarks on other rare or antiquated verbal forms, as *reddido* for *reddam*, *ſite* the imperative of *ſio*, and the like. There is a remarkable coincidence between the lists of deponent verbs illustrated by Nonius, and parts of the eighth book of Priscian. We are confronted here by a phenomenon similar to that noticed in the last section with regard to Charisius. Priscian has two sections succeeding each other, and dealing with precisely the same subject, and to a considerable extent using the same instances. The first of these begins I, p. 378, beginning at the words 'et ex his quaedam eadem voce utrumque significant, id est actionem et passionem.' After giving one or two instances of such verbs, and a few of ordinary deponents, Priscian proceeds, 'ex his multa antiqui tam activa quam passiva ſignificatione protuliſſe inveniuntur,' and then gives a list which is on the whole alphabetical from the letter *a* to *o*: *auxilior*, *adminiculator*, *auguror*, *adhortor*, *apiſcor*, *abominor*, *conſequor*, *amplector*, *adorior*, *abutor*, *admiror*, *anteſtor*, *aggredior*, *aspernor*, *architector*, *asſector*, *argumentor*, *reor*, *vercor*, *solor*, *arbitror*, *blandior*, *conſolor*, *conſpicio*, *comminico*, *completor*, *calumnior*, *carnifico*, *deſpicio*, *demolior*, *dominor*, *depeculo*, *delargior*, *ementior*, *exordior*, *experior*, *frustror*, *hortor*, *for*, *meditor*, *obliſcor*, and then *metor* and *adulor*. Inſtances from claſſical authors are then quoted of the following verbs: *auxilior*, *adulor*, *adminiculator*, *adhortor*, *auguror*, *apiſcor*, *abominor*, *conſequor*, *amplector*, *completor*, *adorior*, *abutor*, *admiror*, *teſtor*, *anteſtor*, *exsecror*, *machinor*, *polliceor*, *adgredior*, *aspernor*, *architector*, *adsector*, *argumentor*, *arbitror*, *blandior*, *conſolor*, *conſpicio*, *comminico*, *conſequor*, *contestor*, *consector*, *completor*, *calumnior*, *carnifico*, *dignor*, *deſteſtor*, *deſpicio*, *demolior*, *meditor*, *dominor*, *depeculo*, *delargior*, *ementior*, *exordior*, *experior*, *frustror*, *hortor*, *for*, *obliſcor*, *metor*, *tutor*, *vador*, *venor*, *velifico*, *vociferor*, *veneror*.

It is to be obſerved that the liſt in which the words are illuſtrated by examples, although it purports to be identical with the unilluſtrated liſt, is not entirely ſo. The liſt with examples is fuller and alſo more ſtrictly alphabetical than the other: *adulor*, for inſtance, occurs in its place among verbs beginning with *a*. The three words *reor*, *vercor*, and *solor*, which interrupt the alphabetical order in the firſt liſt, recur in the ſecond, but without any inſtances. The impreſſion left on my mind after reading the two liſts is, that the author of the firſt had copied from the author of the ſecond, but not quite accurately in reſpect of the arrangement. In other words, that Priscian is making extracts from two manuals, both of which depend on a common ſource.

After some further remarks on the confusion of voices, in which on p. 391 the beginning of a fresh alphabetical list is quoted from Caper (*adiutor—delapidor*), Priscian, on p. 392, starts the subject again with another long list which is in the main alphabetical: *testo, opino, cuncto, convivio, contemplo, consolo, commoro, auxilio, auguro, auspicio, commento, crimino, molio, digno, execro, epulo, eiulo, lucto, luctito, luxurio, laeto, ludifico, misereo*. These words are given without any instances: and then follow some more which are illustrated from classical authors: *horto, largio, aucupo, alterco, medico, amplexo, amplecto, complecto*. Of these usages, Priscian adds, examples may be found in Pliny (that is, presumably, in the *libri dubii sermonis*), as well as in Caper and Probus.

After a digression on active words used passively (pp. 393-396), the alphabetical list interrupted on p. 392 is resumed at the word *munero*, and we have a list from *m* to *u* (*munero—utor*), to which are finally added a few more words (*murmuro, praesagio, and opino*).

Comparing the lists given on pp. 392-393 and 396 with the former lists (pp. 379-387), it is impossible not to come to the conclusion that they are derived (the first at second-hand) from two independent works treating of the same subject. Were the two lists supplementary to each other, did each confine itself to words which the other omitted, it would of course be natural to argue that both came from the same treatise. But this is not the case. The second list contains a considerable number of words already included in the first; a sure sign that Priscian is using two distinct works, each of which had its own list, though the catalogues to some extent covered the same ground.

Priscian mentions three writers as his authorities, Pliny, Probus, and Caper: 'eorum et superiorum omnium usus tam apud Caprum quam Plinium et Probum invenies'—'quorum auctores apud Caprum legant qui eos scire desiderant.' In some way or other, then, we must suppose that the honour of these lists must be divided between these three writers, or rather, between Pliny and Probus.

Let us now compare the lists of Priscian with that in the seventh book of Nonius.

A large number of words are common to the lists of Nonius and Priscian: between sixty and seventy, if I am not wrong, out of a hundred or rather more. The majority of the instances in Nonius coincides with the second list in Priscian: the others correspond mostly with the first, but in some cases with notes in other parts of Priscian.

This general coincidence would naturally lead us to infer a common origin for the lists of Nonius and Priscian; and there are minor indications which point in the same direction. A few of Nonius' instances are to be found in Quintilian: this is the case with the notes on *adsentio*, p. 469, *punior* and *fabricor*, p. 471, and *luxurior*, p. 481, forms which are commented on by Quintilian, ix iii 6. Of some other notes in this part of Nonius, we know that they are due to Caper, that is, in all probability, to Probus: this is the case with the note on *paenitebunt*, p. 475 (see



## THE ANCIENT COMMENTATORS ON VIRGIL. lxix

Prisc. 1, p. 561), *copulantur*, p. 476 (Prisc. 1, p. 393), *adiutatur*, p. 477 (Prisc. 1, p. 391). The note on *auguro*, p. 469, may have been due to Pliny, for Servius, on A. VII 273, quotes a note from Pliny distinguishing between *auguro* and *auguror*.

So far as these indications go, they seem to warrant the conclusion to which the general resemblance between Nonius and Priscian has already pointed. The coincidences between Nonius and Quintilian are important, as indicating the existence of some work or works on these doubtful verbs in Quintilian's own time: for Quintilian was not himself a grammarian, but used the collections of professed scholars when he had to touch on technical points of this kind. And Quintilian may well have consulted either Pliny or Probus, or both.

In his Prolegomena to Virgil Ribbeck throws out a hint that the whole of the seventh book of Nonius may, in his opinion, be borrowed from Probus. I feel rather inclined to infer that it is derived, directly or indirectly, from two sources. This conclusion is, I think, warranted by the fact that even in so short a space the same note several times occurs twice. This is the case with *partiret*, which is illustrated on p. 472 from Lucilius, and on p. 475 from Afranius; with *punior*, illustrated on p. 471 from Cicero, and on p. 479 with one of the same passages in a fuller form; with *manducor*, pp. 477 and 479; with *copulor*, pp. 476 and 479; with *miro*, pp. 474 and 480; with *ruminor*, pp. 471 and 480; with *moderant*, pp. 471 and 472; with *lucto*, pp. 468 and 472. This phenomenon has already met us in the two lists of Priscian, and it seems natural to account for it in the same way, viz., by supposing that there were two works in which the same facts were dealt with and illustrated perhaps to a great extent by the same examples. From these two works the later grammarians made up their chapters on nouns and verbs, without taking the pains to avoid treating of the same word twice. We know that two such works can be ascribed to Pliny and Probus, and that Priscian drew largely upon these two authors. The general resemblance between Priscian's chapters on doubtful verbs and the seventh book of Nonius suggests that it was mainly compiled from Pliny and Probus. A fragment of the same lists is preserved by Diomedes, pp. 400-401, who mentions *frustro*, *patio*, *moro*, *demolio*, *auxilio*, *populo*, and *digno*: and Keil has shown that Diomedes, in his section on the verb, followed Probus.

The other grammatical books of Nonius (VIII, IX, X, and XI) can be in like manner traced to Pliny, Probus, and Caper, or at least to scholars of the first or early second century.

The point of this digression will now at length, I hope, be apparent. If it can be made highly probable that in two long grammatical sections of his work Nonius was to a large extent, directly or indirectly, indebted to Probus, is it not also highly probable that in cases where his remarks on Virgil coincide with notes found in the later commentators, as the Verona scholia, Servius, Philargyrius, and the Berne scholia, the agreement is to be explained by a similar hypothesis? It is impossible to suppose that the later Virgilian commentators borrowed from Nonius.

Such an idea is excluded partly by their sometimes differing from him, sometimes by their adding to what he says, oftener by the general style of their remarks as compared with his. Thus we are forced to the conclusion that there must have been common sources from which the identical notes in question were derived. Now I am far from asserting that all the Virgilian notes common to Nonius and the later commentators can be traced to Probus or to any authority who can be certainly identified. But there is no reason to suppose that the works from which Nonius drew his information are to be assigned to writers later than the age of Trajan: and the Virgilian notes in question must therefore be allowed the character of high antiquity, and importance in proportion.

At the risk of being tedious I will mention in detail some of the most important examples which I have observed of agreement between Nonius on the one hand, and Servius, the Verona scholia, and Philargyrius on the other.

NONIUS, BOOK I.

P. 3, *hostimentum* est aequamentum, etc. Plautus Asinaria, 'par pari datum hostimentum.'

Serv. A. II 156 (Dan.), *hostia* vero victima, et dicta quod di per illam *hostiantur*, id est aequi et propitii reddantur, unde *hostimentum* aequationem. So on A. IV 424, where the same passage from the Asinaria is quoted. (This note is from Verrius Flaccus: see Paulus s. v. *hostis*.)

P. 3, *capulum* dicitur quicquid aliam rem intra se capit. Nam sarco-phagum, id est sepulchrum, *capulum* veteres dici volunt quod corpora capiat. *Capulum* and *capularis* are then illustrated from Plautus, Novius, Lucilius, and Varro.

Serv. A. VI 222, *capulus* dicitur a capiendo: unde ait Plautus *capularis senex*, id est capulo vicinus: the same note recurs on A. XI 64. (Verrius: Festus, pp. 102, 270.)

P. 4, *temulenta* est ebriosa, etc. Serv. A. XII 463, *temulentum* qui temeto plenus est.

P. 6, *exercitum* dicitur fatigatum, etc. Virg. A. III 182 is quoted. Serv. there says, *exercite*, fatigate, exercitate. So on A. I 431 (Dan. as well as vulg.), IV 623.

P. 6, *tenuis* est laqueus, dictus a tendicula: Plautus Bacchidibus . . . ita intendi tenuis. Serv. A. VI 62, *tenuis* proprie est extrema pars arcus, ut Plautus ostendit, unde tractum est ut *hactenus hucusque* significet. (Verrius: Fest. p. 367.)

P. 12, *exules* dicuntur extra solum, etc.

Servius, A. III 11, *exul* quasi trans solum (*salum*?) missus, aut extra solum vagus.

P. 13, *crepera* res proprie dicitur dubia, unde et *crepusculum* dicitur lux dubia, et senes decrepiti dicti, etc.

Servius, A. II 268, de *crepusculo* vero, quod est dubia lux (nam *creperum* dubium significat), quaeritur. (Verrius: Paulus, p. 71.)



THE ANCIENT COMMENTATORS ON VIRGIL. lxxi

P. 14, *Avernus* lacus idcirco appellatus est quia odor eius avibus infestissimus. Huius rei manifestator est Lucretius lib. vi 'Principio quod Averno vocantur, nomen id ab re Impositum est, quia sunt avibus contraria cunctis.' Unde et Vergilius lib. vi 'Inde ubi venere ad fauces graveolentis Averno, Tollunt se celeres,' et postea in eo libro, 'Quam super haud aliae,' etc.

Serv. A. III 442, *Avernus* autem in plurali *Averna* facit, ut *Tartarus Tartara*: unde est *Averna sonantia silvis*. Sane hic lacus ante silvarum densitate sic ambiebatur, ut exhalans inde per angustias aquae sulphureae odor gravissimus supervolantes aves necaret, unde et *Avernus* dictus est, quasi ἄορρος.

P. 14, *extorris* dicitur extra terram vel extra terminos, etc. Serv. A. IV 616, *finibus extorris*: extra suas terras remotus.

P. 15, *torrus* dicitur *fax*: unde et *torridare* dicimus *comburare*. Illustrated from Accius.

Servius, A. XII 298, *Torrem*: erit nominativus *hic torris*, et ita nunc dicimus. Nam illud Ennii et Pacuvii penitus de usu recessit, ut *hic torrus*, *huius torri* dicamus.

P. 18, *rumen* dicitur locus in ventre quo cibus sumitur et unde redditur, etc.

Serv. E. VI 54, *ruminatio* autem est a *ruma*, eminente gutturis parte: per quam demissus cibus a certis revocatur animalibus. Comp. ib. A. VIII 90.

P. 21, *cernuus* dicitur proprie *inclinatus*, quasi quod terram cernat. Lucilius Saturarum lib. III 'cernuus extemplo plantas convertit honestas.' Vergilius lib. x 'iectoque incumbit cernuus armo.' Lucilius Saturarum lib. XXVII 'modo sursum, modo deorsum, tamquam collus cernui.' Varro de Vita P. R. lib. I 'etiam pelles bubulas oleo perfusas percurrebant, ibique cernuabant,' etc.

Servius, A. X 894, *cernuus* dicitur equus qui cadit in faciem, quasi in eam partem qua cernimus. Unde et pueri quos in ludis videmus, ea parte qua cernunt stantes *cernui* vocantur: ut etiam Varro in Ludis Theatralibus docet.

P. 21, *stricturae* dicuntur proprie scintillae quae de ferro ferventi eunt, etc. Vergilius lib. VIII. Lucilius Saturarum lib. III.

Servius, A. VIII 420, *strictura* est terra ferri in massam coacta.

P. 22, *gliscit* est congelascit et colligitur, vel crescit, vel ignescit. Among other instances from Turpilius, Accius, Pacuvius, Sallust, and Cicero (Hortens. *gliscit illa ut ignis oleo*) is quoted Virg. A. XII 9, where Servius says, *gliscit* crescit . . . unde et *glires* dicti sunt, quos pingues efficit somnus. In Daniel's Servius are added the words, veteres *gliscit* incremento ignis ponebant (? imponebant), bene ergo hoc verbo utitur de quo ait *ultro implacabilis ardet*.

P. 23, *procacitas* a procando vel poscendo, unde et *proci* dicti sunt matrimoniorum petitores, etc.

Servius, A. I 536, *procacibus* austris, perseverantibus. Et *procax* proprie *petax* est, nam *procare* est *petere*, unde et *proci* dicuntur.

(Verrius: Paulus, pp. 224, 249.)

P. 23, *Kalendarum* vocabulum proprium Varro complexus est, De

lxxii THE ANCIENT COMMENTATORS ON VIRGIL.

Vita P.R. lib. 1 'itaque Kalendis kalabantur, id est vocabantur, et ab eo *kalendae* appellatae, quod est tractum a Graecis, qui *καλεῖν* vocare dixerunt.'

Servius, A. VIII 654 (curia Calabra) . . . quod cum incertae essent Kalendae aut Idus, a Romulo constitutum est ut ibi patres vel populus calarentur, id est vocarentur; ut scirent qua die Kalendae essent vel etiam Idus.

P. 25, *seditionis* proprietas a M. Tullio manifestata est in libro de Republica VI, 'eaeque dissensio civium quod seorsum eunt alii ad alios, seditio dicitur.' Serv. A. I 149 (Dan.) has the same words and the same instance.

P. 28, *fulgura* dicuntur coruscationes, a fulgore. Varro *περὶ κεραυνῶν* 'cognitio enim trium, fulgetrae, tonitrus, et fulguris, a fulmine orta.'

Servius, A. VIII 431, *fulgores* . . . quas *fulgetras* dicunt: so VIII 524, *fulgor*, id est *fulgetra*.

P. 29, *calces* a calcando, quod est *proterendo*, non a calcitrando: nam de omnibus pedibus et de hominum et universorum animantium dici potest. Nam sunt calces extrema pars pedum terrae proxima. Vergilius lib. v 'ecce volat, calcemque terit iam calce Dioces.' Here (v 324) Servius says *calcem* dicimus unde terram *calcamus*.

P. 30, *antes* sunt quadraturae, unde et *antae* dictae sunt quadrae columnae. Vergilius Georgicorum lib. II 'iam canit effectos extremus vinitor antes.'

Serv. G. II 417, *antes* alii extremos vinearum ordines accipiunt, alii macerias quibus vineta clauduntur: . . . dicuntur autem *antes* a lapidibus eminentioribus, qui interponuntur ad maceriam sustentandam: nam proprie *antes* sunt eminentes lapides, vel columnae ultimae, quibus fabrica sustinetur. Et appellantur *antes* ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀντεστηκέναι, ad quam etymologiam etiam extremos ordines vinearum possumus trahere qui (quia?) ante stant.

Philargyrius ib.: *antes*: Cato de Re militari, 'pedites quattuor agminibus, equites duobus antibus ducas.' Sunt autem extremae quadrarum partes.

(Verrius Flaccus: Paulus, p. 16.)

P. 30, *camurum* obtortum; unde et *camerat*, tecta in curvitatem formata. Vergilius Georgicorum lib. III 'et camuris hirtae sub cornibus aures.'

Servius, G. III 55, *camuris* . . . id est *curvis*. Unde et *camerae* appellantur.

Philarg. ib. *camuri* boves sunt qui conversa introrsus cornua habent, etc.

(Verrius: Paulus, p. 43.)

P. 30, *immunis* dicitur sine officio, sine munere. Vergilius Georgicorum lib. IV 'immunisque sedens aliena ad pabula fucus.'

Philarg. G. IV 244, *immunis* otiosus, piger, et qui munere non fungitur.

Servius, A. XII 559, *immunis* est qui nihil praestat, quasi sine muniis.



THE ANCIENT COMMENTATORS ON VIRGIL. lxxiii

(Verrius: Paulus, p. 109.)

P. 30, *dirum* est triste, infestum, et quasi deorum ira missum. Vergilius Georgicorum lib. III . . . et Aeneidos lib. IV 'ultricesque sedent in limine Dirae.'

Servius, A. IV 453 (Dan.) *dira* enim *deorum ira est*: so on VI 373.

(Verrius: Paulus, pp. 109, 143.)

P. 30, *exordium* est initium, etc. Vergilius Aeneidos lib. IV . . . 'quae primum exordia sumat?'

Serv. A. IV 284, *exordia*, orationem . . . sed *exordium* in duo dividitur, in principium et orationem, sicut in Rhetoricis legimus.

P. 31, *sudum* dictum est quasi semiudum, ut est aer post pluvias liquidus et serenus. Vergilius lib. VIII 'arma inter nubes caeli regione serena Per sudum rutilare vident,' etc.

Servius, A. VIII 529, *sudum* est quasi *sub udum*, serenum post pluvias, ut (G. IV 77) 'ver nactae sudum.' Alii *sudum* semiudum volunt dici, cum per nubes ad nos perveniat solis ictus non integer.

Philarg. G. IV 77, *sudum* est serenum *subumidum*: proprie autem *sudum* pars serena inter nubes, quasi *semiudum*.

P. 32, *arcantum* dicitur secretum vel absconditum, quod quae in arca sunt celata sint et abscondita. Vergilius Aeneidos lib. IV . . . 'arcanos etiam tibi credere sensus:' et Aeneidos lib. I 'longius et volvens fatorum arcana movebo.'

Servius, A. I 262, *arcana* secreta, unde et *arca* et *arx* dictae quasi res secretae.

(Verrius: Paulus, p. 16.)

P. 32, *monumentum* proprietatem a *monendo*. Illustrated from Cicero and Virgil, A. V 571.

Servius, A. III 486, *monumenta* memoria. *Monumenta* autem a mentis admonitione sunt dicta: so on A. VI 512 monumentum . . . quod moneat mentem.

P. 32, *gestire* significat laetum esse; dictum a gesticulis facillioribus. Terentius in Eunuchis . . . Vergilius Georgicorum lib. I 'et studio incassum videas gestire lavandi.'

Servius, G. I 387, *gestire* est laetitiam suam corporis habitu significare, nam ut homines verbis laetitiam suam expriment, ita aves corporis gesticulatione.

(Verrius: Paulus, p. 96.)

P. 33, *involare* est inruere, insilire: aut a volatu, aut a *vola*, id est *media manu* dictum. Illustrated from Terence and Lucilius.

Servius, A. III 233 . . . aut *intra volam* [interiorem manus] amplectitur praedam: unde et *involare* dicimus intra volam tenere, unde et pira quaedam volema dicuntur. So on G. II 88.

P. 33, *ignavum est segne*, torpidum, feriatum, et *sine igni*. Vergilius, 'ignavum fucos pecus a praesepibus arcent.' (This is apparently a confusion between two glosses, *ignavum* est torpidum, feriatum, and *segnis*, sine igni.)

Serv. A. I 423, *segnem*, id est *sine igni*: and so elsewhere several times, and Schol. Ver. A. IV 149.

Servius, A. I 435, *ignavum* inutile, non aptum industriae, nam indus-

trios *navos* dicimus. This is on the same line as that quoted by Nonius, 'ignavum fucos pecus a praesepibus arcent.'

P. 35, *angina* genus morbi, eo quod angat, et Graece *συνάγχη* appellatur. Lucilius lib. xxx 'insperato abiit, quem una angina sustulit hora.'

Servius, G. III 497, *angit* autem bene ait. Nam *angina* dicitur porcorum morbus qui occupat fauces. Plautus, 'Vellem me in anginam verti, ut huic aniculae fauces praecoccuparem.'

(Paul. p. 8, s. v. *angor*, has the same quotation from Plautus.)

P. 37, *sedulo* significat sine dolo. Lucilius lib. xxvii . . . totumque hoc studiose et sedulo. Servius, A. II 374 (Dan.), mentions this etymology.

P. 42, *pecuniosorum* et *locupletum* proprietatem aperuit M. Tullius de Republica lib. II, a pecore pecuniosos, et a possessionibus locorum locupletes appellatos adserens: 'Multaeque dictione ovium et boum, quod tunc res erat in pecore et locorum possessionibus: ex quo pecuniosi et locupletes vocabantur.' Comp. Servius on E. I 33.

P. 44, *prodigia* sunt *porro adigenda*. Plautus Amphitruone . . . te prodigiali Iovi . . . comprecata oportuit.

Servius, A. III 366 (Dan.). *Varro* sane haec ita definit: ostentum, quod aliquid hominibus ostendit, *prodigium quod porro dirigit*, miraculum, quod mirum est, monstrum, quod monet.

(Fest. p. 229, derives *prodigium* from *prodicere*.)

P. 45, *cassum* veteres *inane* posuerunt. Et arbitrandum est eius verbi proprietatem magis ab araneorum cassibus dictam, quod sint leves et nullius ponderis, non, ut quibusdam videtur, quasi *quassum*. Plautus Aulularia, 'Virginem habeo grandem, dote cassam atque inlocabilem.'

Servius, A. II 85 (Dan.), *cassum* est quasi *quassum* et nihil continens: nam et vas *quassum*, quod umorem in se non continet et est vacuum; unde et retia *casses*, quod multum in se vacui habeant.

P. 45, *investes* dicuntur impuberes, quibus propter teneram aetatem nulla pars corporis pilat. Hoc et Aeneidos lib. VIII videtur sensisse Vergilius: 'Aurea caesaries ollis atque aurea vestis.'

Servius, A. VIII 659, *aurea vestis*, hoc est *barba*. Unde contra *investes* dicimus *imberbes*: unde est (v. 160) 'tunc mihi prima genas vestibat flore iuventa.'

(Paul. p. 368, s. v. *vesticeps*.)

P. 48, *silicernium* pessime intellegentes ita posuisse *Terentium* putant quod incurvitate silices cernat senex. *Silicernium* est proprie convivium funebre quod senibus exhibetur. Varro Meleagris: 'Funus exsequiati, laute ad sepulcrum antiquo more silicernium confecimus, id est *περίδειπνον*: quo pransi discedentes dicimus alius alii *Vale*.'

Servius, A. v 92, leviter gustavit epulas . . . quae *silicernium* dicuntur quasi *silicernium*, super silicem positae. In the Servius of Daniel are added the words, quae peractis sacris senibus dabantur, ut se cito morituros cognoscerent.

P. 50, *fures* significationem habere a *furvo*, quod Romani veteres *furvum* atrum appellaverint; et quod per obscuras atque atras noctes opportuna sit eis mali effectio, eos dictos fures, Varro (ostendit) Rerum



THE ANCIENT COMMENTATORS ON VIRGIL. lxxv

Humanarum lib. xiv: '*furem* ex eo dictum quod furvum atrum appellaverint, et *fures* per obscuras noctes atque atras furentur.'

Servius, A. ix 350, *fures* ideo dicti sunt quid *furvo* id est nigro tempore furta committunt.

G. iii 407, *fur* autem a *furvo* dictus est, id est *nigro*. Nam noctis utitur tempore. Horatius (Carm. ii xiii 21) 'quam paene vidimus furvae regna Proserpinae.' Aut certe a Graeco venit, nam fur φῶρ vocatur.

P. 51, *peni*, *penus*, vel *penoris*, sic enim a pluribus declinatum, proprietatem docti veteres hanc esse voluerunt, quod quae in ea sunt, quasi penitus et in penetralibus recondantur. Hoc et in antiquis libris et philosophorum tractatibus invenitur.

Servius, A. ii 508 (Dan.), sane *penetralia* proprie deorum dicuntur, non nunquam etiam imae et interiores partes privatarum domorum vocantur, unde et *penum* dicimus locum ubi conduntur quae ad vitam sunt necessaria.

Servius, A. i 703, inter *penum* et *cellarium* hoc interest, quod *cellarium* est paucorum dierum, unde et in cellam dicitur imperatum frumentum, *penus* vero temporis longi. Sane dicimus et *hic* et *haec* et *hoc penus*: sed a masculino et a feminino genere quarta est declinatio, a neutro tertia, quo modo *pecus pecoris*. Unde Horatius 'portet frumenta penusque': masculino vero genere Plautus 'nisi mihi annuus penus datur,' feminino Lucilius posuit, ut 'uxori legata penus.' Quartae autem declinationis esse Persius docuit, ut 'in locuplete penu defensis pinguibus Umbris.'

Servius, A. iii 12 (Dan.), nam et ipsum penetral *penus* dicitur, ut hodie quoque *penus Vestae* claudi vel aperiri dicitur. (See Fest. p. 250, *penus Vestae*.)

Gell. iv 1, quotes from Lucilius, 'legavit quidam uxori mundum omne penumque': alludes (§ 14 foll.) to Virgil's *longam penum instruere*: quotes from Q. Scaevola, 'quae ad edendum bibendumque in dies singulos prandii aut cenae causa parantur, *penus* non sunt: sed ea potius quae huiusce generis longae usionis gratia contrahuntur et reconduntur, ex eo quod non in promptu sint sed intus et penitus habeantur, *penus* dicta sunt.'

Charis. p. 74 K., *penus* quo modo debeat declinari incertum est. Nam Plautus in Pseudolo eodem fere loco et masculino genere dicit *hic penus* et neutro *hoc penus*. Vergilius autem etiam feminino *longam penum*.

Iulius Romanus ap. Charis. p. 140 K., *penu* Pomponius (so rightly K.) . . . 'careo tam pulchra penu,' *penus peni* si femininum, *penoris* ut *pecoris*, si generis neutri sit, ut quidam putant.

Prisc. v, p. 163 K., *penus* invenitur et masculinum et femininum et neutrum. Vergilius in i 'cura penum struere': Terentius in Eunucho 'Cum in cellulam ad te patris penum omnem congerebam clanculum.' Horatius in i epistularum 'annonae prosit, portet frumenta penusque.' Ib. p. 170 *hic* et *haec* et *hoc penus* et *hoc penum*. Plautus in Pseudolo . . . 'annuus penus': Lucilius, 'Magna penus parvo spatio consumpta peribit': Plautus in Captivis . . . 'aliud penus': Caesar Strabo in oratione qua Sulpicio respondit 'deinde propinquos nostros Messalas domo deflagrata penore volebamus privare.' Afranius in Talione '. . .

intra penum Erile.' This is repeated nearly *totidem verbis* on the authority of Donatus and Caper, in Prisc. vi, p. 260 K. (It is clear in this instance that the oldest form of the note is preserved in Priscian: and that the note is at least as old as Gellius and Iulius Romanus.)

P. 51, *laevum* significari veteres posuerunt quasi a *levando*. Vergilium quoque sub hac ostentatione posuisse voluerunt Georgicorum lib. iv 'si quem Numina laeva sinunt': Ennius Annalium lib. III 'Olli de caelo laevum dedit inclutus signum.'

Servius, A. II 54, *laeva* modo contraria. Et sciendum *laevum*, cum de humanis rebus est, esse contrarium, cum de caelestibus, prosperum, ut 'intonuit laevum.' So on II 693 *laevum* sinistrum, prosperum, quia caeleste est, ut diximus supra: and so on G. IV 6.

P. 53, *vestibulum*: this note resembles that in Gellius XVI 5. Serv. A. VI 273 (the line quoted by Gellius l. c.), *vestibulum*: ut Varro dicit, etymologia non habet proprietatem, sed fit pro captu ingenii. Nam *vestibulum* ut supra diximus (II 469) dictum ab eo quod ianuam vestiat. Alii dicunt, ab eo quod nullus illic stet. In limine enim solus est transitus: quomodo *vesanus* dicitur non sanus, sic *vestibulum* quasi *non stabulum*. The etymology is the same as that given by Gellius and Nonius, but the interpretation of *ve* is different. Gellius is evidently extracting from a commentator on Virgil: Nonius as evidently not, for he only quotes Cicero.

P. 53, *bidentes* qui existimant ob eam causam oves a Vergilio dictas quod duos dentes habeant, pessime ac vitiose intellegunt: nam nec duos dentes habent, et hoc quidem genus monstri est. Et melius intellegi potest si *biennes* dixerint, auctoritate Pomponii in Atellana, 'Mars, tibi voveo facturum, si umquam redierit, Bidenti verre.' Laberius in Paupertate, 'Visus hac noctu bidentes . . . propter viam Facere.' Et Nigidius Figulus dicit *bidental* vocari quod bimae pecudes immolentur.

Serv. A. IV 57 = VI 39: *bidentes* autem dictae sunt quasi *biennes* . . . Sunt autem in ovibus duo eminentiores dentes inter octo qui non nisi circa bimatum apparent: nec in omnibus, sed in his quae sunt aptae sacrificiis inveniuntur.

From Gell. XVI VI 14, it appears that Servius' note is from Hyginus and Nigidius, both of whose notes were probably in Verrius Flaccus: see Fest. p. 33 and 35.

P. 55, *tropaei* significationem propriam Varro Bimarco ostendit. 'Ideo (?) fuga hostium Graece appellatur τροπή. Hinc spolia capta fixa in stipitibus appellantur *tropaea*.' Serv. A. X 775, *tropaeum* dictum est ἀπὸ τοῦ τρέπεσθαι, id est ab hostium conversione, unde qui hostem fugasset merebatur *tropaeum*.

P. 58, *testudines* sunt loca in aedificiis camerata, ad similitudinem aquatilium testudinum, quae duris tergoribus sunt et incurvis. Vergilius Aeneidos lib. I 'In foribus divae, media testudine templi.' Sisenna Historiarum lib. IV, etc.

Servius, A. I 505, *testudine*, camera incurva, quae secundum eos qui scripserunt de ratione templorum, ideo sic fit ut simulacro caeli imaginem reddat, etc. Much more is added in Daniel's Servius. Isid. XV VIII 8, has a note which is taken from the same sources as that of Servius.



THE ANCIENT COMMENTATORS ON VIRGIL. lxxvii

P. 58, *adolere* est verbum proprie sacra reddentium, quod significat votis vel supplicationibus numen auctius facere : ut est in isdem *macte esto*. Et intellegi debet ab eo quod est *adolevit*, id est *crevit*, et *adultum*, quod est *auctum*, etc. Illustrated by four instances from Virgil.

Serv. A. I 704, *adolere* proprie est *augere*.

P. 62, *calonum* quoque proprietates haec est, quod ligna militibus subministrant : *κάλια* enim Graeci *ligna* dicunt, ut Homerus, *ἐπι δὲ ξύλα κἄλ' ἐπέθεντο*.

Servius, A. I 39, and more fully VI 1, *calas* . . . dicebant maiores nostri fustes quos portabant servi sequentes dominos ad proelium : unde etiam *calones* dicebantur. Nam consuetudo erat militis Romani ut ipse sibi arma portaret et vallum : *vallum* autem dicebant *calam*, sicut Lucilius 'Scinde *calam* ut *caleas*.'

P. 66, *manum* dicitur clarum, etc. Compare generally Serv. A. I 110, I 39 : II 268 : G. I 437. These notes may be either independent, or have originally constituted parts of the same note.

NONIUS, BOOK II.

P. 79, *bipennis* manifestum est *dici quod ex utraque parte sit acutum* : nam nonnulli gubernaculorum partes tenuiores ad hanc similitudinem *pinnas* vocant eleganter. Then follow three quotations from Varro.

Scholium Veron. A. II 479, *correpta dura bipenni* . . . acutum vocarunt, unde et *bipennis* dicitur *ex utraque parte acuta*.

Servius, A. XI 651 (Dan.), *bipennis* autem dicitur quod ex utraque parte habet aciem, quasi duas *pinnas* quas veteres dicebant.

P. 103, *errabundus* pro *errans*. Vergilius (Buc. VI 57), 'si qua forte ferant oculis sese obvia nostris Errabunda bovis vestigia.' Gellius XI 15 says that this was a mistake of Caesellius Vindex (under Trajan, 96-117). The note appears to be preserved in a fuller form by Servius (Dan.) l. c. . . . *errabunda*, *errantia*, ut *ludibundus* ludens : Cicero ; 'omnia ludibundus conficiens.' Comp. Gellius l. c. quod idem (Caesellius) esse putaverit *ludens* et *ludibunda*, *ridens* et *ridibunda*.

P. 106, *equitem* pro equo. Vergilius Georgicorum lib. III 'atque equitem docere sub armis Insultare solo et gressus glomerare superbos.' Ennius Annalium lib. VII 'an non quadrupes equites.' Lucilius is then quoted on the word *equitare*. Gell. XVIII v 4 quotes from Ennius 'denique vi magna quadrupes eques atque elephantum Proiciunt sese,' and quotes in illustration the passage in the third Georgic, and also that in Lucilius.

Philargyrius G. III 116 : hic *equitem* sine dubio *equum* dicit, maxime cum inferat *insultare solo*. Ennius Annalium VII 'denique vi magna quadrupes eques atque elephantum Proiciunt sese.' Servius has the same note in an abridged form.

Gellius says of this view (XVIII v 12), 'sed eadem ipsa post etiam in pervulgatis commentariis scripta offendimus.' Are these *pervulgati commentarii* commentaries on Virgil, or treatises on the use of words? In either case this discussion on the word *equus* must have been considerably older than the time of Gellius.

P. 109 [*Flora, florida*]. Naevius Lycurgo: 'ut videam Volcani haec opere flammis flora fieri.'

Serv. A. XII 605, *flavos Lavinia crines*. Antiqua lectio *floros* habuit, id est *florulentos, pulchros*: et est sermo Ennianus. The following words are added in Daniel's Servius: Probus sic adnotavit: 'Neotericum erat *flavos*, ergo bene *floros*, nam sequitur *Et roseas laniata genas*. Accius in Bacchidibus, *nam flori crines vident ut propexi iacent*. In iisdem, *Et lanugo flora nunc demum inrigat*. Pacuvius Antiopa, *Cerucium floros dispendite crines*.'

P. 114, *frons pro frondis*: Vergilius Georgicorum lib. II 'praecipue cum frons tenera imprudensque laborum.' Varro de Re Rustica lib. I, 'quod Cato ait, circum fundum ulmos et populos, unde frons ovibus et bubus sit:' so p. 486, without the instance from Varro.

Servius, G. II 372, *frons tenera: frondis* est vera lectio et antiqua (?) Lucretius (I 19), 'frondiferasque domos avium.' Apud antiquiores enim singularis nominativus erat *frondis*: hodie vero et a *fronte* et a *fronde* unus est nominativus *frons*, sicut etiam *lens* a *lente* et a *lende*, capitis brevioris pediculo.

(The note in Servius seems corrupt. Ribbeck thinks *frondis* stands for *fronds*.)

P. 126: *indulgitate* pro *indulgentia*. Sisenna Historiarum lib. III 'Bassus adsiduitate, indulgitate victus.'

Philargyrius G. II 345, et nove *indulgentia* dixit. Veteres enim *indulgitatem* dicebant, ut Caelius in VII 'consuetudine uxoris, indulgitate liberum.'

P. 134, *latrocinari*, militare mercede. Plautus Cornicularia '[qui regi] latrocinatus annos decem [Demetrio] Mercede' . . . in Tiberio: 'qui apud regem in latrocinio fuisti, mercedem acceptitasti.' Ennius, 'fortunasque suas coepere latrones Inter se memorare.'

Servius, A. XII 7, *latronis* . . . modo *venatoris*, et est Graecum, nam *λατρεύειν* dicunt obsequi. . . . Varro tamen dicit hoc nomen posse habere etiam Latinam etymologiam, ut *latrones* dicti sint quasi *laterones*, quod circa latera regum sunt. . . . Una tamen significatio, licet in diversa etymologia. Plautus in Pyrgopolinice aperte ostendit quid sint *latrones*, dicens 'rex Seleucus misit ad conducendos latrones,' etc.

Comparing this note with that in Festus, p. 118, *latrones* eos antiqui dicebant qui conducti militabant ἀπὸ τῆς λατρείας, at nunc viarum obsessores dicuntur, quia a latere adoriuntur, sive quod latenter insidiant, we might be disposed to infer that in the notes of Nonius and Servius we have the fragments of an original gloss of Verrius Flaccus. Compare also Varro, L. L. VII 52.

Nonius p. 180 has a note on *transenna*, which he explains as = *fenestra*, and illustrates by quotations from Cicero and Sallust.

Servius, A. V 488, explains *transenna* as = *traiectus funis*, quoting the same passage from Sallust as Nonius, 'transenna demissum Victoriae simulacrum cum machinato strepitu tonitruum coronam capiti imponebat.'

P. 184, *viscus* positum pro viscere. Lucretius lib. I 'visceribus viscus gigni, sanguenque creari.' [Pro visco?] Vergilius Georgicorum lib. I 'Tum laqueis captare feras et fallere visco Inventum.' Id est,



THE ANCIENT COMMENTATORS ON VIRGIL. lxxix

tactu visci. Lucilius Saturarum lib. xiv 'Idne aegri est magis, an quod pane et viscere aprino? Quod viscus dederat, tu quidem hoc in viscera largi.'

In this note Nonius has evidently, whether by his own fault or no, confused and misrepresented his authorities. Some light is thrown on the original intention of the note by a comparison of Servius G. i 139, *fallere visco*, ad aucupium. Item ad venationem, *et magnos canibus circumdare saltus*. Male autem de aucupio quidam respuunt, totum referentes ad venationem, et dicunt *fallere visco* pro *visceratione* positum. Constat enim luparios carnibus tinctis veneno lupos necare; quod ideo non procedit, quia *hoc viscum huius visci* facit, sicut *templum templi*. Unde est *fallere visco*. *Viscus* vero, id est caro, *visceris* facit, ut *pecus pecoris*. Lucretius, 'permixtus viscere sanguis.' Item ipse 'viscus gigni sanguenque creari.'

Here Servius appears to have preserved the real sense of the note which is so blurred and corrupted in Nonius. Nonius has a quotation from Lucilius which is wanting in Servius, while on the other hand Servius has one from Lucretius which is wanting in Nonius, and both have the line *Lucr. i 837* in common. Part of the note recurs in *Serv. A. i 211: viscera nudant*. *Viscera* non tantum intestina dicimus, sed quicquid sub corio est, ut 'in Albano Latinis visceratio dabatur,' id est caro. Est autem nominativus *hoc viscus huius visceris*, ut Lucretius 'viscus gigni sanguenque creari.'

The quotation from Lucretius (*i 837*) recurs in Nonius' note on *sanguis* p. 224 (comp. Priscian i, p. 250), which, as we have seen, there is reason to suppose came from Probus. It is then possible that the discussion on *viscus* is also from Probus?

NONIUS, BOOK III.

P. 194, *bubo* generis feminini. Vergilius Aeneidos lib. iv 'solaque culminibus ferali carmine bubo.' Genere masculino. Asellio Historiarum lib. i 'et quod bubo in columna aedis Iovis sedens conspectus est.'

Serv. A. iv 462, *sola* contra genus posuit. Lucanus 'et laetae iurantur aves bubone sinistro.' Item Ovidius 'infandus bubo.' Et hoc est in usu, sed Vergilius mutavit, referens ad avem.

Comp. Priscian i, p. 206. Is the note from Caper or Probus?

P. 196-7, *clunes* feminino. Horatius, 'quod pulchrae clunes, breve quod caput, ardua cervix.' Masculino, Plautus Agroico, 'quam si lupus, ab armis valeo, clunes defectos gero.'

The source of this note is ultimately Verrius Flaccus; Festus, p. 61, *clunes* masculino: Plautus 'quasi lupus, ab armis valeo, clunes defectos gero.' But it must have been recast and augmented by later scholars before it was used by Servius (*A. ii 554*), *clunis* Iuvenalis bene dixit, 'tremulo descendant clune puellae,' Horatius male 'quod pulchrae clunes.' Priscian i, p. 160, illustrates by the same line from Horace and one (the same?) from Juvenal: Charisius, p. 101, by the same Horace, and passages from Scaevola and Laberius. The gloss in its final form as given by Servius would seem to be later than Probus, unless indeed it is possible that he could have quoted from Juvenal.

P. 200, *calor* generis masculini. Vergilius Georgicorum lib. II 'Si non tanta quies iret caelumque caloremque Inter.' Neutri: Plautus Mercatore, 'neque calor neque frigus metuo.'

Philargyrius, G. II 344 (*frigusque caloremque Inter*): fuit autem prior lectio *frigusque calorque*: ut Plautus 'neque frigus neque calor metuo neque ventum neque grandinem.'

P. 202, *crocum* generis neutri. Sallustius Historiarum lib. II 'iter vertit ad Corycum, urbem inclutam pastibus atque nemore in quo crocum gignitur.'

Masculini: Vergilius Georgicorum lib. IV 'et glaucas salices, casiamque crocumque rubentem.'

Servius, G. IV 182, Sallustius in historiis ait 'in quo crocum gignitur,' genere neutro secundum artem usus.

P. 209, *insomnium* generis neutri. Feminini; Caecilius Plocio, 'consequitur comes insomnia.'

Charis. p. 101 quotes Pacuvius in support of the feminine form, and Virgil A. IV 9: Servius on this passage says, sciendum . . . quia si *terret* (*insomnia*) dixerimus, antiqua erit elocutio. *Insomnia* enim, licet et Pacuvius et Ennius frequenter dixerint, Plinius tamen exclusit et de usu removit.

P. 225, *scrobes* feminino genere. Masculino, Plautus Amphitruone, 'ibi scrobes fodito sexagenos in dies.' Idem Aulularia, 'ego effodiebam denos in dies scrobes.'

Priscian I p. 168 quotes the same passages from Plautus: Servius on G. II 50 says, nos *scrobes* genere dicimus masculino, licet Lucanus dixerit contra artem *exigua posuit scrobe*. And on G. II 288, *scrobes* masculini sunt generis. Nam Cicero in Oeconomicis sic dicit: et Plautus ait *sexagenos in dies scrobes*. Minor autem est Lucani et Gracchi auctoritas. Nam Lucanus ait *exigua posuit scrobe*. Gracchus, *abunde fossa scrobis est*: quod exemplum in Terentiano est. This Gracchus may be the tragedian of the Augustan age. Here the fullest form of the note seems to have been preserved by Terentianus Maurus.

Nonius p. 230 says that *vulgus* has two genders, neuter and masc.; the latter usage he illustrates from Accius and Varro, and also from Virg. A. II 98, 'spargere voces In vulgum ambiguas.'

So Servius, A. I 149, *vulgus* et masculini generis et neutri lectum est: generis neutri hoc loco, alibi masculini, ut 'in vulgum ambiguas.' Charis. p. 74 quotes the same passage from Virg.

P. 231, *Vepres* generis masculini. Vergilius 'sparsi rorabant sanguine vepres.' Feminini . . . Lucretius lib. IV 'nam saepe videmus Illorum spoliis vepres volitantibus auctas.'

Philargyrius, G. III 444, *vepres* in masculino genere. At Lucretius in feminino 'Illorum spoliis,' etc.

P. 231, *Vadum* generis neutri. Vergilius Aeneidos I 'in vada caeca tulit.' Masculini; Sallustius Historiarum lib. I 'et mox Fufidius adveniens cum legionibus, postquam cautes asperas, haud facilem pugnantibus vadum, cuncta hosti quam suis opportuniora videt.'

Servius, A. I 112 (Dan.), quotes *vadus* from Varro de ora maritima lib. I. Comp. Prisc. I p. 264.



## NONIUS, BOOK IV.

Coming now to the fourth book of Nonius, which is lexicographical (*De Varia Significatione Verborum*), I have noticed the following important coincidences between his notes and those of the commentators on Virgil:

P. 245, *aura* splendor. Vergilius Aeneidos lib. vi 'discolor unde auri per ramos aura refulsit.'

Servius, A. vi 204, *aura auri*, splendor auri. Horatius, 'tua ne retardet Aura maritos,' i.e. splendor.

P. 257, *componere* finire. Vergilius Aeneidos lib. i 'ante diem clauso componet Vesper Olympo.' Et in Bucolicis, 'non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites.' *Componere* reficere, recreare . . . Vergilius Aeneidos lib. i 'nunc placida compostus pace quiescit.' *Componere* disponere, constituere: Vergilius Aeneidos lib. iiii 'quam tuta possis urbem componere terra.' M. Tullius de Officiis . . . *Componere* rursus significat comparare. Accius . . . Lucilius . . . Sallustius . . . Vergilius Georgicorum lib. iv 'non aliter, si parva licet componere magnis' . . . *Componere* coniungere. Vergilius lib. viii 'componens manibusque manus atque oribus ora.' Lucilius . . . Sallustius.

Servius, A. i 374, *componet* finiet, ut 'oblato gaudens componi foedere bellum.' The Cassel MS. adds, et 'non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites.' Alibi pro *disponere*, ut 'nec componere opes norant,' alibi pro *coniungere*, ut 'componens manibusque manus,' alibi pro *comparare*, ut 'sic parvis componere magna solebam,' alibi pro *jundare*, ut 'placida compostus pace.'

P. 261, *circumferre* lustrare. Plautus in Amphitruone, 'quin tu istanc iube Pro cerrita circumferri.'

Servius, A. vi 229, *circumtulit*, purgavit. Antiquum verbum est; Plautus: 'pro larvato te circumferam.' Nam *lustratio* a circumlacione dicta est vel taedae vel sulphuris. Iuvenalis, 'si qua darentur Sulpura cum taedis.'

P. 261, *confidentia* . . . temeritas, audacia. Lucilius . . . Turpilius . . . Accius . . . Afranius . . . Vergilius Georgicorum lib. iv 'Nam quis te, iuvenum confidentissime, nostras Iussit adire domos?' Terentius in Andria 'nescio qui senex venit modo . . . confidens, catus.'

Philargyrius, G. iv 445, *confidentissime* pro *audacissime*. *Confidentiam* enim veteres pro impudenti audacia dicebant, ut Terentius (Andr. v iii 5) 'O ingentem confidentiam.'

P. 266, *capessere*, recipere (*capessere se, se recipere*?). Plautus in Amphitruone, 'nunc pergam eri imperium exsequer, et me domum capessere.'

Servius (Daniel), A. iv 346, quidam *capessere* pro *ire* accipiunt, ut Titinius 'Lucius domum se capessit.'

Nonius, p. 277, *damnare* et *condemnare* pro *liberare* positum est: Titinius . . . Vergilius lib. xii 'quem damnet labor, et quo vergat pondere letum.' Turpilius . . . Vergilius in Bucolicis 'damnabis tu quoque votis.' Sisenna.

I.

f

Servius, A. XII 727, *damnet*, liberet, ut 'damnabis tu quoque votis.'

P. 278, *da*, dic. Vergilius in Bucolicis, 'Sed tamen iste deus qui sit, *da*, Tityre, nobis.' Etiam lib. VI 'tuque O sanctissima vates, Praescia venturi, *da*, non indebita posco.'

Servius, A. I 676, *accipe* audi, ut contra *da* dic; ut 'da, non indebita posco' et 'da, Tityre, nobis.' Comp. Serv. (Dan.) on A. III 85, Serv. on A. VI 66, E. I 19.

P. 298, *explere*, minuere. Vergilius lib. VI 'discedam, explebo numerum, reddarque tenebris.'

Servius, A. VI 545, explebo est *minuam*. Nam ait Ennius 'navibus explebant sese, terrasque replebant.' Quam Caper secutus cum de praepositione *ex* tractaret, hoc exemplum posuit. Did Nonius then take his example from Caper, or from some older source?

P. 307, *fatiscere* est aperi.

Servius, A. I 123, *fatiscent*, abundanter aperiuntur; *fatim* enim abundanter dicimus (unde et *adfatim*), *hiscere* autem *aperiri*.

P. 307, *ferus* iterum equus. Vergilius Aeneidos lib. II 'inque feri curvam compagibus alvum Contorsit.' Accius Medea, 'perite in stabulis frenos immittens feris.' *Ferus* iterum significat *cervum*. Vergilius lib. VII 'pectebatque ferum, puroque in fonte lavabat.'

The Verona scholia on A. VII 489 quote a note of Velius Longus which (though the text is now mutilated) it is evident must have borne a general resemblance to that of Nonius, quoting as it does A. II 51 'inque feri curvam,' etc.

P. 311, *fetum* significat *plenum*. Vergilius Aeneidos lib. I 'loca feta furentibus austris.' Et lib. II 'scandit fatalis machina muros, Feta armis. Varro γῆθη σεαυρόν . . . *Fetum* onere levatum. Vergilius lib. VIII 'fecerat et viridi fetam Mavortis in antro Procubuisse lupam.' Et Georgicorum lib. III 'nec tibi fetae More patrum nivea implebunt vulgaria vaccae.'

Servius, A. I 51, *loca feta*, nunc *plena*, ut alio loco *feta armis*. Sciendum est autem *fetam* dici et *gravidam* et *partu liberatam*, ut 'fecerat et viridi fetam Mavortis in antro Procubuisse lupam,' etc.

P. 317, *habere*, satis esse (captus esse? Quicherat conj. *fatiscere*). Vergilius lib. XII 'hoc habet, haec melior magnis data victima divis.' Terentius Andria 'certe captus est, habet.'

Servius, on A. XII 296, *hoc habet*, id est, letali percussus est vulnere. Terentius, 'certe captus est, habet.'

Nonius, p. 319, has a long note on the various meanings of *haurire*. *Haurire* significat *exhaurire* vel *implere* . . . *avare sumere* . . . *defatigare* . . . *confodere* . . . *accipere* . . . *tenere*. For the sense of *avare sumere* he quotes Virg. A. I 738, 'ille impiger hausit Spumantem pateram,' for that of *confodere*, A. X 314, 'latus haurit apertum,' for that of *accipere* vel *audire*, A. XII 25, 'haec animo hauri,' and IV 359, 'vocemque his auribus hausit.'

Comp. Serv. A. I 738, *hausit* modo *accepit*, nec possumus intellegere *bibit*, cum hoc sequatur, 'et pleno se proluit auro.' Alibi *vidit*, ut 'hausit caelum mentemque receptat,' alibi *audivit*, ut 'vocemque his auribus hausit,' alibi *vulnerat*, ut 'latus haurit apertum.' Et multa alia



THE ANCIENT COMMENTATORS ON VIRGIL. lxxxiii

pro loco significat. On A. iv 359, Serv. (Dan.) says, *haurit* enim pro *percipit* ponebant veteres, et ideo qua potissimum parte sensus percipiant adiungunt, ut 'simul hoc animo hauri,' et 'hauriat hunc oculis ignem.' Probus enim ait 'nemo haurit vocem.' Is the whole comment from a note of Probus?

P. 328, *interpres* auctor. Vergilius Aeneidos iv 'tuque harum interpres curarum et conscia Iuno.'

Servius, A. iv 608 (Dan.), sane *interpres* quid sit secundum veteres ipse exposuit dicendo *conscia*: veteres enim *interpretem* conscium et auctorem dicebant. Plautus in Milite 'quae mihi condicio nova et luculentior offertur per te interpretem.' Idem in Curculione, 'quod te praesente hoc egit teque interprete.'

P. 332, *Legere* . . . colligere: Titinius . . . Vergilius lib. x 'extremaque Lauso Parcae fila legunt,' et lib. v 'fractosque legunt in gurgite remos'—with other instances.

Servius, A. v 209, *legunt*: alii *praetereunt*, sed melius *legunt*, id est *colligunt*. A. x 815, *fila legunt* . . . *legunt colligunt* est, aut *transeunt*, ut 'Litoraue Epiri legimus.'

Nonius, ib.: *legere* praeterire Vergilio auctore dicimus, Aeneidos lib. iii 'litoraue Epiri legimus.' See Servius, A. v 209, quoted above, and iii 127.

Nonius, ib.: *legere* est *navigare*, *praestringere*. Vergilius Aeneidos lib. ii 'pars cetera pontum Pone legit.'

Servius, A. iii 127, *legimus* praeterimus, ut 'litoraue Epiri legimus.' Tractus autem sermo a nautis, quod furem legendo, id est colligendo, aspera loca praetereunt. Comp. Serv. G. ii 44.

Nonius, ib.: *legere subripere* significat, unde et *sacrilegium* dicitur, id est de sacro furtum. Vergilius in Bucolicis 'Nam quae sublegi tacitus tibi carmina nuper.' Nonius illustrates further from Turpilius, Lucilius, and Plautus (Aulularia).

Servius, A. x 79, *legere*, furari, unde et *sacrilegi* dicuntur qui sacra legunt, id est furantur. Alibi 'vel quae sublegi tacitus tibi carmina nuper.' Comp. Serv. on E. ix 21.

P. 339, *longe* est valde. Vergilius Aeneidos lib. v 'ante omnes stupet ipse Dares longeque recusat.' Illustrated further from Cicero, Lucilius, Sisenna, and Terence.

Servius, A. i 13, illustrates the same meaning from Sallust, 'longe alia mihi mens est, patres conscripti': comp. Serv. A. ii 711, v 406.

P. 340, *laetum* pingue. Vergilius Georgicorum lib. ii 'glande sues laeti redeunt.' Serv. A. iii 220, *laeta* pinguis: so G. i 74, *laetum* pecus, id est pingue.

Nonius, p. 345, treats *merere* and *maerere* under the same article: *meret* militat . . . *maeret* rursus dolet.

Servius, A. iv 82, *maeret* si diphthongum habeat, ut hoc loco, *tristis est* significat: aliter *militat* significat.

P. 357-8, *olim* trinam habet significationem temporum. Praeteriti; 'meos olim si fistula dicat amores.' *Olim* temporis futuri. Vergilius Aeneidos lib. i 'hunc tu olim spoliis Orientis onustum Accipies secunda' Lucilius . . . Turpilius . . . Afranius.

It will be observed that Nonius, after promising to give instances of three meanings, gives instances only of two. But the note, or the sketch of it, is completely given by Serv. A. 1 20, *olim* quandoque. Et tria tempora significat: praeteritum, ut 'olim arbos, nunc artificis manus aere decoro Inclusit patribusque dedit gestare Latinis': praesens, ut 'tumidis quod fluctibus olim Tunditur': futurum, ut 'nunc, olim, quocumque dabunt se tempore vires.'

P. 363, *prodere* . . . differre, vel excludere. Vergilius Aeneidos lib. 1 . . . 'unius ob iram Prodimur, atque Italis longe disiungimur oris.' Lucilius . . . Terentius.

Servius, A. 1 252, *prodimur*: multa quidem hic sermo significat, sed modo *porro damur*, scilicet ab Italia. The gloss may have come from Verrius Flaccus: Fest. p. 229 *prodit*, memoriae *porro dat*: et *fallit*: item ex interiore loco *procedit*: item *perdit*, ut Ennius, etc.

P. 368, *pernix* significat *celer*. Vergilius Georgicorum lib. III 'talīs et ipse iubam cervice effudit equina Coniugis adventu pernix Saturnus.' Lucilius lib. xxvii 'fuius pernices, aeternum id nobis sperantes fore.' *Pernix, perseverans*. Vergilius Georgicorum lib. III 'et inter Dura iacet pernix instrato saxa cubili.'

Servilius, A. XI 718, *pernicibus* . . . modo velocibus; alias *perseverantibus*. Nam *pernix* interdum *velox*, interdum *perseverans* significat, ut ipse in Georgicis 'et inter Dura iacet pernix,' etc. Serv. G. III 230, *pernix*, modo *perseverans*. *Pernix* autem *perseverans* a *pernitendo* tractum est. Horatius, 'pernicis uxor Apuli.' Philarg. ib. *pernix*: legitur et *pernox*; sed *pernix* melius, id est *pertinax*.

P. 370, *parcere* servare. Vergilius lib. x 'argenti atque auri memoras quae multa talenta Gnatis parce tuis.' Lucilius lib. xxvii 'parcant illi mage cui possint, cui fidem esse existimant.'

Servius, A. x 532 (comp. E. III 94), *parce* autem est secundum antiquos *serva*, ut apud Lucilium et Ennium invenitur.

P. 374, *poscere* provocare. Vergilius lib. viii 'aut acrem dubites in proelia poscere Turnum.' M. Tullius primo secundae actionis in Verrem: 'poscunt maioribus poculis.'

Servius, A. viii 614, *poscere* provocare. Cicero, 'poscunt maioribus poculus,' id est provocant.

P. 377, *protinus*, valde. Vergilius in Bucolicis, 'en ipse capellas Protenus aeger ago,' ut sit animo et corpore valde aeger: aut si aliud enuntiat, refertur ad illud (i.e. the meaning *longe, porro* given just before) ut sit, *longe, porro ago*. At ipsum *tenuis*, licet, ut praepositionem acceperit, ita significatione varietur, tamen maxime finem terminumque designat. Then *hactenus, laterum tenuis, capulo, crurum, pube tenuis* are quoted from Virgil.

Above p. 375 Nonius has remarked, *protinus* ubicumque lectum est contra usum intellectus communis quo *statim* significare creditur, positum invenitur ut sit *protinus* (*protenus*?) *porro*, ac *sine intermissione, continuo*: quod iunctum *tenuis* eius significantiam confirmat adverbii. Vergilius namque, in quocumque loco *protenus* posuit, sub hoc sensu intellegendum reliquit.

Servius, E. 1 13, *protenus*, *porro tenuis*, id est, longe a finibus . . .



THE ANCIENT COMMENTATORS ON VIRGIL. lxxxv

The Servius of Daniel adds, nam *protenus* per *e* adverbium loci, per *i* *protinus* adverbium temporis id est *statim*.

With the note explaining *tenus* as = *finis* comp. Iulius Modestus ap. Philarg. G. III 53, Modestus *tenus* pro *fine* accipit: Verrius Flaccus (Fest. p. 367) *tenus* significat *finem*, ut cum dicimus *hactenus*: Serv. A. VI 62, *hactenus*, hucusque, id est, hic sit finis. Nam *tenus* proprie est extrema pars arcus, ut Plautus ostendit.

P. 378, *restare* dicitur superesse: Terentius . . . M. Tullius . . . Vergilius . . . Aeneidos lib. IV 'hospes, Hoc solum nomen quoniam de coniuge restat.' *Restare* resistere. M. Tullius de Finibus bonorum et malorum, 'nullam quaerentes voluptatem Stoici restant.'

Servius, A. IV 324, *restat*, hoc est *superest*. Alii *restant* intellegunt *resistit*, id est, contrarium tibi est.

Nonius, p. 391, has a note on *stare*, to which he assigns the following meanings:

*Consistere*: Vergilius Georgicorum lib. III 'stare loco nescit:' Plautus.

*Horrere*: Titinius, Caecilius, Lucilius.

*Erigi, prominere*. Lucilius.

*Fidem habere*. Cicero.

*Valere et constare, fixum esse*. Varro: Vergilius lib. X 'stat sua cuique dies,' II 'stat casus renovare omnes.'

*Plenum esse*. Vergilius in Bucolicis 'stant et iuniperi et castaneae hirsutae': Aeneidos lib. XII 'iam pulvere caelum Stare vident.'

*Esse*. Varro.

Servius, A. I 646, *stat*, modo *est* [ut 'Graio stant nomine dictae,' Dan.]. Alias *horret*, ut 'stant lumina flamma,' et 'stabat acuta silex:' item *plenum est*, ut 'iam pulvere caelum Stare vident': item *positum est*, ut 'stant Manibus arae:' item *placet*, ut 'stat conferre manum Aeneae' et 'stat casus renovare omnes.' Comp. also Serv. E. VII 53, A. XII 408 (Dan.), II 750.

P. 398, *supplicium* . . . supplicatio. Sallustius in Catilinae bello, 'in suppliciiis deorum magnifici.' Accius . . . Afranius.

Servius, A. I 632, *supplicia* dicuntur supplicationes, quae sunt de bonis supplicia passorum. Sallustius, 'in suppliciiis deorum magnifici.'

Nonius, p. 400-1, assigns the following meanings to *subigere*:

*Acuere*: Vergilius lib. VII 'subiguntque in cote secures.'

*Exercere, mollire*: Cicero, Virgil, Lucilius, etc.

*Superare*: Virgil, Sisenna.

*Cogere*: Vergilius . . . lib. VI 'subigitque fateri:' Lucilius, Plautus.

Servius, A. VI 302: *subigit* . . . et *acuit* significat, ut 'subiguntque in cote secures,' et *compellit*, ut 'subigitque fateri.'

The note may ultimately come from Verrius Flaccus: Fest. p. 309, *subactus* modo significat *mollitus*, modo *victus*, modo *compulsus*, modo *coactus*.

P. 403, *secare* sequi: unde et sectatores bonorum *sectores* dicti sunt. Vergilius lib. X 'quaecunque est fortuna hodie, quam quisque secat spem.'

Serv. A. X 107: *secat*, sequitur, tenet, habet, ut 'Ille viam secat ad

naves.' Unde et *sectas* dicimus habitus animorum et instituta philosophiae circa disciplinam. Comp. Serv. A. vi 900.

P. 404, *squalidum*, sicut plerumque, dicitur *sordidum*. Vergilius in Aeneidos lib. II 'squalentem barbam et concretos sanguine crines.' *Squalidum*, fulgens. Vergilius lib. x 'per tunicam squalentem auro latus haurit apertum.'

Servius, A. II 277 (Dan.), *squalentem* modo *sordidum*, alibi *lucentem*: 'per tunicam squalentem auro,' a squamis. From Gellius II 6 it seems that 'tunicam squalentem auro' was an expression blamed by Cornutus. Gellius defends it as follows, l. c. § 20 foll.: 'Id autem significat copiam densitatemque auri in squamarum speciem intexti. *Squalere* enim dictum a squamarum crebritate asperitateque, quae in serpentium pisciumve coriis visuntur. Quam rem et alii et hic quidem poeta locis aliquot demonstrat. 'Quem pellis,' inquit, 'ahenis In plumam squamis auro conserta tegebat,' et alio loco, 'Iamque adeo rutilum thoraca indutus ahenis Horrebat squamis.' Accius in Pelopidis ita scribit: 'eius serpentis squamae squalido auro et purpura Pertextae.' Quicquid igitur nimis inculcatum obsitumque aliqua re erat, ut incuteret visentibus facie nova horrorem, id *squalere* dicebatur. Sic in corporibus incultis squamosisque alta congeries sordium *squalor* appellabatur, etc.

The explanation of the word given by Gellius is somewhat different from that of Nonius and Servius. That of Gellius may have been based on a note of Verrius Flaccus: Fest. p. 328, *squalidum* incultum et sordidum, quod proxime similitudinem habet squamae piscium sic appellatum.

P. 416, *vanum* est mendax. Vergilius Aeneidos lib. I 'ni frustra augurium vani docuere parentes.' Nonius illustrates further from Sallust and Cicero.

Servius, A. I 392 (Dan.), quidam *vani mendaces* tradunt. Sallustius in Iugurtha, 'nam ego quidem vellem et haec quae scribo et illa quae antea in senatu questus sum vana forent potius, quam miseria mea fidem verbis faceret.' Terentius in Phormione, ubi adulescens lenonem mendacii arguit, 'Non te pudet vanitatis'?

Gellius XVIII 4 illustrates the same sense of *vanus* from another passage of Sallust, quoted neither by Nonius nor Servius. For the etymology of *vanus* he refers to Nigidius Figulus.

P. 420, *verrere* est trahere. Vergilius lib. I 'quippe ferant rapidi secum, verrantque per auras.'

Servius, A. I 59, *verrere* est trahere, a rete, quod verriculum dicitur. I 478, *versa* tracta, ut Plautus 'inveniam omnia versa, sparsa.' Venit autem ab eo quod est *verror*. So Isidore XIX v 3.

P. 421, *cupido* et *amor* idem significare videntur. Et (at?) est diversitas. *Cupido* enim inconsideratae est necessitatis, *amor* iudicii. Plautus Bacchidibus: 'Cupidon tecum saevit, anne amor?' Idem in Curculione discrevit, et vim eiusdem diversitatis expressit, dicens, 'quo Venus Cupidoque imperat, suadetque Amor.' Afranius in Omine, 'amabit sapiens, cupient ceteri.'

Servius, A. IV 194 (Daniel), has the same note and the same quotations: but the verse of Afranius is quoted from the Neaera as



## THE ANCIENT COMMENTATORS ON VIRGIL. lxxxvii

follows: 'alius est amor, alius Cupido: amant sapientes, cupient ceteri.'

From the remaining books of Nonius I quote the following instances:

P. 439, *simulare* est fingere scire quae nescias, *dissimulare* fingere nescire quae scias. Sallustius in Catilinae bello, 'cuius libet rei simulator ac dissimulator.'

Servius A. I 516, *dissimulamus* nota, *simulamus* ignota; ut Sallustius, 'simulator ac dissimulator.'

P. 470, *dignavi* pro *dignatus sum*. Accius Meleagro: 'remanet gloria apud me: exuias dignavi Atalantae dare.' Pacuvius Hermiona: 'quom neque me aspicere aequales dignarent meae.'

Servius, A. XI 169 (Dan.), *digner*: alii *dignem* legunt, iuxta veteres, ab eo quod est *digno*. Calvus: 'hunc tanto munere digna.' Pacuvius in Hermiona: 'quom neque me inspicere aequales dignarent.' Hinc ipse Vergilius, 'coniugio Anchisa Veneris dignate superbo.' Comp. Serv. A. III 475.

P. 481, *potior illam rem*, pro *illa re potior*. Terentius Adelphis, 'ille alter sine labore patria potitur commoda.' Servius, A. III 278, quotes the same words from Terence in illustration of *potior* with the accusative.

Nonius, p. 487, notices the double forms, *vapor vapos*, *timor timos*, *labor labos*, *color colos*, illustrating from Lucretius, Naevius, Accius, and Varro. Servius, A. I 253, notices that Sallust always wrote *labos*. Compare Quint. I iv 13, '*arbos*, *labos*, *vapos*, etiam et *clamos* aetatis (usitata?) fuerunt.'

P. 535, *lintres*, naves fluminales. Vergilius Georgicorum lib. I 'cavat arbore lintres.'

Servius, G. I 262, *lintres*, fluviatiles naviculas.

P. 487, *Argus* pro *Argivus*. Plautus Amphitruone, 'Amphitruo natus Argis ex Argo patre.' [*Dardanus* pro *Dardanius*.<sup>1</sup>] Vergilius Aeneidos lib. IV 'hauriat hunc oculis ignem crudelis at alto Dardanus.'

Servius, A. IV 662 (Dan.). *Dardanus* pro *Dardanius*. Plautus 'Amphitruo natus Argis,' etc.

There are similar correspondences between Servius and Gellius, of which the following may be taken as a specimen:

Gellius II xiii 1, 2: antiqui oratores, historiaeque aut carminum scriptores etiam unum filium filiamve *liberos* multitudinis numero appellarunt. He then illustrates from Sempronius Asellio.

Servius, A. X 532: *liberos* etiam unum dicimus filium, adeo ut Terentius etiam *filiam* dixerit, ut in Hecyra, 'qui illum dignum decreverint, suos cui *liberos* committerent.'

### 9. FLAVIUS CAPER, VELIUS LONGUS.

Flavius Caper and Velius Longus belong to the age of Trajan. Of Caper, who is known only as a grammarian, not as a commentator on

<sup>1</sup> These words are obviously required.

Virgil, very little need be said here, the less as the few remarks which are quoted from him by Servius can be shown to be, in all probability, borrowed from other sources. *Explebo numerum*, in Aen. vi 545, Caper took to mean *minuam numerum*: an explanation which, as we have seen above, is given by Nonius, p. 298. There is, however, nothing to show that Nonius is borrowing from Caper here. And the same may be said of Caper's remark on A. ix 709, that the neuter form *clipeum* and not the masc. *clipeus* should be read there, which coincides with Nonius, p. 195. Finally his observation (Serv. A. x 344, 788) on the forms *femur* and *femen* may be traced to Verrius Flaccus (Festus, p. 92).

Besides his elegant treatise on orthography, which has been fortunately preserved, and a work de usu antiquae lectionis, Velius Longus was the author of a commentary on the Aeneid mentioned by Charisius pp. 88, 175. Of this work several notes are preserved in Macrobius and the Verona scholia, and much probably has found its way into the commentary of Servius. For we find in several instances that where the Verona scholia quote Longus by name, the same note is given in Servius in an abridged form and without any mention of him: a phenomenon which must never be lost sight of in considering the question of the sources of the Servian commentary, whether the conclusion be that Servius is borrowing from Longus, or that the notes of both are derived from the same source. The principal notes of Longus preserved by the Verona scholia are:

(a) A. iii 693 on the name Plemmyrium, which he (or his authorities) derived from *πλημύρειν* 'ideo quod undique fluctibus undisque adluatur.' This or a similar note is abridged in Servius without acknowledgment.

(b) A. iii 705 on *palmosa Selinus*, *palmosa* being explained after Melissus (? as meaning 'the mother of many victors in the Olympic games.'

(c) A. iv 149. Longus derived *segnis* from *sine igni*, and explained it as = *deformis*, which again he took as coming from *de* and *formus*, hot: and so Servius, again without acknowledgment of the source of his note. So Nonius, p. 33.

(d) A. v 488. Longus replied to a carping criticism of Cornutus on this line. Again Servius gives the gist of this note without mention of his authority.

(e) A. vii 489 on the word *ferus* for a stag. This note of Longus seems to be based on the same sources as that of Nonius, p. 307, both quoting A. ii 52, where *ferus* is used of a horse. Again Servius abridges this or a similar note without acknowledgment.

(f) A. x 1. Longus here had a valuable note on the words *domus Olympi*, in illustration of which he quoted *cenaculum caeli* from Ennius.

(g) A. x 551. Longus mentions and solves a difficulty about Faunus: how could he be mortal if born of a nymph? The question is also raised and solved by Servius. The gist of both notes is the same, but they are evidently independent, and probably derived from a common source.

(h) A. x 557. Longus illustrated the local adverb *istic* by two passages from the Rudens of Plautus.



## THE ANCIENT COMMENTATORS ON VIRGIL. lxxxix

(2) In A. x 245 it seems that Longus read *spectabis* for *spectabit*, saying that the word *venerit* should be supplied after *crastina lux*. Macrobius III vi 6 has a note of Longus on A. III 84, which is also given, without any acknowledgment of its source, in the Cassel additions to Servius on the passage.

### 10. URBANUS.

I am not convinced by Ribbeck's argument (Prol. p. 167) from the mention of Urbanus in Servius' note on A. v 517, that this commentator was prior in time to Velius Longus. Longus, we have seen, made some remarks in answer to a criticism of Cornutus on Virgil's alleged mistake in making Aeneas devote to death a pigeon, the bird of Venus: and it seems that Urbanus had a note to the same purpose. But it would be rash, surely, to infer from this that Longus was indebted to Urbanus.

On two grounds I am disposed to think that too early a date has been assigned to Urbanus. First, there is not, so far as I am aware, any mention of him in the Verona scholia. It may be answered that the Verona scholia as we have them are merely a fragment, and that we cannot therefore be justified in arguing from their silence. True: yet even in their fragmentary condition they preserve quotations from a great number of commentators, Asper, Cornutus, Haterianus, Longus, Nisus, Probus, Terentius Scaurus, Sulpicius Apollinaris; and it would be strange, had the compiler of these scholia known of a commentary by Urbanus, that no mention of it should have survived even in a fragment of his work.

Secondly, the absurdity of the notes attributed to Urbanus seems to me to stamp them as belonging to a later age than that of Trajan or the Antonines. To take a single instance: in A. IV 469, 'Eumenidum veluti demens videt agmina Pentheus,' Urbanus seems to have taken 'agmina' as meaning the coils of the Furies' serpents. It is easy to imagine how Probus would have dealt with such a remark: or again with that on A. IV 624, 'nullus amor populis, nec foedera sunt,' where Urbanus observed that Virgil had used a legal word, *sunt*, 'propter odia hereditaria.'

### 11. CAESELLIUS VINDEX, TERENTIUS SCAURUS, SULPICIVS APOLLINARIS.

Caesellius Vindex, the compiler of a lexicographical work in fifty books entitled *Lectiones antiquae*, arranged in alphabetical order, is quoted by Gellius, II xvi 5, as giving a sensible explanation of *postuma proles* in the sixth Aeneid. He took *postumus* to mean not 'post patris mortem natus,' but 'postremo loco natus,' an interpretation for which he was taken to task by Sulpicius Apollinaris. It is easy to conjecture, though there is no positive proof of the fact, that the work of Caesellius Vindex may have been used to a far greater extent than now appears by Nonius,

## xc THE ANCIENT COMMENTATORS ON VIRGIL.

in whose writings, as we have seen, a great deal of lexicographical work is embedded.

The name of Terentius Scaurus, the author of a Latin grammar and a controversial treatise against Caesellius Vindex, as well as of commentaries on Plautus and Virgil, brings us into the reign of Hadrian. Gellius calls him (xi xv 3) 'divi Hadriani temporibus grammaticus vel nobilissimus.' His grammatical works are cited by Gellius and the later grammarians: of his commentary on Virgil so little is expressly quoted that it would be rash to pronounce any judgment upon its merits. In A. III 484, 'nec cedit honori,' Servius tells us that Scaurus read 'honore.' The Verona scholia quote a note of his on Crete IV 146, and another on v 95, in which a theory is advocated that snakes are born from the marrow of men: a notion which also appears in Servius' note on the passage.

The Carthaginian Sulpicius Apollinaris, the master of Aulus Gellius as well as of the unfortunate emperor Pertinax, paid considerable attention to Virgil. A note of his on 'Silvius Albanum nomen, tua postuma proles,' etc., in which he controverted the opinion of Caesellius Vindex, is mentioned by Gellius, II xvi 8. Gellius, VII xvi 12, says that he took 'praepetes aves' as equivalent to Homer's *οἰωνοὶ τανυπτερύγες*: and XVI v 4 foll. quotes his opinion on the prefix *ve* in *vemens*, *vescus*, *vestibulum*. As far as *vescus* is concerned, Sulpicius seems merely to have quoted the opinion of Verrius Flaccus (see above p. lvi), as indeed he also did in the case of the word *postumus* (comp. Festus, p. 238).

### 12. POLLIO.

A scholar of this name with the *nomen* Asinius is mentioned by Servius on Aen. II 7 and elsewhere several times. The remarks attributed to him are foolish and hardly worth quoting. On the passage just alluded to, for instance, he seems to have observed that 'duri miles Ulixi' was meant for Achaemenides. It is possible, of course, that the celebrated Asinius Pollio may have criticised Virgil, but that such notes can have come from him, or from any scholar of the Augustan age, is almost incredible, and I am therefore inclined to agree with Ribbeck (Prol. p. 116) that if the Pollio of Servius is to be identified with any known person, he was probably the scholar mentioned twice by Marcus Aurelius (Fronto, pp. 42, 63, Naber) as an excellent commentator on Horace.

### 13. IULIUS HATERIANUS.

Haterianus is mentioned as a commentator on Virgil by Macrobius (III viii 2), and several times in the Verona scholia. He is assumed by the historians of Latin literature to be the Haterianus who is quoted as an authority by Trebellius Pollio in his history of the thirty tyrants (Script. Hist. Aug. XXX Tyr. vi 5), in which case he must belong to the last part of the third century A.D.



Macrobius (l. c.) quotes Haterianus as his authority for saying that the poet and orator Calvus used *deus* as a feminine noun; a usage which he illustrates also from Virgil and Sallust. The same instances from Virgil and Sallust are given in a note in Donatus on Terence Eun. v ii 36; it may therefore be that Haterianus and Donatus are both drawing on an older source. The other remarks attributed to Haterianus do not give a high idea of his capacity; e.g. his proposal on A. x 242 ('quem dedit ipse Invictum Ignipotens') to read *igni* for *ipse*, and construct it with *invictum*, 'unconquerable by fire.'

#### 14. THE VERONA SCHOLIA.

These scholia, written on the margin of the Verona palimpsest, are mentioned here on account of a quality which, as it immensely enhances their value, seems to me also to have some bearing upon their date. I allude to the fact that in the Verona scholia, far more than in the commentaries of Philargyrius and Servius, the names are given of the scholars from whose works the notes are derived. The names of Cornutus, Asper, Velius Longus, Terentius Scaurus, Sulpicius Apollinaris, and Haterianus are mentioned far oftener, in proportion to the extent of the remaining fragments of these scholia, than in the later commentaries. This phenomenon seems to me to indicate that they are older than the time of Servius and Philargyrius, whose characteristic it is, on the whole, to say little or nothing of their authorities. I am inclined to attribute this not so much to deliberate intention on their part, as to the fact that in course of time the names of the older scholars who had originally gathered the stores of Virgilian learning gradually vanished from the commentaries. Philargyrius and Servius may have used as their immediate sources of information not the ancient commentaries themselves, but *compendia* or handbooks compiled from them. Nothing on the other hand strikes the reader so much in the fragments which remain of the Verona scholia as their air of genuine antiquity, their clearness, fulness, and sanity of view. Even in their fragmentary condition they embody a great deal of valuable information, evidently drawn from very good sources, on points of grammar and lexicography. To take a single instance: the lexicographical notes on *arma, cano, oras, altus, insignis*, at the beginning of the commentary on the Aeneid, are far fuller than the corresponding notes in Servius, and that on *insignis* fuller even than the corresponding note in Nonius p. 331. It may fairly be said that wherever the Verona scholia have been preserved, it is the first duty of a modern commentator to consult them. Readers who have followed this essay so far will have already derived some notion of the quality of the Verona scholia from the quotations made in the sections on Asper and Velius Longus: and they have been cited in the course of the commentary wherever any light is to be derived from them.

Whether these scholia were compiled before the time of Donatus and Servius or not, their composition cannot be dated earlier than the

last part of the third century A.D., as they mention Haterianus. The fact that the names of Servius and Donatus never occur in them is, so far it goes, an argument in favour of supposing what their general character leads us to presume, that they were written before those commentators appear on the scene.

## 15. AELIUS DONATUS.

This scholar, whom Jerome mentions more than once as his teacher, lived and taught in the middle of the fourth century at Rome, where he held the post of *orator urbis Romae* and the title of *vir clarissimus*. It is unfortunate that we know nothing of his commentary on Virgil but what we learn from the remarks, mostly polemical, of Servius.<sup>1</sup> He prefixed to his commentary the Life of Virgil which scholars are now agreed was the work of Suetonius.<sup>2</sup> This fact, as well as the character of his commentary on Terence, would have led us to expect a work of sound scholarship from Aelius Donatus: yet, if we may believe Servius, he was weak both in knowledge and in judgment. On A. II 798, for instance, he seems to have expressed an opinion that *ex Illo* might stand as a metrical equivalent for *exilio*; he thought that *citae* (A. VIII 642) could = *divisae*; that *litus* (A. II 557) could mean a spot before the altar, and could be derived from *litare*; that *Amsanctus* (A. VII 563) was in Lucania; that 'trahunt in moenia' (A. XII 585) could mean 'dilacerant in moenibus,' and so on. It is difficult to suppose that the bulk of his commentary was not of better quality than this. Errors like those just mentioned (and Servius himself is not entirely guiltless of such mistakes) only show how surely the decline of scholarship had set in by the middle of the fourth century A.D., and indeed (if the work of Nonius may be taken as a specimen) much earlier.

## 16. TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS DONATUS.

The commentary of Tiberius Claudius Donatus on the Aeneid, written towards the end of the fourth century A.D. for the benefit of his son Tiberius Claudius Maximus Donatianus, differs in its scope and aim from notes such as those of the Veronan scholia, Servius, or Philargyrius. This writer's main object is to bring out fully the meaning of his author by writing a lengthy paraphrase in prose, intended not only to explain the meaning of the poet, but to exhibit the rhetorical connection of the clauses. For instance, on Aen. I 291 he takes pains to show that the words of Jupiter, 'quin aspera Iuno . . . Consilium in

<sup>1</sup> [Some survives in the eighth-century encyclopaedia known as the *Liber Glossarum*: see Götze, *Abhandl. der phil. hist. Classe der Kgl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wiss.* xiii 276 (Leipzig, 1891). Ihm (Rhein. Mus. xlv 636) conjectures that the Medicean scholia to the *Ecl.* are based on Donatus, but there is no proof of this.]

<sup>2</sup> The Paris MS. 1011 has prefixed to this memoir the words *Fl. (i.e. Ael.) Donatus L. Munatio suo salutem*. The memoir is also prefixed to the commentary of the younger (Ti. Claudius) Donatus.



melius referet,' are meant as a consolatory reply to the complaint of Venus 'unius ob iram Prodimur.' The commentator aims always at explaining the connexion of ideas, and showing generally how Virgil's arrangement and the development of his narrative coincide with the fitness of things. Elementary points of mythology are noticed, but there is very little on grammar and antiquities.

A modern reader will probably find the work of Tiberius Donatus dull and unprofitable to a degree quite unusual in the case of any commentary on a secular author. But his own professions with regard to it are interesting as throwing some light on the condition of scholarship and education in the fourth or fifth century A.D. He says in his preface<sup>1</sup> that he intends his remarks to be mainly educational. The schoolmasters give their scholars nothing of any value, while the commentators, writing for the purpose not of instruction but of research, however praiseworthy their zeal, have left their remarks in a comparatively inaccessible condition. He begs his son to compare his work with that of the older commentators, and to judge for himself what he prefers to follow in the one or the other.

This commentary was, according to its author's own statement,<sup>2</sup> written hastily and with many omissions. It was the work of his old age, and he therefore hastened to finish it, intending to make good its shortcomings in a future work. This was to include histories of the Virgilian heroes, accounts of the rivers, mountains, countries and towns mentioned in the *Aeneid*, and remarks on other points of antiquities or of general interest. It is very important to observe that these notes were to be taken from ancient commentaries.

<sup>1</sup> 'Post illos qui Mantuani vatis mihi carmina tradiderunt, postque illos a quibus in *Aeneidos* libris quasi quidam solus ac purior intellectus expressus est, silere melius erat quam loquendo crimen arrogantis (arrogantiae?) incurrere. Sed cum adverterem nihil magistros discipulis conferre quod sapiat, scriptores autem commentariorum non docendi studio, sed memoriae suae causa quaedam favorabili studio, multa tamen involute reliquisse, haec, fili carissime, tui causa conscripsi, non ut sola perlegas, sed ut ex collatione habita intellegas quid tibi ex illorum, quidve ex paterno labore sequendum sit.' (Preface to the Commentary.)

<sup>2</sup> 'Incertum metuens vitae, quod magis senibus incumbit, et proximum est, cursim scripsi quae potui, relinquens plurima; et ea saltem edi volui quae tibi ad cetera intellegenda aditus ac viam aperirent; ut si quid mihi adversi accideret, haberes interpretationum mearum quod imitareris exemplum. Verum quia ex communi voto contingit diutius vivere, hos libros interim legendos curavi; mihi enim certum est dehinc me non esse deserturum in te studium patris, ut tibi quantum potuero pari praeparem cura quae propter supra dictam causam videor omisisse. Sic enim fiet ut origines singularum personarum, quas Vergilius *Aeneidos* libris comprehendit, et quae in aliquo studio floruerunt, taut nullius fuerint meriti vel contraria deligendot depressae sint. Simul etiam cognosces oppidorum insularumque rationem, regionum, montium, camporum vel fluminum, templorum ac fanorum, herbarum quin etiam et lignorum vocabula, et cetera his similia. Sed haec sic accipias velim, ut ex commentariis scias veterum me esse collecturum; antiqua enim et fabulosa et longinquitatis causa incognita nisi priscorum docente memoria non potuerunt explicari.' (From the end of the commentary. I quote from the edition of Virgil by Fabricius of Chemnitz, Basel, 1547.)

## 17. IUNIUS PHILARGYRIUS.

The fragment of a commentary on the Eclogues, bearing the title *Philargyrii Explanationes*, is preserved in three manuscripts (Laurentianus, plut. XLV, cod. 14, tenth century; Parisinus 7,960, tenth century; Parisinus 11,308, of the same date). And an incomplete commentary on the Georgics, of excellent quality, but with large gaps, which gives the impression of the work as we have it being a series of extracts, has been since the time of Ursinus assigned likewise to Iunius Philargyrius. M. Thomas, in his essay upon Servius (p. 277), observes that the name of Philargyrius is not, in a single MS., prefixed to these scholia. This fact would of course, if taken by itself, be sufficient to throw grave doubt upon our right to assign the notes to Philargyrius. But it must also be observed that the Berne scholia, of which more anon, often quote from a Iunilius Flagrus, whom scholars usually identify with the Iunius Philargyrius of the commentary on the Eclogues. And the notes of Iunilius Flagrus very often<sup>1</sup> coincide with those of the anonymous commentary on the Georgics. The argument is not conclusive, for it assumes on the one hand that Iunilius Flagrus is a corruption of the name Iunius Philargyrius, and on the other that the coincidence of the notes attributed to Flagrus in the Berne scholia with those which have hitherto been assigned to Philargyrius proves unity of authorship, whereas it need prove no more than unity of origin. Still the facts alleged tend to establish a probability, which I think justifies us in still quoting the notes in question under the name of Philargyrius.

The commentary itself is a good one, based on excellent sources, and quite worthy to rank with that of Servius. The date of its compilation is quite uncertain; but judging from its general style and tone, I should be disposed to think that it could not be placed later than the fourth century A.D. There is no mention in it either of Donatus or of Servius; but it might be rash to infer anything from this fact. It is also true that Servius, though he mentions Donatus, says nothing of Philargyrius. Does this prove that Philargyrius was his contemporary, or that he lived later?

The commentaries of Servius and of Philargyrius on the Georgics are independent of each other; but there is plenty of evidence to show that for all that constitutes, so to speak, the backbone of their work, for their grammar, lexicography, history, and antiquities, they are alike dependent on the stores of information gathered by the scholars of the first and the beginning of the second centuries. This could be easily

<sup>1</sup> I have observed the following instances of correspondence between the notes attributed to *Iunilius Flagrus* in the Berne scholia, and those found on the same passages in the commentary bearing the name of Iunius Philargyrius:

Ecl. I 20; Georg. I 58, 292-3, 295; II 160; III 5, 113, 280, 392, 408, 461 (?), 474 (?), 532; IV 111, 131, 278, 520.

On G. IV 89, the note of *Flagrus* is different from that of Philargyrius, and on G. IV 565 they are independent.

As a rule, the notes in the Berne scholia give a short abstract of those in the Philargyrian commentary, though this is not always the case.



shown by a comparison of their notes in detail with notes in Festus, Nonius, Gellius, and the grammarians, such as that of which I have attempted to give a specimen in the preceding sections.

## 18. SERVIUS.

The name of this commentator is given in all MSS. earlier than the fifteenth century simply as Servius; and Priscian in quoting his works knows of no *praenomen* or *cognomen*.<sup>1</sup> The name Maurus Servius Honoratus is highly suspicious, occurring as it does only in fifteenth century manuscripts. A note of the pseudo-Acron on Horace, Sat. i ix 76, mentions a 'Servius, magister Urbis,' as offering an explanation of the word *antestari*. Whether we have any right to identify this person with our Servius is extremely doubtful.

Servius is introduced as one of the interlocutors in the Saturnalia of Macrobius. Macrobius, who held high offices of state in 399, 410, and 422 A.D., probably wrote his Saturnalia at the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century. The dialogue, however, is in Platonic and Ciceronian fashion, thrown some twenty years back, being supposed to take place before the death of Praetextatus (385 A.D.). Servius is spoken of as at that time a man who had only recently adopted the profession of teaching, but who had already acquired a high reputation both for learning and modesty (Sat. i ii 15). He is described further (ib. vi vi 1), as occupied every day in explaining Virgil to the Roman youth, and the duty of answering hostile criticisms upon Virgil is, to a large extent, assigned to him.

I am glad to find that M. Thomas has come to the same conclusion as that for which I have already contended, that the Servius of the Saturnalia stands in no real relation to the Servius of our commentary, except in so far as the notes on Virgil in Macrobius can be shown to be ultimately derived from the same sources as those in the commentary of Servius (see p. xxxii). The idea that Macrobius is quoting from the actual commentary of Servius cannot, I think, any longer be defended. All internal evidence points, as I have attempted to show, in another direction. Macrobius was himself, in all probability, using old commentaries and treatises now lost, which were the source of many a note in Philargyrius and Servius; and it was only natural, from a literary point of view, that he should pay Servius the compliment of assigning to him the duty of expounding this Virgilian learning.

Whether the commentary of Servius which we now possess was published at the time when the Saturnalia were written is a point which I do not think there is evidence to decide. If we take the language held in the Saturnalia as seriously affecting the question, we must conclude that in the year 380, or thereabouts, Servius was known not as a writer but only as a very learned teacher, and that his commentary was not published until after the publication of the Saturnalia. But the character

<sup>1</sup> Thomas, *Essai*, etc., pp. 133-4.

of that dialogue makes it unsafe to build much upon its language in a matter of this kind. It may be that Macrobius knew our commentary, and yet purposely put fuller and clearer expositions into the mouth of his Servius. It is also possible that the commentary as we have it was not published until the beginning of the fifth century A.D.

The existing commentary falls into two parts, one of which may for convenience be termed the Vulgate; while the other consists of certain additions to the Vulgate, found in manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries, and in quality equal either to the Vulgate or to the commentary of Philargyrius. These additions were published with the Vulgate in the year 1600 by Peter Daniel, since whose time the commentary thus enlarged has been generally known as the Servius of Daniel.<sup>1</sup> Scholars seem now agreed that these additional notes were not part of the original commentary of Servius, but were copied into his work from a work of equal antiquity and pretensions. I offer no opinion on this question, which seems to me still open to discussion, as even the Vulgate of Servius is not so completely homogeneous as to exclude the hypothesis of its author having left his work in a comparatively undigested form.<sup>2</sup>

However the case may stand with these additions, there is no doubt that the Vulgate of the commentary bearing the name of Servius is on the whole a homogeneous work, not a mere congeries of notes accidentally bearing the name of a celebrated scholar. It is true that its author has sometimes allowed inconsistencies to remain, as, for instance, when in one passage, at the beginning of his notes on the Aeneid, he quotes *arma virumque cano* as the first words of the Aeneid, and two lines below says that Virgil began differently. The same *scholion*, too, is often repeated on different passages in almost the same words. Again, the author sometimes refers to a note which he either never wrote, or which has disappeared from our manuscripts. This case, however, is quite exceptional. The commentary constantly refers back to notes which really exist, an almost decisive mark of its coming from one hand.

It is plain, I think, that the commentary of Servius is the work of an adherent of the old religion. It is not merely that its author gives no sign of any leaning to Christianity, or knowledge of it, but that he shows

<sup>1</sup> The additional notes published by Daniel are found in the following MSS. :

Ecl. iv—G. 1 278 : the Lemovicensis (= Vossianus 80) and Floriacensis (= Bernensis 172).

A. 1-11 : the Parisinus 1750, and Fuldensis. The Fuldensis is identified by Thilo with a MS. now at Cassel; but Thomas (Essai, etc., pp. 71-75) doubts whether the Cassellanus and Fuldensis are not distinct.

A. III-V, 882 : the Floriacensis of Daniel (= Bernensis 172) : to which Thomas adds the Parisinus 7930.

A. VI-XII : the Turonensis (= Bernensis 165), containing A. 1-XII, 918; and the Parisinus 7929 (A. VI 14-XII 818), which Thomas, in his Supplement, has shown to be the second volume of Bern. 172.

<sup>2</sup> [In a review of Thilo's Servius first printed in the Journal of Philology, vol. x, and then in Mr. Nettleship's Essays, first series, p. 322, it is contended that the additional notes have as good a right to bear the name of Servius as the Vulgate. 'The commentaries now bearing his name represent, in a fuller and shorter shape, notes which were at various times given by him in his lectures.']



a decided fondness for the forms and antiquities of the old Roman worship. Taking the commentary as a whole, I am inclined to characterize it as one of the works which, like the *Saturnalia* of Macrobius, marks the reaction in favour of the past, which took place among the Roman *literati* at the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth centuries A.D.

The commentary of Servius may, so far as its tone is concerned, almost deserve the name of classical, for it is clear that in the main it is constructed out of very ancient materials. For his information on points of history and antiquities Servius draws, very likely at second or third hand, on Cato, Varro, Nigidius, and other authors of the same stamp: for mythology on Hyginus, for grammar and philology on Varro and Verrius Flaccus. The views of these writers he probably learned from the scholars of the end of the first and beginning of the second centuries, as Asper and Probus, and the writers of the time of Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines. He quotes, indeed, writers of the third and fourth centuries, as Sammonicus Serenus, Juba, Solinus, Terentianus Maurus, Staius Tullianus, Titianus, and Catulinus; but since the age of the Antonines, if we may judge by the original remarks of so celebrated a scholar as Aelius Donatus (see on p. xcii), little if anything that was both new and true had been added to Latin scholarship.

Of Titianus and Catulinus a word or two must be said before we leave this part of our subject. On *Aen.* x 18 Servius mentions these writers as the authors of a treatise which might in modern phraseology be entitled *Virgil as a Rhetorician*: 'Titianus et Catulinus, qui themata omnia de Vergilio elicuerunt ad dicendi usum.' A fact most important as illustrating the decline both of scholarship and education. The curriculum of education is becoming more and more limited to the study of Virgil; the study of Virgil is becoming more and more scholastic and technical. Are there any actual remains of these base and degenerate efforts of analysis? The fourth book of Macrobius is an excellent specimen of what this method could effect. A mere fragment of the book remains, in which a thousand and one instances are given of Virgil's command over the resources of *pathos*. I have noticed a great many similar remarks in the commentary of Servius, of which the following may be taken as specimens:

A. iv 31, et suasoria est omni parte plena: nam et purgat obiecta et ostendit utilitatem et a timore persuadet. Et usus est apto causae principio, nam et cum aliquid propter nos petimus, benevolum nobis eum qui audit facere debemus, etc.

A. iv 361, oratorie ibi finivit ubi vis argumenti constitit.

A. vi 104, sane sciendum adlocutionem hanc esse suasoriam cum partibus suis.

A. vii 535, rhetorice viles trudit in medium; nobiles vero primo et ultimo commemorat loco.

A. viii 127, et est rhetorica persuasio, nam principium ex utriusque persona sumpsit.

A. viii 374, sane hoc rhetorica persuasio est, nam principatum a verecundia sumpsit.

I.

g

A. IX 131, et est oratorium quaestiones ita proponere ut facilem solutionis sortiantur eventum; compare on line 136.

A. IX 481, et est conquestio matris Euryali plena artis rhetoricae. Nam paene omnes partes habet de misericordia commovenda a Cicerone in Rhetoricis positas.

A. IX 614, utitur argumentis quae in Rhetoricis commemorat Cicero.

A. X 36, nunc per ἀντικατηγορίαν ad accusationem alterius transit: ib. 38, secundum artem rhetoricam rem unam in duas divisit.

Finally I may refer the curious reader to the long criticism on A. XI 243 foll.

It would be interesting to know whether the fourth book of Macrobius, and remarks such as those which I have quoted from Servius, were taken from the book of our rhetorical worthies, Titianus and Catulinus.<sup>1</sup> Whether this is the case or no, there can be no doubt that this style of criticism is one of which Probus or any of the older commentators would have been ashamed, and is the characteristic offspring of an age in which all creative effort has died out.

It is in all respects more profitable to study the material common to the Verona scholia, Philargyrius, Macrobius, and Servius: material which I suppose to be, so to speak, the deposit which the scholarship of the first and second century had left. In dealing with this matter it is noticeable that the commentary of Servius, as compared with the notes of Macrobius or the Verona scholia, tends to abbreviate, to curtail, and to omit the names of authorities. Servius is on the whole a sound, but he is not a full commentator; and we should be fortunate indeed could we exchange all his work for the Verona scholia in their complete form. The value of his commentary is derived almost entirely from what it preserves of the earlier Roman scholarship; and the amount of this, judging by what a comparative method enables us to detect, is not inconsiderable.

### 19. THE BERNE SCHOLIA.<sup>2</sup>

These scholia profess to be copied from Roman commentaries (de commentariis Romanorum) by a Scot named Adanan, whom Ribbeck and Teuffel (472, 9) assign to the eighth century. This writer names as the three commentators from whom he has made extracts, Titus Gallus, Gaudentius, and Iunilius Flagrus of Milan. Iunilius Flagrus, who is mentioned by the compiler as his chief authority, is now generally identified by scholars with Iunius Philargyrius; a conclusion borne out by the general coincidence between the notes bearing the names of Philargyrius and Flagrus.

The compiler of these scholia was a Christian and fond of allegorizing, a process to which Servius and the older commentators are

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Lenke does not think this was the case.

<sup>2</sup> Scholia Bernensia ad Vergilii Bucolica et Georgica; ed. H. Hagen. In the Jahrbücher für classische Philologie, Suppl. iv.



generally averse. Of his authorities T. Gallus and Gaudentius, and their relations to the older commentators, it is very difficult to affirm anything with certainty. Comparing the notes attributed to Gallus with those of Servius, I find that while on G. I 3 Servius and Gallus take opposite views, the two usually correspond, though not so closely as to preclude the hypothesis that one is independent of the other. For instance, on G. I 13, Gallus adds a remark which is not in Servius, and so on G. I 81. On G. I 8, 149, their notes are to the same purpose, though expressed independently: elsewhere they are nearly identical.

Did Servius then borrow from Gallus, or Gallus from Servius? The fact that on one occasion their views are opposite, and that on others they are independently expressed, seems to point rather to their having both borrowed from the common store of Virgilian commentary which I have tried to show had been gathered by the end of the fourth century.

I am inclined to draw the same conclusion with regard to Servius and Gaudentius. Hagen thinks that Servius borrowed from Gaudentius as from Gallus; but although there are numerous instances where the notes of Gaudentius and Servius coincide, there are some where Servius is the fuller (E. VIII 21: G. I 277, 284: IV 104, 111), others where, though Hagen sees traces of borrowing, I should be disposed to say that the comments were independent (E. VI 79: G. IV 122).<sup>1</sup>

Add to this the fact that Servius is never mentioned by name in the Berne scholia, nor Gallus or Gaudentius in the commentary of Servius.

Another indication which points to the conclusion that the authorities of the Berne scholia are independent of Servius and Servius of them is the fact that they several times preserve quotations from writers of authority of which Servius has no trace. Thus, on G. III 147, they in common with Philargyrius quote Nigidius Figulus De animalibus, while Servius has quite a different note. In other places they quote a passage which, though absent in Servius and Philargyrius, serves to fill up and complete the notes of the latter. Thus on G. III 89 our version of Philargyrius says 'ut poetae Graeci fabulantur,' the Berne scholia naming Alcman as the Greek poet. Here Servius again has quite a different note. Sempronius Asellio is cited by the Berne scholia alone on G. III 474, Caelius Antipater on G. II 197 (where Philargyrius' note is lost in our version), Asper on G. IV 238, Nigidius Figulus on G. I 174, 428, 498 (in all of which passages, again, the notes of Philargyrius are lost), G. II 168, and Suetonius on G. IV 564. For other instances where the Berne scholia have notes of value I must refer to the commentary, where I have quoted from them whenever they offered anything worth preserving.

Readers who have had the patience to follow this essay thus far will

<sup>1</sup> E. VI 79, *Gaudentius*: Quod fecit Procne, hoc dicit Philomelam fecisse, licentia poetica ut Gaudentius dicit. *Servius*: Atqui hoc Procne fecit, non Philomela: sed aut abutitur nomine, aut illi imputat propter quam factum est. G. IV 122, *Gaudentius*: Cucumis, cucuminis, et huius cucumeris, dicitur, ut Gaudentius dicit. *Servius*: Cucumis cucumis: nam neoterici huius cucumeris dixerunt.

### c THE ANCIENT COMMENTATORS ON VIRGIL.

be prepared for the conclusion at which I am inclined to arrive, that a large body of Virgilian learning had accumulated by the end of the fourth century A.D., the greater and by far the most valuable part of which was at least as old as the age of Trajan, and much even older; and that from these materials it was that the author or authors of the Verona scholia, Philargyrius, Macrobius, Servius, and the authorities followed by the Berne scholia, drew their information independently of each other. This hypothesis will I hope be found to account for the considerable number of instances in which they agree, and the number, perhaps hardly less considerable, in which they exhibit independence or divergence.



## THE TEXT OF VIRGIL.

OUR authorities for the text of Virgil are twofold, the early manuscripts and the ancient commentators. Besides these two classes, we have many later manuscripts, most of which, however, are almost worthless.

I. The early manuscripts are seven in number, three fairly perfect and four fragments, all written in capital letters. These manuscripts are at least four centuries older than any other MSS. of Virgil, but their actual dates are not certain. The square or rustic capitals with which they are written are not easy to date with any precision, and, except the puzzling 'subscriptio' to the Medicean, we have no other evidence to aid our judgment. Usually, however, these MSS. are ascribed to the fourth or fifth centuries, and the mistakes with which they all abound—mistakes which in many cases imply a defective knowledge of classical Latinity—point with much probability to the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century. All these manuscripts appear to have been ultimately derived from one archetype, itself full of variants and corrections, but representing a text different from that followed by our second class of authorities, the ancient commentators.

These manuscripts are :

(1) Med. or M., the codex Mediceus, once at Bobbio, now in the Laurentian library at Florence (plut. xxxix 1). It commences at E. vi 48, and is complete for the rest of Virgil; it contains scholia (added in or after the seventh century) on the Eclogues, and at the end of the Eclogues the 'subscriptio' of Apronianus Asterius, dated A.D. 494. The relation of the 'subscriptio' to the MS. is uncertain: possibly it records a revision of the existing copy by Apronianus, and owes its place at the end of the Eclogues to the fact that this is the first blank page: in this case the manuscript must be earlier than 494 A.D. It has been corrected by several hands; these corrections are mostly either very early (denoted 'Med. corr.' in the commentary) or very late. It has been collated by Foggini (whom Ribbeck followed in his first edition), and more recently by Dr. Max Hoffmann (*Der Codex Mediceus*, Berlin, 1889), and, for parts of the Aeneid, by Henry (*Aeneidea* i xiv foll.): in the present volume Hoffmann is followed. The Medicean is usually held to be the best and most important of the early manuscripts.

(2) Pal. or P., the codex Palatinus, once in the Palatine library at Heidelberg, now in the Vatican (No. 1631). It is complete, except for thirty-three leaves, which cause nine more or less serious gaps. According to Sir E. Maunde Thompson there is no reason for dating it later, at all events, than the fourth century. It and all the five following early MSS. have been collated by Ribbeck.

(3) Rom. or R., the codex Romanus, brought to Rome by Angelo Politian, and now in the Vatican (No. 3867). It is complete, except for

eight serious gaps, and is probably of the same age as the Palatine, though the barbarisms in its text and the rudeness of its illustrations have led some scholars to put it in the sixth century or even later. (See Maunde Thompson's *Palaeography*, p. 187, and the facsimiles in the *Palaeographical Society's* publications, series I.)

(4) Vat. or F., the *schedae Vaticanae* in the Vatican (No. 3225), ornamented with remarkable pictures, and belonging probably to the fourth century. They contain fragments of the third and fourth *Georgics* and the *Aeneid*.

(5) The Saint Gall fragments (G) in the Saint Gall library (No. 1394), eleven leaves containing parts of the fourth *Georgic* and *Aeneid* I-VI. They belong probably to the fourth or fifth century.

(6) Ver. or V., the Verona fragments in the Verona library (No. 38), forty-one leaves of nearly illegible palimpsest, containing various parts of Virgil. They are assigned to the fourth century, and, besides being collated by Ribbeck, have been examined by Henry.

(7) Aug. or A., seven leaves partly in the Vatican (No. 3256), partly at Berlin, written in square capitals, and once ascribed, by Pertz, to the age of Augustus (whence styled 'codex Augusteus'), but really belonging, as it seems, to the later part of the fourth century. They contain *Georg.* I 41-280, III 181-220, and have been collated by Ribbeck and others.

Facsimiles of these manuscripts and further details may be found in Zangemeister and Wattenbach's *Exempla* (Heidelberg, 1876), plates 10-13, in the publications of the *Palaeographical Society*, I plates 86, 113-117, 208, and in Chatelain's *Paléographie* (Paris, 1887, Nos. 61 foll.).

II. The evidence of the ancient commentators is of great importance. The study of Virgil's text commenced in the first century with Hyginus and Probus (pp. lvi, lxi), and the preceding essay has shown that much of the material collected by Servius, Philargyrius, and the compilers of the Berne and Verona scholia is ultimately derived from writings of the first or early second century; readings mentioned in the commentators are, therefore, entitled to all consideration. Often these readings differ widely from the MSS. In G. I 408 Nonius and Servius on A. XII 304 have *formantur*, the MSS. *constantur*; in II 247 Hyginus reads *amaror*, the MSS. have *amaro*; in III 177 Nonius adopts and Philargyrius mentions the form *mulgaria*, the MSS. have *multraria*; in III 415 Nonius and Servius have *gravi nidore*, the MSS. *graves*; in A. II 62 Nonius adopts and Servius mentions a reading *versare dolo* instead of *dolos*; in VII 773 the MSS. are divided, Probus has *Phoebigenam*; in A. VIII 147 Servius has *obfore*, the MSS. *adfore* or the like. The commentators, it is plain, had texts which differed from the archetype of our best MSS. To decide between the two is often difficult and sometimes impossible.

III. The manuscripts of Virgil written from the time of the Carolingian revival to the invention of printing are countless, but, for the most part, of no textual value whatsoever. The ninth century 'Gudianus,' the oldest MS. of Virgil after those mentioned in Class I, stands in close relation to the Palatine, and is of some use where the latter is defective: for a description of it see Ribbeck's *Prol.*, p. 228, Chatelain 68 A. A tenth century Berne MS. (Ribbeck's *a*, Berne No. 172) and a Paris MS. (No. 7929) perhaps stand in a similar relation to the 'Romanus.' A ninth (?) century MS. at Prague is sometimes quoted under the symbol



II, but it is of little value (Kvřčala, *Vergilstudien*, Prag, 1878); Deuticke *Jahresb.*, 1882, 112; Chatelain, 74 A.), and the great mass of cursive MSS. is practically worthless. Such valuable readings as are to be found in them are either derived from Servius and other commentators, or are such as might easily have been restored, if necessary, by conjecture. The term 'Ribbeck's cursives' has been used by Conington and others to denote the few comparatively useful cursives which Ribbeck and other editors after him admit to their apparatus criticus and textual notes.

The result is fairly satisfactory. We have in most cases the testimony of early manuscripts, and of the recension or recensions used by good grammarians and commentators, and this has preserved the text from any serious corruption. In most cases of doubt, we have a choice between two or more readings, any of which could be accepted without violation of grammar, sense, or taste, and the margin left for conjectural emendation is narrow. On the other hand, it must be remembered that Virgil himself left some things unfinished in the *Aeneid*: errors doubtless arose in the course of publication, and it would be absurd to suppose that the text we have is exactly that which Virgil left.

The following list (from Ribbeck's Prol., p. 454) shows which of the seven principal MSS. are available for the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*:

					<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>V</i>	<i>A</i>
E.	I	1 —	III	26	.	P	R	.	.	.	.
	III	27 —	+	52	.	P	R	.	.	V	.
	+	53 —	+	70	.	P	R	.	.	.	.
	+	71 —	IV	51	.	.	R	.	.	.	.
	IV	52 —	V	85	.	P	R	.	.	.	.
	V	86 —	VI	21	.	P	R	.	.	V	.
	VI	22 —	+	47	.	P	R	.	.	.	.
	+	48 —	+	86	M	P	R	.	.	.	.
	VII	1 —	VII	11	M	P	.	.	.	.	.
	+	12 —	+	37	M	P	.	.	.	V	.
	+	38 —	VIII	18	M	P	.	.	.	.	.
	VIII	19 —	+	44	M	P	.	.	.	V	.
	+	45 —	X	9	M	P	.	.	.	.	.
	X	10 —	end		M	P	R	.	.	.	.
G.	I	1 —	+	40	M	P	R	.	.	.	.
	+	41 —	+	280	M	P	R	.	.	.	A
	+	281 —	+	322	M	P	R	.	.	.	.
	+	323 —	II	1	M	.	R	.	.	.	.
	II	2 —	+	91	M	.	.	.	.	.	.
	+	92 —	+	117	M	.	.	.	.	V	.
	+	118 —	+	138	M	.	.	.	.	.	.
	+	139 —	+	215	M	P	.	.	.	.	.
	+	216 —	+	273	M	P	R	.	.	.	.

				<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>V</i>	<i>A</i>
G.	II	274	—	+	299	M P R	.	.	V	.
		+ 300	—	+	351	M P R	.	.	.	.
		+ 352	—	+	377	M P R	.	.	V	.
		+ 378	—	+	534	M P R	.	.	.	.
		+ 535	—	+	542	M P R	.	.	V	.
	III	1	—	III	12	M P R F	.	V	.	.
		+ 13	—	+	21	M P R F	.	.	.	.
		+ 22	—	+	145	M P R	.	.	.	.
		+ 146	—	+	180	M P R F	.	.	.	.
		+ 181	—	+	214	M P R F	.	.	A	.
		+ 215	—	+	220	M P R	.	.	A	.
		+ 221	—	+	284	M P R	.	.	.	.
		+ 285	—	+	348	M P R F	.	.	.	.
		+ 349	—	+	350	M P R	.	.	.	.
		+ 351	—	+	401	M P R	.	.	V	.
		+ 402	—	IV	36	M P R	.	.	.	.
	IV	37	—	+	96	M P	.	.	.	.
		+ 97	—	+	124	M P	.	F	.	.
		+ 125	—	+	152	M P	.	.	.	.
		+ 153	—	+	174	M P	.	F	.	.
		+ 175	—	+	180	M P	.	.	.	.
		+ 181	—	+	344	M P R	.	.	.	.
		+ 345	—	+	419	M P R	.	G	.	.
		+ 420	—	+	435	M P R	.	.	.	.
		+ 436	—	+	461	M P R	.	.	V	.
		+ 462	—	+	464	M	.	R	.	V
		+ 465	—	+	470	M	.	R	.	.
		+ 471	—	+	497	M	.	R F	.	.
		+ 498	—	+	521	M	.	R	.	.
		+ 522	—	+	534	M	.	R F	.	V
		+ 535	—	+	548	M	.	R F G V	.	.
		+ 549	—	+	548	M	.	R	.	G V
		+ 550	—	+	566	M	.	R	.	G



P. VERGILI MARONIS  
BUCOLICON  
LIBER.

INTRODUCTION.

THE history of Pastoral Poetry shows us how easily the most natural species of composition may pass into the most artificial. Whatever may have been its earliest beginnings—a question<sup>1</sup> which seems to belong as much to speculation as to historical inquiry—it appears not to have been recognized or cultivated as a distinct branch till the Greek mind had passed its great climacteric, and the centre of intellectual life had been transferred from Athens to Alexandria. Yet as introduced into the world by Theocritus, if modern<sup>2</sup> criticism is right in supposing him to have been its real originator, it exhibits little of that weakness and want of vitality which might have been expected to distinguish the child of old age. It is a vigorous representation of shepherd life, with its simple habits, its coarse humour, its passionate susceptibility, and its grotesque superstition. But it was not long to retain this genuine character of healthy, dramatic energy. Already in the next age at Syracuse it began to show signs

<sup>1</sup> The theories of its origin resolve themselves into speculations like those of Lucretius (v 1382 foll.), as Heyne remarks in his treatise *De Carmine Bucolico*, prefixed to his edition. It is easy to see that music is a natural solace for a shepherd, and that the whistling of the wind through the reeds would suggest the use of the reed as a pipe.

<sup>2</sup> The names of the supposed pastoral poets who preceded Theocritus may be found in Heyne's treatise, or in the *Dictionary of Biography*, art. Theocritus. For a destructive criticism on their existence or claims to the title, see Näke's *Opuscula*, vol. i pp. 161 foll.

of failing power : and on its transference to Rome, these were at once developed into the unmistakable symptoms of premature constitutional decay. What it became afterwards is characteristically described in one of Johnson's sarcastic sentences. 'At the revival of learning in Italy,' he says in his life of Ambrose Philips,<sup>1</sup> 'it was soon discovered that a dialogue of imaginary swains might be composed with little difficulty : because the conversation of shepherds excludes profound or refined sentiment : and for images and descriptions, Satyrs and Fauns, and Naiads and Dryads, were always within call ; and woods, and meadows, and hills, and rivers supplied variety of matter, which, having a natural power to soothe the mind, did not quickly cloy it.' Arcadia, more famous among the ancients, at least before the time of Virgil,<sup>2</sup> for pastoral dulness than for pastoral ideality, became the poet's golden land, where imagination found a refuge from the harsh prosaic life of the present. Gradually the pastoral was treated as a sort of exercise-ground for young authors, who supposed themselves, in the words of an old commentator on Spenser,<sup>3</sup> to be 'following the example of the best and most ancient poets, which devised this kind of writing, being both so base for the matter and homely for the manner, at the first to try their habilities : and as young birds that be newly crept out of the nest, by little first prove their tender wings, before they make a greater flight.' It was indeed little more than the form in which the poet made himself known to the world, the pseudonym under which it was thought decorous to veil his real style and title. His shepherds might preserve their costume, but their conversation turned on any thing which might be uppermost in his own mind, or in that of the public, the controversies of the Church,<sup>4</sup> or the death of a royal personage. It was not to be expected that a thing so purely artificial could outlive that general questioning of the grounds of poetical excellence, which accompanied the far wider convulsions at the end of

<sup>1</sup> Lives of the Poets, Cunningham's edition, vol. iii pp. 262, 3.

<sup>2</sup> See Keightley's note on Virg. Ecl. vii 4.

<sup>3</sup> Prefatory Epistle to Spenser's Shepheard's Calendar, addressed to Gabriel Harvey.

<sup>4</sup> The affairs of the Church are touched on in two of Spenser's Pastorals, those for May and September. Ambrose Philips has a Pastoral on the death of Queen Mary.



the last century. Whether it is now to be registered as an extinct species, at least in England, is perhaps a question of language rather than of fact. The poetry of external nature has been wakened into new and intenser life, and the habits of the country are represented to us in poems, reminding us of the earliest and best days of the *Idyl*: but the names of *Eclogue* and *Pastoral* are heard no longer, nor is it easy to conceive of a time when the associations connected with them are likely again to find favour with Englishmen.

For this corruption probably no writer is so heavily chargeable as Virgil. Changes of the kind, it is true, are attributable as much to the general condition of the intellectual atmosphere as to any individual source of infection; the evil too had begun, as has been already remarked, before pastoral poetry had migrated from Syracuse. But in Virgil it at once attained a height which left comparatively little to be done by subsequent writers, though their inferiority in the graces of expression was sure to render the untruthfulness of the conception more conspicuous. They might make their poetical *Arcadia*, to borrow again the words of Johnson, 'still more 'remote from known reality and speculative possibility': but it was scarcely in their power to confound worse the confusion which blended Sicily and the Mantuan district into one, and identified Julius Caesar with that *Daphnis* whom the nymphs loved, and whose death drew groans from the lions.

There is something almost unexampled in the state of feeling which at Rome, and in the Augustan age in particular, allowed palpable and avowed imitation to claim the honours of poetical originality. Pacuvius and Accius are praised not for having called out the tragedy which lies, patent rather than latent, in Roman history and Roman life, nor even for having made the legends which they derived from Greece the subject of original dramas of their own, but specifically for having applied<sup>2</sup> their wit

<sup>1</sup> *Lives of the Poets*, vol. ii p. 297. (Life of Gay.)

<sup>2</sup> 'Serus enim Graecis admovit acumina chartis,  
et post Punica bella quietus quaerere coepit  
quid Sophocles et Thespis et Aeschylus utile ferrent.'  
(Hor. Ep. II i 161.)

to the writings of the Greeks, as to so much raw material, and adapted to the Roman stage the entertainments which had alternately delighted and terrified the populace of Athens. Horace invites attention to himself,<sup>1</sup> as an independent traveller along untrodden ground, not as having discovered any measure peculiar to the Latin language, any melody to which the thoughts of his countrymen would naturally vibrate, but as having been the first to display to Latium the capabilities of the Archilochian Iambic, the Alcaic, and the Sapphic. So Propertius<sup>2</sup> speaks of Thyrsis and Daphnis, and the rustic presents which shepherd makes to shepherdess, names and things copied precisely from Theocritus, as if they were actually a new world to which Virgil had introduced him and his contemporaries of the great city. Striking as the phenomenon is, the circumstances of the case enable us readily to account for it. The Roman knew only of a single instance of a national literature in the world: it challenged his allegiance with an undisputed claim, and his only course seemed to be to conform to it, and endeavour so far as he could, to reproduce it among his own people. It seems as if no parallel to such a mental condition could exist in our larger modern experience, where the very number of the models set before us corrects our admiration by distracting it, and forces us, as it were, in spite of ourselves, to interrogate that nature which underlies the many varieties of art. Yet we may realize something of the feeling if we go back to the time when the office of a translator ranked as high in English estimation as that of an original poet—when he that drew Zimri and Achitophel was thought to have added to his fame by his versions of Juvenal and

<sup>1</sup> 'Libera per vacuum posui vestigia princeps,  
non aliena meo pressi pede. Qui sibi fidit,  
dux regit examen. Parios ego primus iambos  
ostendi Latio.'  
(Hor. Ep. I xix 21.)

<sup>2</sup> 'Tu canis umbrosi subter pineta Galaesi  
Thyrsin et attritis Daphnin arundinibus,  
utque decem possint corrumpere mala puellas  
missus et impressis haedus ab uberibus.'  
(Prop. III xxvi 67.)

The coarseness of the second couplet is characteristic, showing the sort of charm which Propertius found in a poem of rural life.



Virgil, and the preparation of the English Iliad and Odyssey occupied, perhaps not unworthily, ten of the best years of the mind which had produced the Essay on Criticism and the Rape of the Lock.

But whatever may be its susceptibility of explanation or illustration the fact is one which requires to be borne in mind by every student of the Eclogues. Without the spirit of allowance which we are ready to entertain as soon as we perceive that a peculiarity is not individual or occasional, but general, we should hardly be able to moderate our surprise at the numberless instances of close and indeed servile imitation which an attentive perusal shows us at once. It is one thing to accept broadly the statement that Virgil is a copyist, and quite another to follow him line by line and observe how constantly he is thinking of his guide, looking to him where a simple reliance on nature would have been not only far better, but far more easy and obvious, and on many occasions deviating from the passage immediately before him only to cast a glance on some other part of his model.<sup>1</sup> Tityrus, Galatea, Amaryllis, Corydon, Thestylis, Menalcas, Damoetas, Amyntas, Aegon, Daphnis, Thyrsis, Micon, Lycidas, are all names to be found in the muster-roll of Theocritus; and of those not included therein there is not one (if we except, what are really no exceptions, actual historical personages) which is not referable to a Greek, perhaps a bucolic original. Corydon addresses Alexis in the language used by Polyphemus to Galatea: boasts in the same way of his thousand sheep and his never-failing supply of milk: answers objections to his personal appearance in the same way by an appeal to the ocean mirror: paints in similar colours the pleasures of a rural life: glances similarly at the pets he is rearing for his love: and finally taxes himself for his folly, and reminds himself that there are other loves to be found in the world, in language which is as nearly as may be a translation from the eleventh Idyl. Menalcas and Damoetas rally each other in words borrowed from two neighbouring Idyls: two others supply the language in which they make their wagers:

<sup>1</sup> References to the various imitations from Theocritus will be found in the Commentary.

while a large proportion of the materials for their amoeban display is to be found in the same or other parts of Theocritus, scattered up and down. In the friendly rivalry of Menalcas and Mopsus the depreciation of Amyntas, the grief of the wild beasts for Daphnis, the epitaph, the apotheosis in most of its circumstances, the compliments which shepherd pays to shepherd, and the exchange of presents, are all modelled more or less closely after the Doric prototype. Corydon and Thyrsis are perhaps more original: yet even they owe something to Menalcas and Daphnis, as well as to one or two other Sicilian shepherds, not only in the antecedents, but in the contents of their songs; and the eminence to which Corydon is lifted by his success is similar, though inferior, to that attained by Daphnis. The dying Damon, or rather the lover whom Damon personates, recalls in the first part of his complaint the dying Daphnis, in the last the slighted Polyphemus: the enchantress who is represented by Alpheisiboeus is the same who in the second Idyl employs even more charms to bring back Delphis, though the success which this time crowns her efforts is new. Moeris and his companion, like Meliboeus and Tityrus, talk about a subject which, being part of Virgil's personal history, could not but be his own: yet even they supply us with reminiscences from Sicily, partly in the things which they say to each other, partly in their quotations from the poet's unpublished verses. The dying Daphnis reappears once more in the dying or despairing Gallus: the complaint of the lover is indeed his own, but the circumstances which surround him are copied minutely from that song which Thyrsis, the sweet songster from Aetna, sang to the goatherd in the hot noon under the elm. Even this enumeration must fail to give any notion of the numberless instances of incidental imitation, sometimes in a single line, sometimes in the mere turn of an expression, which fill up as it were the broader outlines of the copy. And yet there can be no doubt that Virgil ranked as an original poet in his own judgment no less than in that of his contemporaries, and that on the strength of those very appropriations which would stamp a modern author with the charge of plagiarism. His Thalia, he proudly reminds us, was the first who deigned to disport herself in the strains of Syracuse, as that



was her first employment. And in the ninth Eclogue, where he grieves by anticipation, tenderly and gracefully enough, over the loss which the pastoral world would have sustained had he died prematurely, of the four fragments of his poetry which are singled out for admiration two are copies from Theocritus, and one of them, the first, so close a copy, and so slight, not to say trivial, in itself, that it can hardly have been instanced with any other view than to remind the reader of his success in borrowing and skilfully reproducing. It is, in fact, an intimation, made almost in express words, that he wished to be considered as the Roman Theocritus.

The impression left by such passages on the mind of a considerate reader is very much that which a modern author, writing without the restraint of verse, would seek to produce by a quotation or a direct reference. It is the commonplace of the art, used by a young artist: the writing at the bottom of the picture for fear the picture should not be recognized; the tones of the master imitated by the pupil because he thinks that there is no other way of speaking correctly. Theocritus might talk generally of the Muses and of bucolic song: to Virgil the Muses must be the Muses of Sicily, and the song the song of Maenalus. Even Bion<sup>1</sup> and Moschus, coming after Theocritus, had to appeal to Sicilian associations: how much more one not in possession of the links of sympathy imparted by a common country and common language, and an almost hereditary transmission of the poetical gift? And what is true of Virgil's relation to Theocritus is true to a certain extent of his relation to Greek writers generally and to the whole body of learning which he possessed. He had doubtless lived from boyhood in their world: and their world accordingly became a sort of second nature to him—a storehouse of life and truth and beauty, the standard to which he brought conceptions and images as

<sup>1</sup> λῆς νό τί μοι, Λυκίδα, Σικελὸν μέλος ἀδὸ λυγαίνειν,  
 ἰμερόεν, γλυκύθυμον, ἔρωτικόν, ὅσον ὁ κύκλωψ  
 ἄεισεν Πολύφαμος ἐπ' εἶον τῆ Γαλαταίῃ;

(Bion, II 1.)

ἄρχετε, Σικελικαί, τῷ πένθεος, ἀρχετε, Μοῖσαι.

(Moschus, III 8.)

Moschus, however, was himself a Syracusan.

they rose up within him, the suggestive guide that was to awaken his slumbering powers, and lead him to discover further felicities yet possible to the artist. This habit of mind perhaps strikes us most in cases where it is most slightly and, it would almost seem, unconsciously indicated. More than one writer has remarked on Virgil's practice of characterizing things by some local epithet, as a peculiarity by which he is distinguished from the earlier Latin poets. Doubtless in many instances there is some special reason for the choice of the word: it may point to some essential attribute of the thing, or some accidental connexion with time and place which has a real significance in the context. But there are others where it is not easy to perceive any such relevancy. What appropriateness can there be in describing the hedge which separates Tityrus' farm from his neighbour's as having its willow-blossoms fed upon by the bees of Hybla,<sup>1</sup> or in the wish that the swarms which Moeris has to look after may avoid the yews of Corsica?<sup>2</sup> The epithet here is significant not to the reader but to the poet, or to the reader only so far as he happens to share in the poet's intellectual antecedents: it appeals not to a first-hand appreciation of the characteristics of natural objects, such as is open to all, but to information gained from reading or travel, and therefore confined to a few. And from what we know of the facts of Virgil's life we may safely conclude that, at the time of the composition of the Eclogues at any rate, his associations were those of a student, not those of a tourist. Nor would it be just to stigmatize the predilection which this indicates as merely conventional. It may be narrow, but within its limits it is genuine. There are some minds which are better calculated, at least in youth, to be impressed by the inexhaustibleness of Art than by the infinity of Nature. They may lack the genial susceptibility which in others is awakened immediately by the sight of the world without, and they may not have had time to educate their imperfect sympathies into a fuller appreciation; but they respond without difficulty to the invitations of natural beauty as conveyed to them through an intervening medium, adapted by its own perfection for the transmission of the perfection which

<sup>1</sup> Ecl. I 55.

<sup>2</sup> Ecl. IX 30.



exists beyond. They see with the eyes of others, not with their own ; but their soul nevertheless receives the vision. Over such minds the recollection of a word in a book has the same power which others find in a remembered sight or sound. It recalls not only its own image, but the images which were seen in company with it : nay, it may touch yet longer trains of association, and come back upon the memory with something like the force of the entire body of impressions originally excited by the work which happens to contain it. Even those who have held more direct intercourse with nature are not insensible to the operation of this secondary charm. Can any one who reads Milton doubt that the mere sound of the stately names of classic history and mythology exercised a real influence on the poet's fancy? And Mr. Tennyson has given us a testimony<sup>1</sup> to the constraining magic of Virgil's own language, where he speaks of himself as haunted during his journey from Como not by the thought of the overflowing lake, but by the 'ballad-burthen music' of *Lari Maxime*.

It is not, however, the existence of imitation alone, considered merely as imitation, that makes us speak of the Eclogues as unreal. Imitation involves the absence of reality, just as translation does, simply because the thing produced is not original : but it need not imply its destruction. But with the Eclogues the case is different. It is not merely that Virgil formed his conception of pastoral poetry from Greek models, but that he sought to apply it to Roman life. In the vocabulary of poetry, as he understood it, a shepherd was a Sicilian, or perhaps an Arcadian ; therefore an Italian shepherd must be spoken of as an Italian Sicilian, and pastoral Italy as Sicilian Italy. Instances of this historical and geographical confusion meet us in every page of the Eclogues. The very fact that the names of the shepherds are invariably Greek would naturally be sufficient to warn us what we are to expect. The introduction of men called Meliboeus and Tityrus talking about Rome leaves us no room to wonder at any further mixture of incongruities. Yet the lengths to which this confusion is pushed have been overlooked by the majority of scholars ; nor am I aware of any one, with the

<sup>1</sup> In his poem *The Daisy*.

exception of a writer in the *Quarterly Review* and Mr. Keightley,<sup>1</sup> who has set the matter in its true light. When Castelvetro, in the sixteenth century, asserted that the favourite trees of the *Eclagues*, the beech, the ilex, the chestnut, and the pine, do not grow about Mantua, subsequent critics were ready to reply<sup>2</sup> that the features of the country may have changed in the lapse of centuries, and that surely Virgil must know best. But such reasoning will hardly avail against the absence of the green caves in which the shepherd lies, or the briary crags from which his goats hang, or the lofty mountains whose lengthening shadows remind him of evening. These are the unmistakable features of Sicily, and no illusion of historical criticism will persuade us that they have changed their places, strange as it is to meet them in conjunction with real Mantuan scenery, with the flinty soil of Andes, and the broad, lazy current of the Mincio. The actual Mantua is surrounded by a lake: its pastoral counterpart, like Shakspeare's Bohemia, seems to be on the sea, the stillness of whose waters enables the shepherds to sing undisturbed, as in *Theocritus* it forms a contrast with the unresting sorrow of the love-sick enchantress. The same rule, if rule it can be called, is observed in the manners and institutions of the shepherds: there is the Italian element, and there is the Sicilian, added, as it were, to make it bucolic. The Pales of the Italians and the *Apollo Nomios* of the Greeks, as Mr. Keightley again points out, retire together from the country, which the death of *Daphnis* has left desolate: the two high-days of the shepherds' calendar are the Greek festival of the Nymphs and the Roman *Ambarvalia*. It seems not improbable that a similar account is to be given of the social position of the shepherds themselves, who, though living on terms of Arcadian equality, appear to be sometimes slaves or hirelings, sometimes independent proprietors: but the status of their brethren in *Theocritus* is itself a point which is apparently involved in some uncertainty.

<sup>1</sup> *Quarterly Review*, vol. iii p. 93; Keightley, Notes, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> 'Fagum dicit pro natura loci: prope Mantuam et in agris Virgilii erant veteres fagi. Cf. *Ecl.* II 3, IX 9. Haeserunt nonnulli, quod hodie nullae sunt prope Mantuam, ut Holdsworth et alii. Sed non meminerunt XVIII saecula interjecta esse. In Libano hodie cedrorum exigua silva: olim omnis iis abundabat.' Spohn, quoted by Wagner on *Ecl.* I 1.



Such a systematic confusion of time, place, and circumstance, it will be readily admitted, goes far to justify the way in which Virgil has been spoken of in the opening of this essay as the great corrupter of pastoral poetry, if by pastoral poetry is meant a truthful dramatic representation of one of the simplest forms of life. How far it vitiates the character of the Eclogues as pure poetry, irrespective of the class to which they profess to belong, is a further question, and one which ought not to be decided till we have seen how much it may involve. If the Eclogues are to be condemned on this ground, it is hard to see how we are to excuse a work like *Cymbeline*. If the somewhat broad shield of the romantic drama is sufficient to cover the latter, room may perhaps be found under it for the former. No incongruity of which Virgil has been guilty can be so glaring or so fatal to those notions of reality which the very form of historical knowledge suggests as that produced by the juxtaposition of the modern Italian, not only with the legendary Briton, but with the Roman of the earlier empire. It is not that the laws of time and circumstance are simply violated, but that they are violated in such a way that the result appears to us inconceivable as well as false, two types, belonging to different periods of the same nation, and as such forming the subjects of an obvious historical contrast, being imagined for the moment to co-exist, not in the other world, as in the various Dialogues of the Dead, where this incongruity enters into the very idea of the composition, but in a world which, if not our own, resembles it in all its essential features as a theatre for human action and passion. Yet criticism seems now to be agreed that the very glaringness of such incongruities, though doubtless attributable as much to ignorance or recklessness as to any profound design, ought only to teach us to divest ourselves of all extraneous prepossessions, and examine the piece as a representation of human nature apart from the conditions of time, just as when we look at some of the early paintings our sense of beauty need not be ultimately disturbed by our consciousness that the actions portrayed in the two parts of the picture are obviously not simultaneous but successive. Virgil, of course, according to our ordinary nomenclature, is a classical, not a romantic poet; but the fact will hardly be held

to exclude him from the benefit of a similar plea, if indeed it should not suggest fresh matter for consideration with regard to the laws generally, and probably with justice, supposed to distinguish the two great schools of Ancient and Modern Art.

This, however, is not the only kind of confusion by which the pastoral reality of the Eclogues is disturbed or destroyed. Not only is the Sicilian mixed up with the Italian, but the shepherd is mixed up with the poet. The danger was one to have been apprehended from the first. So soon as pastoral poetry came to be recognized as a distinct species, the men of letters who cultivated it, perhaps themselves grammarians or professional critics, were likely to yield to the temptation of painting themselves in bucolic colours, instead of copying the actual bucolic life which they saw or might have seen in the country. They started from the position that shepherds, besides being subjects for poetry, were themselves singers and lovers of song; it was not difficult to convert the proposition, and assume that a pastoral singer might be spoken of as a shepherd. A symptom of this failing appears even in Theocritus, in whose seventh Idyl the speaker, describing himself as being in company with a poetical goatherd, modestly declines a comparison with the professed poets Asclepiades and Philetas, thereby intimating that he is himself a professed poet in disguise.<sup>1</sup> In Moschus the identification is more consciously realized.<sup>2</sup> Bion is bewailed as the ideal herdsman, for whom Apollo and the wood-gods wept, whose strains drew looks of love from Galatea, and whose pipe even the lips of Pan may scarcely touch. Those, however, who wish to see to what extent it may be interwoven with the texture of a series of poems, should look for it in the Eclogues. They will not have very far to seek; indeed it meets them at the very threshold. Nothing but the extreme awkwardness of the manner in which it is introduced into the first Eclogue could have prevented the critics from recognizing it at once. As it is, they

<sup>1</sup> οὐ γάρ πω, κατ' ἐμὸν νόον, οὔτε τὸν ἰσθλὸν  
Σκελίδαυ νίκημι τὸν ἐκ Σάμω, οὔτε Φιλητάν,  
αἰδῶν, βάτραχος δὲ ποτ' ἀκρίδας ὡς τις ἐρίσδω.

(Theocr. VII 39.)

<sup>2</sup> ὅτι Βίων τίθνακεν ὁ βουκόλος. (Moschus, III 11: but see the whole context.)



have passed it over in their search for something more recondite and more creditable to Virgil. Their view, as elaborated by the latest commentators,<sup>1</sup> is that Tityrus is a supposed farm-slave perhaps a bailiff of Virgil's, who, going to Rome to purchase his freedom, receives the welcome assurance that his master's property is to be undisturbed in the general unsettlement; the obvious truth is (I am stating not my own discovery but that of my former coadjutor) that the notions of the enfranchised slave and the poet secured in his farm, the symbol and the thing symbolized, are actually blended together, so that the narrative is at one time allegorical, at another historical, Tityrus going with his earnings to his master, and receiving for answer, 'You shall not be dispossessed by my soldiers.' The same conventional conception reappears in other places, though it is nowhere else so clumsily managed. Menalcas, the poet-shepherd of the ninth Eclogue, whose strains were so nearly lost to the world, is admitted on all hands to be Virgil himself. In the opening of the sixth, Virgil is once more the shepherd Tityrus, who is taught by Apollo that a shepherd's duty is to make his sheep fat and his verses thin. If Virgil is a shepherd because he is a poet, his friends, as being poets themselves, or at least friends of a poet, must be shepherds too, and the times upon which he has fallen must be described by pastoral images. Gallus, the soldier and elegiac poet, already introduced among the heroes of mythology in the sixth Eclogue, appears in the tenth as the dying shepherd of Theocritus, languishing under the shelter of a rock, and consoled by the rural gods; he is at the same moment in Italy and in Arcadia, acting with Octavianus against Sex. Pompeius, and bewailing his lost love in the ears of ideal swains. Whatever may be the ultimate source of the inspiration which animates the fourth Eclogue, and whoever the child shadowed forth as the king of the peaceful world, the poem is evidently a description of the new era supposed to be inaugurated in Pollio's consulship by the peace of Brundisium; but the golden age is represented as a golden age of pastoral life, where art is to be nothing and nature every thing, a recollection of the legendary

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, Wunderlich, quoted by Wagner at the end of Heyne's Argument of Ecl. I.

past in Hesiod converted into an anticipation of the historical future. So the Daphnis of the fifth Eclogue is evidently the great Julius, as the similarity of the images to those in the preceding poem is sufficient to show; it is a pastoral poet that celebrates him, and therefore he must be celebrated as a shepherd, wept by all nature in his death, powerful and honoured as a rural god in his immortality. Even where the poems appear at first sight to be purely dramatic and impersonal, the poet is still visible. Menalcas, an actor in the fifth Eclogue, announces himself at the end of it as the author of the second and third; in the ninth (v. 19) an intimation is made from which we infer that the fifth also is really his work, the song of Mopsus no less than his own. The second Eclogue is one which we should gladly believe to be purely ideal, instead of shifting the tradition which professes to verify it: nor need we be anxious to think with Servius that the song of Silenus to the shepherds is really an epicurean lecture delivered by Siron to his pupils. But when we find shepherds rivalling each other for the favour of Pollio, and lampooning Bavius and Maevius, we feel that jealousy for the poet's credit as a painter of life is rather a misplaced sentiment.<sup>1</sup>

It is as an artist that Virgil appears chiefly to challenge our admiration, as in his other works, so also in the *Bucolics*. The language, indeed, which he puts into the mouths of his pastoral personages is for the most part as undramatic as the thoughts which that language expresses are conventional and unreal. In a very few instances he attempts to produce an appearance of rusticity by an archaism, a proverb, a conversational ellipse, a clumsy circumlocution; <sup>2</sup> even there, however, he seems to be

<sup>1</sup> It may be said that in Milton's *Lycidas* the Virgilian confusion of shepherd and poet is turned into mere chaos by the introduction of a third element, the Christian shepherd or minister. There is, however, this difference, that the object, no less than the effect, of the poem is not to describe pastoral life, but to paint student life in pastoral colours. The tenth Eclogue might take the benefit of the same distinction, if we could separate it in our judgment from the rest. Milton's use of mythology might afford another ground for comparison with Virgil: but the subject is too large for a note.

<sup>2</sup> See Gebauer's *De Poetarum Graecorum Bucolicorum, imprimis Theocriti, Carminibus in Eclogis a Vergilio adumbratis, Libri Duo* (Leipsic, 1861), pp. 8 foll., a valuable monograph, of which I believe only the first volume has yet appeared.

There is a passage in Wycherley's recommendatory lines on Pope's *Pastorals*



copying Theocritus, rather than following the nature which he had seen around him, and the strain in which his shepherds usually converse is scarcely less elaborate than the ordinary diction of the Georgics or the Aeneid. So in the practice of the Greek poets the bucolic hexameter had a structure of its own: <sup>1</sup> as handled by Virgil it does not differ from the didactic or the epic. Yet a more poetical people than the Romans might be pardoned if they forgot their sense of dramatic propriety in the delight with which they welcomed such specimens of language and versification as those which the Eclogues every where exhibit. The tedious labour of the file, the absence of which is deplored by Horace <sup>2</sup> as fatal to the excellence of Roman poetry, had at last found an artist who would submit to it without complaining. The finished excellence of his workmanship is a fact which will not be readily impeached or overlooked, though its

which is worth quoting, not only for its own ingenuity, but as expressing the view taken by Pope and his friends of the language in which pastoral poetry should be written—a view probably not very unlike Virgil's own, *mutatis mutandis*.

' Like some fair shepherdess, the silvan Muse  
Should wear those flowers her native fields produce,  
And the true measure of the shepherd's wit  
Should, like his garb, be for the country fit :  
Yet must his pure and unaffected thought  
More nicely than the common swain's be wrought :  
So with becoming art the players dress  
In silks the shepherd and the shepherdess,  
Yet still unchanged the form and mode remain,  
Shaped like the homely russet of the swain.'

See also Pope's discourse on Pastoral Poetry, prefixed to his Pastorals, where he lays down practical rules for bucolic writing, and his ironical comparison of his own Pastorals with Philips' (Guardian, No. 40), where the doctrine that shepherds ought to deal in proverbs is not forgotten.

<sup>1</sup> See Gebauer, pp. 70 foll., where too much is perhaps made of the instances—not more than 240 lines out of the whole number—in which the bucolic caesura is preserved. It is evident that Virgil set no store by it whatever as a necessary law of composition: that he should have employed it in the Eclogues more frequently than in the other two poems, is no more than is natural in a young writer just beginning to form his versification, and at the time familiar with the cadence of Theocritus. Gebauer, however, has done good service in pointing out throughout his work instances in which Virgil, without distinctly imitating Theocritus, has taken a hint from him in language or versification. Such inquiries are apt to seem tediously minute: but they cannot be safely overlooked by any one who would really appreciate the art of such a writer as Virgil.

<sup>2</sup> Hor. Ep. II i 167, Ars Poet. 290.

importance may easily be underrated. We are apt, perhaps, not sufficiently to consider what is involved in the style or diction of poetry. We distinguish sharply between the general conception and the language, as if the power which strikes out the one were something quite different from the skill which elaborates the other. No doubt there is a difference between the two operations, and one which must place a poet like Virgil at a disadvantage as compared with the writers whom he followed; but it would be a mistake to suppose that imagination may not be shown in the words which embody a thought as well as in the thought which they embody. To express a thought in language is in truth to express a larger conception by the help of a number of smaller ones; and the same poetical faculty which originates the one may well be employed in producing the other. It is not merely that the adaptation of the words to the thought itself requires a poet's sense, though this is much; but that the words themselves are images, each possessing, or capable of possessing, a beauty of its own, which need not be impaired, but may be illustrated and set off, by its relative position, as contributing to the development of another and more complex beauty. It is not necessary that these words, in order to be poetical, should be picturesque in the strict sense of the term; on the contrary, it may suit the poet's object to make a physical image retire into the shade, not advance into prominent light: but the imagination will still be appealed to, whatever may be the avenue of approach—by the effect of perspective, by artful juxtaposition, by musical sound, or perhaps, as we have already seen, by remote intellectual association. The central thought may be borrowed or unreal, yet the subordinate conceptions may be true and beautiful, whether the subordination be that of a paragraph to an entire poem, a sentence to a paragraph, or a phrase or word to a sentence. It is, I conceive, to a perception of this fact, and not to a deference to any popular or mechanical notion of composition, that the praise of style and execution in poetry is to be referred. Poetry is defined by Coleridge<sup>1</sup> to be the best words in their right places; and though at the first statement his view may appear disappointing and inadequate, it

<sup>1</sup> Table Talk.



will perhaps be found that further consideration will go far towards justifying its truth.

If the Augustan age is, as it is allowed to be by common consent, the epoch of the perfection of art as applied to Latin poetry, that perfection is centred in Virgil and Horace. Ovid, the third great representative poet of his time, sufficiently indicates that even then a decline had begun; and Tibullus and Propertius, though free from his faults, are scarcely of sufficient eminence to be regarded as masters in the school of style. But Virgil and Horace, like Sophocles among Greek poets, constitute the type by which we estimate the poetical art of their nation, the mean which every thing else either exceeds or falls short of. It is not that we consciously fix upon any qualities in them which attract our admiration, but rather perhaps, on the contrary, that there seems to be nothing prominent about them; the various requisites of excellence are harmoniously blended, without exaggeration, and the mind receives that satisfaction which refuses to be asked how it came to pass. Their style is sufficiently characteristic not to repel imitation, though with many of its most successful imitators the process is doubtless mainly intuitive: yet, on the other hand, it is not so peculiar as to render imitation an act of ridiculous presumption. Less frequently pictorial than that which preceded it, the style of Lucretius and Catullus, it is at the same time more artistic: single sentences are not devoted to the uniform development of a particular effect, but a series of impressions is produced by appeals made apparently without any principle of sequence to the different elements of the mind, sense, fancy, feeling, or memory, and the task of reducing them to harmony is left to the reader's sympathizing instinct. It is a power which appears to deal with language not by violence, but by persuasion, not straining or torturing it to bring out the required utterance, but yielding to it and, as it were, following its humours. Language is not yet studied for its own sake: that feature belongs to the post-Augustan time of the decline of poetry: but it has risen from subordination into equality, and the step to despotic supremacy is but a short one.

To enumerate the felicities which are to be found in the

I.

C

Eclogues would be endless, as it would perhaps be superfluous in an essay intended to be introductory to the perusal of the poems in detail. Where I have been sensible of them, I have generally endeavoured to indicate them in the commentary, though I fear that through brevity and other faults of expression I have not always succeeded in conveying the impression I desired. The chief instance, in my judgment, of sustained and systematic art is that presented by the fourth Eclogue, to the notes on which I would accordingly beg to refer the reader. In this place, however, it may be worth while to illustrate my meaning by a brief review of those passages in the Eclogues in which external nature is represented as in sympathy with the joys and sorrows of pastoral life. The frequent repetition of the notion may speak ill for Virgil's capacity of invention: the variety with which it is presented, extending not merely to form, but to colour, is a signal witness to the modifying power of his fancy. Let us look at the two passages, in some sort parallel, where pines and springs call for the absent Tityrus, and where mountain and vineyard shout in the ears of Menalcas the apotheosis of Daphnis. The former, properly understood, seems to be a piece of graceful raillery, reminding the gardener that while he was away his trees were undressed, and the boars, perhaps, wallowing in his springs. The latter has a grandeur about it recalling the sublimity of Jewish prophecy, at the same time that we are apparently intended to think not only of nature endowed with human feeling, but of actual human joy, the joy of the traveller on the mountain and of the vine-dresser under the rock. Even the epithet *intonsi montes* would seem to have a double reference: in one of its aspects it suggests the notion of a pathless wild, and thus brings out the universality of the rejoicing: in another it makes us feel with nature as it were against man, representing the mountains as glorying in that strength which nature gave and the reign of Daphnis will secure to them, as the fir-trees and cedars in Isaiah exult over the king of Babylon, 'Since thou art laid down, no feller is come up against us.' So the same changes in the order of nature are named at one time among the glories of the coming golden age, at another as effects of a general curse, which is to transfer the rights of the strong and beautiful to the weak and



contemptible. Under the reign of Daphnis the wolf is to spare the sheep : in the youth of the new-born ruler of the earth the oak is to distil honey : Pollio and his admirer are to dwell in a dream-land where spices grow on the bramble : yet it is in images like these that Damon hurls his dying scorn at the world where he has been robbed of his love. What can be more significant than the apparently casual epithet *arguta*, applied in the very first line of the seventh Eclogue to the tree under which Corydon and Thyrsis are about to sing? Or let us take the passage which serves as a comment on that epithet, the lines on Maenalus in Damon's song. Lucretius,<sup>1</sup> in his account of the origin of society and civilization, tells us that pastoral music must have been in the first instance an imitation of the sound of the wind among the reeds : but the thought gains indefinitely when it is localized and transferred to Maenalus, 'whose forests are ever tuneful and his pines ever vocal, who is ever listening to the loves of shepherds, and to Pan, the first who would not have the reeds left unemployed.' The personification of the mountain gives both definiteness and majesty to the conception : the very fact that the connexion between vocal woods and shepherds' songs is hinted rather than expressed is an advantage even philosophically : and the mention of Pan supplies that mythological framework to which the theories of the ancients on the history of man primeval owe so much, not only of beauty, but of substance. A minute analysis of the language of the Eclogues is in truth a school of poetical criticism ; and though the subtilty and complexity of the images involved may induce a practice of over-refining on the part of the inquirer, yet experience, I think, will show that the danger of giving Virgil credit for more than he had in his mind is far less than would be supposed by an ordinary reader.

There seems no reason to doubt that the order in which the Eclogues now stand is that in which Virgil himself arranged them, whatever bearing that may have on the question of their relative dates. The last line of the fourth Georgic, as Wagner remarks, even without the support of a similar notice by Ovid, establishes the fact that the first Eclogue was intended to stand

<sup>1</sup> Lucr. v 1382 foll.

first and give, as it were, its tone to the whole ; the exordium of the tenth Eclogue speaks for itself. For the titles of the various Eclogues, varying as they do in the different MSS., the grammarians are doubtless to be held responsible. The name *Eclogae*, which signifies merely select poems,<sup>1</sup> in this case the portions of the Bucolic volume, is to be referred to the same authority.

Some German critics, such as Gebauer, in the treatise already referred to, and Ribbeck,<sup>2</sup> have supposed themselves to have found the traces of symmetrical arrangement, amounting to something like strophical correspondence, throughout the Eclogues. That such a principle was present to Virgil's mind during the composition of some of them, the structure of the amoebian part of Eclogues III, V, VII, and VIII is sufficient to prove : nor does it seem an accident that the scraps of songs quoted in Eclogue IX fall into two pairs of three and five lines respectively ; but that is no reason for seeking symmetry in the Eclogues which are not amoebian, and torturing the text in order to bring it out.<sup>3</sup> It is true that the sense is more frequently ended with the line in the Eclogues than in the Georgics or Aeneid, so that the appearance of an imperfect parallelism is sometimes produced ; but without stopping to inquire whether this may be connected with any tradition of bucolic music, which, though not accepted by Virgil as an invariable law, may still have influenced him, we may account for it sufficiently by considering that the hexameter, as handled by Lucretius and Catullus, is apt to present the same phenomenon of unbroken monotony, and that Virgil's earliest attempts at versification would naturally be characterized by a greater uniformity

<sup>1</sup> See Forcellini s. v. *Ecloga*. The irrelevancy of the term as applied to pastoral poetry led Petrarch to a curious emendation, *Æglogues*, which he accordingly gave as the title to his own Pastorals ; and Spenser, among others, followed the example. Johnson, who remarks (*Life of A. Philips*) that the word can only mean 'the talk of goats,' not, as it was intended, 'the talk of goatherds,' might have remarked further, that no such formation could have existed in Greek. The French spelling *Églogues* may be otherwise explained.

<sup>2</sup> [So more recently W. H. Kolster, *Vergils Eklogen in ihrer strophischen Gliederung*, Leipzig, 1882 : Mr. Kolster's theories have met with little acceptance.]

<sup>3</sup> Gebauer's theory obliges him in E. x 32, 33 to put a full stop after 'periti,' connecting the second 'Arcades' with the words that follow. Most readers will, I think, feel that the rhythmical beauty of 'soli cantare periti Arcades' is worth far more, to modern apprehensions at least, than any gain that can be supposed to accrue from the strophical arrangement of an entire Eclogue.



of cadence than his latest. In any case there can be no justification for resorting, as Ribbeck has done, to the hypothesis of interpolations on the one hand, and *lacunae* on the other. It is the trustworthiness of the MSS. that has preserved to us proofs of symmetry which had been overlooked for centuries, as in Eclogues v and VIII. Surely their authority is to be equally respected where they refuse to disclose any such proofs, especially when the two classes of cases are seen to be separated by an intelligible line.—J. C.

#### DATES OF THE ECLOGUES.

It is not possible to decide with certainty the date either of the composition of each Eclogue, or of the publication of the whole work. Virgil himself, at the end of the fourth Georgic, speaks of the Eclogues generally as the work of his youth, and this agrees with the statement of Asconius (quoted by Probus and Servius<sup>1</sup>) that 'XXVIII annos natum bucolica edidisse' (42 B.C.).

The Eclogues themselves do not offer very much in the way of internal evidence. If the fifth Eclogue refers to Julius Caesar, it may be assigned to the year 43 or 42 B.C. In any case there is no doubt that the second and third are earlier than the fifth, and the fifth again than the ninth. The ninth cannot on any hypothesis be dated later than the year 40, and I have attempted to show in an *excursus* on this poem that it was written before the first, and immediately after the territorial confiscations of 41 B.C. The first cannot have been written earlier than the year 40, and may have received its finishing touches later. Virgil speaks there not only of the restoration of his farm, but of altars which he has erected in honour of Octavian (v. 43). Divine honours were not, so far as we know, publicly decreed to Octavian by the towns of Italy until 36 B.C. (Appian v 132). It is uncertain whether the language of the first Eclogue warrants us in inferring that they were paid to him by private individuals before this date, or whether the verses in question were added by Virgil as late as 36, or whether the whole poem should be assigned to this year.

<sup>1</sup> Probus, Life of Virgil, and preface to Commentary on the Eclogues: Servius, preface to Commentary on the Eclogues, and notes to Ecl. I 29, Georg. IV fin.

The date of the fourth Eclogue is fixed by that of Pollio's consulship (40 B.C.), the eighth may with almost equal certainty be assigned to 39, and the tenth has with much probability been referred to 37. The date of the seventh is unknown, and that of the sixth quite uncertain, though it is often connected with the third and ninth and thought to be a little later than them.

Suetonius (*Vita Vergilii*, 25), and after him Servius, say that Virgil wrote the Eclogues in three years: a statement probably based on the fact that the first Eclogue may be assigned to 40, and the last to 37 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

Schaper (*Quaestiones Vergilianae*, i), followed by Baehrens, believes that the fourth, sixth, and tenth Eclogues were written in the year 27-25 B.C. and inserted by Virgil in a second edition of the *Bucolica*. I agree with Ribbeck in thinking that there are no solid grounds for this hypothesis. There is no hint in Suetonius or any other ancient authority<sup>2</sup> of a second edition of the Eclogues. The fourth Eclogue was referred by all the ancient commentators to the consulship of Pollio, the name of Pollio stands in the text, and can only be removed by violence. There is nothing again, either in the style or the matter of the sixth or tenth Eclogues, which can fairly be held to justify so strange a breach with an excellent historical tradition.<sup>3</sup>—H. N.

<sup>1</sup> [Deuticke (*Jahresbericht* 1896, 356) also doubts the three years. He observes that the Eclogues are said to have been written in 3 years, the Georgics in 7 (3 + 4), and the Aeneid in 11 (7 + 4), and suspects this symmetry.]

<sup>2</sup> Servius, in his *Life*, says, it is true, 'carmen Bucolicum . . . eum constat triennio scripsisse et emendasse.' But the word *emendasse* (used also by Servius of the Georgics) means only that Virgil put the finishing touch to the Eclogues, as he was prevented by death from doing to the Aeneid.

<sup>3</sup> [Ribbeck, in the preface to his last edition (*Lipsiae*, 1895), gives B.C. 42-39 as the dates within which the Eclogues were written; he assigns the first to the summer of 41, the ninth to the autumn of the same year, the sixth a little later, the fourth to 40, the eighth to the early autumn of 39. Most recent writers agree more or less with him, as indeed all must who accept the statements that Virgil 'xxviii annos natum bucolica edidisse' and 'triennio scripsisse.' M. Sonntag, *Vergil als bukolischer Dichter* (Leipzig, 1891) has tried to show that the carrying out of the land confiscations of B.C. 41 lasted some years, and that the first Eclogue may be assigned to the spring of B.C. 38: he supposes that six of the poems were written in 39, and I, VI, IX, and X added in 38 or 37. There is no real evidence for these conclusions, and Deuticke, Ribbeck, and other good critics very rightly reject them. Even the suggestion that E. 1 can be put as late as 38 seems improbable, though Deuticke inclines to accept it. Appian writes as if the settlement of the veterans in 41 B.C. had to be carried out at once, and a delay of three years is incredible.]



## ECLOGA I. [TITYRUS.]

MELIBOEUS. TITYRUS.

THE historical groundwork of this Eclogue is the assignment of lands in Italy by the triumvirs to their veterans, in 41 B.C. Place had to be found without delay for upwards of 170,000 men (Appian, *Bell. Civ.* v 5), and universal confiscation resulted. The 'spoliation,' says Mr. Merivale (*History of the Roman Empire*, vol. iii p. 222), 'spread from the suburban lands to remote tracts, from municipal to private possessions. Even loyalty to the Caesarian party proved of no avail: the faithful Mantua shared the fate of its neighbour, the disaffected Cremona; and the little township of Andes, Virgil's birthplace, in the Mantuan territory, was involved in the calamities of its metropolis.' The story, as told in Servius' Commentary, is that Virgil went to Rome on the seizure of his property, and obtained from Octavian a decree of restitution, which however was rendered ineffectual by the violence of the new occupant, referred to in the ninth Eclogue, so that a second appeal for protection had to be made. [This is the traditional account, accepted by most modern critics. It is however possible, as is argued in the excursus to the ninth Eclogue, that the ninth Eclogue is earlier in time than the first, and that there was only one eviction (referred to in the ninth Eclogue) and one restoration (referred to in the first).—H. N.]

The speakers in the Eclogue are two shepherds, one of whom is enjoying rustic life, singing of his love and seeing his cattle feed undisturbed, when he is encountered by the other, who has been expelled from his homestead and is driving his goats before him, with no prospect but a cheerless exile. This is simple enough, but it is complicated by an unhappy artifice. The fortunate shepherd is represented as a farm slave who has just worked out his freedom: and this emancipation is used to symbolize the confirmation of the poet in his property. The two events, with their concomitants, are treated as convertible with each other, the story being told partly in the one form, partly in the other. See vv. 41 foll. and notes. This confusion arises from the identification of the shepherd and the poet, spoken of in the Introduction to the Eclogues: but in the present case its very grossness has prevented its being observed by the editors, who suppose Tityrus, like Moeris in *Ecl.* ix, to be Virgil's 'vilicus,' who goes to Rome to purchase his liberty of his master, and there hears from Octavian that his master's property is safe—a cumbrous hypothesis, and not really reconcilable with the language of the Eclogue. The earlier commentators, such as La Cerda and Catroux, did not feel this difficulty, but they created one for themselves in the shape of an allegory, according to which Tityrus' two partners, v. 30, stand for Rome and Mantua respectively. Trapp, in rejecting the allegory, himself supposes that the change of partners is intended to intimate a change of parties, Virgil's abandonment of the cause of the republicans for that of the triumvirs.

The scenery, as in other Eclogues, is confused and conventional, the beeches (v. 1), caverns (v. 75), mountains (v. 83), and rocks (vv. 15, 47, 56, 76) belonging to Sicily, while the marshy river (v. 48) is from Mantua. See Introduction to the Eclogues. In other respects the poem appears to be original, only the names Tityrus, Galatea, and Amaryllis, being borrowed from Theocritus.

*M. TITYRE, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi  
silvestrem tenui Musam meditaris avena ;  
nos patriae fines et dulcia linquimus arva ;  
nos patriam fugimus ; tu, Tityre, lentus in umbra  
formonsam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas. 5  
T. O Meliboee, deus nobis haec otia fecit.*

1-5. 'How is it that while I am wandering an outcast from my native fields, you are lying in the shade and singing like a happy shepherd of your mistress?'

1. Of the three principal MSS., the Medicean, Palatine, and Roman, the first is defective till E. vi 48.

Tityrus (*Τίτυρος*) is one of the Theocritean shepherds (Theocr. III ii foll.). The word is said to be the Doric form of *Σάτυρος*, being applied in the same way to designate a short-tailed ape. Another account, that it means a reed, was also received among the ancient critics (Schol. on Theocr. l. c.), and is supported by the words *τιτύριος* (*ἀλόος*), *τιτύριστής*; but these may be explained by supposing that the name had come to have a conventional sense as a rustic minstrel. [Servius says, 'Laconum lingua tityrus dicitur aries maior qui gregem anteire consuevit.—H. N.]

2. 'Silvestrem,' pastoral; as 'silvae' is used for pastoral poetry, IV 3. Forbiger observes that the Italians pasture their cattle in summer among the woody slopes of the mountains. 'Silvestrem Musam' is from Lucr. IV 589, 'Fistula silvestrem ne cesset fundere Musam.'

['Tenui,' = 'humili' (Serv.) 'subtili' (Schol. Bern.).—H. N.] Comp. 'Agrestem tenui meditor harundine Musam,' VI 8, where it is evident from the context that 'tenui' is meant to be in keeping with 'agrestem,' and to suggest simplicity and humility, at the same time that it is a natural epithet of the reed, like 'fragili cicuta,' v 85.

'Musam:' the Muse had come to be used for the song personified as early as Sophocles and Euripides, and the usage is frequent in Theocr.

'Meditar,' compose. Hor. S. I ix 2, 'Nescio quid meditans nugarum et totus in illis.'

'Avena,' not a straw (which would be absurd), but a reed, or a pipe of reeds, hollow like a straw. So 'stipula,' of a reed, III 27, though the word there is designedly contemptuous. Milton, however, in his *Lycidas* talks seriously of 'the oaten flute,' as he talks contemptuously of 'pipes of wretched straw.'

3. 'Patrios fines,' v. 67.

4. He repeats the contrast in an inverse order, so that we shall perhaps do best to put with Jahn a semicolon after v. 2, a colon after v. 3. Gebauer, p. 55, well remarks that this repetition is after the manner of Theocritus, comparing Theocr. IX 1-6, where the editors have been too ready to suspect interpolation. Comp. also Theocr. VIII 28-32.

'Fugimus,' *φεύγομεν*, are banished.

'Lentus' = 'securus.' Comp. Ovid, Her. XIX 81, 'Certe ego tum ventos audirem lenta sonantis.'

5. 'Resonant mihi Cynthia silvae,' Prop. I xviii 31, probably in imitation.

['Formonsam,' Asper, p. 115. Keil: 'formosam,' Pal. Rom. Gud.; for Med. see VII 38.—H. N. See Wölfflin's *Archiv* v 196. The 'n' is not phonetic, but belongs to the original suffix: Brugmann's *Grundriss*, i p. 202, § 238.]

6-10. 'These rural liberties I owe to one whom I shall ever own as a god.'

6. Meliboeus is explained by Servius, ὅτι μέλει αὐτῷ πᾶν βοῶν: analogy would rather point to μέλι as the first part of the compound. Perhaps the name was suggested by the geographical Meliboea, and adopted simply from its connexion with βοῦς. Comp. Alpheisiboeus.



namque erit ille mihi semper deus; illius aram  
 saepe tener nostris ab ovilibus imbuet agnus.  
 ille meas errare boves, ut cernis, et ipsum  
 ludere, quae vellem, calamo permisit agresti. 10

M. Non equidem invideo; miror magis: undique totis  
 usque adeo turbatur agris. en, ipse capellas  
 protenus aeger ago; hanc etiam vix, Tityre, duco.  
 hic inter densas corylos modo namque gemellos,  
 spem gregis, a, silice in nuda conixa reliquit. 15

'Otia,' peace: comp. Hor. A. P. 199, 'apertis otia portis.' The 'deus' is Octavian. This is probably mere hyperbole, though it heralds the adulation which treated a living emperor as a god. [See p. 21.—H. N.]

7. 'Eris mihi magnus Apollo,' III 104. 'Shall be honoured by me as a god,' softening the expression of the preceding line. Serv. comp. Lucan's adulation of Nero (I 63), 'Sed mihi iam numen.'

'Aram,' Theocr. Epig. I 5, βωμὸν δ' αἰμάξει κεραὸς τράγος ὄρθος ὁ μάλλ' ὄς.

9. 'Ille (mihi) permisit boves errare et ipsum ludere,' the infinitives standing in place of an accusative. This must not be confounded with our idiom, 'he permitted my cattle to feed at large and me to play,' where 'cattle' and 'me' are datives.

'Errare' implies security, as in Hor. Epod. II 13 (quoted by Emmenessius), 'Prospectat errantis greges.' In E. II 21 it implies wealth.

10. 'Ludere,' frequently used of poetry, VI I, Hor. Od. I xxxii 2, half slightlying, as of a relaxation. So παίζω.

11-18. 'Well, I do not grudge you your lot, but I wonder—such peace in the midst of such troubles. You see me wearily driving my flock—one of them has just dropped her young dead—not but that I might have foreseen this. But tell me about this god of yours.'

11. 'Magis' used for 'potius,' as in Lucr. II 428, 869, Catull. LXVIII 30, where as here one assertion is rejected and another substituted; 'not this, but rather that.' [See Munro, Lucr. I 612.]

'Non equidem invideo,' κοῦροι τι φθονῶν, Theocr. I 62, which however refers to giving a present.

12. 'Turbatur,' the soldiers are spreading confusion. Rom. and Pal. have 'turbamur,' which is an old variant and was adopted by Heinsius. But it is condemned

by Serv., and Quintilian (I iv 28) and Consentius, p. 372, give 'turbatur.'

'Ipse' contrasted with 'undique totis agris.'

13. 'Protenus,' onwards; the primary meaning of the word. ['Protinus' Rom. 'Protenus' Pal. and Gud. as in Georg. IV I: and so Serv., who explains the word as = 'porro tenus,' seems to have read in his copy or copies. Nonius, p. 375 s.v. 'protinus,' says that wherever Virg. has 'protenus,' he uses it in the sense of 'porro, sine intermissione, continuo,' and quotes this passage among others. An artificial distinction was made by some grammarians between 'protenus' and 'protinus,' it being supposed that 'protenus' was used of place, 'protinus' of time (Caper De Orth. p. 100, Keil, Schol. Bern. here). The notion may have arisen from the variation of spelling found in the text of Virg. A similar distinction is made by Fest. 258 between 'quatenus' and 'quatinus.'—H. N.]

'Aeger' applies probably both to body and mind. 'Duco,' the rest he drove before him, this one he leads by a cord.

14. 'Gemellos;' Emmen. quotes Theocr. I 25, III 34, where διδυμαρῶκος is the epithet of a goat. Such goats were especially valuable from their quantity of milk.

The use of 'namque' so late in the sentence is of course peculiar to poetry (comp. A. v 733), though it is placed second in a sentence by Livy and later prose writers, unlike 'nam,' which in prose always comes first. ['Corulos' Rom. 'corylos' Pal.—H. N.]

15. The kids, being dropped on the stony soil, not on grass, would die soon after birth. Comp. G. III 297.

'Spem gregis,' 'spemque gregemque simul' G. III 473, 'spem gentis' IV 162.

'Silice in nuda' expresses the character

saepe malum hoc nobis, si mens non laeva fuisset,  
de caelo tactas memini praedicere quercus.  
set tamen, iste deus qui sit, da, Tityre, nobis.

T. Urbem, quam dicunt Romam, Meliboeae, putavi  
stultus ego huic nostrae similem, quo saepe solemus  
pastores ovium teneros depellere fetus.  
sic canibus catulos similes, sic matribus haedos  
noram, sic parvis componere magna solebam.

of the soil, like 'lapis nudus,' v 47. To understand it (with Keightley) of the road paved with 'silex' is scarcely consistent with 'inter densas corylios.'

'Conixa,' stronger than the ordinary 'enixa,' denotes the difficulty of the labour.  
16. From the parallel passage, A. II 54 (note), it would seem that 'non' goes with 'laeva,' not with 'fuisse.' 'Laevus,' Gk. σκαῖός, in the sense of folly.

17. 'Memini praedicere,' Madvig, Lat. Gr. § 408 b, obs. 2.

'De caelo tangi,' Livy xxv 7, etc. The striking of a thing or person by lightning was an omen of evil: Cic. De Div. I 10-12. Hence the practice of enclosing the 'bidental.' Pomponius says, on the authority of the lost works of ancient Grammarians, that the blasting of fruit-bearing trees was ominous, that of the olive being supposed to forebode barrenness, that of the oak banishment. If this could be established, it would fix the 'malum hoc' to be Meliboeus' exile, not the loss of the goat's twins.

After this line some editions insert, 'Saepe sinistra cava praedixit ab ilice cornix;' but the verse is unknown to all Ribbeck's MSS. It is evidently made up from IX 15.

18. 'Da' for 'dic,' as 'accipe' for 'audi' (Serv.). 'Da . . . quae ventrem placaverit esca,' Hor. S. II viii 5.

'Qui:' [what (god) that god of yours is. In such sentences 'quis' is usually noun, who, and 'qui' is usually adj., what or what sort (= 'qualis,' as E. II 19, G. I 3). But the two are often interchanged: here 'qui' is which of the gods, while in A VII 38 'quis' is adj. = 'qualis' (contrast Cic. Att. VI i 23). See Madvig § 88 and the examples in Neue-Wagener Formenlehre II 430-436.]

19-25. 'Why, I used to think Rome differed from Mantua only as a dog does from a puppy, but I found it was much

more like the difference between a cypress and an osier.' Tityrus begins 'ab ovo,' in rustic fashion. This seems to have misled Apronianus, who thought Virg.'s deity might be not Octavian, but Rome.

21. 'Depellere,' or, in the full expression, 'depellere a lacte,' is to wean, III 82, VII 15, G. III 187, etc.: and some take it so here, reading 'quoi' for 'quo,' or even rendering 'quo,' 'for' instead of 'to which.' But the sense requires something equivalent to *going* to the city. 'Pellere,' for driving a flock, is found in 'compellere,' II 30, etc. The 'de' need not be explained by supposing that Andes was on a hill: it denotes the destination, as in 'deducere,' 'demittere navis (in portum),' etc. It may have been the custom in Columella's time to sell lambs very young, and it may be the custom now to sell them so young that they are obliged to be carried to the butcher: but these observations, though valuable as illustrations of the text, must not be allowed to override it. Keightley thinks Virg. may have misapprehended the technical sense of the word, not being a practical man. It might also be suggested that he may have wished to combine the notions of weaning and taking to market.

22. ['Haedos' Rom., 'aedos' Pal. Gud.—H. N.]

23. It may be questioned whether 'parvis componere magna' means to compare cities with dogs and goats, i.e. to argue from the latter to the former, or to compare the larger member of a class with the smaller: but the latter is more natural, and recommended by 'solebam.' 'Sic' then becomes emphatic; 'such were the comparisons I made.' Hdt. II 10 has σμικρά μεγάλοις συμβάλλειν, Thuc. IV 36, μικρόν μέγαλιν εικάσαι. 'Si parva licet componere magnis,' G. IV 176, of the bees and the Cyclopes.



verum haec tantum alias inter caput extulit urbes,  
quantum lenta solent inter viburna cupressi. 25

M. Et quae tanta fuit Romam tibi causa videndi?

T. Libertas, quae sera, tamen respexit inertem,  
candidior postquam tondenti barba cadebat;  
respexit tamen et longo post tempore venit,  
postquam nos Amaryllis habet, Galatea reliquit. 30  
namque, fatebor enim, dum me Galatea tenebat,  
nec spes libertatis erat nec cura peculi.

24. 'Extulit' seems to have a present force = 'elatum gerit.' Comp. A. II 257, x 262, notes. But it might be explained with reference to the time when Tityrus visited Rome—'I found her raising.'

25. The cypress, though not indigenous to Italy (Pliny XVI 79), was common there in Virgil's time, so that Keightley goes too far in censuring this allusion to it as unnatural in the mouth of a shepherd. Tityrus means to say that he found the difference one of kind.

['Viburna' wholly unknown. The genus *viburnum* of the modern botanists includes shrubs like the guelder rose and laurustinus, but there is no evidence that this use of the word rests on correct tradition. Apparently, however, some kind of shrub or brushwood is meant, above which the cyprus towers, as in many Italian landscapes.]

27-35. 'I went to buy my freedom, for which I had neglected to lay by during the better years of my life, while I had an unthrifty helpmate.'

27. Slaves saved their peculium to buy their freedom; and the less 'inertes' they were, the sooner they got the necessary sum. Tityrus, a farm-slave or bailiff, having saved enough, goes to buy his freedom from his owner, and the owner of the estate, who is living at Rome. Nothing can be less happy than this allegory in itself except the way in which it is introduced in the midst of the reality—the general expulsion of the shepherds, and the exemption of Tityrus through the divine interposition of Octavianus—which ought to appear through the allegory and not by the side of it.

'Sera, tamen respexit': Spohn comp. Prop. IV iv 5, 'Sera, sed Ausoniis veniet provincia virgīs,' id. ib. xv 35, 'Sera, tamen pietas.'

28. 'Candidior,' growing gray. There

is some appropriateness, as Forb. remarks, in this manner of indicating time, as manumitted slaves shaved their beards. Serv., supposing Tityrus to be the youthful Virgil, suggests to take 'candidior' with 'libertas,' and so Wakefield. Note the difference of the tenses joined with 'postquam' here and in v. 30. 'Cadebat,' a continuing act now completed; 'habet,' an act still continuing; 'reliquit,' an act completed at once.

29. 'Respexit tamen': this repetition of words, common to all poets, ought not to have led Heyne to suspect the line.

['Postempore' Pal. originally, and so Ribbeck (1894): see Lachmann and Munro, Lucr. IV 1186, 1252.—H. N. Comp. Georges, Wortformen, s.v.]

30. 'Since I got rid of the extravagant Galatea and took to the thrifty Amaryllis.' These were doubtless successive partners (contubernales) of the slave Tityrus. A pastoral, especially when drawn from slave life, must have its coarser sides. 'Galatea' in Theocr. (Idyls VI and XI) is a Nereid beloved by Polyphemus; and so she is elsewhere represented by Virg. (VII 37, IX 39). 'Amaryllis' (ἀμαρύλλω), Theocr. III 1.

32. 'Peculium,' here used for the private property of slaves, on which see Dict. Ant. s. v. Servus (Roman). Comp. Sen. Ep. LXXX (quoted by Lipsius on Tac. A. XIV 42), 'Quam (servitutem) mancipia quoque condicionis extremae et in his sordibus nata omni modo exuere conantur: peculium suum, quod comparaverunt ventre fraudato, pro capite numerant.' In the country it would naturally consist in cattle, even after the etymology of the word had been forgotten: and so 'victima . . . meis saeptis.' In Horace's appropriation of the words, A. P. 330, 'peculium' perhaps refers, as Mr. Long sug-

quamvis multa meis exiret victima saeptis,  
pinguis et ingratae premeretur caseus urbi,  
non umquam gravis aere domum mihi dextra  
redibat.

35

*M.* Mirabar quid maesta deos, Amarylli, vocares,  
cui pendere sua patereris in arbore poma:  
Tityrus hinc aberat. ipsae te, Tityre, pinus,  
ipsi te fontes, ipsa haec arbusta vocabant.

*T.* Quid facerem? neque servitio me exire licebat, 40

gests, to the property which children might hold with their father's leave.

33. Fronto says that 'victima' denotes the larger beasts, 'hostia' the smaller. 'Saeptis,' fences or enclosures. Varro (R. R. I 14) 'De saeptis, quae tutandi causa fundi fiunt.' Here it = 'ovilibus,' just as the voting enclosures in the Campus Martius were called both 'saepta' and 'ovilia.'

34. 'Ingratae,' because it did not pay him for his trouble. 'Animi ingrati naturam pascere semper,' Lucr. III 1003. All that Tityrus did in those days seemed to be thrown away.

'Pinguis' with 'caseus,' not, as some have thought, with 'victima.' The less important thing requires an epithet to dignify it. Spohn refers to Colum. VII 8, from which it would seem that 'pinguis' would denote a cream cheese as distinguished from one made with milk ('tenui liquore').

35. So the author of the Moretum, v. 83, 'Inde domum cervice levis, gravis aere, redibat.' For this traffic with the country town, comp. G. I 273, III 400. Tityrus blames the unthrift of Galatea and his own recklessness which made him take no sufficient pains about making money by his produce, though he took it from time to time to Mantua. There is no reason to suppose that he squandered his earnings directly on Galatea, which would only complicate the passage, being not quite consistent with the blame thrown on the town, v. 34.

36-39. 'I remember well how you were missed, both by Amaryllis and by the property under your charge, though I did not then know that you were away.'

37. Amaryllis, in her sorrow, had forgotten her careful habits. She left the fruit hanging for Tityrus, as if no hand

but his ought to gather it. 'Sua' is well illustrated by Forb. from VII 54, 'Strata iacent passim sua quaeque sub arbore poma;' G. II 82, 'Miratur . . . non sua poma;' and A. VI 206, 'quod non sua seminat arbos.'

For 'poma' Rom. originally had 'mala:' in Gud. too 'poma' appears in an erasure.

38. 'Aberat:' the short syllable lengthened as in III 97, etc. [See the Excursus at the end of the third vol.—H. N.]

'Ipsae:' the various parts of nature called him back, because all suffered from his absence, pines (comp. VII 65), springs (comp. II 59, V 40), and orchards, all depending on his care. Thus there is a playfulness in the passage, which Virg. doubtless meant as a piece of rustic banter. No one, except perhaps Voss, who expresses himself inconsistently, seems to have perceived the meaning of this and the following line, which is not, according to one of Voss's explanations, that Amaryllis made all nature echo with her cries (in which case the enumeration of the different objects would be jejune); nor yet simply, according to the common view, that all nature sympathized with her, as in V 62 mountains, rocks, and trees rejoice in Daphnis' apotheosis, or as in X 13 bay-trees, tamarisks, and the pine-crowned Maenalus weep for Gallus, an image which would be too great for the present occasion.

40-45. 'I could not help leaving them both; my only chance was by getting to Rome. And there it was that I saw my deity, a glorious youth, to whom I pay divine honours. From his lips I received a firm assurance of security.'

40. 'Alio modo,' or something equivalent, is to be supplied from 'alibi' in the next verse.



nec tam praesentis alibi cognoscere divos.  
 hic illum vidi iuvenem, Meliboeae, quodannis  
 bis senos cui nostra dies altaria fumant :  
 hic mihi responsum primus dedit ille petenti :  
 pascite, ut ante, boves, pueri ; summittite tauros. 45

M. Fortunate senex, ergo tua rura manebunt,  
 et tibi magna satis, quamvis lapis omnia nudus

41. Virg. seems to be trying to blend the two ideas of the slave's master and Octavian with each other. 'Praesens' applied to a god means not so much propitious as powerful to aid; the power of a heathen god being connected with his presence. Hence the word is applied to a powerful remedy, G. II 127.

[Cognoscere, find.—H. N.]

42. There is no getting over the confusion between the slave going to buy his freedom of his master and the ejected freeholder going to beg restitution of Octavian. V. 45 is quite inapplicable to the case of the slave. Octavian is called 'iuvenis' again G. I 500 (note) and by Hor. Od. I ii 41. Juv. v 45 gives the same appellation to Aeneas (comp. A. IX 88). ['Quodannis' Pal. and originally Rom.—H. N. So Ribbeck.]

43. 'Bis senos dies,' i.e. twelve days in the year [perhaps once in a month.—H. N. Mr. Marindin refers to Tibull. I iii 34, 'reddere antiquo menstrua tura lari.'] The critics say that Octavian was to be worshipped among the Lares (Hor. Od. IV v 34, 'et Laribus tuum Miscet numen'); but Cato R. R. 148 says that the 'Lar familiaris' is to be worshipped on all the Kalends, Nones, and Ides, which would make thirty-six days in all. The present 'fumant' is used because the sacrifices, which Tityrus intends to be annual, have already begun.

44. For 'responsum' as an answer to a petitioner, comp. Hor. Carm. Saec. 55, 'Iam Scythae responsa petunt superbi Nuper et Indi.'

'Primus' denotes the anxiety with which the response was sought; it does not imply that any one else could have given it. Comp. A. VII 117, 'Ea vox audita laborum Prima tulit finem.' 'It was here that he gave me my first assurance.'

45. 'Pueri' is the common phrase for slaves, like *παῖς* in Greek, and 'child' in old English. But observe how the alle-

gory is sustained. Tityrus goes to Rome with his money and asks his master to emancipate him: his master answers, 'You shall not be turned out of your land by my veterans.'

'Summittite,' to raise for breeding or propagation, both of animals and plants. Comp. G. III 73, 159, and instances from the *Scriptores Rei Rusticae* in Forcell. It should perhaps be strictly 'summittite vitulos' as in G. III 159; but 'taurus' for 'vitulus' is a very slight impropriety of expression, and indicates, moreover, the reason for which they were bred. Feeding cattle and breeding them is a very natural description of the grazier's business. Some have taken 'summittite' as 'summittite iugo,' i.e. 'domate,' and the line as an exhaustive description of farming. [Non. p. 389 M. takes 'summitto' here and in Georg. III 73 as = 'admitto,' and so Serv. on Georg. III 73.—H. N.]

46-58. 'Yes, you are happy; poor as your land may be, you can enjoy it undisturbed and be content. Your flocks will be healthy, and you will live in the shade by the water, lulled by the hum of the bee, the song of the vine-dresser, and the cooing of the dove.'

46. 'Tua' is a predicate, like 'magna.' Wagn. refers to the phrase 'meum est,' as in IX 4. 'Manebunt' is also predicate, 'It is yours and yours for ever.'

47. You (Tityrus or Virgil) are content with your farm, though it is all covered with stones, and full of pools and rushes (so that no soldier need envy you its possession). 'Palus' is probably the overflowing of the Mincio; VII 13.

'Omnia' can hardly be taken with 'pascua': it must mean the whole farm, while the latter part of the description applies only to the pastures by the river. This disparaging clause presents a difficulty, which some have got rid of by supposing the words to refer to the condition not of Tityrus' own property, but of

limosoque palus obducat pascua iunco.  
 non insueta gravis temptabunt pabula fetas,  
 nec mala vicini pecoris contagia laedent. 50  
 fortunate senex, hic, inter flumina nota  
 et fontis sacros, frigus captabis opacum.  
 hinc tibi, quae semper, vicino ab limite saepes  
 Hyblaeis apibus florem depasta salicti  
 saepe levi somnum suadebit inire susurro; 55  
 hinc alta sub rupe canet frondator ad auras;

the lands about him, as in v 12; while others, seeing rightly that this was not the natural meaning of the sentence, have fancied that Meliboeus is made to speak in the character of a half-jealous neighbour, that so the poet may be able prudently to depreciate his own good fortune. That the feeling expressed is really the poet's, is likely enough; but it seems more natural to attribute its expression not to artifice, but to simplicity. Virg. puts the praise of his happy lot into the mouth of a neighbour whose distresses enable him to speak feelingly, and then goes on to dwell on his contentment in spite of drawbacks, forgetting that such an utterance of satisfaction would come appropriately from himself alone. It seems scarcely worth while with Keightley to connect the clause with what follows, 'quamvis . . . non insueta,' etc.

49. 'Temptabunt,' poison: so of a disease, G. III 441. The sense of 'fetus' has been doubted, as it may either mean pregnant or just delivered: but it appears to be fixed to the former meaning by the epithet 'gravis,' which must be equivalent to 'gravidas,' as in A. I 274.

50. 'Mala,' malignant; 'malum virus,' G. I 129. So the Homeric *κακή νόσος*: 'mala scabies,' Hor. A. P. 453, of a contagious disorder.

51. 'Flumina nota,' Mincio<sup>o</sup> and Po, if we are to be precise.

52. 'Fontis sacros,' from the pretty superstition which assigned a divinity to every source and spring. So *ιερόν ὕδωρ*, Theocr. VII 136, 'Stratus . . . ad aquae lene caput sacrae,' Hor. Od. I i 22.

'Captabis,' I 8.

53. The supposed perplexities attending the construction of this sentence are all removed by Weise's suggestion of making 'quae semper' an elliptical relative clause in the sense of 'ut semper' (VI 15), like

'quae proxima, litora,' A. I 167 (note). 'Shall lull you to sleep as it has ever done.' 'Quae' then will be used here for the corresponding adverb 'quemadmodum,' like 'quo,' A. I 8, for 'quomodo,' 'si quem,' ib. 181, for 'sicubi.' 'Vicino ab limite' is thus seen to be an epexegetis of 'hinc,' a mode of expression which Wagn. has supported by various passages, e.g., A. II 18, 'Huc . . . includunt caeco lateri.'

54. Keightley remarks on 'Hyblaeis,' that it is a favourite practice of the Latin poets of the Augustan and later periods, to give things the name of the people or place famed for them, e.g. v 27, 29, IX 30, X 59. It may be set down as one of the characteristics of an artificial school, the writers of which recognize commonplaces as such, and find the poetry of objects rather in external, especially literary, associations than in any thing which they suggest to the mind directly.

'Salictum,' abbreviated form of 'salicetum,' used in prose as well as poetry.

'Depasta' might very well be used for 'depasta est,' but 'depasta est' could not be used for 'depascitur.'

55. The 'susurrus' comes partly from the bees, partly from the leaves, the latter as in Theocr. I 1, *ἀδύ τι τὸ ψιθύρισμα καὶ ἀπίτης, αἰπόλε, τίηνα, Ἄ ποτι ταῖς παγαῖσι μελισσεται.*

56. The 'frondator' (Catull. LXIV 41) dressed the trees by stripping them of their leaves, which were used for the fodder of cattle. Comp. IX 60, and the whole passage G. II 397-419. There is no need to settle whether the leaves here meant are those of the 'arbutum,' as the same person would naturally strip all the trees in a farm like that of Tityrus, though we may still illustrate 'alta sub rupe' by comparing G. II 522, 'Mitis in apricis coquitur vindemia saxis.' The words are per-



nec tamen interea raucae, tua cura, palumbes,  
nec gemere aëria cessabit turtur ab ulmo.

T. Ante leves ergo pascentur in aethere cervi,  
et freta destituent nudos in litore pisces, 60  
ante, pererratis amborum finibus exul  
aut Ararim Parthus bibet aut Germania Tigrim,  
quam nostro illius labatur pectore voltus.

M. At nos hinc alii sitientis ibimus Afros,

haps from Theocr. VIII 55, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆ  
πίτρα τῆδ' ἄσομαι.

'Canet ad auras,' fill the air with his  
song; comp. A. VI 561, 'quis tantus  
plangor ad auras?' The description, as  
Spohn remarks, points to the month of  
August, from the mention not only of  
the 'frondatio' (comp. G. II 400, Col.  
XI 2), but of the cooing of the wood-  
pigeons during incubation. See note on  
next verse.

57. 'Tua cura,' 'your delight:' x 22,  
'tua cura, Lycoris.' Pliny makes the  
cooing of the wood-pigeons a sign that  
autumn is coming on, XVIII 267, 'Palum-  
bium utique exaudi gemitus. Transisse  
solstitium caveto putes, nisi cum incuban-  
tem videris palumbem.'

58. The Romans kept turtle-doves on  
their farms, Varro R. R. III 8, Col.  
VIII 9, Pallad. I 25. 'Ulmo:' 'Nota  
quae sedes fuerat columbis,' Hor. Od.  
I ii 10.

59-63. 'Nature will change her course,  
and nations their seats, before I forget my  
benefactor.'

59. 'Ergo' is resumptive, as in G. IV  
206 (note), Meliboeus' speech forming a  
parenthesis.

One inferior MS. has 'in aequore'  
[which is accepted by Ribbeck, who quotes  
Ovid Met. XIV 37, Calpurn. VIII 75.] But  
this (besides its want of authority) would  
not agree with 'leves,' with which Wagn.  
comp. A. v 838, VI 16.

The main idea of this passage is worked  
up again in a different shape v 76, and,  
in heroic style, A. I 607. Its source, as  
Keightley remarks, is perhaps Hdt. v  
92, Ἡ δὴ ὁ τε οὐρανὸς ἔσται ἐνερθε τῆς  
γῆς, καὶ ἡ γῆ μετέωρος ὑπὲρ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ,  
καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι νομόν ἐν θαλάσῃ ἔξουσιν,  
καὶ οἱ ἰχθύες τὸν πρότερον ἄνθρωποι, ὅτε γε  
ἴμεις κ.τ.λ.

60. 'And fishes shall dwell on the  
land.' The expression, as Keightley re-

marks, is not very happy, as there is  
nothing wonderful in the sea's throwing  
up the fish on the shore; but Virg. doubt-  
less means to date the new life of the  
fishes from its commencement. 'Desti-  
tuent' with 'nudos.'

61. 'Pererratis amborum finibus' is an  
obscure expression; but 'pererratis' seems  
to = 'perruptis' or 'superatis,' with re-  
ference to the wandering character of the  
nations. 'Amborum,' of both nations:  
A. VII 470, 'Se satis ambobus Teucris-  
que venire Latinisque.' 'Exul' explains  
'bibet:' he will live habitually as in his  
own country.

62. The Arar (Saone) is a river of  
Gaul, not of Germany: its source, how-  
ever, in the high land connected with the  
Vosges (Vogesus) is not very far from  
Alsace, which in and before Virg.'s time,  
as now, was inhabited by Germans. The  
ancients, too, frequently confounded the  
Germans and Celts. At all events the  
error, whatever it may amount to, is  
Virg.'s own, and not a dramatic touch of  
rustic ignorance. Those who make such  
defences should remember that a poet had  
better commit a blunder in geography  
than a platitude.

63. 'Before I forget the gracious look  
he gave me.' The notion seems to be  
that of a god's benign countenance.  
'Cultus' is an ingenious, but by no means  
necessary conjecture. A correction in  
Pal. has 'labantur.'

64-78. 'We have to make a change  
like that you speak of, wandering, it may  
be, to the ends of the earth. Perhaps I  
may never see my old home again; or, if  
I do, it will be in the hands of a brutal  
alien. I have laboured for another, and I  
must now bid farewell for ever to the joy  
of a shepherd's life.'

64. The thought of migration, as  
Keightley remarks, is suggested by the  
mode of expression just employed by

pars Scythiam et rapidum cretae veniemus Oaxen, 65  
 et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos.  
 en, umquam patrios longo post tempore finis,  
 pauperis et tuguri congestum caespite culmen,  
 post aliquot, mea regna videns, mirabor aristas?  
 impius haec tam culta novalia miles habebit? 70  
 barbarus has segetes? en, quo discordia civis

Italyrus. 'You can talk of the migration of nations as a synonym for impossibility; we have to experience it as a reality.'

'Alii' answers to 'pars.' So 'pars . . . sunt qui,' Hor. Ep. I i 77.

65. ['Rapidum cretae Oaxen.' So Serv. 'quod rapit cretam: Oaxes fluvius Mesopotamiae . . . vel fluvius Scythiae: in Creta insula non est, sed est aqua cretai coloris.' The constr. 'rapidum cretae' is unique, but accepted by Ribbeck and Nettleship. The context suggests that the Oaxes is meant for a Scythian river, possibly Oxus or Araxes. Justin I viii 1 mentions a river Oaxes, crossed by Cyrus when invading Scythia, and Pliny VI 48 says the Oxus flowed from a lake Oaxus. Two other views have been taken of this line, neither satisfactory. (1) Many editors (including Conington) read 'Creta,' translate 'the Oaxes of Crete,' and refer to the Cretan town Oaxus (Hdt. IV 154). But Crete is ridiculous beside the Sahara, Scythia, Britain, which signify the ends of the earth, and Oaxus is wholly insignificant. The argument that dispossessed Italians were or might have been sent to Crete, only makes Crete more unsuited to the context. (2) Schaper, who misses a preposition, conjectures 'certe veniemus ad Oxum.' But 'certe' is flat, and the preposition as superfluous as it would be in l. 64, or A. I 2.]

66. ['Toto divisos orbe,' sundered from the world.]

67. 'En, unquam:' [in republican Latin 'en' introduced a passionate question; so 'en unquam' in Plaut. and Ter. often. This is its use here, VIII 7; comp. 'en' alone, A. IV 534, VI 346, 'en haec promissa fides est?'] It acquired the sense of 'ecce' (probably from confusion with 'em') just at the end of the Republic, with Sallust and Virg. See Hand's Tursell. II 367; Ribbeck's Partikeln, p. 34; Wölfflin's Archiv VI 25.]

68. 'Tugurium' (possibly connected with 'tego') is defined by Festus and

Pomponius (Dig. L xvi 180) to be a rustic, as distinguished from a town, dwelling.

69. Serv., the Berne Scholia, and early editors understand 'aristas' as 'messes,' = 'annos,' a sense found in Claudian 4 Cons. Honor. 372, 'decimas emensus aristas,' but in no more classical writer. Ribbeck, adopting it, comp. the Greek *πρωιά*, and refers to Meineke Anal. Alex. 193 and on Theocr. III 31. But there would be considerable flatness in 'longo post tempore' followed by 'post aliquot aristas,' the stronger by the weaker. There is the objection, too, that 'aliquot' would naturally distribute 'aristas,' whereas the equivalent to 'messis' is the plural 'aristae,' not the singular 'arista.' The alternative is to take 'post' for 'posthac' (which is awkward after 'longo post tempore'), and construe 'aliquot mirabor aristas,' 'shall I see with wonder a few ears of corn'—the soldiers being supposed to be bad farmers, as in fact they were. This would greatly complicate the line, 'aliquot aristas' being in apposition to 'patrios finis' and 'tuguri culmen,' 'mea regna,' to 'aliquot aristas.' It is, however, the explanation preferred by Heyne and most modern editors. In that case we must suppose that two feelings are mingled in Meliboeus' question, a longing to return to his home, and a reflection that should he do so, he will find it impoverished.

70. 'Novalis' is used substantively both in the feminine and in the neuter. See G. I 71. It varies, too, in sense, being sometimes applied to fallow land, which is Varro's definition of it (L. L. v 4, § 39), sometimes to ground unbroken or ploughed for the first time. The latter seems to be its force here, so that there is a rhetorical contrast with 'tam culta'—'the ground which I have broken up for the first time and brought into excellent cultivation.'

71. [Both Caesar and Pompey had (contrary to custom and to Roman



prodixit miseros! his nos consevimus agros!  
 insere nunc, Meliboeae, puros, pone ordine vitis.  
 ite meae, felix quondam pecus, ite capellae.  
 non ego vos posthac, viridi proiectus in antro, 75  
 dumosa pendere procul de rupe videbo;  
 carmina nulla canam; non, me pascente, capellae,  
 florentem cytissum et salices carpentis amaras.

T. Hic tamen hanc mecum poteras requiescere noctem

sentiment) admitted provincials to the legions (Mommsen, *Hermes*, XIX 13), and provincials may thus have received land in 41. 'Barbarus' has, therefore, its full sense (and probably 'impious' should be taken equally precisely to mean stained with civil war). A fourth century inscription (C. I. L. v 923) contrasts 'barbarica legio' with troops levied in Italy. Usually this line is explained of foreign troops serving in the Roman armies, but the foreign auxiliaries were nothing unusual or monstrous to Roman eyes and they did not receive land in Italy.]

72. 'His nos' Pal., Rom. 'En quis,' the old reading, is found only in three of Ribbeck's cursives. Rom. has 'agris,' its original reading having been 'consuevimus agris.'

It seems best to take the words as an exclamation, expressing the result of 'en quo produxit:' these are the men for whom we have sown.

73. This sarcastic 'nunc,' with an imperative, is common, 'i nunc' being its usual form, as in [A. VII 425,] Hor. Ep. I vi 17, and other passages referred to by Jahn on Persius IV 19. 'With this before you, go on doing as you have done.' Grafting pears and planting vines stand for the ordinary operations of husbandry. Both processes are described in G. II. 'Inserere, Daphni, puros,' XI 50, is said seriously.

74. 'Felix quondam' Rom., Serv.; 'quondam felix' Pal., Gud., which Ribbeck prefers.

'Ite capellae,' x 77. Meliboeus is going.

75. The farewell here resembles generally, though not verbally, that of Daphnis in Theocr. I 115 foll. For goats browsing in the thickets on the rocks, see G. III 315. 'Pendentis rupe capellas,' Ov. ex Ponto, I 9.

76. With 'viridi proiectus in antro' comp. above vv. I, 4.

77. 'Me pascente' is merely 'me passtore,' not, as Martyn thinks, that the goats feed from his hand.

78. 'Cytissus' is the arborescent lucerne, which is common in Greece and Italy, and a favourite food of cattle and bees. Comp. II 64, x 30, etc. Keightley remarks that as the cytissus and shallows are plants of the plain, we may suppose that a different rural scene from the former is intended. Where, however, we see Greek and Italian scenery mixed, we may be prepared for confusion and indistinctness in details.

79-83. 'You had best stay the night with me, sleep on leaves, and sup on apples, chestnuts, and cheese. The smoke announces supper, and the evening is setting in.'

79. 'Poteris' (similarly used in Hor. S. II i 16, Ov. M. I 679) has been explained as though Meliboeus were moving off (comp. v. 75); but it is rather to be compared with 'tempus erat' ('nunc Saliaribus Ornare pulvinar deorum Tempus erat dapibus, sodales,' Hor. Od. I xxxvii 2). It seems more pressing than the present—'you might as well stay.' Perhaps the account of the idiom is that it treats the time for action as almost gone, the wrong determination as almost formed, and so implies urgency. [Roby, 1535.] Tibull. III vi 53 has 'longas tecum requiescere noctes.'

The old reading was 'poteris' and 'hac nocte,' but 'poteris' is found only in II, and the strongest support for 'nocte' is II and a correction in Pal., which changes 'noctem' into 'nocte,' but leaves 'hanc' unaltered.

The invitation is from Theocr. XI 44 foll., ἄδιον ἐν ῥώντρον παρ' ἐμῖν τῶν νύκτα διαξείς. 'Ἐντὶ δάφναι τῆναι κ.τ.λ.

fronde super viridi: sunt nobis mitia poma                   80  
 castaneae molles et pressi copia lactis.  
 et iam summa procul villarum culmina fumant,  
 maioresque cadunt altis de montibus umbrae.

80. 'On a couch of green leaves.'

81. 'Molles,' mealy, i. e. when they are roasted.

82. ['Poma,' 'castaneae,' and 'fumant' show that Virg. intended his readers to assign this Eclogue to the autumn. It does not necessarily follow, however, that

he actually wrote it in autumn. Allusions such as these or that in v. 15, which has been rashly referred to the spring, prove very little as to the time when the poem was composed.]

83. Comp. II 67.



## ECLOGA II. [ALEXIS.]

A SHEPHERD gives utterance to his love for a beautiful youth, complaining of his indifference, urging him to come and live with him in the country, and finally upbraiding himself for his infatuation.

Parts of this Eclogue are closely modelled after the eleventh Idyl of Theocritus, where the Cyclops addresses Galatea in a similar manner. We should be glad, with Ribbeck, to believe it to be purely imaginary, though even then it is sufficiently degrading to Virgil. Suetonius, however, and Servius, have a story, also referred to by Martial (VIII 56, etc.) and Apuleius (Apol. p. 279, ed. Elmenhorst), that Alexis is intended for Alexander, a youth belonging to Pollio (Martial says Maecenas, but he can hardly have been then acquainted with the poet), and given by him to Virgil, who is supposed by Spohn to have written the Eclogue as a mark of gratitude to his patron.

Corydon and Alexis are probably fellow-slaves, though it is not easy to reconcile the various passages which seem to refer to Corydon's condition (vv. 2, 20-22, 57), and it is possible that Virgil may not have settled the point in his own mind, Corydon being in fact a mixture of the Theocritean shepherd and the Cyclops.

The beeches (v. 3) and mountains (v. 5) again point to Sicily, not to Mantua, and Sicily is expressly mentioned in v. 21.

This Eclogue is generally supposed to have been the first written. It was earlier than the fifth, and perhaps than the third (see Ecl. v 86, 87), and was, therefore, certainly one of the earliest.

FORMONSUM pastor Corydon ardebat Alexim,  
delicias domini, nec quid speraret habebat.  
tantum inter densas, umbrosa cacumina, fagos  
adsidue veniebat: ibi haec incondita solus

1-5. 'Corydon had a hopeless passion for Alexis. Here is one of his solitary love plaints.'

1. The 'pastor,' as Keightley remarks, was one of the farm-slaves. 'Domini' then, v. 2, will be the common master of Corydon and Alexis. 'Corydon' is a shepherd in Theocr. Idyl iv. Among other instances of 'ardere' for 'perditte amare,' with an accusative, see Hor. Od. iv ix 13, 'Non sola comptos arsit adulteri Crines.' There is a similar use of 'perreo' and 'deperreo.' ['Formonsum': see I 5.]

Rom. and Gud. have 'Corydon pastor.'  
2. An instance of rivalry between slave and master is mentioned Tac. A. xiv 42. Brunck read 'nec quod,' without authority. 'Non habeo quid sperem' differs from 'non habeo quod sperem,' as Madvig

remarks (§ 363, obs. 2), 'non habeo' in the former case having the force of 'I do not know.'

3. 'Tantum,' his only solace. 'Veteres, iam fracta cacumina, fagos,' ix 9. Spohn would remove the commas in each place, making 'cacumina' a dependent accusative, like 'Os umerosque Deo similis,' A. i 589: but the epithet 'veteres' at least would hardly support such an accusative, and the apposition between a thing and a prominent part of itself is not uncommon: e. g., 'iuvenes, fortissima pectora,' A. ii 348.

4. Gallus (x 50) talks of solacing himself by singing verses which he has already composed; the strains of Corydon, on the contrary, are unpremeditated. The word, however, in Cic. and Livy, seems merely

montibus et silvis studio iactabat inani :

O crudelis Alexi, nihil mea carmina curas?  
 nil nostri miserere? mori me denique coges.  
 nunc etiam pecudes umbras et frigora captant ;  
 { nunc viridis etiam occultant spineta lacertos,  
 Thestyli et rapido fessis messoribus aestu  
 alia serpullumque herbas contundit olentis.  
 at mecum raucis, tua dum vestigia lustrō,  
 sole sub ardenti resonant arbusta cicadis.  
 nonne fuit satius, tristis Amaryllidis iras

5

10

to mean artless, like 'versibus incommis,' G. II 386.

'Solutus' is better than 'solus,' a plausible conjecture of Drakenborch's, as making Corydon the principal object. So Prop. I xviii 30, 'Cogor ad argutas dicere solus aves.'

5. 'Iactabat,' raved. A. II 588, 'Alia iactabam et furinata mente ferebar.'

'Inani,' bootless, because it was 'montibus et silvis.' It expresses also a prolonged purposeless lament, like 'incassum,' G. I 387, 'nequiquam,' ib. 403.

6-18. 'Alexis, I am desperate: mid-day and every thing living shelters itself from the heat; yet I am wandering under the sun in the hope of finding you. Never did I find the scorn of a loved one so hard to bear. You may be more lovely than others, but do not presume on it.'

6. Theocr. III 6, ὦ χαρίεσσ' Ἀμαρυλλί, id. XI 19, ὦ λευκὰ Γαλάτεια.

7. Theocr. III 9, ἀπάγξασθαί με ποιησείς. 'Coges' Rom., which agrees with 'denique,' and is supported by Theocr. 'Cogis' Pal., Gud.

8. 'Iam pastor umbras cum grege languido Rivumque fessus quaerit,' Hor. Od. III xxix 21; 'patula pecus omne sub ulmo est,' Pers. III 6; both descriptions of noon. In 'captant' and 'occultant,' as Keightley remarks, the frequentative may denote the multitudes seeking shelter.

9. Theocr. VII 22, Ἀνικα δὴ καὶ σαῦρος ἐφ' αἰμασιαῖσι καθεύδει. 'Rubum Dimovere lacertae,' Hor. Od. I xxiii 6. 'Lacertas' is the original reading of Pal.

10. 'Rapido aestu:' 'rapidus' in its original sense seems to be nearly a synonyme of 'rapax.' Hence it is applied to devouring seas, fire, and the scorching sun. Keightley on E. VII 66 has collected instances where 'rapax' and 'rapidus' appear to be used indifferently of seas and

rivers. In Lucr. IV 712 the MSS. give 'rapidi leones,' in id. V 892 'rapidis canibus:' there however 'rabiidi,' 'rabiidis,' are more probable. Le Clerc wished to read 'rabiido' here, which shows how easily such criticism may be pushed into an extreme. The meaning 'swift' probably flows from 'rapere,' in the sense of 'hurrying away.'

'Thestyli,' Theocr. II 1.

11. She was making for them the mess called 'moretum,' which is described in the pseudo-Virgilian poem of that name. It was composed of flour, cheese, salt, oil, and various herbs ('herbas olentis') brayed together in a mortar. Keightley. Horace in his philippic against garlic, Epod. III 4, says, 'O dura messorum ilia!' 'Olentis' is applied equally to the stench of garlic and the fragrance of thyme.

12. 'I and the cicadas alone are stirring.' 'Cicadis' is the real subject, to be coupled with 'mecum,' though 'arbusta' is made the grammatical subject by the turn of the expression, and 'mecum resonant arbusta cicadis' is equivalent to 'mecum canunt cicadae.'

'Mecum,' like me, is found in G. I 41, II 8. But the sense here is not only with or like me, but with me alone: and we may compare the use of 'mecum,' 'tecum,' 'secum,' for 'by myself,' etc. Rom. has 'ac mecum.' [Ribbeck now follows Bentley and prints 'me cum.']

'Tua vestigia.' Corydon is trying to find Alexis, whom he supposes to be flying from him, vv. 60, 63, and examining his footprints. So 'vestigia lustrat,' A. XI 763.

13. Comp. G. III 338, where the 'cicadae' are loud at the fourth hour before the 'aestu medii' (v. 331). 'Arbusta' here, as there, are probably natural, not artificial.

14. 'Amaryllidis iras,' III 80.



atque superba pati fastidia? nonne Menalcan, 15  
 quamvis ille niger, quamvis tu candidus esses?  
 o formonse puer, nimium ne crede colori!  
alba ligustra cadunt, vaccinia nigra leguntur.  
 despectus tibi sum, nec qui sim quaeris, Alexi,  
 quam dives pecoris, nivei quam lactis abundans; 20  
 mille meae Siculo errant in montibus agnae;  
 lac mihi non aestate novum, non frigore defit.  
 canto, quae solitus, si quando armenta vocabat, → ὄρμησθε  
 Amphion Dircaeus in Actaeo Aracintho.

15. The later editors suppose the grievance to have been that Amaryllis was scornful, Menalcas swarthy; but Corydon obviously contrasts the scorn of Alexis with that of his two former favourites, his passion for whom of course he wishes to paint strongly, anticipating an objection that Menalcas at least could not be put into comparison with Alexis, as being far less beautiful. The next lines accordingly are a sort of apology for dark beauty, like that in x 39.

16. 'Esses:' the tense refers properly to Menalcas, the former love, not to Alexis, though Virg., for brevity, expresses himself as if both had been objects of Corydon's affection at the same time.

'Quamvis' qualifies the two adjectives, 'however black, however fair.'

17. 'Color,' beauty, as consisting in colour. 'Nullus argento color est,' Hor. Od. II ii 1.

18. 'Ligustra,' privet.

'Vaccinia': Voss ingeniously supposes 'vaccinium' and *ὑάκινθος* to be the same word, [but this hardly agrees with III 62, 'suave rubens hyacinthus.' Others suggest the whortleberry, the Vaccinium myrtillus of Linnaeus, but this has light-coloured flowers, is rare in Italy, and hardly suits either v. 50, x 38, or Pliny XVI 77, who speaks of it as a good-sized shrub growing on wet ground. Its identification appears hopeless: see Bubani, Flora Virgiliana, p. 121; Gerard's Herbal, p. 1418].

'Cadunt,' are left to fall. Compare the use of 'iacent,' are allowed to lie without being picked up.

19-27. 'Yet I am not a man to be scorned. I have numerous flocks under my charge; I can sing like Amphion; and I am not uncomely.'

20-23. From Theocr. XI 34, where

the Cyclops boasts his pastoral wealth and skill in piping to Galatea. Hence too, perhaps, 'Siculo,' v. 21. Serv. and others take 'nivei' with 'pecoris,' but 'niveum' is a regular epithet of 'lac,' like γάλα λευκόν in Hom., Theocr., etc. So Ov. M. XIII 829, in an evident imitation of this passage, 'Lac mihi semper adest niveum.' If Corydon is a slave, we must suppose with Keightley that, in falling into the Cyclops' language, he is really thinking of the advantage he gets from having so much under his charge.

21. 'Mille meae agnae,' not 'a thousand of my lambs,' as Wagn. thinks, but 'a thousand lambs of mine' (Forb.).

22. Theocr. instead of perennial milk has cheese, which being soft cheese, unfit to keep, would imply a constant supply of milk. 'Frigore,' as *ἐν ψύχει*, Soph. Phil. 17, opp. to *ἐν θέρει*. The words do not merely mean 'I have new milk all the year round' (Wagn.), but 'milk does not fail me even at the most trying times; in summer when "lac praecipit aestus" (III 98), or in winter, which is the lambing season.' [Pal. has 'lact,' a form mentioned by Varro, L. L. v 104, etc.—H. N.]

23. 'Vocabat,' piped them home from pasture. Keightley refers to a pretty passage in Apoll. Rhod. I 575:

Ὄς δ' ὑπὸτ' ἀγραύλοιο κατ' ἰχθία ση-  
 μαντήρος  
 Μυρία μῆλ' ἐφέπονται ἄδην κεκορημένα  
 ποίης  
 Εἰς ἀδλιν, ὃ δέ τ' εἰσι πάρος σύργγι  
 λυγείῃ  
 Καλὰ μελιζόμενος νόμον μέλος.

Amphion and Zethus were brought up among the shepherds in ignorance of their divine birth.

24. Amphion was a Boeotian hero, Dirce a fountain near Thebes: Acte was

nec sum adeo informis : nuper me in litore vidi, 25  
 cum placidum ventis staret mare ; non ego Daphnim  
 iudice te metuam, si numquam fallit imago.  
 o tantum libeat mecum tibi sordida rura  
 atque humilis habitare casas et figere cervos  
 haedorumque gregem viridi compellere hibisco ! 30  
 mecum unā in silvis imitabere Pana canendo.

an old name for Attica, and Aracanthus is a ridge in Aetolia, near the mouth of the Achelous : so that here is another geographical difficulty. Vibius Sequester vouches for an Attic, Steph. Byzant. for a Boeotian Aracanthus [but both statements are probably invented to suit this passage. Serv. explains 'Actaeo' as 'litorali i.e. ἀκραιφ', but adds that some thought the geography intentionally bad, 'ut ostendatur rustici imperitia']. Propertius also connects Aracanthus with Amphion (IV xv 42).

25. From Theocr. VI 34 foll., where it is the Cyclops who finds himself not so ugly. It is just possible that a Mediterranean cove might be calm enough to mirror a giant, not possible that it should be calm enough to mirror Corydon. [Serv. observes the error, and makes excuses for Theocritus.—H. N.]

26. 'Placidum staret' is equivalent to 'placatum esset,' and 'vento' is the instrumental ablative, like 'vento rota constitit,' G. IV 484. The wind is elsewhere mentioned as calming the waters, A. I 166, 'Et mulcere dedit fluctus et tollere vento' (note), V 763, 'placidi straverunt aequora venti,' perhaps after Soph. Aj. 674, δεινῶν δ' ἄημα πνευμάτων ἐκοίμισε Στένοντα πόντον. The common explanation is that the wind is said to do what by absenting itself it allows to be done ; but though such a turn of thought is usual enough, and hence applicable to any single passage, it is not easy to see why it should have suggested itself frequently when the wind is spoken of, unless we suppose that Virg. is consciously imitating Soph. in all four places.

For Daphnis, the great bucolic hero, who was beloved by a Naiad, see introduction to E. v.

27. 'Fallit' Pal. ; 'fallat' Pal. corrected, Rom., Gud. ; the former is preferable. He means, of course, that the mirror cannot lie. See on v. 73.

28-44. 'If you would but try life with

me ! we would hunt and tend flocks together, and I would teach you to sing like Pan, the shepherd's patron. It is an art which others have envied, and I have a pipe which Damoetas gave me at his death as the only man worthy to succeed him. Besides I have two pet roes, which I am saving for you.'

28. Comp. Theocr. XI 65. 'Sordida,' opp. to the elegance of the city [as often of the country in Martial, I 49 ; I 55 ; X 96, etc.]. So Aristoph. Clouds, 43, ἔμοι γὰρ ἦν ἀγροικὸς ἡδίστος βίος, Ἐθρωτῶν, ἀκόρητος, εἰκὴ κείμενος.

29. Heyne thinks hunting out of place, and therefore proposes, after a suggestion of Serv. and the Berne scholia, to take 'cervos' as antler-shaped props for the cottage. But Serv. himself justly observes that Corydon invites Alexis to pleasure, not to toil, and Wagn. adds that there is abundant proof of the connexion between the hunter and the shepherd, e.g. G. II 471, III 409. Besides Virg. witnesses to his own meaning by the similar expression, 'figere dammas,' G. I 308, and Sen. Herc. F. has 'Tutosque fuga figere cervos' (passages referred to by Cerda).

30. 'Viridi hibisco,' for 'ad viride hibiscum.' So Hor. Od. I xxiv 18, 'Quam (imaginem) . . . nigro compulerit Mercurius gregi,' where the 'grex niger' must mean the souls already below. Serv. comp. A. V 451, 'It clamor caelo.' Some however take 'hibisco' as a rod of hibiscum, with which the kids are driven. Dioscorides and Palladius describe the plant as a mallow, Pliny (XX 29) as resembling a parsnip. Neither a mallow nor a parsnip would make a rod ; but as we find the shepherd in X 71 making a basket with 'hibiscum,' we may conclude that it possessed some strength and pliancy. [Most writers identify it with the marshmallow (Althaea officinalis), Bubani with Althaea Cannabina, a kindred Italian plant. The Hibiscus of botanists is, like Althaea, a species of the Malvaceae.]



Pan primus calamos cera coniungere pluris  
 instituit; Pan curat ovis oviumque magistros.  
 nec te paeniteat calamo trivisse labellum :  
 haec eadem ut sciret, quid non faciebat Amyntas? 35  
 est mihi disparibus septem compacta cicutis  
 fistula, Damoetas donō mihi quam dedit olim,  
 et dixit moriens: te nunc habet ista secundum.  
 dixit Damoetas: invidit stultus Amyntas.  
 praeterea duo nec tuta mihi valle reperti 40  
 capreoli, sparsis etiam nunc pellibus albo,  
 bina die siccant ovis ubera; quos tibi servo.  
 iam pridem a me illos abducere Thestylis orat;

32, 33. [Ribbeck thinks these two lines spurious, chiefly because Serv. has no note upon them. They are, however, recognized in Philargyrius and the Berne scholia.—H. N.]

32. 'Pluris:' we hear of pipes made of three, nine, eleven, fifteen, and twenty-one reeds. The Cyclops in Ov. M. XIII 784 has one of a hundred. Forb.

33. 'Pecori pecorisque magistro,' III 101, Ov. F. IV 747.

34. 'Trivisse labellum,' by running the under lip backwards and forwards along the fistula. Lucr. IV 588 of Pan, 'Unco saepe labro calamos percurrit hiantis.'

'Paeniteat,' not quite the same as 'pudeat,' as the act is rhetorically supposed to have been done (hence the past 'trivisse') and the actor to be looking back on it.

35. 'Amyntas,' not a favourite (x 38), but a foolish and envious rival (v 8 foll.).

36. 'Cicutis,' hollow hemlock stalks. 'Cavas inflare cicutas,' Lucr. v 1383, of the origin of pastoral music.

38. 'Secundum,' my worthy successor; 'secundus' being used of that which is nearly equal. Hor. Od. I xii 17, 'Unde nil maius generatur ipso Nec viget quicquam simile aut secundum; Proximos illi tamen occupavit Pallas honores.' Comp. also E. v 48, 'Nec calamis solum aequiperas sed voce magistrum. Fortunate puer, tu nunc eris alter ab illo.'

'Ista,' not 'haec,' as being already Corydon's property when Damoetas spoke. It is not even certain from the words that the gift may not have been made long before his death.

39. 'Stultus,' because he fancied him-

self equal to Corydon. The language, as Forb. remarks, is rather epic. [Ribbeck marks this line again as spurious, but it is recognized in the Berne scholia, in which Amyntas is said to mean Cornificius, one of Virg.'s literary enemies.—H. N.]

40. There are similar love presents in Theocr. III 34, XI 40. 'Nec tuta,' from wild beasts. The danger enhances the value of the present, as Heyne remarks, comparing Ov. M. XIII 834.

41. These white spots disappear after the roe is six months old (Serv. and Wunderlich), and therefore these roes would be very young. Theocr. XI 40 has *τρέφω δέ τοι ἔνδεκα νεβρώς, Πάσας μαννοφόρος*, where some read *μαννοφόρος*, marked with moon-like spots.

'Albo.' Rom. and two of Ribbeck's cursives have 'ambo,' pointing it with the next verse. In any case it seems better to construct 'capreoli' with 'siccant' than to make it the subject of a verb substantive understood.

42. 'Bina die siccant ovis ubera,' i.e. they suck the same ewe twice a day. Varro, R. R. II ii 15, Keightley. The distributive force of 'bina' is made to exert itself not on the principal word, 'capreoli,' but on the accessory 'dies,' so that it is a kind of hypallage.

43. 'Abducere orat: 'oro' with an infinitive on the analogy of 'volo,' 'peto,' 'postulo.' Comp. A. VI 313, 'Stabant orantes primi transmittere cursum.' The passage is from Theocr. III 33, *Τὴν με καὶ ἃ Μέρμυνον Ἐριθακίς ἃ μελανόχρωσ Αἰρεῖ· καὶ ὄσω οἱ, ἐπεὶ σὺ μοι ἐνδιαθρήπτη.* 'Thestylis' from v. 10 appears to be a slave.

et faciet, quoniam sordent tibi munera nostra.  
 huc ades, o formonse puer: tibi lilia plenis, 45  
 ecce, ferunt Nymphae calathis; tibi candida Nais,  
 pallentis violas et summa papavera carpens,  
 Narcissum et florem iungit bene olentis anethi;  
 tum, casia atque aliis intexens suavibus herbis,  
 mollia luteola pingit yaccinia calta. 50  
 ipse ego cana legam tenera lanugine mala,  
 castaneasque nuces, mea quas Amaryllis amabat;  
 addam cerea pruna; honos erit huic quoque pomo;

44. 'Et faciet' equivalent to 'et abducat,' as we should say, 'and she shall do so.' So 'ni faciat,' A. I 62, is equivalent to 'ni molliat et temperet.' Observe how Virg. throughout this line has varied the expressions of Theocr., his Corydon being more courteous, and his Alexis presumably more sensitive. The fact has been already noticed in part by Serv.

45-55. 'Come and enjoy a country life. Nature produces her loveliest flowers—all for you; and you shall have the fairest and most delicious fruits.' Spohn rightly remarks that the general scope of the passage is simply an invitation to share the delights of the country, Corydon representing the nymphs and himself as doing the honours; but this does not exclude the notion of special presents of flowers and fruit like those in III 70. With the expression comp. G. II 3 note.

45. ['Formonse' Pal. Rom.—H. N.]

46. The nymphs offer flowers, being goddesses of the springs that water them, as Voss remarks, comparing pseudo-Virg. Copa 15, 'Et quae virgineo libata Achelois ab amne Lilia vimineis attulit in calathis,' evidently from the context an imitation of the present passage. He may be right also in saying that Corydon is speaking of the produce of his own watered garden, as is shown by Columella's reference to this passage in his tenth book, on the cultivation of a garden. [Paul. p. 47, says 'calathos Graeci, nos dicimus *quasillos*': so Serv. here, evidently drawing directly or indirectly on Verrius Flaccus.—H. N.]

47.] 'Pallentis violas' [yellow pansies or wallflowers], λευκῶν. 'Tinctus viola pallor amantium,' Hor. Od. III x 14. Heyne remarks that the paleness of

southern is yellow. Ov. M. XI 100 has 'saxum palluit auro.'

48. 'Anethum': an aromatic plant with a yellow flower, akin to fennel; it is grown in our gardens. In a celebrated passage of Moschus (Idyl III 101) it is called τὸ τ' εὐθαλὲς οὐλον ἀνηθον.

49. 'Casia': an aromatic shrub, with leaves like the olive, common in the south of Europe. 'Intexens casia (yaccinia),' a poetical variety for 'intexens casiam.'

50. 'Yaccinia,' v. 18. It is not clear whether 'calta' is the chrysanthemum or the marigold. That its fragrance was not its recommendation appears from Pliny (XXI 28), where its 'gravis odor' is mentioned, and Ovid (Pont. II iv 28), who enumerates among other changes in the course of nature, 'Caltaque Paestanas vincet odore rosas.' ['Calta' Pal. Gud.: 'caltha' Rom.—H. N.]

'Pingit,' picks out, the hyacinth (?) being as it were the ground which is variegated by the 'calta.'

51. A description of quinces, which were called 'mala Cydonia.' These fruits have nothing to do with making a garland, as some of the commentators think. The nymphs bring flowers in baskets: Corydon gathers fruits, and also sprigs of bay and myrtle.

53. 'Cerea pruna,' yellow plums. Pliny, xv 41, Ov. M. XIII 817.

'Huic quoque pomo,' i.e. 'prunis'; 'pomum' including all fruit except grapes, nuts, and, according to some, figs.

'Honos erit': 'Si a te dilectum fuerit: sicut castaneae in honore fuerunt amatae Amaryllidi' (Serv.).

Some inferior MSS. and the old editions have 'et honos,' to avoid the hiatus [and so Haupt]; Heins. struck 'et' out. The non-elision of a short vowel is doubtless to



et vos, o lauri, carpam, et te, proxuma myrte,  
 sic positae quoniam suavis miscetis odores. 55  
 rusticus es, Corydon : nec munera curat Alexis,  
 nec, si muneribus certas, concedat Iollas.  
 heu, heu, quid volui misero mihi? floribus austrum  
 perditus et liquidis inmisi fontibus apros.  
 quem fugis, a demens? habitarunt di quoque silvas 60  
 > Dardaniusque Paris. / Pallas quas condidit arces  
 ipsa colat; nobis placeant ante omnia silvae.  
 torva leaena lupum sequitur; lupus ipse capellam;  
 florentem cytisum sequitur lasciva capella;  
 te Corydon, o Alexi: trahit sua quemque voluptas. 65  
 aspice, aratra iugo referunt suspensa iuveni,

be accounted for not only, as in A. I 405, by the pause in the verse, but by the fact that H is a semi-consonant, carefully recognized in literary Augustan Latin.

54. 'Proxuma': the companion of the laurel, always, and not only in this nose-gay. Among other instances is Hor. Od. III iv 19, 'ut premerer sacra Lauroque collataque myrto.' Comp. the use of 'proximus' for near kin and bosom friends. [<sup>2</sup> Proxuma' Pal.—H. N.]

56-68. 'Vain hope, to recommend myself by presents which he will disdain, and a richer rival surpass! O this destructive passion! Yet why should he disdain a life which even gods have loved? I must follow him—it is mere natural attraction. Evening coming, and no relief!'

56. 'Rusticus es, you are a clown; i.e. your presents are clownish. Alexis lived in the city, v. 28. Gebauer, p. 166, comp. Theocr. xx 3, βουκόλος ὦν ἐθέλεις με κίσαί, τάλαν.

Rom., Pal. originally [and a Pompeian inscr., C. I. L. iv 1527] have 'est': in 57 Rom. has 'certet.'

57. 'Iollas, the master of Alexis, would outbid you.'

58. 'Quid volui mihi:' like the common phrase 'quid tibi vis?' 'What do you mean?' He suddenly reflects on the destructiveness of his passion. This is more natural than to suppose with Heyne and Voss that he is reproaching himself for having just made a comparison which must be disadvantageous to him.

59. 'I have let in the scorching scirocco to my blossoms, and wallowing wild boars to my clear springs'—no doubt, as Voss

says, a proverbial expression. The Scirocco, Horace's 'plumbeus Auster,' is spoken of in Aesch. Eum. 938-40 as δειδροπήμων βλάβη—φλογμός ὀμματοστερής φυτῶν. ['Immissi' Pal.—H. N.]

60. 'Quem fugis' may be for 'cur me fugis?' (see I 54), or the meaning may be 'you know not whom you avoid in avoiding me,' like 'nec qui sim quaeris,' v. 19.

61. Athens was the only city that Minerva founded, though in the older Greek mythology it seems she was a goddess of fortresses in general, and hence called ἑρυσίπολις, ἀλαλκομένης, πολιᾶς, πολιούχος, etc. Corydon prefers the country to Athens, the noblest of cities. We should remember that he is a Greek.

62. 'Ipsa colat,' let her have them to herself. 'Placeant,' 'let me love the country,' for 'let me enjoy it;'—a natural expression, since the love is essential to the enjoyment. It occurs again G. II 485, 'Rura mihi et rigui placeant in vallibus amnes, Flumina amem silvasque inglorius.' Gebauer, p. 169, comp. Mosch. v 12, καὶ παγᾶς φιλέοιμι τὸν ἐγγύθεν ἤχον ἀκούειν.

63. Theocr. x 30, 'Α αἰξ τὸν κτίστον, ὁ λύκος τὰν αἶγα δάκει, 'Α γέρανος τῶροτρον' ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ τιν μεμάνημα. 'Ipse,' in his turn.

65. [For the scansion compare III 79, VI 44, VIII 109, etc.; Munro, Lucr. II 404, VI 716. The shortening of monosyllables seems to belong to older Latin; that of final vowels (as 'Hyla,' VI 44; 'Ilio,' A. v 261; 'Panopeae,' G. I 437), if we may judge by the exx., is mainly a Grecism, as Cicero (Orator. 152) says.]

66. For similar versions or variations

et sol crescentis decedens duplicat umbras :  
 me tamen urit amor ; quis enim modus adsit amorī ?  
 a Corydon, Corydon, quae te dementia cepit ?  
 semiputata tibi frondosa vitis in ulmo est. 70  
 quin tu aliquid saltem potius, quorum indiget usus,  
 viminibus mollique paras detexere iunco ?  
 [invenies alium, si te hic fastidit, Alexim.

of βουλυρός, see Hor. Od. III vi 43, and Epod. II 63, 'Videre fessos vomerem inversum boves Collo trahentis languido.' 'Iugo referunt,' draw home. 'Versa iugo referuntur aratra,' Ov. F. v 497, quoted by Trapp.

'Suspensa,' not going into the ground ('depressa'), but carried so as not to touch it, as in the expression 'suspenso gradu'—probably the same thing as Horace's 'vomerem inversum.' The contrast expressed here is probably from Theocr. II 38 foll. (Gebauer, p. 171).

68. 'My love does not cool with evening, or end with the long summer-day.' Both notions seem to be implied. With the first comp. vv. 8-13, where, as here, it is hinted, not directly expressed, with the second, H. Od. II ix 10 foll., 'nec tibi Vespero Surgente decedunt amores, Nec rapidum fugiente Solem.' With the language Gebauer comp. Theocr. VII 56.

69-73. 'This is madness. I will return to my neglected business, and trust to find another love.'

69. Here and in VI 47 Wagn. and Ribbeck put a note of exclamation after 'cepit.' But compare Theocr. XI 72, ἃ Κύκλωψ, Κύκλωψ, πᾶ τὰς φρένας ἐκπεπύρασαι ; and similar passages elsewhere, e.g. Plaut. Mil. II v 24, 'quae te intemperiae tenent?' (comp. id. Aul. I i 32, 'nescio pol quae illunc hominem intemperiae tenent'), G. IV 494, 5, A. II 42, 519.

70. Both the half-pruned vine and the

over-leafy elm would be signs of negligence. Comp. G. II 410, 'bis vitibus ingruit umbra.' An unpruned vine was a scandal in ancient husbandry. Hor. S. I vii 31. Voss, reviving a notion of Serv., sees an allusion to an alleged superstition, that to drink the wine of an unpruned vine caused madness, Numa having forbidden libations to be made from such wine, to show that the gods did not approve of the slothful husbandman, so that this would be another rustic proverb. But whatever may be the value of the illustration, not only the context, but the words themselves show that Corydon is simply taxing himself with a neglect of common duty.

71. 'At least try to do some basket-work ;' one of the home occupations of the husbandman, G. I 266. These lines are copied from Theocr. XI 72 foll. 'Saltem,' if you cannot go about harder work. So in X 71, the poet makes a basket while he is singing of his friend's passion. 'Usus,' G. II 22 note.

72. 'Detexere,' to plait out, i.e., to finish. 'Quae inter decem annos nequisti unam togam detexere,' Titin. ap. Non. p. 406.

73. Εὐρησεῖς Γαλάττιαν ἴσως καὶ καλίου' ἄλλαν, Theocr. I c. Pal. (originally) had 'fastidiat ;' Rom. has 'fastidat,' which is worth mentioning, as showing a tendency to introduce the subj. : see on v. 27. Pal. (originally), Gud. and other cursives have 'Alexis.'



## ECLOGA III. [PALAEMON.]

MENALCAS. DAMOETAS. PALAEMON.

THIS Eclogue is a specimen of a rustic singing-match, such as occurs in several of the Idyls of Theocritus, the fifth being that which Virgil had here chiefly in view. The somewhat coarse banter which precedes it is studied partly after the fifth, partly after the fourth Idyl. Other imitations will be found noticed in their places. The match itself is technically called Amoebaeon singing (rendered by Virgil 'alternis,' or 'alternis versibus,' v. 59, VII 18), the general principle of which seems to be that the second of the competitors should reply to the first in the same number of verses, and generally on the same or a similar subject. For further varieties see the Introduction to Eclogue VIII. Here the challenger begins, as in Theocr. Idyls VI and VIII, though in Idyl V the contrary is the case.

[The Berne scholia say that this Eclogue was written in honour of Asinius Pollio: see v. 84. They also interpret Damoetas as standing for Virg., Menalcas for Cornificius, Palaemon for Octavian.] But the poem is now universally agreed to be imaginary, in spite of the awkward introduction of the historical names of Pollio, Bavius, and Maevius. If anything, Menalcas is to be identified with Virgil, as would appear from the fifth and ninth Eclogues; but this cannot be pressed, nor need we follow those who, like Cerda, attempt to establish a difference in Menalcas' favour, contrary to Palaemon's verdict.

The date, like that of Eclogue II, can only be determined relatively to Eclogue V, which is later than either. The scenery is at least in part Sicilian.

*M.* DIC mihi, Damoeta, cuium pecus? an Meliboei?

*D.* Non, verum Aegonis; nuper mihi tradidit Aegon.

*M.* Infelix o semper, ovis, pecus! ipse Neeram

1-31. '*M.* Whom are you keeping sheep for? *D.* Aegon. *M.* Poor sheep! their owner is hopelessly in love, and his hireling steals the milk. *D.* As if you had any right to taunt me! *M.* Of course not; I cut Micon's vines. *D.* Broke Daphnis' bow and arrows, you mean. *M.* Well, I saw you steal Damon's goat. *D.* It was mine; I won it at a singing match. *M.* You! when you can't sing. *D.* I'll sing against you now for a calf.'

1. Theocr. IV 1, 2. 'Cuius,' -a, -um, occurs in Plaut. and Ter., but was obsolete in Virg.'s time, as is shown by the parody quoted in Suetonius' Life of Virg., "Dic mihi, Damoeta," cuium pecus? anne Latinum? Non, verum Aegonis

(Aegones?) nostri sic rure loquuntur.' It is used by Cic. Verr. II i 54 (where the language is apparently that of a legal formula), [III 16 and III 58, and survived through vulgar Latin into the Spanish 'cuyo.' See Neue and Wagener's Formenlehre, II p. 471].

The question implies that Damoetas is a hireling, 'alienus custos,' v. 5.

2. Aegon's name is a taunt, because he is the rival of Menalcas, v. 4.

3. Theocr. IV 13, 26. With the order of the words Burmann comp. G. IV 168, 'Ignavum, fucos, pecus a praesepibus arcent.'

['Oves,' Bentley and one cursive MS.]  
 'Ipse,' your owner. Rom. has 'ille.'

dum fovet, ac, ne me sibi praeferat illa, veretur,  
hic alienus ovis custos bis mulget in hora, 5  
et sucus pecori et lac subducitur agnis.

D. Parcius ista viris tamen obicienda memento.  
novimus, et qui te, transversa tuentibus hircis,  
et quo—sed faciles Nymphae risere—sacello.

M. Tum, credo, cum me arbustum videre Miconis 10  
atque mala vitis incidere falce novellas.

D. Aut hic ad veteres fagos cum Daphnidis arcum  
fregisti et calamos: quae tu, perverse Menalca,  
et cum vidisti puero donata dolebas,  
et si non aliqua nocuisses mortuus esses. 15

M. Quid domini faciant, audent cum talia fures?

4. 'Fovet,' courts, repeatedly used by Cicero in the sense of paying attention to a person: comp. the sense of constant attendance, e.g. 'castra fovere,' A. IX 57.

5. 'Twice an hour,' when twice a day would have been full measure, as Serv. remarks. The phrase is exaggerated: but the offence of secret milking was a common one, punished, Emmen. says, with whipping and loss of wages. The taunt is from Theocr. IV 3. Pal. has 'mulgit.'

6. 'The ewes are exhausted and the lambs starved.' Perhaps, as Voss thinks, he may mean the time before the lambs were weaned, when the ewes ought not to have been milked. 'Subducere' need only mean to withdraw, as in Cic. Tusc. II 17, 'subduc cibum unum diem athletae;' here however the additional notion of stealth is suggested by the context. [Pal. had 'lact': see II 22.—H. N.]

8. ['Hircis' Rom. Gud., 'hircuis' Pal. originally, and so Ribbeck. Serv. quotes Suetonius De Vitiis Corporalibus, 'hirqui sunt oculorum anguli.'—H. N.]

10. 'Tum ('risere'),' 'Credo,' ironical. A. VII 297. Menalcas affects to charge himself with what Damoetas did. 'Arbustum,' a vineyard in which the vines were trained on trees, opposed to espaliers: here the trees on which the vines were trained.

'Miconis vitis' Theocr. V 112.

11. 'Mala falce,' like 'dolo malo,' 'mala fraude,' malicious. Tibull. III v 20, 'Et modo nata mala vellere poma manu.' Pliny, XVII 1, says that the

Twelve Tables imposed a heavy fine for cutting another man's trees 'iniuria.'

'Novellas' emphatic, as the young vines ought not to have been touched with the knife, G. II 365. The word is a technical term in rural economy, being used in later Latin substantively for a young vine; 'novello' means to plant young trees (Suet. Dom. 7) and 'novelletum,' a nursery.

12. 'Ad veteres fagos:' the same scenery as in II 3, IX 9. The bow and arrows belonged to a shepherd: see II 29 note.

13. 'Perverse' equivalent to 'prave.' The passage is imitated from Theocr. V 12, τὸ δ', ὃ καί, καὶ τὸκ' ἐτάκην βασκαίνω, καὶ νῦν με τὰ λοιπὸν γυμνὸν ἔθηκας, which accounts for the repetition of 'et.'

14. The 'puer' is evidently Daphnis, not, as Heyne thinks, some boy to whom he gave the bow and arrows.

15. Comp. VII 26.

16. 'Fures' is comic for 'servi.' Comp. Hor. Ep. I vi 45, 'Exilis domus est ubi non et multa supersunt Et dominum fallunt et prosunt furibus.' Comp. also the double meaning of the English 'knave' and 'villain,' though there the process of change in meaning has been reversed.

'What will the master do if the man talks at this rate?' It seems a proverbial expression: at any rate the sense is clear, in spite of the objections of Wagn. and Forb., as the whole form of the line shows that 'domini' and 'fures' are meant to be correlative. 'Fures,' in fact, involves 'servi,' and something more, preparing us for Menalcas' new charge.

'Faciant,' i.e. if they were to come on



non ego te vidi Damonis, pessime, caprum  
excipere insidiis, multum latrante Lycisca?  
et cum clamarem: 'quo nunc se proripit ille?  
Tityre, coge pecus;' tu post carecta latebas. 20

D. An mihi cantando victus non redderet ille,  
quem mea carminibus meruisset fistula caprum?  
si nescis, meus ille caper fuit; et mihi Damon  
ipse fatebatur; sed reddere posse negabat.

M. Cantando tu illum? aut umquam tibi fistula cera 25  
iuncta fuit? non tu in triviis, indocte, solebas  
stridenti miserum stipula disperdere carmen?

D. Vis ergo, inter nos, quid possit uterque, vicissim

the scene?' the case being a supposed one, the substitution of Aegon for Damoetas, there is no occasion to adopt 'facient' from Gud. (corr.) [and II].

18. 'Excipere' as in A. III 332, Hor. Od. III xii 10. 'Lycisci' were mongrels between wolves and dogs, Isid. Orig. XII 2. See Pliny VIII 148.

19. 'Quo nunc se proripit ille?' 'what is yonder rogue darting at?' Damoetas was just rushing out of his ambushade. Tityrus is the shepherd of Damon.

20. 'Coge,' collect your flock, which was straying in supposed security, as in I 9. 'Carecta:' in Catull. XIX 2 'carex' is joined with 'vimen iuncea,' so that the features of the country appear to be the same as in I 48.

21. 'Redderet,' was he not to restore? [i.e. ought he not to have restored. This use of the subj. imperf. is common in early Latin, e.g. Plaut. Trin. I ii 96, 'non ego illi argentum redderem? Non redderes.' Pseud. I iii 52, Rudens II iii 48, 'rogas quid faceret? adservaret; Cic. and others extend it to the plupf. Compare I 41, 'quid facerem?' A. IV 678, VIII 643, 'at tu dictis, Albane, maneres.' It is usually explained as deliberative or jussive (Roby, 1604, Madvig De Fin. II 12-36): Reid Pro Sulla, 25, considers it an elliptical conditional.]

23. Heyne comp. Ov. Her. xx 152, 'Si nescis, dominum res habet ista suum.' The phrase is not uncommon.

24. ['Negabat posse,' G. II 234, 'sin in sua posse negabant Ire loca,' A. III 201, 'negat discernere.' The omission of the reflexive pronoun with verbs of saying,

etc., is as old as Plautus (Aul. 108), see Roby, Syntax, § 1346.—H. N.]

25. 'Cantando tu illum:' the verb is to be supplied from 'cantando victus,' v. 21; the ellipse suits the colloquial style. What follows is imitated from Theocr. V 5.

26. 'Vincta' Rom., Gud., etc. 'In triviis,' i.e. to vulgar ears. Juv. VII 52:

'sed vatem egregium, cui non sit publica  
vena,  
qui nihil expositum soleat deducere, nec  
qui  
communi feriat carmen triviale moneta.'

'Indoctus' implies want of skill in any particular art; Hor. A. P. 380, 'Indoctusque pilae discive trochive quiescit.'

27. 'Stridenti,' i.q. 'stridula,' as Spohn remarks, '-i' being the adjectival termination, Bentl. on Hor. Od. I ii 31, xxv 17.

'Stipula,' a single reed, opposed to 'fistula cera iuncta.' The Verona fragment has 'stipula miserum.'

'Disperdere carmen' means to play a bad tune, not (as some editors prefer) to spoil a good one. The 'dis' is intensive, as in 'dispereo.' Milton, Lycidas, 123, 'And when they list their lean and flashy songs Grate on their scranell pipes of wretched straw.' Dryden (Essay on Satire) refers to this line as showing that Virg. might if he pleased have made himself the first of Roman Satirists—rather a large conclusion.

28. The general rule seems to be that 'vin' or 'visne' asks for information, while 'vis' commands, Bentl. on Hor. Sat. II vi 92.

experiamur? ego hanc vitulam—ne forte recuses,  
bis venit ad mulctram, binos alit ubere fetus— 30  
depono: tu dic, mecum quo pignore certas.

*M.* De grege non ausim quicquam deponere tecum:  
est mihi namque domi pater, est iniusta noverca;  
bisque die numerant ambo pecus, alter et haedos.  
verum, id quod multo tute ipse fatebere maius, 35  
insanire libet quoniam tibi, pocula ponam  
fagina, caelatum divini opus Alcimedontis:  
lenta quibus torno facili superaddita vitis  
diffusos hedera vestit pallente corymbos.

'Vicissim,' referring to the manner of proceeding, while 'inter nos' merely expresses that there is to be a contest. 'Vicissim' may be meant as a translation of ἀμοιβαίως, but its use in v 50 shows that it need not be understood so strictly.

29. Theocr. v 21 foll., VIII 11 foll.

30. Theocr. i 26, 'Ἄδύ' ἔχουσ' ἑρίφως ποταμέλξεται ἐς δύο πύλλας. Theocr. speaks of a goat with twins. Keightley remarks that it is not usual for cows to have twins. He also remarks that Virg., in slavishly following his original, has made Damoetas, a hireling, stake a heifer from the herd which he is keeping.

'Vitula' is apparently used for 'iuvenca,' as Spohn remarks.

31. 'Depono:' Theocr. VIII xi 12, καταθεῖναι ἀέθλον. 'Quo pignore,' the modal ablative, which is really the same with the ablative absolute.

32-59. 'M. I dare not wager any of my cattle; but I have a better stake, two cups of Alcimedon's making. D. I have two by the same hand; but they are nothing to the heifer. M. No put-offs: I'll accept any terms. Palaemon shall be umpire. D. Come on then: I'm not afraid: only pay attention, Palaemon. P. The grass is soft to sit on, and the country lovely: so begin, Damoetas, first.'

32. Theocr. VIII 16, 17. 'Tecum,' like you. Wagn. comp. Plaut. Cas. Prol. 75, 'Id ni fit, mecum pignus, si quis volt, dato.'

33. From Theocr. i. c. χαλεπός θ' ὁ πατήρ μεν χά μήτηρ, it would seem as if 'iniustus' were to be supplied from 'iniusta,' and both construed as predicates. But it is simpler to render 'I have a father at home, and a harsh stepmother.'

34. 'Bisque die,' not merely in the

evening, as in VI 85. 'Haedos:' besides counting the whole flock, one or other of them counted the kids separately.

35. In Theocr. i. c. Menalcas offers to wager a pipe in default of a lamb, and Daphnis, like Damoetas here, says he can match it, but, unlike him, agrees to the terms.

36. Theocr. i 27 foll. 'Pocula,' a kind of dual, a pair of cups, as in v. 46, two being generally set before each guest, Hor. S. i vi 117.

'Ponam' = 'deponam.'

37. Cups of beechwood belong to primitive country life; Wagn. compares Tibull. i x 8, Ov. M. VIII 669. Alcimedon is not heard of elsewhere. It is suggested (Sillig, Catal. Artif. p. 36) that he may have been a contemporary artist whom Virg. meant to compliment. Here and in the latter part of v. 43 Virg. had his eye on Theocr. v 104, 5, though the connexion there is different.

38. Servius on A. II 392 has an improbable story that Virg. originally wrote 'facilis,' which was altered because of the rule forbidding the use of two epithets with one noun. Here he says that Donatus read 'facilis;' and so the Verona fragm. and (originally) two of Ribbeck's cursives. But the error is easily accounted for by the beginning of the next word, a confusion constantly occurring. Rom. has 'fragilis.' [The Berne scholia only recognize 'facilis.'—H. N.]

'Torno' for 'scalpro,' the graving tool, not the lathe.

39. 'Hedera pallente corymbos' is probably for 'hederae pallentis,' a use of the material ablative for the genitive not uncommon in Virg., e.g. A. VII 354, 'Ac, dum prinna lues udo sublapsa veneno Per-



in medio duo signa, Conon, et—quis fuit alter, 40  
 descripsit radio totum qui gentibus orbem,  
 tempora quae messor, quae curvus arator haberet?  
 necdum illis labra admovi, set condita servo.

D. Et nobis idem Alcimedon duo pocula fecit,  
 et molli circum est ansas amplexus acantho, 45  
 Orpheaque in medio posuit silvasque sequentis.  
 necdum illis labra admovi, set condita servo.  
 si ad vitulam spectas, nihil est, quod pocula laudes.

temptat sensus,' for 'lues udi veneni.' It is a peculiarity—perhaps an affectation. Spohn connects the ablative with 'diffusos,' and so Forb. and Keightley. In any case Virg. cannot be acquitted of obscurity, as the ablative at first sight seems clearly to belong to 'vestit,' which is scarcely possible, though Trapp thinks that the vine may be said to do what is really done by the ivy, to show how closely they are united. The vine is intertwined with the ivy (both emblems of Bacchus, and fit ornaments for a drinking-cup), as in Theocr. the ivy with the flowers of the helichrysus.

'Hedera pallens' is probably that kind the leaves of which are marked with white, or rather with light yellow; 'hedera alba,' VII 28. ['Pallante,' i.e. palante, Verona Palimps.—H. N.]

['Edera' Verona Palimps. originally. The spelling was doubtful in the time of Verrius Flaccus: Paul. p. 82. Müll. giving 'ederam' under *e*, p. 100, 'hedera' under 'h,' where three etymologies are offered, 'quod haereat, sive quod edita petat, vel quia id cui adhaeserit edat.' Philarg. here pronounces for 'edera.'—H. N. Ribbeck now spells 'ed-' except in G. IV 124.]

40. 'In medio,' in the fields, the spaces enclosed by the vine and ivy. Keightley. Conon was an astronomer in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus: the 'alter' was probably Eudoxus, whose 'Phaenomena' was versified by Aratus. [The Verona scholia say that some commentators thought of Eudoxus, some of Aratus, while others were in favour of Archimedes, Hipparchus, Euctemon, Hesiod, or Euclid.—H. N.]

'Totum orbem' apparently means the whole circle of the heavens. Comp. A. VI 850, 'caelique meatus Describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent.'

'Radius,' the rod with which geometers drew figures on the abacus; but

here and A. VI 'describere radio' seems a figurative phrase for scientific delineation. 'Gentibus,' for mankind; explained by the mention of 'messor' and 'arator' in the next line.

42. 'Curvus,' bending over the plough. Pliny XVIII 179, 'Arator, nisi incurvus, praevaricatur,' quoted by Voss.

43. Theocr. I 59.

45. 'Molli,' flexible; Theocr. I 55, Παντᾶ ἀμφὶ δίπας περιπίπτουσι ὑγρὸς ἀκανθοῦ. The epithet, as Forb. remarks, besides being characteristic of the acanthus reminds us of the art of the workman, like 'mollis imitabitur aere capillos,' Hor. A. P. 33. Contrast the detail of Menalcas with the brevity of Damoetas, who merely mentions enough to show that his cups are a fair match for his rival's, and then proceeds to depreciate them.

46. 'In medio:' comp. v. 40. 'Sequentis,' Ov. M. XI 2, of Orpheus, 'et saxa sequentia ducit.'

47. There may be some mockery in the repetition, as Voss suggests, or Damoetas may be carrying out his affected depreciation by not stopping to select words of his own.

48. 'Compared with the heifer, the cups deserve no praise.' Most commentators suppose the construction to be 'si spectas (pocula) ad vitulam:' but though 'ad' may express comparison, it does not appear to be used in that sense with 'specto,' which indeed in such phrases as 'tuum animum ex animo spectavi meo' (Ter. And. IV i 22) implies positive observation rather than relative estimate. On the other hand, 'spectare ad aliquid' occurs not uncommonly in the sense of 'aspicere' or 'respicere ad aliquid,' as we might say 'If you once look at the heifer, you will find nothing to say for the cups.' So Forb.

'Nihil est quod:' Madvig, §372 b. obs. 6.

- M.* Nunquam hodie effugies ; veniam, quocumque vocaris.  
 audiat haec tantum—vel qui venit, ecce, Palaemon. 50  
 efficiam posthac ne quemquam voce lacessas.
- D.* Quin age, si quid habes, in me mora non erit ulla,  
 nec quemquam fugio : tantum, vicine Palaemon,  
 sensibus haec imis, res est non parva, reponas.
- P.* Dicite, quandoquidem in molli consedimus herba. 55  
 et nunc omnis ager, nunc omnis parturit arbor ;  
 nunc frondent silvae ; nunc formonsissimus annus.  
 incipe, Damoeta ; tu deinde sequere, Menalca.  
 alternis dicetis ; amant alterna Camenae.
- D.* Ab Iove principium, Musae ; Iovis omnia plena ; 60

49. Damoetas had spoken as if Menalcas wished to get off. Menalcas retorts, 'I will stake a heifer, if you will have it so, rather than you should get off the wager.' Macrobius VI 1 says that 'numquam hodie effugies' is from Naevius, 'Numquam hodie effugies, quin meam manu moriari.'

'Numquam hodie' recurs A. II 670, 'Numquam omnes hodie moriemur inulti,' and is found in the comic writers (Plaut. Asin. III iii 40, Ter. Phorm. V iii 22, Adolph. IV ii 31), as an arch way of saying that a thing shall not be ; 'hodie' seems to be a comic pleonasm, [and 'nunquam' a strengthened 'non,' as Donatus on Ter. Andr. II iii 10 says]. Gebauer, p. 31, comp. the use of *οὐποτε* in Theocr. VIII 10, 15, where we should more naturally say, 'by no means.'

50. 'Vel' goes rather with 'qui venit' than 'Palaemon.' Compare Theocr. V 50 foll., where Lacon wishes for a particular judge, but Cometes says that a woodcutter close by will do. Here Menalcas begins as if he wished for some one in particular, but corrects himself, and offers to take the chance of a man just then approaching, whom he identifies at the end of the verse as Palaemon : 'The man who is coming up—there ! Palaemon it is.' Palaemon the grammarian, as Suetonius tells us (Ill. Gramm. 23), used to quote this line as showing that he was destined to be a critic before his birth : an opponent might have retorted that he is mentioned merely as *ὁ τυχών*.

51. 'Posthac' with 'lacessas.' 'Voce lacessas,' challenge in singing, i.e. challenge to sing.

52. Damoetas, as the original chal-

lenger, had the right of beginning (Theocr. VI 5, *πρῶτος δ' ἄρξατο Δάφνης, ἔπειτα καὶ πρῶτος ἔμισθεν*), which he offers to waive ; but Palaemon does not permit this, v. 58.

'Si quid habes,' *εἴ τι λέγεις*, Theocr. V 78, is apparently contemptuous, though a reference to V 10 (see note), IX 32, will show that it is not necessarily so.

'In me mora non erit ulla' is a phrase, as in Ov. M. XI 160, 'in iudice, dixit, Nulla mora est.' 'Per' is also used ; as in Ter. And. III IV 14, Juv. XII 111.

53. 'Nec quemquam fugio,' I am content with any judge. 'Vicine : 'Damoetas tries to conciliate Palaemon, while asking of him a simple act of justice.

54. 'Res est non parva' seems better referred to the importance of the contest than to the magnitude of the wager.

55. 'Since we are seated on the soft grass, and all around us invites to song.' In Theocr. V 45 foll. the rivalry of the shepherds extends even to the choice of a place for singing, each praising his own.

56. Comp. G. II 323, 330. Eimmen. refers to Bion, VI 17, *εἶπε πάντα κύει, πάντ' εἶαρος ἀδία βλαστει*.

57. 'Now the year is at its fairest.' ['Formonsissimus' the best MSS. : see I 5.—H. N.]

58. Juv. IV 34, 'Incipe, Calliope, licet et considere,' is perhaps an allusion to this line and v. 55.

59. 'Alternis : ' comp. V 14 ; VII 18. *δι' ἀμοιβαίων*, Theocr. VIII 61. 'Amant alterna Camenae,' Hom. II. I 604, *Μουσῶν θ' αἰ' ἄιδον ἀμειβόμεναι ὅπι καλῆ*.

60-63. 'D. I begin with Jove, the filler of all things : he makes the country fruitful, and is the shepherd's patron. M. And I with Apollo, the poet's patron, for



ille colit terras; illi mea carmina curae.

*M.* Et me Phoebus amat; Phoebos sua semper aput me munera sunt, lauri et suave rubens hyacinthus.

*D.* Malo me Galatea petit, lasciva puella, et fugit ad salices, et se cupit ante videri. 65

*M.* At mihi sese offert ultro, meus ignis, Amyntas, notior ut iam sit canibus non Delia nostris.

*D.* Parta meae Veneri sunt munera: namque notavi

whom I rear bays and hyacinths in my garden.'

60. Theocr. xvii 1, 'Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα, καὶ ἐς Δία λήγετε, Μοῖσαι. But Virg. seems to have had in his mind Aratus, Phaen. v. 1 (quoted by Serv.):

'Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα, τὸν οὐδέποτ' ἀνδρες ἰῶμεν

\*Ἀθήνην μισταὶ δὲ Διὸς πᾶσαι μὲν ἀγνυαί, Πᾶσαι δ' ἀνθρώπων ἀγοραί, μιστὴ δὲ θάλασσα,

Καὶ λιμένες πάντῃ δὲ Διὸς κεχρήμεθα πάντες.

Τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἰσμίν.

Another interpretation, mentioned by Serv., and adopted by Ribbeck, makes 'Musae' genitive. This is supported by Cicero's translation of Aratus (De Leg. ii 3), 'Ab Iove Musarum primordia;' and by A. vii 219, 'Ab Iove principium generis;' but Theocr. l. c. and Ov. M. x 148, 'Ab Iove, Musa parens (cedunt Iovis omnia regno) Carmina nostra move,' defend the vocative. The question is as nearly balanced as possible.

61. 'Ille colit terras,' Jupiter (the sky) impregnates the earth and makes it fruitful (comp. G. ii 326), so that he is here said to cultivate the earth.

'Illi mea carmina curae,' because they celebrate the gifts of earth. Serv., however, renders 'colit,' 'amat,' misquoting A. i 15, 'unam Posthabita coluisse Samo,' where see note.

62. Damoetas had secured as his patron the father of the gods and the giver of the plenty which, as Palaemon remarked, they saw around them: Menalcas meets him by naming a god who has specially to do with poetry, and referring not to the general bounty of nature, but to the produce of his own special labour, which he offers to that god as his due. In Theocr. v 80-83, Cometes names the Muses, Lacon Apollo, each mentioning

his offerings as the ground of his favour with his patron.

63. The bay and hyacinth are gifts of Apollo to man, and so are appropriately restored to him in sacrifice. Menalcas has a garden, like Corydon, ii 45, where he keeps these plants with a view to Apollo.

64-67. 'D. My mistress pelts me and runs away, like a rogue as she is. M. My favourite does not avoid me; even my dogs know him well.'

64. 'Mala,' as Keightley says, included all fruit with pips. They were sacred to Venus, whence μήλα βάλλειν, μηλοβολεῖν, was a mode of flirting. Theocr. v 88, Aristoph. Clouds, 997.

66. 'Ignis,' of the beloved object. 'Pulchrior ignis,' Hor. Epod. xiv 13. Comp. 'tua cura,' E. x 22.

67. 'Delia' may be Diana, who assists the shepherd's hunting (vii 29, comp. x 55), and so is known by his dogs. Amyntas too knows the dogs, being Menalcas' hunting companion, v. 75. The other interpretation, more commonly adopted, makes Delia Menalcas' 'contubernalis,' who, on visiting him (vii 40), is recognized by the watch-dogs, so that Menalcas may mean indirectly to boast that he is beloved by two persons, not merely by one, like Damoetas. The language of v. 66 is rather in favour of this latter view, as otherwise we should have expected some allusion to hunting.

68-71. 'D. I have marked a wood-pigeon's nest as a present for Galatea. M. I have sent Amyntas ten apples, and will send ten more to-morrow.'

68. Theocr. v 96. 'Veneri,' 'Tun meam Venerem vituperas?' Plaut. Curc. i iii 36.

'Notare,' i. q. 'animadvertere,' as in G. iii 100, A. v 648, etc. 'Ipse' denotes that he has observed it himself, instead of trusting to hearsay, so that he will be sure

ipse locum, aëriae quo congressere palumbes.

*M.* Quod potui, puero silvestri ex arbore lecta 70  
aurea mala decem misi; cras altera mittam.

*D.* O quotiens et quae nobis Galatea locuta est!  
partem aliquam, venti, divom referatis ad auris!

*M.* Quid prodest, quod me ipse animo non spernis,  
Amynta,

si, dum tu sectaris apros, ego retia servo? 75

*D.* Phyllida mitte mihi: meus est natalis, Iolla;  
cum faciam vitula pro frugibus, ipse venito.

to remember it, and recognize the place where the young are ready to be taken. Thus there is no reason to understand 'notavi' with Wagn. of actually marking the spot.

69. Wood-pigeons are sacred to Venus. 'Aeriae' occurs in Lucr. I 12, v 825, as an epithet of 'volucres,' as we say birds of the air: here, however, it means making their nests high in air, like 'aeria turtur ab ulmo,' 1 58, and reminds us that the intended gift is hazardous.

'Congressere,' for 'nidum congressere' (Plaut. Rud. III vi 5), as we say to build. 'Apes in alvarium congresserant,' Cic. Oecon. in Charis. p. 82 P. So 'tendere' for 'tentoria tendere' A. II 29, etc.

70, 71. Theocr. III 10. 'Aurea,' as in VIII 52, golden, i.e. ripe and ruddy; not a particular kind of 'malum,' such as quinces or pomegranates. Prop. III xxvi 69, referring to this passage, has simply 'mala.' Spohn well observes that 'quod potui' corresponds to 'aeriae,' both denoting difficulty. He has done his best for to-day (referring to the quality, not to the quantity of his presents), and promises to give the same to-morrow.

'Altera,' a second batch of ten. 'Totidem altera.' Hor. Ep. I vi 34.

72-75. '*D.* O the things that Galatea says to me; things that the gods might listen to! *M.* Amyntas, you love me; do not separate from me in hunting.'

72. From this line to IV 52 Pal. is defective. Rom. is the only principal MS. here extant, though Gud. to some extent supplies the place of Pal.

73. 'Let not such precious words be wholly lost, but convey some part at least to the ear of the gods.' Comp. Theocr. VII 93. So Apollo listens to the nightingale's song. Aristoph. Birds, 217. Those

who, like Heyne and Voss, suppose that the gods are requested to hear Galatea's vows and punish her perjury, quite mistake the passage.

75. To carry the nets for another, or watch them while he was hunting (*λινοπλάσθαι*) seems to have been a common compliment. Tibull. I iv 50, IV iii 12, Ov. A. A. II 189. He complains that he is separated from Amyntas, who takes the more attractive and dangerous part of the adventure; and this untoward circumstance is opposed to 'ipse animo non spernis.' 'What is your affection to me, if you will not give me your company?'

76-79. '*D.* Send me Phyllis for my birthday, you can come on the next holiday. *M.* I send you Phyllis? She is my love, and cries at parting from me.'

77. The birthday was a season for merry-making and love; the Ambarvalia ('cum faciam vitula pro frugibus') was a time of abstinence from love. See the description of that festival in Tibull. II 1. Festus [ap. Macrob. Sat. III 5] says: 'Ambarvalis hostia est, quae rei divinae causa circum arva ducitur ab iis qui pro frugibus faciunt.'

Rom. and the rest of Ribbeck's MSS. read 'vitulam:' but Serv., Priscian and Macrob. Sat. III 2 are for 'vitula,' which Pierius found in some old copies. It should be remembered that we have not the evidence of Pal. and Med. The accusative is admissible in point of grammar, but not in point of euphony. The ablative, however, is the regular case in such a connexion. 'Facere catulo,' Col. II 22. 'Quod agnis fecerat?' Plaut. Stich. I iii 97. Comp. the use of 'agna—haedo,' Hor. Od. I iv 12, where some MSS. have the accusative.



- M.* Phyllida amo ante alias; nam me discedere flevit,  
et longum Formonse, vale, vale, inquit, Iolla.
- D.* Triste lupus stabulis, maturis frugibus imbres, 80  
arboribus venti, nobis Amaryllidis irae.
- M.* Dulce satis umor, depulsis arbutus haedis,  
lenta salix feto pecori, mihi solus Amyntas.
- D.* Pollio amat nostram, quamvis est rustica, Musam:  
Pierides, vitulam lectori pascite vestro. 85
- M.* Pollio et ipse facit nova carmina: pascite taurum,  
iam cornu petat et pedibus qui spargat harenam.

78. Theocr. v 134. Menalcas retorts in the person of Iollas—'Phyllis, whom you bid me send to you, is in love with me, and wept when I left her.' This Phyllis seems to be a female slave and mistress of Iollas, whom Damoetas pretends to rival in her affections. So Corydon VII 30 speaks in the person of Micon. 'Flevit' with an object clause, as in Prop. I vii 18, 'Flebis in aeterno surda iacere situ.'

79. 'Longum, vale, inquit:' she lengthened out her farewell, saying, 'Vale, vale,' in her reluctance to part. So Wagn. rightly interprets it. 'Longum' goes with 'inquit,' not with 'vale;' so 'longum clamet,' Hor. A. P. 459, and the Homeric *μακρὸν ἀφαιρεῖν*. With the metre comp. VI 44. ['Formonse,' the best MSS.: see I 5.—H. N.]

80-83. '*D.* Every thing in nature has its bane: mine is the wrath of Amaryllis. *M.* Every thing in nature has its delight: mine is Amyntas.'

80. Theocr. VIII 57. 'Triste' and 'dulce,' v. 82, are virtually nouns, like *φοβερόν κακόν* in Theocr.

'Imbres:' comp. G. I 322 foll.

81. 'Venti:' G. I 443. Damoetas seems to have three mistresses, Galatea, Phyllis, and Amaryllis. They can scarcely be fancy loves, because Menalcas sticks to Amyntas.

82. 'Depulsis' ('a matribus,' 'ab ubere,' or 'a lacte'): comp. I 22. The leaves of the arbutus would tempt the young kids. 'Frondentia capris Arbuta sufficere,' G. III 300.

83. Cattle were fond of the willow leaves (I 79), and after yearning or during pregnancy their favourite food would be especially grateful (I 50).

84-87. '*D.* Pollio is my patron, and the prince of critics. *M.* Pollio is more—he is the prince of poets.'

84. 'Pollio:' [here and IV 12 our best extant MSS. have 'Pollio,' not 'Polio': Serv. mentions both forms. The MSS. of other authors (Juv., Martial, etc.) vary, but the Capitoline Triumph-lists, which are little later in date than the Ecl., spell 'Pollio' (C. I. L. i p. 50, ed. 2), and so most early and late inscriptions. Nevertheless Ribbeck, Wölfflin, Thilo and other edd. cling to 'Polio.' See G. IV 243.] In introducing an historical person among feigned characters here and in v. 90, IX 35, and x passim, Virg. has followed Theocr., whose seventh Idyl contains several instances of such confusion.

No reason drawn from the proprieties of composition could be urged against taking 'vitulam' and 'taurum' here as the prizes of different kinds of poetry; but the 'nova carmina' were tragedies, and the bull was the prize of dithyrambic contests. It is safer to say that the victim rises with the rise from critic (lector) and patron to poet. [Serv. notes: 'vel pascite eius armenta quia legit hoc carmen, vel vitulam ei nutrite pro praemio.'—H. N.] There seems no occasion to suppose that a sacrifice for Pollio's safety is intended.

Observe how studiously Virg. avoids shortening the last syllable of 'Pollio,' unlike Hor. Od. II i 14, S. I x 42. Servius and two of Ribbeck's cursives have 'quamvis sit.'

85. Gebauer, p. 219, points out a faint resemblance in this and the following line to Theocr. VIII 33-35.

86. Some take 'nova carmina' to mean tragedies on Roman subjects, not borrowed from the Greek; but this is too specific. If anything, 'nova' means original. Serv. 'magna miranda.'

87. Repeated A. IX 629. 'Petat,' 'spargat' express not the reason for which

- D.* Qui te, Pollio, amat, veniat, quo te quoque gaudet ;  
mella fluant illi, ferat et rubus asper amomum.
- M.* Qui Baviium non odit, amet tua carmina, Maevi, 90  
atque idem iungat vulpes et mulgeat hircos.
- D.* Qui legitis flores et humi nascentia fraga,  
frigidus, o pueri, fugite hinc, latet anguis in herba.
- M.* Parcite, oves, nimium procedere : non bene ripae  
creditur ; ipse aries etiam nunc vellera siccata. 95
- D.* Tityre, pascentes a flumine reice capellas :  
ipse, ubi tempus erit, omnis in fonte lavabo.

the bull is reared, but the quality of the animal. Note the trajectory of 'qui.'

88-91. '*D.* May Pollio's admirers be like him ! *M.* May Bavius' and Maevius' admirers be like them !'

88. 'Veniat, quo te quoque gaudet' ('subaudis venisse,' Serv.), 'may your lot be his, and may he enjoy with you the dreamy felicity of the golden age.' Such seems the simplest way of taking this difficult passage, and the one best corresponding to vv. 90, 91. Heyne quotes Theocr. I 20, *Και ῥᾶς βωκολικᾶς ἐπὶ τὸ πλῖον ἴκο Μώσας*. Still, even if the ellipse were supplied it would be sufficiently cumbersome to say 'the lot which he is glad that you also have attained' for 'your lot,' so that there is some temptation to believe the passage corrupt.

89. The form of the wish is from Theocr. v 124-127 ; but there the rivals are merely trying to outbid each other in wishes as in other things, whereas here there is a further meaning. The shepherd naturally dwells on the rural glories of the golden age, as existing in fable (G. I 131), and in prophecy (E. IV 25, 30). The poet and his admirer are apparently supposed to live together in dreamland. Possibly, as Forb. thinks, honey may be specified as a common emblem of poetical sweetness (Hor. Ep. I xix 44, etc.), while the image of the bramble-bearing spines may mean that the meanest rustic argument is to produce a sense of beauty. Comp. IV 2. There may be a reference to Theocr. I 132, where Daphnis, like Damon, E. VIII 52, prays for a change in the course of nature, *ὄν ἴα μὲν φορέοιτε βάρτοι, φορέοιτε δ' ἀκυνθαί κ.τ.λ.* Thus the blessing is put into a form which had been used by the Greek poet for a curse, and we are prepared for the counter wish in v. 91.

All we know of 'amomum' (IV 25) is,

that it grew in the east, and yielded a fragrant spice. Keightley.

90. For these worthies see Dict. Biog.

91. 'Iungat vulpes' is explained of yoking for ploughing, the expression being apparently proverbial. Suidas has *ἀλώπηξ τὸν βοῦν λαίβνι*. Demonax, according to Lucian (Vit. Dem. 38), said of two foolish disputants that one was milking a he-goat, and the other catching the milk in a sieve. Here, however, 'iungere vulpes' and 'mulgere hircos' appears to be a sort of comic purgatory, opposed to the paradise of v. 89.

92-95. '*D.* Strawberry gatherers, beware of snakes. *M.* Sheep, beware of going too near the water.'

93. The confused order of the words and the rapidity of the measure are noted as expressive. 'Frigidus anguis,' VIII 7. *Ψυχρὸν ὄφιν*, Theocr. xv 58.

94. Theocr. v 100. 'Non bene ripae creditur,' like 'aliis male creditur,' Hor. S. II iv 21.

96-99. '*D.* Keep the goats from the river: I'll wash them in time. *M.* Get the ewes into the shade, or they will run dry again.'

96. 'Reice:' so 'eicit' dissyll. Lucr. III 877 [IV 1272. Munro quotes Hor. Sat. I vi 39 'deicere' trisyll., 'reicit' dissyll. (Stat.) and compares 'ādicit,' 'sūbicit' in Seneca, etc. Gröber compares the Italian 'recere,' Wölflin's Archiv i 221, v 236.]

Stattius, Theb. IV 574, has 'reicitque canes,' calls off the dogs. Virg. apparently imitated Theocr. IV 44, *βάλλε κάρωθε τὰ μωσχία*, which is explained by the custom of shepherds flinging their crooks among the cattle, II. XXIII 845. Plautus, however, has 'in bubile reicere (boves),' Pers. II v 18. Tityrus is addressed as a 'herdsman,' as in v. 20, IX 23.

97. Theocr. v 145.



*M.* Cogite oves, pueri; si lac praeceperit aestus,  
ut nuper, frustra pressabimus ubera palmis.

*D.* Heu, heu, quam pingui macer est mihi taurus in  
ervo! 100

idem amor exitium pecori pecorisque magistro.

*M.* His certe neque amor causa est; vix ossibus haerent.  
nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos.

*D.* Dic, quibus in terris—et eris mihi magnus Apollo—  
tris pateat caeli spatium non amplius ulnas. 105

*M.* Dic, quibus in terris inscripti nomina regum  
nascantur flores, et Phyllida solus habeto.

98. 'Cogite,' 'in umbras,' which is expressed in v. 107 of the spurious Culex. The sheep are driven into the shade at mid-day that they may be fit for milking at evening. Rom. has 'aestas.'

99. Observe the reality which 'ut nuper' gives to the injunction.

100-103. '*D.* My bull won't fatten: it is love. *M.* My lambs won't either: it is the evil eye.'

100. Theocr. IV 20. 'Ervum,' a species of tare: probably the hairy tare that grows in our fields and hedges. Keightley. The old reading before Heins. was 'arvo,' which is found in Rom. 'Quam' with 'macer.'

101. 'Exitium est pecori' Rom., Gud. corrected, 'exitium pecori est' Gud. originally, and two of Ribbeck's cursives. A third omits 'est' altogether, which is the ordinary reading. For a similar doubt comp. A. v 235.

102. Theocr. IV 15. 'Mine are not even so well off as yours; they have some malady more mysterious than love.' 'Neque' is for 'ne quidem,' used like *ὀδῆ*, a sense found in Livy and post-Augustan prose and, probably, in Hor. Sat. II iii 262. [See exx. in Dräger, Hist. Syntax, II p. 71.] Madvig Excurs. III on Cic. De Finibus denies the appropriateness of this sense in the present passage, and Mr. Munro and others follow him: though the meaning as explained above seems perfectly natural, Menalcas (as usual) trying to outdo his rival, even in describing ill fortune. Their remedy is to make 'neque amor causa est' parenthetical, and either to read 'hi' from a conjecture of Stephens and Heins., or to treat 'his' as an archaism for 'hi,' which would be a very hazardous hypothesis in Virg.,

though a passage in Donatus on Ter. Eun. II ii 38 is alleged to show that it was so understood by that critic.

103. Comp. Hor. Ep. I xiv 37, 'Non istic (at his farm) obliquo oculo mea comoda quisquam Limat, non odio obscuro morsuque venenat.'

104-107. '*D.* Guess my riddle, and you shall be my Apollo. *M.* Guess mine, and you shall have Phyllis to yourself.'

104. ['Dic, et eris:'] Cicero in such cases never inserts 'et' (Mayor Phil. II 104); writers after Virg. insert or omit at will, comp. Hor. Ep. I xvi 54, xviii 108.] 'Apollo' is the god of divination.

105. According to tradition, Asconius Pedianus heard Virg. say that he had intended in this passage to set a trap for the critics; and that the real answer was the tomb of Caelius, a Mantuan who had squandered his estate, and left himself only land enough for a tomb. The critics may be pardoned if they have fallen into such a trap, though their guesses, e.g. a well, an oven, the shield of Achilles, the pit called 'mundus' in the Comitium, only opened for three days each year, are not happy. 'Caeli spatium' would not naturally express the ground possessed by or covering Caelius, so that the riddle, according to its traditional explanation, does not even fulfil the conditions of a good catch. [The Berne scholia quote, not Asconius, but Cornutus, as the authority for the story about Virg. Ribbeck thinks 'Cornutus' is corrupt for 'Cornelius,' i.e. the poet Cornelius Gallus.—H. N.]

For the construction 'non amplius tris ulnas,' see G. IV 207, A. I 683.

106. 'Regum,' princes; the Homeric *βασιλῆες*. The flower is the hyacinth

P. Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites.  
 et vitula tu dignus, et hic, et quisquis amores  
 aut metuet dulcis, aut experietur amarus.  
 claudite iam rivos, pueri : sat prata biberunt.

110

(*ἡ γραπτὰ ὑάκινθος*, Theocr. x 28), supposed to be inscribed Αἰ Αἰ to express the name of Αἴας, or Υ for Ὑάκινθος, the lost favourite of Apollo. [If this traditional explanation be the right answer to the riddle, it is absurdly easy. Serv. saw this and tries to redeem its credit by supposing a trap: the hyacinth, he says, grows in all lands, not in any special one. There is more truth in another comment of his: 'sciendum aenigmata haec carere aperta solutione.']

108-111. 'P. I cannot decide between those who feel so truly and sing so well.'

109. Both ultimately wagered a heifer. See v. 49. 'Et quisquis amarus:' this is obscure and harshly expressed, [and many editors have proposed to alter the text,

but it is confirmed by Serv. and Anthol. Lat. xvii 461 (p. 66, Riese). 'Experietur amarus' may be rendered 'dares to try it, though bitter.'—H. N.] The general sense is, as Serv. says, 'Et tu et hic digni estis vitula et quicumque similis vestri est,' any one who can feel love as you have shown you can, the alarm which attends its enjoyment, and the pangs of disappointment.

111. Palaemon says this to his slaves; it also alludes metaphorically to the stream of bucolic verse. 'Rivi' are cuts for irrigation, watering cattle, and drawing water, G. 1 269. 'Rivus est locus per longitudinem depressus, quo aqua decurrat,' Dig. XLIII xxi 1. 2.



## ECLOGA IV. [POLLIO.]

THE precise reference of this famous poem is still, and will probably remain, unsolved. It seems, however, possible to arrive at some proximate results.

The date is the year 40 B.C., when Pollio was consul and assisted in negotiating the peace of Brundisium. The hero of the poem is a child born, or to be born, in this auspicious year, who is gradually to perfect the restoration then beginning. It is difficult to say who the child was, for Virgil's anticipations were never fulfilled. It is not certain that the child was ever born: it is certain that, if born, he did not become the regenerator of his time. On the other hand, there is considerable scope for conjecturing who he may have been. Pollio himself had two sons born about this period: the treaty was solemnized by the marriage of Antonius with Octavia, and the union of Octavian with Scribonia had taken place not long before. [The most ancient commentators, if we may judge by the notes in Macrobius (S. III vii 1), Servius, and the Berne scholia, were not agreed whether the poem was to be referred to Octavian, or to one or other of Pollio's sons.] One of these, called Salonus from his father's capture of Salona in Dalmatia, died in his infancy; the other, C. Asinius Gallus, who is said to have spoken of himself to Asconius Pedianus as the person meant, lived to be discussed by Augustus as his possible successor (Tac. A. I 13), and finally fell a victim to the jealousy of Tiberius (ib. VI 23). Octavian's marriage issued in the birth of Julia: Octavia's child, if it was ever born, was the child not of Antonius, but of Marcellus, her former husband, by whom she was pregnant at the time of her second marriage. Any of these births, so far as we can see, may have appeared at the time to a courtly or enthusiastic poet a sufficient centre round which to group the hopes already assumed to be rising in men's minds, and though the next three years may have made a difference in this respect, the poem would still continue to be in its general features the embodiment of a feeling not yet extinguished, and as such might well be published along with the other Eclogues. The peace of Brundisium itself was not so much the cause of this enthusiasm as the occasion of its manifestation—the partial satisfaction of a yearning which had long been felt, not merely the transient awakening of desires hitherto dormant. How far such hopes may have been connected with the expectation of a Messiah opens a wide question. The coincidence between Virgil's language and that of the Old Testament prophets is striking: but it may be doubted whether Virgil uses any image to which a classical parallel cannot be found.

SICELIDES Musae, paulo maiora canamus.  
non omnis arbusta iuvant humilesque myricae;

1-3. 'My rural song must now rise higher.'

1. 'Sicelides Musae,' Theocritus. See Intr. to the Eclogues, p. 7, note.

2. Tamarisks form part of Theocr.'s scenery (I 13, V 101). Here they mark the lower strain of rural poetry, the species

of which 'silvae' symbolize the genus. They were moreover sacred to Apollo, who was *μυρικήκιος* and *μυρικός*, being represented with a branch of one in his hand, and so they are associated with poetry here as in VI 10, X 13. They grew in Italy, Pliny XIII 16.

si canimus silvas, silvae sint consule dignae.  
 ultima Cumaei venit iam carminis aetas;  
 magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo. 5  
 iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna;

3. 'Silvas:' comp. 12. 'If my theme is still to be the country, let it rise to a dignity of which a consul need not be ashamed.' A consul like Pollio need not be ashamed of the rural glories of the golden age, III 89, note.

4-17. 'The golden age returns. A glorious child is born. Thy consulship, Pollio, will usher him into life, and inaugurate a period of peace, when the world will obey a godlike king.'

4. 'Cumaei carminis:' [the original Sibylline Books were burnt B.C. 83, but Sibylline oracles were current later. Phlegon, Mirab. 10, preserves two which claim to come from Cumae, and may belong to B.C. 126 or even an earlier date (see Diels, Sibyllinische Blätter): Cicero alludes to others. Mommsen suggests (Eph. Epigr. viii p. 237) that Virg. had in mind a still extant oracle (Phlegon, Longaev. 4; Zosimus II 6) which mentions a cycle of 110 years: counting from the saecular games in or about B.C. 149, the end of a cycle would nearly coincide with Pollio's consulship. The oracle was used later to justify the saecular games of B.C. 17, and may well have been known to Virg., but it contains no reference to a return of a Golden Age, and it is safer to suppose that Virg. had in mind some oracle now lost. Thilo suggests a different source, the  $\chi\text{-}\eta\mu\omega\iota\ \sigma\iota\beta\upsilon\lambda\lambda\iota\alpha\kappa\omega\iota$  (last edited by A. Rzach); a collection partly of Jewish, partly of Christian hexameters, of which Book III contains (he thinks) some parallels to Virg. (vv. 367, 619, 743, 788 and foll.). This book probably dates from the second century B.C. (see Schürer, Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes II 794), but the resemblances between it and Virg. are not really striking: the closest is 788 foll., a passage modelled on Isaiah XI 6 (see note on v. 24). It may be convenient, though its value is somewhat doubtful, to add the note of Serv. on the present passage: 'Cymaei: Sibyllini, quae Cumaena fuit et saecula per metalla divisit: dixit etiam quis quo saeculo imperaret, et Solem ultimuni, id est decimum, voluit.' On v. 10 he adds that Apollo is the Sun and signifies Augustus. Censorinus, De Die Natali XVII 6, ascribes to the Etruscans a course

of ten saecula. A treatise by Varro on 'saecula' has not come down to us.]

['Carminis,' prophecy, comp. Fest. p. 165 M; Livy I xlv 5; Tac. A. IV 43, VI 12 (of the Sibylline books).—Contrib. to Latin Lex. p. 406.—H. N.]

5. The reference is to the doctrine of the 'annus magnus,' a vast period variously estimated to be completed whenever all the heavenly bodies should occupy the same places in which they were at the beginning of the world. In each of these periods it was supposed that the cycle of mundane and human history repeated itself. See Voss's commentary, and compare Cicero, Somn. Scip. II 11, and Censorinus, De Die Natali, XVIII. Whether this doctrine was actually connected with the theory of saecles, or whether the connexion is due to Virg.'s fondness for mixing up pieces of heterogeneous learning, is not easy to say. In any case the meaning would seem to be that when the last saecle is over, the cycle is to be repeated.

'Ab integro,' 'columnam efficere ab integro,' Cic. Verr. II i 56. We also find 'ex integro' and 'de integro,' like 'de novo.' The lengthening of 'integro,' though not usual, is found Lucr. I 927, and elsewhere.

6. Heyne places a semicolon after 'Virgo.' Wagn. strikes it out and adds this note: "'Redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna" is the same thing as "et Virgo et Saturnia regna redeunt." The repetition of a noun or verb is often equivalent to a repetition of the copula: A. VII 327, "Odit et ipse pater Pluton, odere sorores Tartareae monstrum;" VIII 91, "Labitur uncta vadis abies: mirantur et undae, Miratur nemus inusuetum fulgentia longe Scuta virum;" XI 169, "Quin ego non alio digner te funere, Palla, Quam pius Aeneas, et quam magni Phryges, et quam Tyrrhenique duces, Tyrrhenum exercitus omnis;" XII 548, "Totae adeo conversae acies, omnesque Latini, Omnes Dardanidae." The preposition is repeated in the same way A. X 313, "huic gladio perque aerea suta, Per tunicam squalentem auro, latus haurit apertum."

'Virgo,' Justice, who left the earth in the iron age, G. II 474.



iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto.  
 tu modo nascenti puero, quo ferrea primum  
 desinet ac toto surget gens aurea mundo,  
 casta fave Lucina : tuus iam regnat Apollo. 10  
 teque adeo decus hoc aevi, te consule, inibit,  
 Pollio, et incipient magni procedere menses ;  
 te duce, si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri,  
 inrita perpetua solvent formidine terras.  
 ille deum vitam accipiet divisque videbit 15  
 permixtos heroas et ipse videbitur illis,  
 pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem.

7. 'Nova progenies,' a new and better race of men.

'Caelo demittitur' comp. G. II 385, 'Necnon Ausonii Troia gens missa coloni.'

8. ['Nascenti': comp. Sen. Cons. Polyb. IV 3, 'nascentum hominum fletum.'—H. N.] 'Nascenti—fave,' smile on or speed his birth.

It is difficult to say whether 'quo' is ablative of the agent ('who shall end the race of iron and restore the age of gold'), or an ablative absolute or ablative of circumstance, like 'te consule'—'under whom the age of iron shall end,' etc.

'Primum,' at last ; comp. I 45.

'Ferrea': we do not know the details of the tenfold metallic division (if such a division existed), and so cannot tell whether the iron age occupied the last place in it, or whether it is simply borrowed from the Hesiodic ages. Juv. XIII 28 speaks of his 'nona aetas' as worse than the age of iron, [but the text is doubtful (Bücheler and Friedländer prefer other readings), and the phrase, if correct, means the ninth century A. U. C.]

10. If any reliance is to be placed on Serv.'s statement (quoted on v. 4), that the Sibylline prophecy made the last of the ten ages the age of the sun, it is doubtless he that is spoken of here as Apollo. The secle of the Sun is going on ; and when that is over, the new cycle will succeed. Whether any further historical reference is supposed—to Apollo as the reputed father of Octavian, for instance, must depend on the opinion held as to the hero of the Eclogue.

'Tuus,' because Lucina and Diana (Eilithyia and Artemis) were identified.

11. 'Tuque adeo' are not unfrequently found together, as in G. I 24 ; Ennius,

Medea, fr. 14, 'Iuppiter, tuque adeo, summe sol, qui omnis res inspicias ;' 'adeo' here as elsewhere gives rhetorical prominence to the word after which it is used. See G. II 323, IV 197, A. III 203.

'Decus hoc aevi,' this glorious age. Lucr. II 15, 'Qualibus in tenebris vitae quantisque periculis Degitur hoc aevi quodcumque est.' Comp. 'monstrum mulieris,' Plaut. Poen. I II 64, and *δασπύρου στέργος*, Aesch. Choeph. 770. [Or the words may mean 'this glory of the age.']

'Inibit,' commence, as in 'anno ineunte,' 'ineunte aetate.'

12. ['Pollio': some ed. substitute 'orbis' quite arbitrarily. See Introd. p. 22.] 'Magni menses,' the periods into which the 'magnus annus' was divided.

13. 'Te duce,' under your auspices as consul, giving the year its name.

'Sceleris,' not general, like 'fraudis,' v. 31, but referring to the guilt of civil bloodshed. Keightley refers to Hor. Od. I II 29, 'Cui dabit partis scelus expiandi Iuppiter?' and Epod. VII 1, 'Quo, quo scelesti ruitis?' So 'pacatum orbem' v. 17.

14. 'Inrita,' in its strict sense, by their abolition.

15. 'Ille,' the 'puer' of v. 8. ['Accipiet' may mean 'shall be initiated into,' on the analogy of 'accipere sacra.'—H. N.] 'Deum vitam,' characteristic of the golden age ; *ὡστε θεοὶ ἔζωον*, Hesiod, Works, 112. Another of its privileges was familiar intercourse with the gods on earth (Catull. LXIV ad fin.), here expressed by 'videbit.'

16. 'Videbitur' expresses the reciprocal character of the intimacy. In Aesch. Eum. 411 the Furies are said to be *οὐτ' ἐν θεαῖσι πρὸς θεῶν ὀρουμένας*.

17. 'Patriis' cannot be explained without solving the riddle of the Eclogue.

at tibi prima, puer, nullo munuscula cultu  
 errantis hederas passim cum baccare tellus  
 mixtaque ridenti colocasia fundet acantho. 20  
 ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae  
 ubera nec magnos metuent armenta leones.  
 ipsa tibi blandos fundent cunabula flores.  
 occidet et serpens, et fallax herba veneni  
 occidet; Assyrium volgo nascetur amomum. 25  
 at simul heroum laudes et facta parentis

18-25. 'Nature will honour the babe; flowers will spring spontaneously: herds will come to be milked for its sustenance: poison will be taken out of its way.'

18. The coming of the golden age will be gradual, its stages corresponding to those in the life of the child. Thus its infancy is signalized by the production of natural gifts and the removal of natural evils, things which were partially realized even before. In its youth the vegetable world will actually change its nature. In its manhood the change will extend to the animals. Further, the particular changes would seem to be adapted to the successive requirements of the child. There are toys and milk for its childhood, which is to be specially guarded from harm; stronger food for its youth, which is not to be without adventure and military glory; quiet and prosperous luxury for its mature age.

'Munuscula,' as Keightley well remarks, are gifts for children. 'Non invisa ferēs pueris munuscula parvis,' Hor. Ep. I vii 17. 'Nullo cultu' is characteristic of the golden age, G. I 128, Hesiod, Works, 118. Rom. has 'Ac tibi nulla, pater, primo,' a strange aberration.

19, 20. 'Passim' goes with 'fundet.' What now grows only in certain places will then grow everywhere. It is doubtful what 'baccar' is: some say foxglove, others asarabacca, a creeping plant with leaves somewhat like ivy. [It was identified, though wrongly according to Pliny, with the 'nardum rusticum.' Its root was used for scenting unguents, and also in medicine: Plin. XXI 29, 132.—H. N.]

'Colocasium' is the Egyptian bean, which was introduced into Italy. [Plin. XXI 87, describes it as a river plant with broad leaves, which were used for making into drinking cups. There were two forms of the word, 'colocasium' and 'colocasia.'

The 'acanthus' was a garden plant with long broad leaves, the root of which was used in medicine: Plin. XXI 76.—H. N.]

21. 'Ipsae,' of their own accord; so *αἰρῶς* in Greek, e.g. Theocr. XI 12. Comp. G. III 316, A. VII 492. 'The goats shall need no goatherd, and the kine no keeper. They are to produce milk for thee, so lions and wolves will not approach them.' Comp. Hor. Epod. XVI 49, which seems to be imitated either by or from Virg., according to the date which we assign to its composition.

23. 'Ipsa' in the same sense as 'ipsae,' v. 21, 'nullo cultu,' v. 18. 'No need to make thee a bed of flowers. The ground on which thou liest will of its own accord bring forth flowers to show its love.' 'Blandos' has the sense of 'blandiri.'

24. Comp. Hor. Od. III iv 17 foll.:

'ut tuto ab atris corpore viperis  
 dormirem et ursis, ut premerer sacra  
 lauroque collataque myrto,  
 non sine dis animosus infans.'

The serpents and poisonous plants are removed for the child's sake. So in the remarkable parallel to this whole passage in Isaiah XI, 'The sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp' (v. 8).

'Herba veneni,' poisonous herb. 'Venereni' is a gen. of quality. Comp. Juv. III 4, 'gratum litus amoeni Secessus.'

'Fallax' is well illustrated by Serv. from G. II 152, 'nec miseros fallunt aconita legentis.'

25. For 'amomum' see III 89.

26-36. 'When he advances to youth, corn, wine, and honey will come unbidden: there will also be the glory of adventure.'

26. 'Ac simul' Rom. 'Heroum laudes,' κλέα ἀνδρῶν ἠρώων, Hom. II. IX 524.

'Parentis,' Serv., Nonius, Gud. (originally) and two other of Ribbeck's cursives,



iam legere et quae sit poteris cognoscere virtus,  
 molli paulatim flavescet campus arista,  
 incultisque rubens pendebit sentibus uva,  
 et durae quercus sudabunt roscida mella. 30  
 pauca tamen suberunt priscae vestigia fraudis,  
 quae temptare Thetim ratibus, quae cingere muris  
 oppida, quae iubeant telluri infindere sulcos.  
 alter erit tum Tiphys, et altera quae vehat Argo  
 delectos heroas; erunt etiam altera bella, 35

is doubtless the true reading: 'parentum,' Rom., Gud. (corrected), would be a natural correction from such passages as A. I 645, II 448, X 282. The child will read of the glories of its father and the heroes of older time, subjects of poetry and history, and thus learn to conceive of virtue.

28. 'Flavescet arista,' that is, spontaneously, which seems to be expressed by 'paulatim.' There will be no process of sowing, from which the springing of the crop can date, but the field will gradually develop into corn. Comp. Hor. Epod. XVI 43 foll. (of the Islands of the Blest): 'Reddit ubi Cererem tellus inarata quotannis, Et imputata floret usque vinea, Germinat et nunquam fallentis termes olivae.'

'Molli' seems to include the notions of flexibility (comp. V 31) and delicacy. The corn-ear may of course be looked upon as rough, 'horrens'; but it may also suggest an opposite notion, with no less truth. To suppose with some of the commentators that the corn of the golden age is to be no longer pointed and bearded, but soft, is, I think, to mistake the poetical image.

29. In G. I 132 Virg. goes one step further, intimating that in the golden age wine ran in the beds of the rivers.

30. 'Roscida,' because it was imagined that honey fell in the shape of dew, and was gathered by bees from leaves, 'aerii mellis caelestia dona,' G. IV 1. On the return of the golden age it will appear in larger quantities; men will be able to gather it from leaves for themselves, as they will obtain every thing else without labour. Comp. G. I 131. There also may be a reference, as Heyne remarks, to the honey sometimes found in the hollows of trees (G. II 453), as there is in the parallel

passage, Hor. Epod. XVI 47, 'Mella cava manant ex ilice,' as if this would happen everywhere under the new order of things; and this is supported by Hesiod, Works, 232 foll., οὐρεσι δὲ δρύος Ἄκρη μὲν τε φέρι βάλανους, μίσση δὲ μελίσσης, of the golden-age blessings which attend the good even now.

31. 'Fraudis,' the wickedness of artificial society, opposed to the innocence of the state of nature. The idea is kept in 'temptare' and in 'mentiri' (v. 42).

32. 'Temptare' like 'solicitant freta,' G. II 503. Comp. Hor. Od. I iii 9 foll. 'Cingere,' imitated by Ov. M. I 97 (speaking of the golden age), 'Nondum praecipites cingebant oppida fossae.' ['Thetin' Rom.]

33. 'Infidunt pariter sulcos,' A. V 142. Rom. has 'tellurem infindere sulco.' The necessity of ploughing was among the marks of transition from the golden to the silver age (G. I 122, 125, 134), and its continued practice is a proof that the regeneration of things is still incomplete. Comparing this line with v. 28, we must suppose that though corn grows spontaneously, men are greedy for more, and try to extort more by cultivation. See v. 40.

34. In the Sibylline cycle all history was to come over again. Virg. seems to be mixing this notion with that of a return to the age of gold, so as to give some scope to the national love of conquest. In Hesiod the heroes form a fourth age, between brazen and iron. Tiphys was helmsman of the Argo.

35. The Argonauts are called 'delecti viri' Enn. Med. 5, 'lecti iuvenes' Catull. LXIV 4, perhaps a translation of ἀριστοί. See Eur. Med. 5 (Elmsley's note), Theocr. XIII 16.

'Altera bella,' the old wars over again.

atque iterum ad Troiam magnus mittetur Achilles.  
 hinc, ubi iam firmata virum te fecerit aetas,  
 cedet et ipse mari vector, nec nautica pinus  
 mutabit merces: omnis feret omnia tellus.  
 non rastros patietur humus, non vinea falcem; 40  
 robustus quoque iam tauris iuga solvet arator;  
 nec varios discet mentiri lana colores,  
 ipse sed in pratis aries iam suave rubenti  
 murice, iam croceo mutabit vellera luto;  
 sponte sua sandyx pascentis vestiet agnos. 45

36. There seems no special relevancy in the mention of the Trojan war. The context does not suggest that the youthful warrior is himself Achilles; nor on the other hand can we suppose with Mr. Munro that the great enemy of the Trojans reappears because the Roman hope of the world is too young to take the field. Had Virg. intended either of these thoughts, he would have expressed himself more definitely, as there is a prima facie incongruity about each which it would have been the poet's office to mitigate. Probably he merely instances the Trojan War as a mythical war, without reflecting on the legendary connexion between Troy and Rome, which he was himself hereafter to do so much to perpetuate in the *Aeneid*.

37-47. 'When he is grown to manhood, even commerce will cease, for every thing will grow everywhere; nature will supply the place, not only of industry, but of artificial civilization.'

38. 'Vector,' the passenger, which seems to be its sense where it is used of maritime carriage. 'Et ipse,' the peaceful passenger, and therefore much more the sailor in a ship of war.

39. 'Mutat merces' of a merchant, *Hor. S.* 1 iv 29.

'Omnis,' etc.: *comp. G.* 1 63, II 109 notes. Virg. doubtless copies Hesiod, *Works*, 236 foll., who says of his upright nation, οὐδ' ἐπὶ γῆν Νίσσονται, καρπὸν δὲ φέρει ζειδωρὸς ἀρουρα.

40. We seem to have gathered from vv. 31 foll. that, even after nature has begun to return to the freedom and spontaneity of the golden age, man will still continue to deal with her by force. We are now told that in the full development of her gracious bounty such violence will,

as it were, die a natural death, the same change which releases the sea and the seaman from traffic releasing the earth and the husbandman from tillage.

41. Compare *Lucr.* v 933, VI 1253, 'robustus curvi moderator aratri.' The epithet is not merely ornamental, as the force employed indicates the difficulty of the labour. *Comp. G.* 1 63, II 38, 238, 260 foll., 355 foll. notes.

It signifies little whether 'tauris' be taken as dat. or abl. Both are sufficiently supported; and the difference in sense between the two cases in such a connexion seems scarcely ascertainable.

43. [*Serv.* says 'traditur in libris Etruscorum, si hoc animal miro et insolito colore erit infectum, omnium rerum felicitatem imperatori portendi.' The note occurs in a fuller form in *Macrob. S.* III vii 1.—*H. N.*]

44. We may either take 'mutabit' for 'fucabit,' or in its common sense—'will change (the colour of) his fleece for (or 'into') purple and yellow.'

'In pratis' is the same as 'pascentis,' v. 45—the live sheep in the field, opposed to the fleece in the hands of the dyer. The country will enjoy the advantages of luxury without its artificial concomitants, from which it rightly shrinks, *G.* II 465.

45. 'Sandyx,' scarlet. [*Pliny*, XXXV 40, describes 'sandyx' as a mixture of 'sandaraca' and 'ochra,' observing that Virg. in this passage speaks of it as a plant.—*H. N.*] Some have had the bad taste to think that these lambs of the golden age were to be turned scarlet by feeding on this plant. Bentley wished to read 'nascentis,' which seems to show that he did not understand 'in pratis.'



'talìa saecla,' suis dixerunt, 'currìte,' fuis  
 concordès stabili fatòrum numine Parcae.  
 adgrèdere o magnos, adèrit iam tempus, honores,  
 cara deum suboles, magnum Iovis incrementum!  
 aspice convexo nutantem pondere mundum, 50  
 terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum,

46. 'Talìa saecla,' 'O blessed ages,' in prose, 'cum talìa sitis, currìte.' This use of 'talìa' in the vocative may be compared to that of *ὄβρος*, e.g. Soph. O. C. 1627, *ὦ ὄβρος, ὄβρος, Οἰδίπου, τί μὴ δλομεν Χωρεῖν*; Virg. clearly had in his mind Catull. LXIV 326, 'sed vos, quae fata secuntur Currìte ducentes subtegmina, currìte, fusi,' though he has, as usual, varied the expression, making the Fates address the ages, though they talk to the spindles. The process in each case seems to be merely that of ordaining the particular destiny, as a thing to come. So *ἐπιελάθειν* is used in Hom. for ordaining. The attempt of later editors, after Cerda, to bring Virg. more into conformity with Catullus by making 'talìa saecla' the acc. after 'currere' is exceedingly harsh. [Serv., however, says 'currìte' = 'vol-vite.'—H. N. And Symmachus apparently took the words thus: Class. Review, viii 251.]

47. 'The Parcae that utter in concert the fixed will of fate.' For a similar use of 'numine' comp. A. II 123, 'Quae sint ea numina divom Flagitat.' 'Numen fatòrum' is so far a pleonasm that either word might be used without the other in nearly the same sense. For the line generally Serv. comp. Hor. Carm. Saec. 25 foll. Add Ciris, v. 125, 'Concordes stabili firmarunt numine Parcae.'

48-59. 'Let him assume his throne—the whole world waits for him with expectant longing. O may I live long enough to tell of his glories! The theme would at once exalt me above all poets, human or divine.'

48. So Augustus is addressed G. I 42. 'Magnos honores' is explained by Voss of the successive magistracies at Rome, which is possible, however frigid it may seem to our taste.

49. 'Deum' is used generally, as Aeneas is called 'deum certissima proles,' A. VI 322 (note).

'Iovis incrementum' appears to be a singular expression. The word is seldom

applied to a person, and it is elsewhere used with a gen. of that of which it is the beginning, as in Ov. M. III 103. [Serv. says it = 'nutrimentum,' and] Mr. Munro (Journal of Philology, vol. iv pp. 292 foll.) understands the expression to mean 'the germ of a future Jupiter, destined to rule on earth as Jupiter rules in heaven. This would agree with the meaning of 'incrementum' elsewhere (Mr. Munro compares among other passages Q. Curt. v i 42, where noble youths of the king's body-guard are called 'magnorum praefectorum et ducum incrementa et rudimenta'), but the thought would be extravagant, expressing flattery which Virg. does not bestow elsewhere, even on Augustus. Meineke on Soph. El. 1146 (p. 266 of his edition of Soph. O. C.) thinks the notion is that of the child regarded as an honour or pleasure to his father Jupiter, and gives as the Greek equivalent of the words *Διὸς μίγα ὄφελος* or *Διὸς μίγ' ὄνειρα*. [The Berne scholia suggest, among other less probable alternatives, that 'Iovis incrementum' means 'cui Iuppiter magnam dederit incrementum,' i.e. 'augmentum:' 'whom Jupiter delights to honour.'—H. N.]

50. 'Mundum,' the whole world, as explained by the next line. Heyne well remarks that the world is moved at the coming of this divine boy as a sanctuary is moved at the coming of its god. See A. III 90, VI 256. [Possibly 'bowing under its weight of evil.'—H. N. So Serv. 'nutat praesentibus malis.'] Forb. rightly rejects the explanation of Heyne and others, 'Aspice mundum, etc. ut laetantur,' observing that 'nutantem' is equivalent to 'ut nutat.'

51. 'Caelum profundum,' 'the azure deep of air,' Gray; but this is scarcely classical. 'Profundus,' like 'altus' and *βάθος*, means high as well as deep, [though it is rare in that sense, which may have commenced with Virg. See G. II 391.] The line recurs G. IV 222.

aspice, venturo laetantur ut omnia saeclo!  
 o mihi tum longae maneat pars ultima vitae,  
 spiritus et, quantum sat erit tua dicere facta:  
 non me carminibus vincet nec Thracius Orpheus, 55  
 nec Linus, huic mater quamvis atque huic pater adsit,  
 Orphei Calliopea, Lino formonsus Apollo.  
 Pan etiam Arcadiā mecum si iudice certet,  
 Pan etiam Arcadia dicat se iudice victum.  
 incipe, parve puer, risu cognoscere matrem: 60  
 matri longa decem tulerunt fastidia menses;

52. [Pal. resumes here after the lacuna, which began III 71, and continues to G. I 322.]

'Laetentur' Pal., Gud., 'laetantur' Rom. Both are admissible: see Bent. on Hor. Ep. I i 91. 'Aspice ut' is here merely a rhetorical way of making a direct statement, which might naturally be thrown into the indicative: there is no appeal to the mind of a second person as in A. VIII 386, 'Aspice qui coeant populi, quae moenia clausis Ferrum acuant portis in me excidiumque meorum.'

53. Ribbeck's MSS. (Med. is wanting) seem to agree in 'tum' [which also appears in some MSS. of Serv. and is accepted by Mr. Nettleship.] Virg. wishes that he may be alive, though in old age, when the child has grown to manhood. [Others read 'tam,' and so Conington very doubtfully. In that case] there is here a confusion of expression, owing to the number of predicates crowded into the sentence.

Pal. and Gud. have 'longe;' but the word appears not to be used for 'longum' or 'diu.' Serv. has 'longae.'

54. 'Spiritus' expresses both breath and poetical inspiration, the latter as in Hor. Od. IV vi 29. 'Tua dicere facta' for 'ad dicenda tua facta,' the infinitive being in fact a dative: see on G. I 213.

55. 'Non—nec:' the main clause being divided, a second negative is introduced with each of the clauses into which it is divided. [This usage seems first to occur in Terence, and is common from Cicero onwards. Dräger II p. 85, A. IX 428, E. v 25.]

'Orpheus:' he naturally chooses mythic poets to contrast with himself as the bard of the new golden age.

['Vincet' Pal. corrected, Rom., and

Gud. originally, etc.: so Thilo; 'vincat' Pal. originally, and Gud. corrected: so Ribbeck.—H. N.]

57. 'Orphei' ('Ορφέϊ, 'Ορφεϊ) occurs again G. IV 545, 553.

'Calliopea,' Καλλιόπεια, another form of Calliope, occurring also Prop. I II 58, Ov. F. v 80.

'Formonsus,' a perpetual epithet like 'pulcher Apollo,' A. III 119. ['Formonsus,' Pal. originally.—H. N. See I 5.]

58. The Arcadians would be competent judges (x 31), as well as partial to their god Pan.

59. As might be expected, some MSS., including a correction in Pal., have 'dicet.'

60-63. 'Let him smile on his mother: she deserves it: and without her smile he can never come to honour.'

60. These last four lines contain the poet's prayer for the speedy appearance of the young deliverer.

'Risu' is the smile of the child opening its eyes on its mother, who is supposed (v. 62) not to smile on it till it has smiled on her—a natural enough 'argumentum ad infantem.' Heyne, Wundt., and Voss, after [Serv. and] Julius Sabinus, understand 'risu' of the mother's smile, by which the boy is bidden to recognize her, appealing to v. 62. So far, however, from necessitating such an interpretation, v. 62 will scarcely agree with it, as the words there imply that the parents have not yet smiled. Besides, the command to recognize the mother by her smile is very flat, especially when repeated in the second 'Incipe,' as Wagn. remarks, and the construction 'risu cognoscere' harsh.

61. 'Longa fastidia,' i. q. 'taedia.' 'Fastidium ferre' and 'afferre' occur elsewhere, Quint. v 14, Cic. Mur. IX 21.



incipere, parve puer: cui non risere parentes,  
nec deus hunc mensa, dea nec dignata cubili est.

Ten months was recognized by the Roman law as the full period of gestation.

The writers of most of the cursives, not knowing that 'tulērunt,' 'stetērunt,' etc., are recognized by the grammarians, give 'tulerint,' or 'tulerant,' [and Ribbeck thinks that 'tulerint' was the original reading of Pal. Serv. mentions a variant 'abstulerint,' which is not found in any of Ribbeck's MSS.—H. N.]

62. 'Delay no longer; if thou dost, thou wilt forfeit the love of thy parents, who are already weary with waiting, and a child whom his parents do not love can never become a hero or enjoy a hero's reward'—like Hercules, who (Hom. Od. XI 601) μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι Τέρπειαι ἐν θαλίῃσιν καὶ ἔχει καλλίσφυρον ἠβηην. Comp. also Hor. Od. IV viii 30.

['Cui:'] for this use of the dat. Landgraf compares G. III 258, III 565; A. X 745, 'olli dura quies oculos . . . urget'; very similar are E. VII 7, G. I 343, etc. It has

been usually assumed that 'risere' governs the dative, 'smiled on him,' but there is no authority for such an use.]

A remarkable various reading is preserved by Quintilian (IX 3), 'qui non risere parentes,' the point of his quotation being the change of number as exemplified in 'qui' followed by 'hunc.' The sense would agree well with 'risu cognoscere,' as just explained, but the transition from 'qui' to 'hunc' would be inexcusably harsh in a simple passage, and the construction 'ridere aliquem,' 'to smile on a person,' is not sufficiently supported by Plaut. Capt. III i 21, where some notion of mockery is intended, as a parasite is speaking. Probably Quint. found 'quoi' in his copy, and read it 'qui' rather than 'cui.' [Bonnell, in his ed. of Quintilian, conjectured 'qui non risere parenti' (see Class. Review vii 200.) As is pointed out above, there is no authority for this use of 'rideo' with dat.]

## ECLOGA V. [DAPHNIS.]

MENALCAS. MOPSUS.

MENALCAS invites Mopsus, a somewhat younger shepherd, to play and sing. Mopsus complies with a funeral song on Daphnis, the ideal shepherd. Menalcas matches it by a song on Daphnis' apotheosis. They praise each other, and exchange gifts.

In the introduction, which contrasts with that to Ecl. III, being an interchange of courtesies, not of scurrilities, Virgil follows the first Idyl of Theocritus: in the form of the singing-match, the sixth and ninth, as also to a certain extent in the conclusion. The subject of the songs, too, bears a relation to the first Idyl, where Thyrsis sings of the dying hours of Daphnis, a hero of pastoral mythology, the beloved of the nymphs, and victim of the wrath of Aphrodite. The story, which is variously related, seems to have been taken up by Virgil where the other narrators dropped it. This of itself favours the notion that Daphnis is intended to represent some other person; otherwise there would be no object in imagining an apotheosis for him. If we are to seek for any such person, it must be the dictator Caesar, an opinion which was current in the time of Servius, though [Suetonius assures us that it is Virgil's brother Flaccus who is meant, and Servius adds that others thought of Quintilius Varus (Hor. Od. I 24)] and others of the mythical Daphnis. The apotheosis would be extravagant in the case of a private individual, but answers sufficiently well to the honours decreed to Caesar soon after his death, the placing of his statue in the temple of Venus Genetrix, the change of the name of the month Quintilis to Julius, and the commemoration of his birthday in the calendar. In the preceding Eclogue Virgil has shown himself disposed to celebrate political and social regeneration under pastoral images: in Ecl. IX 46, which the mention of Daphnis, though only as a shepherd, slightly connects with the present poem, he displays his sympathy with Caesar in particular as the shepherd's supposed patron. This symbolizing is merely a result of the identification of the poet with the shepherd (see the Introduction to the Eclogues), persons and things affecting the former being described as affecting the latter, just as Gallus in Ecl. x, being the shepherd poet's friend, is made a shepherd himself; so that in unattaining it we are not, as Keightley thinks, committed to the position 'that Virgil, who was perhaps the least original poet of antiquity, was the inventor of a new species of poetry.' At the same time we need not be anxious, like certain critics mentioned by Servius, to find a meaning in every detail, as if the lions and tigers stood for the nations subdued by Caesar, or the lovely flock which Daphnis fed for the Roman people.

The date of the Eclogue can only be fixed with reference to Ecl. II and III (see v. 86), which are earlier than it, but we may conjecture that it was written soon after the order by the triumvirs for the commemoration of Caesar's birthday, in 42. [Thilo points out, further, that Cornificius, who criticised v. 36, died in 41.] Virgil seems to identify himself with Menalcas, as in Ecl. IX. Servius finds an historical counterpart for Mopsus in Aemilius Macer, a poet of Verona. The scenery is again from Theocritus. For the structure of the poem see Introduction to Ecl. VIII.



*Me.* CUR non, Mopse, boni quoniam convenimus ambo,  
tu calamos inflare levis, ego dicere versus,  
hic corylis mixtas inter consedimus ulmos?

*Mo.* Tu maior; tibi me est aecum parere, Menalca,  
sive sub incertas Zephyris motantibus umbras, 5  
sive antro potius succedimus. aspice, ut antrum  
silvestris raris sparsit labrusca racemis.

*Me.* Montibus in nostris solus tibi certat Amyntas.

*Mo.* Quid, si idem certet Phoebum superare canendo?

*Me.* Incipe, Mopse, prior, si quos aut Phyllidis ignis, 10  
aut Alconis habes laudes aut iurgia Codri.

1-18. '*Me.* Suppose we play and sing in the shade here? *Mo.* Or in the cave perhaps. *Me.* You have but one rival. *Mo.* And he would rival Apollo. *Me.* Begin one of your favourite subjects. *Mo.* I have a new poem, which I would match against any of my rival's. *Me.* Do not think of him. I should never compare him with you.'

1. 'Menalca' is Virg., both here (vv. 86, 87) and in E. IX, as Tityrus was in E. I. Theocr. VIII 4, 'ἄμφω σφρίσθεν δέδαγμένω, ἄμφω ἀείδεν. With 'boni' = 'skilled,' comp. A. IX 572: 'Hic iaculo bonus.' 'Boni . . inflare,' like 'praestantior . . ciere,' A. VI 164: similar Grecisms abound in Virg. They may be explained by regarding the infinitive as a noun: see G. I 213 note.

2. So in Theocr. I 1, Thyrsis is skilled in singing, the goatherd in piping.

3. 'Consedimus' is supported by [Serv., the Berne scholia, and] all Ribbeck's MSS. except a correction in Gud. 'Considimus' was introduced by Heinsius [and accepted by Con. and Haupt]. The present appears to be usual [at least colloquially], as Plaut. Amph. I 253, 'Cur non introeo in nostram domum?' Cic. II Fam. Ep. 7, 'Cur ego non adsum?' So 'quin' is found with a present indicative.

5. 'Motantibus' is the reading of all Ribbeck's MSS., and is itself more poetical than 'mutantibus,' which Heins. approved and Burm. introduced from a few copies.

We find 'succedere sub' Caes. B. G. I 24 (where it means to go up a hill), like 'ascendere ad,' but probably Virg. in writing v. 5 meant some other word to follow 'sub umbras.'

6. Mopsus modestly suggests that the cave would be preferable.

7. 'Labrusca,' 'wild vine'—the ἡμερική

ἡβώσσα which grows over the cave of Calypso, Hom. Od. v 69. 'See yonder is the cave, embowered with wild vine.'

'Sparsit,' decks, with reference to 'raris:' possibly also pointing to the contrast between the cave and the dark clusters of the vine. Comp. II 41, 'sparsit nunc pellibus albo;' A. VII 191, 'sparsitque coloribus alas.' Heyne well remarks that we are not to press 'raris,' as the poet is not thinking of the thinness of the shade as a good or bad quality, but simply intends to give a picture, as in VII 46, 'Et quae vos rara viridis tegit arbutus umbra.'

8. Menalca compliments Mopsus as they walk together towards the cave. 'Certat' Rom. 'certet' Pal. The indicative is clearly required by the sense. 'Certet' would imply that Menalca thought Amyntas comparable to Mopsus.

9. 'Quid si certet,' 'I suppose he will be doing so'—ironically. Wagn. cites instances of this formula, especially from Plautus and Terence e.g. Plaut. Poen. v iii 43, 'Quid si eamus illis obviam?' 'We had better go and meet them.'

10. Comp. III 52 note. 'Phyllidis ignes,' i.q. 'Phyllidis amorem,' love for Phyllis. 'Ignis' is used in Hor. Od. III vii 11 for a love: 'et miseram tuis Dicens ignibus uri.'

11. 'Habes,' III 52. 'Ἐχεις is used similarly in Greek, Aesch. Cho. 105, λέγοις ἄν, εἰ τι τῶνδ' ἔχεις ὑπέρτερον.

'Iurgia Codri,' invectives against Codrus;—the objective genitive throughout. Phyllis is a pastoral, not, as Serv. thinks, an historical person; though there would be nothing inappropriate in itself in making Mopsus' song legendary, like Silenus' in the next Ecl. and several of the Idyls of Theocritus. So Alcon may

incipere; pascentis servabit Tityrus haedos.

*Mo.* Immo haec, in viridi nuper quae cortice fagi  
carmina descripsi et modulans alterna notavi,  
experiar: tu deinde iubeto ut certet Amyntas. 15

*Me.* Lenta salix quantum pallenti cedit olivae,  
puniceis humilis quantum saliuunca rosetis,  
iudicio nostro tantum tibi cedit Amyntas.

*Mo.* Sed tu desine plura, puer; successimus antro.  
Extinctum Nymphae crudeli funere Daphnim 20  
flebant; vos coryli testes et flumina Nymphis;  
cum complexa sui corpus miserabile nati  
atque deos atque astra vocat crudelia mater.

be either the sculptor of Ov. M. XIII 683, etc., the Spartan hero, or the archer of Val. Fl. I 399. Codrus is doubtless the same as in VII 22, 26, where he is the favourite of Corydon, the enemy of Thyrsis. There is no inconsistency in this transition from legendary to feigned personages. The subject in each case is pastoral: the hero may or may not be.

12. 'Tityrus,' another herdsman. In Theocr. I 14 Thyrsis offers to look after the goats himself, while the goatherd is piping to him.

13. Voss takes 'cortice' of bark stripped from the tree, but 'viridi' is against this. Spohn refers to Calpurnius I 33 foll., where fifty-six verses are represented as having been cut on a tree, and to E. X 53, note.

14. 'Setting them to music ('modulans') marked the alternations of the flute and voice ('alterna notavi'), [or perhaps 'the alternation of song': see III 59; VII 19].

15. Mopsus still feels the mention of Amyntas, so Menalcas reassures him. Pal., Gud., etc., omit 'ut:' but Lachm. on Prop. III vi 43 thinks the elision necessary on grounds of euphony, so I have not disturbed the received reading.

16, 17. Theocr. v 92. 'We must recollect that the leaves of the willow and the olive are of the same form, and of the same pale green colour, while the difference in the value of the trees is immense. The "saluunca," or Celtic reed, in like manner resembles the rose in odour, but is so brittle that it could not be woven into garlands, the great use made of the rose by the ancients.' Keightley.

19-44. '*Mo.* Here we are in the cave.—A Daphnis' death the nymphs wept—

his mother clasped his body and called reproachfully on heaven—the cattle were not fed or watered—the very lions roared out their grief. Yes—he was the tamer of tigers, the founder of the rural worship of Bacchus—he was the glory of his friends—now that he is gone, there is a curse on the land, and weeds spring where good seed was sown. Let us make his tomb and write his epitaph.'

19. 'Desine plura,' a confusion of 'desine loqui' and 'parce plura loqui.' Ribbeck's MSS. give this line to Menalcas: but on such a point their authority is worth little. [Bentley, Ribbeck, Thilo, however, follow them.]

20. Daphnis, the ideal shepherd, may here allegorically represent Julius Caesar; see the Introduction. Daphnis was the favourite of the nymphs. Theocr. I 66, 141. ['Daphnis' Rom.—H. N.]

21. 'Flebant' with a pause after it, at the beginning of the verse, as in A. VI 213, to give a melancholy effect.

23. 'Atque—atque' seems to be for 'et—et,' as in Sil. I 93, 'Hic crine effuso atque Ennaeae numina divae Atque Acheronta vocat Stygia cum veste sacerdos.' [These seem to be the only two exx.; see G. III 257. The present line looks like an experiment for effect.] To take 'complexa' as a finite verb would be somewhat tame.

'Crudelia' is best taken with 'vocat,' as Wagn., 'denounces their cruelty aloud.' 'Astra,' the birth-star. If Caesar is Daphnis, contrast IX 46 foll., where Caesar has his own constellation. The position of 'mater' at the end of the sentence must not be overlooked in translation. Perhaps we may render 'while his mother, clasping to her heart the



non ulli pastos illis egere diebus  
 frigida, Daphni, boves ad flumina; nulla nec amnem 25  
 libavit quadrupes nec graminis attigit herbam.  
 Daphni, tuum Poenos etiam ingemuisse leones  
 interitum montesque feri silvaeque locuntur.  
 Daphnis et Armenias curru subiungere tigris  
 instituit, Daphnis thiasos inducere Bacchi 30  
 et foliis lentas intexere mollibus hastas.  
 vitis ut arboribus decori est, ut vitibus uvae,  
 ut gregibus tauri, segetes ut pinguibus arvis,  
 tu decus omne tuis. postquam te fata tulerunt,  
 ipsa Pales agros atque ipse reliquit Apollo. 35  
 grandia saepe quibus mandavimus hordea sulcis,

piteous corpse of her son, is crying out on the cruelty of the gods and the stars as only a mother can.'

24. The variety of expression seems to show that the meaning is, the herdsmen did not think of feeding or watering their cattle, and the cattle cared nothing for food or water. This is confirmed by the sympathy of the lions, v. 27. The whole passage to v. 29 coincides with Theocr. I 71-75, though the words are not similar; there is also a general resemblance to Mosch. III 23 foll.

25. For 'nulla nec—nec,' comp. IV 55.

26. 'Libavit,' 'attigit,' did not taste or touch, much less drink or eat.

'Graminis herbam,' 'herba' being the generic term, as in 'herba frumenti.'

27. Suetonius, Jul. 81, says that among the signs given to Caesar of his approaching death, the herds of horses which he had consecrated to the gods at the passage of the Rubicon, and left, as sacred animals, to range at large, refused to feed and shed floods of tears. Some find in 'Poenos' an historical allusion to Caesar's design of restoring Carthage: but the lions and the impropriety of introducing them (there being no lions in Sicily) are due to Theocr. I 72, and 'Poenos' is a literary epithet; see note on I 54. Rom. has 'gemuisse.'

28. Instances of 'loquor' for 'dico' in Cicero are given by Forc. Here however the word is emphatic: the mountains and woods echoed, and so told of the howling of the lions. Pal. has 'ferunt' for 'feri,' and appears originally to have confused 'silvae' with 'silvas.' Markland conj. 'montisque feros silvasque,' which Porson

approved: but the common reading, as explained above, amply justifies itself.

29. 'Curru subiungere tigris,' like Bacchus. Daphnis teaching the swains to celebrate the 'Liberalia' is an emblem of the civil reforms of Caesar. For the 'Liberalia' see G. II 380 foll., and Dict. A. [Serv., however, says that Caesar literally introduced the rites of Liber: 'hoc aperte ad Caesarem pertinet, quem constat primum sacra Liberi patris transulisse Romam.'—H. N.]

30. 'Inducere' is 'to introduce.'

31. They are called 'molles thyrsi' again in A. VII 390. 'Mollibus' probably means waving: see IV 28.

32, 33. Theocr. VIII 79, *τῆ δρυὶ ται βάλανοι κόσμος, τῆ μαλίδι μάλα: τῆ βοῖ δ' ἄ μύσχος, τῆ βωκόλω αἱ βόες αἰνταί.* Comp. also Id. XVIII 29 foll. For 'arboribus,' the supporters of the vine, see G. II 89 note. The mention of the vine seems suggested by the rites of Bacchus.

34. 'Tulerunt': Heyne compares Hom. II. II 302, *ὄς μὴ κῆρες ἔβαν θανάτω φέρουσαι.* The word occurs again with 'fata' in a different sense, A. II 34 note.

35. Apollo Nomius is joined with Pales G. III 1. Keightley remarks on the impropriety of associating a purely Italian with a Greek deity—a specimen of the confusion which we find in the Eclogues generally, and indeed in the whole of Roman culture.

36. Large grains were selected for seed, G. I 197, as Voss observes; but the force of the epithet lies in the contrast between the promise of grain and the performance of weeds. The use of the plural

infelix lolium et steriles nascuntur avenae ;  
 pro molli viola, pro purpurea narcisso,  
 carduus et spinis surgit paliurus acutis.  
 spargite humum foliis, inducite fontibus umbras, 40  
 pastores ; mandat fieri sibi talia Daphnis ;  
 et tumulum facite, et tumulo superaddite carmen :  
 'Daphnis ego in silvis, hinc usque ad sidera notus,

'hordea' was ridiculed by Bavius and Maevius [or, according to Cledonius, p. 43 K., by Cornificius Gallus] in the line 'Hordea qui dixit, superest ut tritica dicat,' quoted by Serv. on G. I 210, where the offence is repeated. It is noticed by Quint. I v 16, 'Hordea et mulsula non alio vitiosa sunt, quam quod singularia pluraliter efferunt ;' Pliny however uses it, xviii 56.

37. Theophrastus on Plants, VIII 7, and Pliny, xviii 149, are referred to by Voss, following Pierius, for the belief that barley actually degenerated into darnel and wild oats.

'Infelix' is 'infecundus,' like 'steriles' ('infelix oleaster,' G. II 314), without reference to the pernicious properties of darnel, which affects the head when ground into flour. Pliny, l. c., says 'Lolium et tribulus et carduus lappasque non magis quam rubos inter frugum morbos potius quam inter ipsius terrae pestes annumeraverim.'

The old reading was 'dominantur,' as in G. I 154 : but 'nascuntur' is found in all Ribbeck's MSS. but one cursive. The difference of the passages quite accounts for the change of word : Virg. is here speaking of weeds growing *instead* of barley [comp. Cic. de Fin. v 91, Cato R. R. xxxvii 5.—H. N.], there of their growing *among* the corn. 'Lolium' and 'avena' are coupled by Ov. F. I 691.

38. 'The bane has fallen not only on the fields, but on the garden.' 'Molli' is opposed to the sharp and prickly thistle and Christ's thorn. Rom. has 'violae.'

Ribbeck adopts 'purpurea' from Diomedes 453 K. [Rom., Pal., etc., have 'purpureo,' which Thilo and others accept, and which Serv. approves. In Theocr. I 134 the word is fem.]

'Purpureus' is applied to any bright colour. So 'purpureis ales oloribus,' Hor. Od. IV i 10 ; 'purpurea candidiora nive,' Albinovanus II 62 ; 'purpureum lumen,' A. I 590, VI 540. Here it

is used of the white narcissus. There was however a narcissus with a purple calyx (Pliny XXI 25) : and so the Ciris, v. 96, has 'suave rubens narcissus.'

39. 'Paliurus,' Christ's thorn, a prickly shrub common in south Italy, recommended by Columella for quickset hedges. In Theocr. I 132 foll. (imitated closely E. VIII 52) Daphnis' dying prayer is that thorns may produce violets, and juniper-bushes narcissus—not that a blight may fall on things, but that the course of nature may be changed.

40. This line is alluded to in IX 19, 'quis humum florentibus herbis Spargeret aut viridi fontis induceret umbra ?' Hence it would seem that 'foliis' should be interpreted flowers, and 'umbras' ('viridi umbra') as trees. 'Sow the turf with flowers and plant trees beside (overshadowing) the spring,' as fitting monuments of Daphnis ('mandat fieri sibi talia Daphnis'). Φύλλα is used for flowers, Theocr. XI 26, xviii 39.

'Spargite' may be either sow or deck : the sower may be said either to sow the seed directly, or to adorn the turf indirectly with the flower when sprung up. The latter is supported by Lucr. II 33, 'anni Tempora conspergunt viridantis floribus herbas,' the parallel passage to which, v 1396, has 'pingebant.' It may be meant that Daphnis is to be buried under the trees. Wagn. quotes Cul. 387 foll. (of the grave of the Culex), 'Rivum propter aquae viridi sub fronde latentem Conformare locum capit impiger.'

41. With 'mandat,' as applied to this injunction bequeathed by the dead Daphnis, comp. A. XI 815, 'mandata novissima perfer.'

42. 'Tumulum—tumulo' repeated as in A. VI 380.

43. Theocr. I 120. 'In silvis' answers to ὄρε. 'Hinc usque ad sidera,' 'from here to the stars,' is rather a flat expression. The exaggeration is paralleled by Heyne from Theocr. VII 93 ; otherwise it



formonsi pecoris custos, formonsior ipse.'

*Me.* Tale tuum carmen nobis, divine poeta, 45

quale sopor fessis in gramine, quale per aestum  
dulcis aquae saliente sitim restinguere rivo.

nec calamis solum aequiperas, set voce magistrum.

fortunate puer, tu nunc eris alter ab illo.

nos tamen haec quocumque modo tibi nostra vicissim 50  
dicemus, Daphninq̄ tuum tollemus ad astra ;

Daphnin ad astra feremus : amavit nos quoque Daphnis.

*Mo.* An quicquam nobis tali sit munere maius ?

et puer ipse fuit cantari dignus, et ista

iam pridem Stimichon laudavit carmina nobis. 55

*Me.* Candidus insuetum miratur limen Olympi

seems to refer to Caesar rather than to the ideal Daphnis.

44. ['Formonsi,' 'formonsior,' Pal. originally.—H. N. See i 5 note.]

45-52. '*Me.* Your singing refreshes my very heart ; your singing no less than your playing. The bucolic crown has descended to you. I will venture however to reply with a song on Daphnis as a god.'

45. Imitated generally from Theocr. i i foll., VIII 81. One inferior MS. and a quotation in Probus give 'nobis carmen,' which Ribbeck adopts in deference to Lachm. on Prop. i vi 25. Voss had already made the change, which is approved by Wund. On the question of euphony there may be a difference of opinion : on that of authority there can be none, especially as the reading of the mass of MSS. is supported by quotations in Priscian and Rufinianus.

46. Theocr. VIII 78. 'Per aestum' answers to 'fessis,' as that to 'nobis.' Rom. has 'lassis.'

48. A compliment to Mopsus, whom he had previously praised for his piping, v. 2. 'Magistrum' can hardly be any one but Daphnis, whose minstrelsy is praised by Theocr. l. c. So Moschus speaks of himself (III 103) as having inherited the Doric Muse from Bion.

49. Menalcas speaks with admiring envy, having before spoken of his own singing in comparison with Mopsus' piping. With 'alter ab illo' comp. 'alter ab undecimo,' VIII 39 note. Rom. has 'alter Apollo,' a singular variety.

50. 'Vicissim : ' III 28 note (p. 46).

51. 'Tollemus ad astra' may be said only in the same sense as 'ad sidera notus' (v. 43), and 'ferent ad sidera,' IX 29,—'praise up to the skies,'—but more probably it means 'celebrate his ascent to heaven,' referring to the apotheosis of Caesar. Comp. vv. 56 foll., A. III 158.

52. ['Daphnim' Pal. Gud. and two of Ribbeck's cursives.—H. N.]

53-55. '*Mo.* By all means — the theme is a worthy one, and I know your powers.'

53. 'Tali munere,' your promised boon of song. 'Nobis' answers to 'nobis,' v. 45.

54. 'Ista carmina,' these strains of yours, not necessarily implying that the verses which follow had been known and praised already.

56-80. '*Me.* Daphnis is in heaven ; the shepherds and their gods rejoice ; the beasts are at peace ; the mountains proclaim him god ; he shall be honoured with libations, song and dance, as long as the course of nature remains the same, even as we honour Bacchus and Ceres.

56. 'Candidus,' in his (divine) beauty. [Catull. LXVIII b. 30, 'quo mea se molli candida diva pede intulit.'—H. N.] 'Candida Dido,' A. v 571. 'Candide Bassareu,' Hor. Od. i xviii 11.

'Limen Olympi : ' comp. Il. i 591, ἀπὸ βηλοῦ θεσπεσίοιο, and the later use of βηλός for the heaven. Mr. Blackburn remarks on the coincidence with the Hebrew division of the three heavens, the first being the terrestrial atmosphere, 'nubes ;' the second the region of the stars, 'sidera ;' the third, as here, the abode of the Deity.

sub pedibusque videt nubes et sidera Daphnis.  
 ergo alacris silvas et cetera rura voluptas  
 Panaque pastoresque tenet Dryadasque puellas.  
 nec lupus insidias pecori, nec retia cervis 60  
 ulla dolum meditantur; amat bonus otia Daphnis.  
 ipsi laetitia voces ad sidera iactant  
 intonsi montes; ipsae iam carmina rupes,  
 ipsa sonant arbusta; deus, deus ille, Menalca!  
 sis bonus o felixque tuis! en quattuor aras: 65  
 ecce duas tibi, Daphni, duas altaria Phoebo.

58. All nature rejoices at his apotheosis, as all nature had mourned at his death. The frisking of Pan and the Dryades answers to the weeping of the nymphs and the departure of Pales and Apollo. We must understand Menalcas as describing a state which is just beginning or about to begin: but this will hardly excuse the impropriety of representing two such different scenes as both belonging to present time, and thus compelling us to think of each as existing only in the minds of the two shepherds.

'Alacris' denotes the frisking and dancing of Pan and the swains, 'frolic glee.'  
 'Cetera,' because 'rus' includes pastures. [The word has not unnaturally been criticised as feeble, but no good emendation has been proposed.]

59. Virg. adopts the Greek form, 'Dryadas;' 'Hyadas,' A. I 744; 'Phaetontiad,' E. VI 62. [Rom. 'Dryades.']

60. The features of the description are taken from the golden age, as in E. IV. Comp. Theocr. XXIV 84.

61. 'Otia' as in I 6. 'Bonus,' of deities, as in V 65, A. XII 647.

62. The mountains and woods resound cries of joy, as before (v. 28) they resounded groans of sorrow. The words are from Lucr. II 327 foll., 'clamoreque montes Icti reiectant voces ad sidera mundi.' Virg. means to attribute the joy to the mountains themselves, as in X 15 they are made to weep: but there may be a secondary reference to the actual mourners. 'Even the traveller on the mountain, even the vine-dresser under the rock (I 56), shouts and sings for joy in my ears.'

63. 'Intonsi,' with all their forests. (Serv. 'incaedui.') 'Intonsaque caelo Attollunt capita,' A. IX 681, of oaks. The primary notion here is that the wild-

ness of the mountains makes the demonstration more marked. But it is possible that we may be meant to conceive of them as exulting in their shaggy strength now that a state of nature is restored, as in Isaiah XIV 7, 8, 'The whole earth is at rest and is quiet, they break forth into singing: yea, the fir-trees rejoice at thee, and the cedars of Lebanon, saying, Since thou art laid down, no feller is come up against us.'

64. 'Sonant carmina:' comp. Hor. Od. II xiii 26, 'Et te sonantem plenius aureo, Alcaee, plectro dura navis, Dura fugae mala, dura belli.'

'Deus, deus ille, Menalca,' is what the rocks and woods utter. 'We have a new god, a new god, Menalcas.' Forb. comp. Lucr. v 8, 'deus ille fuit, deus, inclute Memmi.'

65. 'Sis felix,' A I 330.

66. ['Ecce' with acc., common in early Latin, occurs here only in Augustan Latin: Wölfflin's Archiv v 24.]

'Altaria:' [Serv. mentions that some took 'altaria' to mean 'offerings:' a sense which it certainly seems to bear in Lucan III 404, 'structae diris altaribus arae.' Comp. Virg. E. VIII 105, A. v 93, XII 174. See Contributions to Latin Lexicography, p. 140. 'Four altars, as offerings, two to thee, two to Phoebus.'—H. N.] Or it may be that Daphnis, as a hero, has only libations offered to him, not victims.

'Duas altaria Phoebo:' Apollo is associated with Daphnis as the god both of herdsmen (above, v. 35) and poets. He is as naturally associated with Caesar, whose birthday fell on the Ludi Apollinares (3 Id. Jul.), but as the Sibylline books forbade the rites of any other god to be celebrated at the same time with those of Apollo,



pocula bina novo spumantia lacte quodannis  
 craterasque duo statuam tibi pinguis olivi,  
 et multo in primis hilarans convivia Baccho,  
 ante focum, si frigus erit, si messis, in umbra, 70  
 vina novum fundam calathis Ariusia nectar.  
 cantabunt mihi Damoetas et Lyctius Aegon;  
 saltantis Satyros imitabitur Alpheisiboeus.  
 haec tibi semper erunt, et cum sollemnia vota

the birthday was kept 4 Id. Iul., the day before the Ludi Apollinares began.

The present reading was restored by Heins. from the best MSS., for 'duoque altaria,' which is supported only by Serv. on A. III 305.

67. These offerings are from Theocr. v 53, 57, where they are made to the nymphs and Pan. 'Bina,' two in the year: see below, v. 70. No distinction is meant between 'pocula bina' and 'duo crateres,' as the passage in Theocr. shows.

68. Some editors have 'crateres:' but Virg. follows throughout the Greek form, of which 'crateras' is the acc. pl. Wagn. ['Duo,' not 'duos,' is the true reading, attested by Serv. ('duo vetuste dixit'), Non. p. 547, Pal. Rom. and Gud.—H. N., see VI 18.]

'Statuere' is appropriate both to 'crateras' (from the size of the 'crater'), and to the act of sacrificing. A. I 728, 'Crateras magnos statuunt.' Hor. S. II iii 199, 'pro vitula status dulcem Aulide natam Ante aras.' The milk would be appropriate to spring, the oil to autumn, as Wagn. remarks, comparing Suet. Aug. 31, where it is said that Augustus ordered the 'compitales Lares' to be crowned twice a year, with spring and summer flowers. 'Olivum' for 'oleum' is poetical.

69. Theocr. VII 63. 'In primis,' because he had previously mentioned milk and oil. 'Convivia,' the feast after the sacrifice.

It is just possible that 'multo' might be an error for 'mulso' (see note on G. I 344): but 'multo Baccho' occurs again G. II 190.

70. 'Si frigus—si messis,' it is not easy to determine the festivals indicated by these two seasons. Virg. appears to have had some definite reference in his mind, from his language in vv. 67, 68, 74, 75. The latter passage speaks of a festival to the nymphs, and another at the 'lustratio

agrorum.' The second is evidently the 'Ambarvalia,' described G. I 338 foll.; the first is rather Sicilian than Italian, the nymphs, as Keightley remarks, not forming a part of the old Roman mythology, while sacrifices to them are frequently mentioned by Theocritus, though he nowhere speaks of an annual festival in their honour. Yet it is difficult to identify either 'frigus' or 'messis' with 'Ambarvalia.' They took place 'extremae sub casum hiemis, iam vere sereno,' when 'densae in montibus umbrae' (Virg. l.c.), i.e. towards the end of April: yet they could hardly be indicated by 'messis,' as they were expressly intended to commend the young crops to Ceres some time before the harvest, and are distinguished as such from another festival at or after the harvest (Tibull. II i 21 foll.). There were certain 'messis feriae' (Dict. A. 'Feriae'), which took place in the summer. The Lares were adored at the 'Ambarvalia' (Tibull. I i 19, II i 17), and Caesar was adored as one of the Lares, the Roman way of canonizing heroes. See Hor. Od. IV v 31 foll.

71. Ariusia in Chios was famous for its wine, [ἀριστος τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν (Strabo 645, Pliny XIV 73). Greek wines were familiar in Italy before and in Virg.'s time, but the epithet here may be merely literary. 'Novum nectar' would naturally mean 'new-made wine,' but the appropriateness of the idea is not obvious. Serv. paraphrases 'magna dulcedo.']

'Calathus' (more commonly a work-basket, or wool-basket) is a cup here and Mart. IX 60, XIV 107.

72, 73. Theocr. VII 71, 72. 'Det motus inkompositos et carmina dicat,' G. I 350.

'Lyctius,' Lycta, in Crete, A. III 401, of Idomeneus. The supposed joy of the woodland deities (v. 58, comp. VI 27) is imitated by the shepherds.

- reddemus Nymphis, et cum lustrabimus agris. 75  
 dum iuga montis aper, fluvios dum piscis amabit,  
 dumque thymo pascentur apes, dum rore cicadae,  
 semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt.  
 ut Baccho Cererique, tibi sic vota quodannis  
 agricolae facient; damnabis tu quoque votis. 80
- Mo.* Quae tibi, quae tali reddam pro carmine dona?  
 nam neque me tantum venientis sibilus austri,  
 nec percussa iuvant fluctu tam litora, nec quae  
 saxosas inter decurrunt flumina valles.
- Me.* Hac te nos fragili donabimus ante cicuta. 85  
 haec nos, 'Formosum Corydon ardebat Alexim,'  
 haec eadem docuit, 'Cuium pecus? an Meliboei?'
- Mo.* At tu sume pedum, quod, me cum saepe rogaret,

75. Theocr. v 53. See note on v. 70.

76. An appeal to the uniformity of nature, as in I 59, not altogether consistent with the language in which (v. 60, note) he makes a breach of this uniformity a mark of the golden age just beginning.

77. 'Rore cicadae,' *τεριξ* . . . *ὅ τε ποίσις καὶ βρώσις θήλυς ἔρση*, Hesiod, Shield, 393 foll. Theocr. iv 16. Anacr. XLIII 3.

78. Repeated A. I 609, in a similar connexion.

79. Bacchus and Ceres are mentioned as the chief patrons of the husbandman. Comp. G. I 5, Tibull. II i 3, 'Bacche, veni dulcisque tuis e cornibus uva Pendeat, et spicis tempora cinge, Ceres' (of the 'Ambarvalia'), and see on G. I 344. ['Quodannis' Rom., 'quotannis' Pal.—H. N.]

80. 'You will grant prayers, and thus bind the suppliant to keep his vow.' 'Damnatus voto' occurs in a fragm. of Sisenna ap. Non. p. 277, 13; 'damnatus voti' Liv. x 37, xxvii 45, like 'voti reus,' A. v 237, just as 'damnatus capitis' and 'capite' are used indifferently. Comp. the use of 'damno' in giving legacies and imposing penalties by will, e.g. Hor. S. II iii 86.

81-84. *Mo.* How am I to reward you for a song which is sweeter than anything in nature?

82. 'Sibilus austri' is the *ψιθύρισμα* of Theocr. I I, the breeze getting up ('venientis') and rustling through the branches.

Lucr. v 1382 has 'Zephyri sibila' in a passage which Virg. may have thought of, as it ascribes the origin of the pastoral pipe to the winds whistling through the reeds.

83, 84. Theocr. I 7, 8, 'Ἄδιον, ὦ ποιμῖν, τὸ τεὸν μέλος, ἢ τὸ καταχίς Τῆν' ἀπὸ τῶν πέτρας καταλείβεται ἠψόθεν ὕδωρ.'

85-87. *Me.* I will give you this pipe, which has played several not unknown strains.'

85. 'Ante,' first—before I receive any thing from you, v. 81. Voss observes that Menalcas both depreciates and commends his gift, the one by the epithet 'fragilem,' the other by the mention of its performances. So 'docuit,' as if the pipe had suggested the music and the song.

86. Virg., by this allusion to his second and third Eclogues, seems to identify himself with Menalcas and his compliments to the memory of Caesar. There is something awkward in making one of the characters in this fifth Eclogue the author of the second and third; but it is in keeping with the fiction which identifies the shepherd with the pastoral poet. ['Formosum' originally Pal. and the Verona fragment; 'Alexin,' Pal.—H. N. Ver. begins here and continues to VI 21.]

88-90. *Mo.* And I will give you this handsome sheep-hook, which I once refused to one whom I loved.'

88. There is a similar exchange of presents in Theocr. VI 43, and in VII 43 one shepherd gives another a sheep-hook. [Festus, p. 249 Müller; 'pedum' est



non tulit Antigenes—et erat tum dignus amari—  
formonsum paribus nodis atque aere, Menalca. 90

baculum incurvum quo pastores utuntur ad comprehendendas oves aut capras, a pedibus : and so the Verona scholia here. —H. N.]

89. 'Ferre' is used indifferently of giving and receiving presents. 'Quod posces feres,' Plaut. Merc. II iii 106. In Greek *φέρεισθαι* is generally employed in this latter sense.

'Et erat,' as we should say, 'aye, and he was very lovable.' So G. II 125, 'Et gens illa quidem sumptis non tarda pharetris,' [A. II 110, III 615, XI 901, etc.]

'Tum,' whatever he may be now. Forb.

90. It is not clear what 'nodis atque aere' means. Voss says the 'pedum' was of knotted wood, with an iron point at one end fastened on by a ring of brass; Keightley, that it was adorned with brass rings or studs. In the latter case 'nodis atque aere' might stand for brazen studs. 'Paribus nodis' however would be more of a recommendation if the knots were natural. Forb. comp. Theocr. XVII 31, *τῷ δὲ σιδάρειον σκίταλον, κεχαραγμένον δ'ζοις*, of Hercules' club.

['Formonsum' originally Pal.—H. N.]

## ECLOGA VI. VARUS.

THE subject of this Eclogue is a cosmogonical and mythological song by Silenus, extorted from him by stratagem by two young shepherds.

The poem is addressed to P. Alfenus Varus [consul suffectus in 39 B.C.], who, according to one of several identifications quoted by Serv., was appointed to succeed Pollio in Cisalpine Gaul, after the Perusian war (a story harmonizing well with the language of this Eclogue, and also with E. IX 27). Perhaps he was also the same who is said to have been a fellow-student with Virgil under Siron the Epicurean, though this tradition may be merely an awkward attempt to give an historical basis to Silenus' song. Like the eighth Eclogue, it is an apology to his friend and patron for neglecting to celebrate his exploits, entreating him to accept a pastoral legend as a substitute. [What these exploits were is not clear. Servius says of Varus, 'Germanos vicerat, et exinde maximam fuerat et gloriam et pecuniam consecutus,' a notice which also appears in the Berne scholia, and which would perhaps deserve little attention, were it not that Virgil speaks distinctly of his friend's warlike achievements.—H. N.] The confession in v. 3 of a youthful ambition to write on heroic subjects is apparently genuine. It is supported by the story in Suetonius' biography that Virgil wished to write on Roman history, but was deterred by the subject. This aspiration may be said to have been afterwards fulfilled in the Aeneid; but the poet's judgment continued to shrink from the task of directly recording contemporary victories, though, like Horace, he amused his patrons, and perhaps himself, with the belief that he might be equal to it some day.

The legend which follows may be paralleled, if not traced to its source. As Keightley suggests, the first hint was perhaps given by the story in the fourth book of the *Odyssey*, of Menelaus binding Proteus, afterwards imitated more directly by Virgil himself in G. IV. Servius refers to a tale told by Theopompus (the historian, see Dict. Biog.) and partially cited from him by Aelian (Var. Hist. III 18), that Silenus was found drunk by some shepherds of Phrygia, bound, and carried to Midas, when his chains fell off, and he answered the king's questions 'de rebus naturalibus et antiquis.' Ovid (*M.* XI 90 foll.) briefly mentions the fact of the capture, but says nothing about any disclosures by Silenus, whom Midas restores to Bacchus, and receives in return the fatal gift of turning things to gold.

The subject of the song was perhaps traditionally connected with Silenus, who, like Proteus in G. IV (v. 393 note), seems to have had a memory for the past as well as an eye for the future—a characteristic as old as the Homeric prophets and poets, and involved in the legend which makes the Muses daughters of Mnemosyne. The cosmogonical part of it is indicative of that yearning after philosophy as a poet's province, which is fixed on Virgil by the testimony, not only of Suetonius, but of his own works, especially the close of G. II; and was encouraged doubtless by the recent example of Lucretius, as well as by the more ancient precedents of the legendary philosopher-poets and historical poet-philosophers of Greece (see also note on vv. 31-40 of this Eclogue). The general strain of the song is parallel to that of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and suggests the conjecture that Virgil may have been directly indebted to some such work as the *Ἐτεροούμενα* of Nicander, from which the poem of Ovid is supposed to have been imitated. [For the title see v. 12 note.]



PRIMA Syracosio dignata est ludere versu  
 nostra nec erubuit silvas habitare Thalea.  
 cum canerem reges et proelia, Cynthus aurem  
 vellit, et admonuit: 'Pastorem, Tityre, pinguis  
 pascere oportet ovis, deductum dicere carmen.' 5  
 nunc ego—namque super tibi erunt, qui dicere laudes,

1-12. 'I was venturing out of my pastoral strains into heroic song when Apollo warned me back. I will write you then a rural poem, Varus, and leave the celebration of your deeds to others; yet even a rural theme, I trust, will suffice to preserve your memory.

1. 'Prima' is explained by the Verona scholia either of Virg.'s claim to be the first pastoral poet of Rome, as Horace says, Ep. i xix 23, 'Parios ego primus iambos Ostendi Latio' (comp. G. II 175), or of his first as distinguished from his subsequent attempts. Of the two, the latter is doubtless recommended by the context; but he may have meant to combine both. See A. VII 118, note. With the whole passage comp. E. IV 1-3. Horace has imitated Virg. closely in Od. IV xv 1-4.

2. Rom. has 'silvis.' 'Thalea' was said by some to have been the inventress of agriculture (Schol. on Apoll. R. III 1), and was represented with a sheep-hook, as the Muse of pastoral poetry (Dict. A. 'Pedom'). ['Thalea,' Pal., Rom., Ver., followed by Ribbeck. 'Thalia,' Serv. and the cursive MSS.]

3. 'Reges et proelia' is the conventional expression for epic or heroic poetry. 'Res gestae regumque ducumque et tristia bella Quo scribi possent numero, monstravit Homerus,' Hor. A. P. 73. Comp. A. VII 41. It would include contemporary subjects (see Hor. Ep. II i 251 foll.), but not directly specify them, though vv. 6, 7 show that Varus wished Virg. to write of the civil or foreign wars of Rome.

'Aurem vellit:' was a symbolical way of reminding him of a thing, the ear being regarded as the seat of memory. Hence it was the established mode of 'antestatio,' or summoning a witness (Hor. S. i ix 77; Plin. XI 251), when it was accompanied with the words 'memento quod tu mihi in illa causa testis eris.' The action is represented on coins with the word *μνημόνευε*. Here accordingly Apollo reminds the poet of the nature of his gift. [Suetonius

says that Virg. intended in his youth to write on Roman history, but found the subject not to his liking; Serv. that his subject was to have been the exploits of the Alban kings, but that he was deterred by the roughness of the names.—H. N.]

4. Virg. is Tityrus again, as in E. 1. 'Pinguis' is a predicate, like 'deductum,' 'His sheep should be fat, but his verses slender,' at the same time that 'pinguis pascere' are to be taken together; 'pascere ut pinguescant,' as Serv. explains it. The antithesis, which is perhaps intentionally grotesque, may be compared with Hor. S. II vi 14, 'Pinguē pecus domino facias, et cetera praeter Ingenium.' [Comp. also Quint. II x 6.—H. N.]

5. 'Deductum' = 'tenuē,' an expression praised by Quint. Inst. VIII 2, as 'proprie dictum, id est, quo nihil inveniri possit significantius.' So 'vox deducta,' Lucil. in Non. CCLXXXIX 16, Afranius and Cornificius in Macrob. Sat. VI 4, Prop. III xxv 38, of a prolonged and so weak voice (comp. A. IV 463, 'longas in fletum ducere voces'). The metaphor seems to be from spinning, as in Hor. Ep. II i 225, 'tenui deducta poemata filo.' The notion of the elaborate finish, expressed there and elsewhere, is less prominent here than that of thinness; but there may have been a connexion between the two in Virg.'s mind, as there would seem to have been in the mind of Propertius (IV i 5 foll.), who contrasts the 'carmen tenuatum' of his Alexandrian masters, the 'exactus tenui pumice versus,' with the strains appropriate to heroic poetry. See Hertzberg, Quaestiones Propertianae, L. II c. vii. With 'deductum' as a predicate comp. Aesch. Ag. 620, *λίλαιμ τὰ ψευδῆ καλά*, Soph. Oed. T. 526, *τοὺς λόγους ψευδεῖς λέγου*. ['Diductum' Pal. Ver.]

6. 'Super tibi erunt,' you will have enough and to spare. 'Vereor ne mihi iam superesse verba putes,' Cic. Fam. XIII 63. 'Cupiant' contains another compliment to Varus.

Vare, tuas cupiãnt et tristia condere bella—  
 agrestem tenui meditabor harundine Musam.  
 non iniussa cano. si quis tamen haec quoque, si quis  
 captus amore leget, te nostrae, Vare, myricae, 10  
 te nemus omne canet; nec Phoebo gratior ulla est,  
 quam sibi quae Vari praescrisit pagina nomen.

Pergite, Pierides. Chromis et Mnasyllus in antro  
 Silenum pueri somno videre iacentem,  
 inflatum hesterno venas, ut semper, Iaccho: 15  
 serta procul tantum capiti delapsa iacebant,

7. 'Condere bella,' like 'condere carmen.' Forb. comp. Ov. Trist. II 336, 'Caesaris acta condere.' 'Tristia' is a perpetual epithet; see on v. 3.

8. Comp. I 2. 'Agrestem—Musam' is from Lucr. v 1398, 'agrestis enim tum Musa vigebat.'

9. 'Tamen' seems to show that 'non' belongs to 'cano,' as Voss takes it, not to 'iniussa,' as Heyne. 'Iniussa' then is a litotes, like 'inlaudati' G. III 5. 'I do not sing where I have no warrant.' [Cornutus, according to the Verona scholia, thought that 'non iniussa' referred to the command of the Muses.—H. N.]

'Si quis' is repeated like 'si forte' A. II 756, where hope and doubt are similarly expressed.

10. 'Captus amore,' G. III 285. 'Legat,' the reading of two cursives and Priscian, is preferred by Voss; but the confidence expressed by the future is not unsuited to Virg. or to the present passage. 'If I can find readers for my pastoral strains, and I feel that I shall, you will be known equally by them, for I shall sing of you.'

'Myricae,' IV 2, the humbler equivalent of what is expressed more ambitiously by 'nemus omne.' Perhaps 'nemus' may refer to the plantations, comp. VII 59. Possibly 'nostrae' (comp. 'tua,' I 46) may be meant to acknowledge Varus' protection, given or expected, of the poet's property; see IX 27 foll.

11. 'Nec—nomen' appears to give the ground of his confidence. A poem in honour of Varus, however homely its treatment, is sure to be inspired by Apollo, and read by the world.

12. 'Which has the name of Varus as its title,' showing, as Voss remarks, that Varus, not Silenus, is the true title of this Eclogue.

13-30. 'Two young shepherds once found Silenus in a drunken sleep, bound him with the help of a Naiad, and exacted from him a song which he had promised them. He begins, amid general delight.'

13. 'Pergere' is used both of continuing to do a thing and of proceeding to do what one has not done before. Here the latter is the sense. [ "'Pergite," agite.' Vergilius 'Pergite, Pierides.' Fest. p. 215.—H. N.]

It has been doubted whether Chromis and Mnasyllus are satyrs or fauns, or shepherds. In support of the former view, that of Serv., Voss remarks that the wood-gods did not commonly appear to shepherds, who were believed to be struck with madness by the sight of them. But it is easy to retort with Martyn that the word 'timidis,' v. 20, shows the adventurers to have felt their danger, while their previous acquaintance with Silenus is quite in keeping with such passages as x 24 foll., G. II 493. In the story of Theopompus (see *Introd.*), the capturers of Silenus are shepherds (as Aristaeus captures Proteus in G. IV), though on the other hand there is no previous familiarity between them and their prisoner. In the imitation by Nemesianus, Ecl. IV, Pan sings to some shepherds who have found him asleep, and Calpurnius, Ecl. VI 48, makes Mnasyllus the name of a shepherd, as Voss allows. The word 'pueri' proves nothing either way, as it may very well be a correlative of 'senex,' and so applied elsewhere to Cupid and Bacchus. ['Mnasyllus' Pal. originally, 'Mnasyllus' Rom., 'Mnasylos' Verona fragm.—H. N.]

16. 'Tantum' answers to ὅσον in such phrases as ὅσον οὐ: Virg. seems to have intended 'procul tantum' as a translation of τὴν ὅσον ἀπῶθεν, Theocr. I 45, only thus much of distance. Comp. II.



et gravis attrita pendebat cantharus ansa.  
 aggressi—nam saepe senex spe carminis ambo  
 luserat—incipiunt ipsis ex vincula sertis.  
 addit se sociam timidisque supervenit Aegle, 20  
 Aegle, Naiadum pulcherrima, iamque videnti  
 sanguineis frontem moris et tempora pingit.  
 ille dolum ridens, 'Quo vincula nectitis?' inquit.  
 'solvite me, pueri; satis est potuisse videri.  
 carmina, quae voltis, cognoscite; carmina vobis, 25  
 huic aliud mercedis erit.' simul incipit ipse.  
 tum vero in numerum Faunosque ferasque videres  
 ludere, tum rigidas motare cacumina quercus;  
 nec tantum Phoebos gaudet Parnasia rupes,  
 nec tantum Rhodope miratur et Ismarus Orphea. 30

XXIII 245, *τύμβον δ' οὐ μάλα πολλὸν ἐγὼ  
 πονέεσθαι ἄνωγα ἄλλ' ἐπιεικία τοῖον.*  
 [Serv. and the Berne scholia take 'procul'  
 as = 'prope,' and Serv. takes 'tantum'  
 with 'delapsa:' so too Voss, who  
 refers] to Val. Fl. VIII 288, 'et tantum  
 dejecta suis e montibus arbor,'—but now  
 ✓ fallen. So also Wagn. and Forb., except  
 that they make 'tantum' refer to place,  
 not to time; so that 'tantum delapsa'  
 would be equivalent to 'tantum non capiti  
 haerentia.' Possibly Virg. may have drawn  
 from some statue.

17. The 'cantharus' is represented as  
 still held by the handle, "'pendebat"  
 manibus non emissa,' as Serv. explains it.

18. 'Spe luserat,' A. I 352. [Serv.  
 notes that 'ambo' for 'ambos' is archaic,  
 like 'duo,' v 68.—H. N. See Neue-  
 Wagener Formenlehre, ii p. 279.]

19. For the position of the preposition  
 comp. v. 33 below.

20. There appears no reason to suppose  
 (with Keightley) that Aegle suggested the  
 stratagem, like Cyrene in G. IV, and Eido-  
 thea, Od. IV. She joined the shepherds  
 during their occupation and reassured  
 them; 'timidis' belongs to 'addit' no  
 less than to 'supervenit.'

21. 'Videnti,' 'vigilanti,' Serv. No  
 parallel usage of this word is quoted.

22. So Pan, x 27, 'Sanguineis ebuli  
 bacis minioque rubentem.'

23. Pal. corr. gives 'inridens.'

24. It is difficult to decide between the  
 two possible interpretations of 'satis est  
 potuisse videri,' 'satis est quod potuisse

'visi estis,' and 'satis est quod potui  
 videri.' The one is supported by A. v  
 231, 'possunt quia posse videntur,' the  
 other by A. VIII 604, 'videri iam poterat  
 legio.' If the former be true, 'videri'  
 probably would mean 'to be seen' rather  
 than 'to seem'—'it is enough to have  
 shown your power,' the sense resembling  
 that of Ov. Her. XII 76, 'Perdere posse  
 sat est, si quem iuuet ipsa potestas,' and  
 the expression being apparently almost  
 proverbial. The other interpretation re-  
 ceives some confirmation from 'videre,'  
 v. 14, and from the stress laid on the  
 privilege of beholding the gods unharmed  
 (see v. 13; IV 15, 16; x 26).

25. 'Cognoscite' = 'audite.' 'Cog-  
 nosce proecemia rixae,' Juv. III 288.

26. 'Incipit ipse,' A. x 5. Here it  
 seems to have the sense of 'ultra,' without  
 waiting for them to press him.

27. 'In numerum:' G. IV 175, Lucr. II  
 631 'Ludunt in numerumque exsultant'  
 [where Munro quotes parallels]. The  
 image is like that in v 58 foll. The pas-  
 sage seems imitated from Lucr. IV 580.

29. The mention of Parnassus, Rho-  
 dope, and Ismarus is a way of saying that  
 the mountains as well as the oaks made  
 demonstrations of joy, as v 62.

30. 'Rhodope,' G. IV 461. 'Ismarus,'  
 G. II 37. Orpheus is called 'Ismarus,'  
 Ov. Am. III ix 21.

'Miratur:' Rom. and some cursive MSS.  
 have 'mirantur,' but Wagn. recalls the old  
 reading, which is perhaps more Virgilian.  
 The substitution of plural verbs for singular

namque canebat, uti magnum per inane coacta  
 semina terrarumque animaeque marisque fuissent  
 et liquidi simul ignis; ut his exordia primis  
 omnia et ipse tener mundi concreverit orbis;  
 tum durare solum et discludere Nerea ponto  
 coeperit et rerum paulatim sumere formas;

35

is common even in the best MSS. in passages where sense and grammar would suffer by the change (see Wagn. *Quaestiones Verg.* 8); so external authority in such cases goes for little. Comp. x 60.

'Orphea' is doubtless a dissyllable; see on G. i 279.

31-40. Silenus' song. He begins by describing the formation of the world from the four elements, the separation of land and water, and of the sky from the earth, and the production of vegetable and animal life. This opening seems imitated from the beginning of the song of Orpheus in *Apoll. R.* i 496 foll., as Ursinus remarks, though the cosmogony here is Epicurean, and the phraseology Lucretian. That Virg. knew the passage in *Apoll.* is shown by his imitation of it in *Iopas'* song, A. i 742.

31. 'Magnum inane' and 'semina' are Lucretian expressions, the void and the atoms which were supposed to move in it. Lucretius did not allow that the four elements were the ultimate causes of things (i 715): so that 'semina terrarum,' etc., are, as Mr. Munro remarks, the atoms out of which the four elements are formed, as 'semina rerum,' *Lucr.* i 54, are the atoms out of which aggregate things are formed.

32. 'Animae' for 'air,' is also Lucretian, i 715, etc.

33. 'Liquidi ignis,' *Lucr.* vi 205. ['Ordia,' *Lucr.* iv 28. The position of 'ex' is also from *Lucr.* iii 10, 'tuis ex, inclute, chartis;' iv 829, 'validis ex apta lacertis;' comp. v. 19 above and Munro on *Lucr.* i 841, who notes that *Lucr.* is fond of this order—adj. prepos. and then a word intervening between it and the subst.

The text is Mr. Nettleship's conjecture. Pal. reads 'ex omnia,' the other MSS. and Serv. 'exordia.'

'Primis' pro principiis Serv. Comp. *Lucr.* i 61, 'ex illis sunt omnia primis.'—H. N.]

The general drift of the passage, the

production of the world by the separation of the so-called elements, is from *Lucr.* v 416-508.

34. 'Mundus' is best taken with Mr. Munro of the aether alone, 'ipse,' as he suggests, being possibly 'a reminiscence of the "Inde mare, inde aer, inde aether ignifer ipse" of *Lucr.* (v 498), as if the aether were the most wonderful production of all, and the formation of its orb first ended chaos.'

'Tener' is apparently opposed to 'aridus,' *Lucr.* i 809; so here it expresses the fusile nature of an early formation, as contrasted with 'durare solum,' v. 35. Wagn. refers to *Lucr.* v 780, 'mundi novitatem et mollia terrae Arva.' This suits with 'concreverit.'

35. 'Tum' goes with 'coeperit,' not with 'canebat.' 'Durare' is a transitive verb used intransitively, a frequent habit with Virg., though there appears to be no other instance where 'durare' quite = 'durescere.' [Serv. says 'durare' may be taken either transitively or intransitively: if transitively, the words 'et discludere'—'sumere formas' will refer to 'mundi orbis': if intransitively, to 'solum.'—H. N.]

'Discludere' (*Lucr.* v 438), 'to shut up apart in the sea,' as if Nereus were independent of the sea, and the sea had itself existed before the creation. Comp. the personification of Nereus, *Pers.* i 94, where it seems meant to be ridiculous. The sense is abridged from *Lucr.* v 480 foll., as Mr. Munro remarks.

36. 'Formas rerum' expresses generally what is developed in detail vv. 37-40. 'Shapes' are opposed to the shapeless chaos; there may be force too in the plural, as a characteristic of chaos was its uniformity. 'Unus erat toto naturae vultus in orbe, Quem dixere Chaos,' *Ov. M.* i 6. Comp. also ib. vv. 87, 88, which form a comment on Virg.'s words, 'Sic modo quae fuerat rudis et sine imagine tellus Inquiet ignotas hominum conversa figuras.'



iamque novum terrae stupeant lucescere solem  
 \* altius, atque cadant summotis nubibus imbres,  
 incipiant silvae cum primum surgere, cumque  
 rara per ignaros errent animalia montis. 40  
 hinc lapides Pyrrhae iactos, Saturnia regna,  
 Caucasiasque refert volucres furtumque Promethei.  
 his adiungit, Hylan nautae quo fonte relictum  
 clamassent, ut litus, Hyla, Hyla, omne sonaret ;

37. The sun is developed, and an atmosphere formed. Comp. *Lucr.* v 471. The words of *Virg.* must not be pressed, so as to make him mean that the sun found its place later than the earth, and thus contradict *Lucretius*.

38. In the absence of instances of the trajectory of 'atque' in *Virg.* it is safest to point with *Wagn.* and *Mr. Munro* after 'altius.' The force of 'altius' will then be 'higher than before,' when the elements of the sun and moon were not yet disengaged from those of the earth ; or the comparative may indicate the gradual elevation of the sun into its place.

'Atque cadant summotis nubibus imbres.' 'These words have nothing to correspond to them in that part of *Lucr.* which we have been considering, but are quite in accordance with his long account of the way in which clouds are formed in VI 451 foll. The vaporous particles would withdraw from the earth, and, taking up a position between it and the sun and moon, would be able to descend in rain' (*Munro*). For 'atque' *Rom.* has 'utque,' which *Ribbeck* accepts.

40. 'Rara' as if they were produced one by one, so that they would not at first overrun the mountains.

'Ignaros' is restored by *Wagn.* from at least one good MS. (*Rom.*) for 'ignotos' [*Pal.*, *Gud.*, II, etc.], as more poetical, the strangeness being supposed to be reciprocal, as in A. X 706 note. This seems better than to suppose 'ignarus' to be used passively, as in *Sallust*, *Ovid*, and *Tacitus*. The whole line is probably imitated from *Lucr.* v 822, 'Terra . . . animal prope certo tempore fudit Omne quod in magnis bacchatur montibus passim.' Hence 'animalia' is to be confined to beasts, the creation of man being mentioned in 41.

41-60. He tells of the creation and early history of man, *Deucalion*, *Saturn*,

and *Prometheus*—also of *Hylas*, and of *Pasiphae* and her passion—how she followed the bull in vain through the mountains, beseeching the wood nymphs to intercept him. This mythology is a strange sequel to the quasi-Epicurean cosmogony : but there is nothing unnatural in making a cosmogony of some kind precede the legendary history of the world, as in *Ovid's Metamorphoses*. There seems to be no principle in the choice of the legends, or in the different degrees of prominence given to each, e.g., the details about *Pasiphae* as compared with the brief mention of the earlier stories. [*Serv.* mentions that critics found fault with *Virg.* 'nam relictis prudentibus rebus de mundi origine, subito ad fabulas transitum fecit.'—*H. N.*]

41. The peopling of the world by *Pyrrha*, the reign of *Saturn*, and the punishment and crime of *Prometheus*, are mentioned without regard to chronological order ; the first was really the latest in time, *Pyrrha* being the niece and daughter-in-law of *Prometheus* (*Ov. M.* 1 390). It is very possible however that *Virg.* intends to represent *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha* as the actual creators of mankind, in which case the reign of *Saturn* and the story of *Prometheus* would naturally follow them, either from a confusion of his own, or on the authority of a different series of legends.

'Saturnia regna' is not in apposition to 'lapides *Pyrrhae* iactos,' but a distinct item in the enumeration (as *Jahn* rightly remarks against *Wagner*).

42. 'Volucres' for the single eagle, which formed part of the punishment of *Prometheus*.

43. The tale of *Hylas* from the legend of the *Argonauts*, given by *Apollonius*, *Theocritus*, and *Propertius*.

'Quo' for 'quomodo' (1 53 note) ; the identification of the actual fountain would not enter into the song.

44. [For the scansion, comp. II 65.]

et fortunatam, si numquam armenta fuissent, 45  
 Pasiphaen nivei solatur amore iuveni.  
 a, virgo infelix, quae te dementia cepit?  
 Proetides inplerunt falsis mugitibus agros:  
 at non tam turpis pecudum tamen ulla secuta  
 concubitus, quamvis collo timuisset aratrum 50  
 et saepe in levi quaesisset cornua fronte.  
 a, virgo infelix, tu nunc in montibus erras:  
 ille, latus niveum molli fultus hyacintho,  
 ilice sub nigra pallentis ruminat herbas,  
 aut aliquam in magno sequitur grege. claudite,  
 Nymphae, 55  
 Dictaeae Nymphae, nemorum iam claudite saltus,  
 si qua forte ferant oculis sese obvia nostris

45. So Dido of herself, A. IV 657, 'Felix, heu nimium felix, si litora tantum Numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae.' Comp. also G. II 458. In the present passage the meaning seems to be that the existence of the bull was the curse of Pasiphae's life, the greatness of the infliction being expressed by saying that, but for this, she would have been happy. 'Fortunatam' then is equivalent to 'quae fortunata fuisset.'

46. He tells how Pasiphae solaced herself, as in vv. 62, 3, 'circumdat . . . erigit' for 'canit ut se circumdederint et exerint.' Gebauer, p. 69, comp. Mosch. III 82 foll., where Bion is said to do what he sang of. Elsewhere, as in G. IV 464, the passion is the thing to be solaced: here it is itself made the solace, by a natural change of aspect.

47. 'Virgo' used of other than unmarried women, as in Hor. Od. II viii 23, etc. Serv. quotes from Calvus, 'A virgo infelix, herbis pasceris amaris,' which Virg. would seem to have imitated. 'Quae te dementia cepit?' II 69.

48. 'The daughters of Proetus fancied themselves cows: yet even they did not proceed to such monstrous lengths, though their delusion was complete.'

'Falsis,' counterfeited, as 'fallere' is used A. I 487, 684. [The Med. MS. commences here.]

49. ['Secutaest' Rom. and cursives.]

50. 'Collo,' dative, as A. II 130, 729.

51. 'Levi,' 'humana scilicet,' Serv. 'Quaesissent' is adopted by Ribbeck from

Pal.; but it is hard to see how Virg. could have written so after 'timuisset.' As a transcriber's error it is natural enough; Rom. actually has 'timuissent' v. 50.

53. 'Niveum' seems to be emphatic, recalling the epithet in v. 46.

'Fultus' merely expresses reclining, even where no support is given by the thing leaned against. 'Pedibus fulcire pruinas,' Prop. I viii 7; 'aerumnis cor luctificabile fulta,' Pers. I 78, like *ἰρειδοθαυ*.

54. 'Pallentis,' though doubtless a translation of *χλωρός*, is a strange epithet of grass, but a contrast was probably intended between the grass and the dark green of the 'ilex.' The notion of Serv., approved by one or two later commentators, that 'pallentis' expresses the change of the colour of the grass caused by mastication, need hardly be discussed.

55. 'Claudite': the preceding sentence had expressed the thoughts of Pasiphae: we now have her words.

56. 'Saltus,' the open spaces in forests, where cattle pastured and wild beasts wandered, called 'vacui,' G. III 143, 'aperti,' A. XI 904. They are closed here, as they are hedged round in hunting by nets and watchers (G. I 140, A. IV 121), to prevent the animals from breaking out. Compare G. III 323 'in saltus . . . atque in pascua.'

57. 'Si qua forte,' in the hope that. 'Inde domum, si forte pedem, si forte tulisset, Me refero,' A II 756.



errabunda bovis vestigia ; forsitan illum,  
aut herba captum viridi, aut armenta secutum,  
perducant aliquae stabula ad Gortynia vaccae. 60  
tum canit Hesperidum mixtam mala puellam ;  
tum Phaethontidas musco circumdat amarae  
x corticis atque (solo) proceras erigit alnos.  
tum canit, errantem Permessi ad flumina Gallum  
Aonas in montis ut duxerit una sororum, . 65

58. Whether 'vestigia' is put simply for the feet, as in A. v 566 and elsewhere, or the footprints of the bull are sought for, as leading to the discovery of the bull itself (comp. II 12), is not clear. Strict propriety of expression would perhaps demand the former, for the footprints might be discovered even if the bull escaped : but such an argument can hardly be pressed.

'Forsitan . . . vaccae' introduces a fresh hope : the bull may have fallen in with the herd, or cows may have come up with him as he was browsing, and so he may arrive at the Cretan stalls (Gortyna being celebrated, according to Serv., for the herds of the Sun, whose daughter Pasiphae was). This seems better than with Ruæus to understand Pasiphae to be expressing her fear that, if the outlets be not guarded, he may get away from her, or with Voss to suppose that 'captum . . . secutum' are meant to account for his wandering, and 'aliquae vaccae' to suggest the means of bringing him back after the facilities for escape have been removed. ['Forsitam' Pal. Rom.—H. N.]

61-73. He tells next the story of Atalanta and the sisters of Phaethon, and how Gallus met with one of the Muses, who took him to the Aonian mount, where Linus hailed him as successor of Hesiod. ['Capit' Med.—H. N.]

62. 'Circumdat' : see on v. 46. 'Phaethontidas,' an extension of the patronymic to sisters, as Tethys in Ov. F. v 81 (referred to by Forb.) is called 'Titanis,' being Titan's sister. Voss makes it equivalent to Heliades, Phaethon being elsewhere found as a name of the sun : but this would be most unseasonable here, where the younger Phaethon is alluded to.

['Amaro' Rom., 'amarae' other MSS. and Diomedes, p. 453.—H. N.]

63. 'Alnos' is a factitive or cognate accusative, 'raises them as alders,' or 'into alders.' Elsewhere, as in A. x 190,

they are said to have been turned into poplars. The story was that they found their brother's body on the banks of the Eridanus, and there bewailed him for four months, till they were turned into river-trees, which would suggest the thought of alders (G. I 136, II 110, 452 note).

64. There is of course great incongruity in the introduction of this interview of Gallus with the Muses as part of Silenus' legendary song : but it may well have been intended by Virg. to heighten the compliment to his friend. It would have been natural at this point of the song to tell some old story, showing how men in elder and better days were admitted to familiar intercourse with the gods, as Ovid, e.g., introduces the tale of Philemon and Baucis (compare the concluding lines of Catullus' poem on Peleus and Thetis) ; and by recounting Gallus' experience as a story of those times, Virg. in fact invests him with the associations of heroic antiquity, which would not have been the case had the mention of him been reserved to the end, as Heyne and Scaliger think it should have been. Thus the various attempts to evade the incongruity—by supposing that Silenus intends to describe the origin of the Grynean grove, but is made artfully to resign the task to Gallus, whose verses Voss further supposes him to borrow for the rest of the song, the story of Scylla (see note on v. 74)—appear to be not only illusory, but founded on a misconception of Virg.'s meaning. The story itself resembles one which Hesiod tells of himself at the beginning of the Theogony : and the allusion to Hesiod, v. 70, as Gallus' predecessor, shows that the resemblance is not merely accidental.

65. 'Una sororum' is used Prop. iv i 37 for one of the Muses, where the context sufficiently indicates what sisterhood is meant. Here the mention of the Aonian mountains suggests the epithet 'Aoniae.'

utque viro Phoebi chorus adsurrexerit omnis;  
 ut Linus haec illi, divino carmine pastor,  
 floribus atque apio crinis ornatus amaro,  
 dixerit: 'Hos tibi dant calamos, en accipe, Musae,  
 Ascraeo quos ante seni, quibus ille solebat 70  
 cantando rigidas deducere montibus ornos.  
 his tibi Grynæi nemoris dicatur origo,  
 ne quis sit lucus, quo se plus iactet Apollo.'  
 quid loquar, aut Scyllam Nisi, quam fama secuta est

66. Heyne comp. II. 1 533 foll., where the gods rise at the approach of Zeus.

67. 'Ut' comes after 'ut . . . utque,' as 'dum' after 'dum . . . dumque,' v 77, comp. by Wund. 'Divino carmine' with 'pastor,' expressing the combination of attributes which made Linus an appropriate hero of pastoral poetry. There seems no evidence that Linus was supposed ever to have been a shepherd, but it was natural for a pastoral poet to conceive of him as such.

68. Parsley was a favourite material for garlands used by a shepherd in Theocr. III 22 to form a crown for his love, worn commonly at feasts (Hor. Od. I xxxvi 16, etc.), and given as a prize in the Nemean games. There seems to be no reason for its use here, beyond its natural appropriateness: the epithet 'amarum' too appears to be simply descriptive. Martyn takes 'apium' to be smallage or celery.

70. 'Senex' is similarly applied to Lucilius Hor. S. II i 34, to Accius and Pacuvius, id. Ep. II i 56, and to Aristophanes Pers. I 124. [Con. thought it denoted antiquity: more probably it indicates the venerable old age which Greeks and Romans generally associated with poets.]

71. The same result is ascribed to magic, A. IV 491. See on VIII 3. It does not seem to have been a traditional characteristic of the effect of Hesiod's poetry: but the image can hardly have been chosen arbitrarily.

72. The story of the origin of the grove of Grynium or Grynia in Aeolia, Serv. says, was told in a poem by Euphoriion of Chalcis, whose works Gallus (see X 50) translated or imitated. A serpent had been killed there by Apollo: the town was founded by Grynus, son of Eurypylus, in consequence of an oracular response;

and its grove was the scene of the death of Calchas after a defeat, the circumstances of which are differently related, by a rival augur.

73. Apollo is called 'Grynaeus' A. IV 345. With the language of the line comp. v. 11. It seems to be imitated from Callim. on Delos v. 269, οὐδέ τις ἄλλη Γαιάων τοσσόνδε θεῶν περιήσεται ἄλλω. ['Nec' for 'ne' Pal. corr., Rom.; 'qui' Pal. corr.—H. N.]

74-86. Lastly, he tells the two stories of Scylla, daughter of Nisus, whose lower parts were changed into those of a sea monster, and who thus became the terror of Ulysses' ships, and of Tereus, his bloody feast, and his transformation. In short he sings all that Phoebus used to sing to Hyacinthus, till evening warned the shepherds home.

74. 'Aut' all the MSS. except Rom., which gives 'ut.' The latter would be neater, but the difference is not great, being only that in the one case we have to supply 'narraverit,' in the other 'ut narraverit' ('Quid loquar, aut ut narraverit Scyllam, aut ut mutatos,' etc.). Jahn's construction of 'Scyllam' with 'loquar' is objectionable; it involves an awkward confusion between the narrative of Virg. and that of Silenus: while Hildebrand's proposal, adopted by Forb., to make 'Scyllam . . . vexasse . . . lacerasse' depend on 'narraverit,' introduces an equally awkward coupling of 'vexasse . . . lacerasse' with 'mutatos' (which cannot, as Forb. thinks, be for 'mutatos esse'), and leaves the words 'quam fama secuta est' to form a tame and unmeaning parenthesis. On the other hand, Virg. is fond of using 'fama est' or some equivalent, such as 'volat,' A. III 121, 'occupat auris,' ib. 294, with an infinitive clause, so that 'fama secuta est' may easily be resolved into 'fama est apud posteros.'



candida succinctam latrantibus inguina monstribus 75  
 Dulichias vexasse rates et gurgite in alto  
 a! timidos nautas canibus lacerasse marinis,  
 aut ut mutatos Terei narraverit artus,  
 quas illi Philomela dapes, quae dona pararit,  
 quo cursu deserta petiverit, et quibus ante 80

The further difficulty, the attribution to Scylla, the daughter of Nisus, of the transformation which really happened to the other Scylla, daughter of Phorcus, is not peculiar to this passage, the same thing being done, as Cerda and Ruæus show, by Ov. F. IV 500 and Prop. v iv 39 foll. Consequently it is to be accounted for either by the hypothesis of different versions of the legend, or, as Keightley prefers, by the Roman ignorance of Greek mythology, not corrected by the insertion of 'aut' before 'quam fama secuta est,' which would be ungraceful, even if it were better supported than by [a mention in Servius and a reading in II obviously derived from Serv.—H. N.] Virg. some years afterwards, G. I 404, incidentally followed a different story, but that does not affect the argument.

75. This and the two following lines are found in the Ciris, vv. 59 foll., with 'deprensos' for 'a timidos.' The language apparently follows Lucr. v 892, 'rabidus canibus succinctas semimarinis Corporibus Scyllas.' Scylla is more fully described A. III 424 foll.

76. 'Dulichias,' the ships or ship (Od. XII 205) of Ulysses, so called from Dulichia, or Dulichium (A. III 271), one of the Echinades, which the Roman writers (Propertius, Ovid, Statius, Martial) were apt either to confuse with Ithaca, or to include among the dominions of Ulysses, though Hom. (Il. II 625) places the Echinades under Megeæ.

A question was raised among the ancient critics about the appropriateness of 'vexasse,' which is defended, as sufficiently strong for the occasion, by Probus ap. Serv. [It is very probable that the long defence of the word in Gell. II 6 (= Macrob. VI vii 4 foll.) comes from the commentary of Probus.—H. N.]

78. The story of Tereus was variously told. The Greeks generally made Procne the nightingale, and Philomela the swallow; the Romans reversed the order, perhaps, as Voss suggests, from a false notion of the etymology of Philomela. Those

who followed the latter version were again divided, some keeping to the old narrative and making Procne Tereus' wife and Philomela her sister, others reversing the relations, doubtless because they saw that the nightingale must have been the mother of Itys, whose name is the burden of her song. This last is probably Virg.'s view; he would more naturally represent the wife than the sister as preparing the feast, v. 79, while elsewhere, G. IV 15, 511, he follows the Roman as distinguished from the Greek version. The whole subject is elaborately treated in Voss's note.

79. Serv. rightly distinguishes between 'dapes' and 'dona,' the former being the flesh of Itys, served up to Tereus, the latter the head and extremities, presented to him after his meal.

80. It is not clear whether Tereus or Philomela is subject of 'petiverit' and 'supervolitaverit.' The former is recommended by 'mutatos artus,' v. 78, and by the prominence apparently meant to be given to him: the latter by the structure of v. 79, and perhaps by the language of the clause 'quibus . . . alis,' which suits the nightingale better than the hoopoe.

'Quo cursu' may denote either the speed of Philomela's flight and Tereus' pursuit, or the manner in which they fled, as birds ('quo' for 'quali'). If the former, which agrees better with 'cursu,' we must understand 'quibus . . . alis' of his or her return, after transformation, to hover over the palace; then connect 'ante' with 'sua' (Heyne comp. Ov. M. II 491 of Callisto when transformed, 'Ante domum quondamque suis errabat in agris'), a conjunction which will be less harsh if we regard 'infelix' as a parenthetical exclamation. If the latter, 'ante' may be understood to mean that, before flying to the woods, the metamorphosed king or queen took farewell of the palace by flying round it. Ribbeck reads 'alte' from his own conj.

The description of the bird flying round the house might seem to point to the swal-

philomela mēte = dicitur h. i. i.  
 Sings

infelix sua tecta supervolitaverit alis?  
 omnia quae, Phoebō quondam meditante, beatus  
 audiit Eurotas iussitque ediscere lauros,  
 ille canit; pulsae referunt ad sidera valles;  
 cogere donec ovis stabulis numerumque referre 85  
 iussit et invito processit Vesper Olympo.

low. In this case Virg. followed the Greek version of the story (as Heyne thinks), in spite of the other passages referred to on v. 78; but this would not suit 'deserta petiverit.' Ov. M. vi 668 foll. says of the sisters 'petit altera silvas, Altera tecta subit,' though he does not explain which is which. Here the ambiguity is certainly awkward, and looks like a confusion of the habits of the nightingale and swallow. 'Quibus alis petiverit' is for 'quomodo alis petiverit,' like 'quo fonte' v. 43.

81. This line recurs in the Ciris, v. 51, with 'caeruleis' for 'infelix.' ['Supra volitaverit' Rom.—H. N.]

82. 'Meditante,' 11. 'Beatus,' happy in hearing such a song.

83. 'Eurotas' points to Apollo's love for the Spartan youth Hyacinthus, to whom we must suppose him to have sung.

Here and elsewhere the MSS. are divided between 'laurus' (Med.) and 'lauros' (most MSS.). Virg. used 'laurus' and 'lauri' indifferently in the nom. pl. (comp. II 54, A. III 91), and his usage

need not have been more uniform in the acc.: but in such cases, where early authorities differ, a modern critic has small means of deciding. Comp. VII 6; VIII 13.

84. Comp. v 62, and Lucr. II 327.

85. An incidental proof that Chromis and Mnasyllus were shepherds, as no others are represented as listeners.

['Referre' Med. and Pal. originally, Rom., Serv., and Nonius, p. 381; 'referri' Med. and Pal. corr., and so Ribbeck and Thilo.]

86. 'Invito,' as Olympus was himself listening. Voss comp. II. XVIII 239, where Hera bids the sun set against his will.

'Olympus' is rather the heaven than the mountain, over which the evening star is said to rise, as in VIII 30, 'tibi deserit Hesperus Oetam,' A. II 801, 'Iamque iugis summae surgebat Lucifer Idae.' In either case it is probably to be constructed with 'processit.' ἀβλιος, the star of the sheepfolds, was a Greek epithet of the evening star.

Rom. is deficient from here to x 10.



## ECLOGA VII.

## MELIBOEUS. CORYDON. THYRSIS.

THIS is a singing-match between Corydon and Thyrsis, with Daphnis as umpire. Unlike those in Eclogues III and V, it ends decisively in the defeat of Thyrsis. The story is told by Meliboeus, who was not present until the terms of the contest had been agreed on, so that of them we hear nothing. The Idyls of Theocr. which Virgil seems chiefly to have had in view are the sixth and eighth.

Attempts were made by the earlier critics to identify the characters, Corydon being supposed to be Virgil, Thyrsis to be a contemporary rival ('aut Bavius aut Anser aut Maeuius,' according to theories mentioned by Serv.), or even, according to Cerda, Theocritus himself, Meliboeus and Daphnis to be patrons of the poet. Serv. asserts on the authority of the elegies of Valgius [Teuffel 241] that Codrus (v. 22) was a contemporary poet [and some recent critics accept this view, taking Codrus to be a pseudonym, Teuffel 233; see also the Verona Scholia quoted on v. 22]. But nothing in the poem points to any historical basis; all can be explained by supposing it to be an imaginary Eclogue in the Theocritean style. There does not even seem to be any necessity for supposing that, in introducing Meliboeus, Daphnis, and Corydon, Virgil is thinking uniformly of the Meliboeus, Daphnis, and Corydon of former Eclogues, though there is some appropriateness in making Daphnis the bestower of the crown of poetry, and Corydon, the hero of Ecl. II, its receiver.

The scenery is, as usual, confused. Arcadian shepherds are made to sing in the neighbourhood of the Mincius, while neither the ilex (v. 1), the pine (v. 24), the chestnut (v. 53), nor the flocks of goats (v. 7), seem to belong to Mantua.

There appears no means of determining the date; the mention of the Mincius does not prove that Virgil was then in actual possession of his property.

This Eclogue is alluded to by Propertius (III xxvi 67), 'Tu canis umbrosi subter pineta Galaesi Thyrsin et attritis Daphnin harundinibus;' but the reference is sufficiently vague, as the mention of Galaesus is apparently intended to recall a totally different scene, that described in G. IV 126, and the juxtaposition of Thyrsis and Daphnis can mean no more than that Virgil introduces both, as Theocr. does, though in different Idyls. [Mr. Munro, however, thinks that the mention of the Galaesus by Propertius may show that some of the Eclogues were written in the neighbourhood of Tarentum.—H. N.]

*M. FORTE sub arguta consererat ilice Daphnis,  
compulerantque greges Corydon et Thyrsis in unum,*

1-20. 'A singing-match had been agreed on between the goatherd Corydon and the shepherd Thyrsis, Daphnis being umpire. I was going to look after a stray he-goat when Daphnis asked me to listen. I agreed hesitatingly, and they began.'

1. Imitated generally from the beginning of Theocritus' sixth and eighth Idyls. 'Arguta,' VIII 22 note. Virg. may intend that the very tree should suggest song, as in Theocr. I 1 foll. the whisper of the leaves is parallel with the sound of piping.

Thyrsis ovis, Corydon distentas lacte capellas,  
 ambo florentes aetatibus, Arcades ambo,  
 et cantare pares, et respondere parati. 5  
 huc mihi, dum teneras defendo a frigore myrtos,  
 vir gregis ipse caper deerraverat; atque ego Daphnim  
 aspicio. ille ubi me contra videt: 'ocius, inquit,  
 huc ades, o Meliboe! caper tibi salvus et haedi;  
 et, si quid cessare potes, requiesce sub umbra. 10  
 huc ipsi potum venient per prata iuveni;

3. 'Distentas lacte,' the time was evening; so v. 15.

4. 'Aetatibus,' plural, each being made to have his own 'aetas,' by a poetical variety; a prose writer would have said, 'ambo florente aetate.'

'Arcades,' therefore skilled in song, x 32. Arcadia was a pastoral country (*ἄρκαδιος*, Theocr. xxii 157); Pan, its patron, was the god of rural song, so that shepherds who can pipe and sing are naturally made Arcadians. There seems also to have been a law in Arcadia in historical times (Polyb. iv 20) compelling the study of music, which Polybius thinks produced a humanizing effect on the people. Keightley supposes that these passages of Virg. suggested the notion which became current at the Revival of letters, representing the Arcadians as living in an ideal golden age of pastoral felicity—a view very unlike that taken by the ancients, with whom the Arcadians were proverbial for thick-witted rustic stupidity, Juv. vii 160, etc. For the confusion between Arcadia and Mantua see Introduction to Eclogues, p. 9.

5. 'Parati' is constructed with both 'cantare' and 'respondere,' 'pares' being taken with 'parati' or with 'cantare,' equally prepared, or prepared to sing in a match, to take either the first ('cantare') or the second ('respondere') part in an amoebean contest. This seems better than to connect 'pares' with 'cantare,' = 'pares in cantando,' though the construction would be admissible in itself, and is apparently sanctioned by Nemesianus' imitation (ii 16), 'ambo aevo cantuque pares.' At the same time the stress on 'parati' is chiefly in connexion with 'respondere,' as that would be the strongest test of improvisation: and this makes the word more appropriate than Schrader's conjecture 'periti,' which is supported by x 32, and by Theocr. viii 4, ἀμφω συρισθεν δεδαμημένω, ἀμφω αἰδεν.

6. 'Huc,' to the place where they were sitting.

'Defendo a frigore myrtos' created difficulty as early as Serv. Probably the scene is laid in the spring, when the nights are frosty (compare the whispering of the leaves, v. 1, the humming of the bees, v. 13, and the weaned lambs, v. 15), and Meliboeus, like Corydon, ii 45, etc., had to look after his trees as well as after his flocks and herds.

'Dum' is used with the present, though the verb in the principal clause is in the pluperfect, as in A. vi 171 foll.

For 'myrtos' a few inferior MSS. have 'myrtus;' but in this case the usage of Virg. appears to favour the second declension. Compare vi 83 note.

7. 'Vir gregis,' ὁ τράγος, τῶν λευκῶν αἰγῶν ἀνερ, Theocr. viii 49.

'Ipse:' the leader of the herd had strayed, and therefore the herd with him. Heyne, referring to v. 9.

'Deerro' disyllabic, as Lucr. iii 860, [in Lucr. i 711 spelt 'derr-'.]

'Atque' used in a style of poetical simplicity, where, in connected writing, we should have 'cum.' Other instances, collected by Wagn., are A. iv 663, vi 162, vii 29, x 219. [So in Plautus, Cic., etc. See Dräger ii p. 49; the rarer, mainly Plautine use of 'atque' in apodosis (G. i 203 note) perhaps grew out of this.] Gebauer, p. 31, comp. the similar use of καὶ Theocr. vii 11; there however καὶ seems to answer to καὶ in the line preceding. Here the sense is, 'I had just observed that he had strayed, when I caught sight of Daphnis.'

11. The bullocks are those of Meliboeus, who must be supposed to be in charge of them as well as of the goats, and also of lambs, v. 15. So Damoetas, iii 6, 29, is both shepherd and cowerd.

'Ipsi' as in iv 21 (note).



hic viridis tenera praetexit harundine ripas  
 Mincius, eque sacra resonant examina quercu.  
 quid facerem? neque ego Alcippen, neque Phyllida  
 habebam,

depulsos a lacte domi quae clauderet agnos; 15  
 et certamen erat, Corydon cum Thyrside, magnum.

posthabui tamen illorum mea seria ludo.  
 alternis igitur contendere versibus ambo  
 coepere; alternos Musae meminisse volebant.

hos Corydon, illos referebat in ordine Thyrsis. 20

C. Nymphae, noster amor, Libethrides, aut mihi carmen,  
 quale meo Codro, concedite; proxima Phoebi

12. Comp. I 49 foll., G. III 14, 15, A. x 205. The Mincius is mentioned to explain why Meliboeus' bullocks will not go out of sight; but the mention of it suggests the invitingness of the spot, which is the point of v. 13.

[The Ver. fragm. begins here and continues to v. 37.]

13. Comp. I 54 foll. 'Sacra,' as the tree of Jupiter, a literary epithet.

14. 'Alcippe' and 'Phyllis' seem to be partners (see I 31), or former partners, of Meliboeus, not, as Serv. supposes, partners of Corydon and Thyrsis.

15. Med. has 'hedos' ('agnos' in the margin) from a recollection of v. 9 and perhaps of III 82.

16. 'Corydon cum Thyrside' is in loose apposition to 'certamen.' Comp. Soph. Ant. 259, λόγοι δ' ἐν ἀλλήλοισιν ἰρρόθουν κακοί, Φύλαξ ἐλίγγων φύλακα.

'Magnum' seems to be a predicate. 'Et' couples the two antagonistic considerations. Thyrsis is the name of one of the persons in Theocr. Idyl I.

18. 'Alternis': introduction to Ecl. III.

19. 'Volebam,' a variant mentioned by Serv., is found in one or two inferior MSS. and adopted by Voss; 'volebant' is clearly right.

There is no need (as Ameis Spic., p. 14, has rightly perceived) to supply 'eos' before 'meminisse,' with Wagn. and Forb., or 'me' with Spohn and Jahn.

'Musae,' the Muses of the rivals are said to remember the amoebian strains, as recalling them to the memory of the shepherds, the Muses being mythologically connected with Memory, who was their mother. Comp. A. VII 645, 'Et

meministis enim, Divae, et memorare potestis.' The language is worded as if the shepherds had a number of verses in their minds, and the Muses chose to remember amoebians rather than others; but it must not be pressed to mean that the contest had been studied or rehearsed beforehand (see v. 5, note). By the act of memory probably no more is intended than the act of composition, which Virg. elsewhere (I 2, etc.) expresses by the word 'meditari.'

21-24. 'Cor. Muses, grant that I may sing like Codrus; if not, I abandon the art.'

21. 'Libethrus,' 'Libethra,' or 'Libethrum,' was a fountain in Helicon, with a cavern mentioned by Strabo, ix p. 629, Α, τὸ τῶν Λειβηθρίδων νυμφῶν ἄντρον. Pausanias speaks of a mountain of the same name. The Libethrides are mentioned as distinct from the Muses, though equally patronesses of song. So (x 1) Arethusa is invoked, and in Theocr. (VII 91) the nymphs teach a shepherd song.

22. 'Codrus,' v II. [The Verona Scholia say that Codrus was understood by some critics to be Virg., by others to be Cornificius, and by others Helvius Cinna. They go on to quote some lines of Valgius upon this Codrus: 'Codrusque ille canit, quali tu voce canebas, Atque solet numeros dicere, Cinna, tuos, Dulcior ut numquam Pylio proflexerit ore Nestoris, aut docto pectore Demodoci,' etc.—H. N.]

It signifies little whether 'proxima' be constructed with 'carmina' supplied from 'carmen,' or taken as a verbal acc. after 'facit.' With the sense comp. Theocr. I 2, μετὰ Πάνα τὸ δεύτερον ἄθλον ἀποισῆ.

['Phoebo' Ver.]

versibus ille facit; aut, si non possumus omnes,  
hic arguta sacra pendebit fistula pinu.

- T. Pastores, hedera nascentem ornate poetam, 25  
Arcades, invidia rumpantur ut ilia Codro;  
aut, si ultra placitum laudarit, baccare frontem  
cingite, ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro.
- C. Saetosi caput hoc apri tibi, Delia, parvus  
et ramosa Micon vivacis cornua cervi. 30  
si proprium hoc fuerit, levi de marmore tota

23. 'Non possumus omnes,' VIII 63. Corydon, as Voss remarks, modestly classes himself with the many.

Ribbeck formerly accepted 'possimus,' the original reading of Med., Pal., Gud., referring to Marius Victorinus p. 8 Gaisford, where we are told that Messala, Brutus, and Agrippa wrote 'simus' for 'sumus.' [But he now (1894) reads 'possumus.']

24. He hangs up his pipe as abandoning the art. Comp. Hor. Od. III xxvi 3, Ep. I i 4. Tibull. II v 29, 'Pendebatque vagi pastoris in arbore votum, Garrula silvestri fistula sacra deo.' The pine is sacred to Pan, Prop. I xviii 20, 'Arcadîo pinus amica deo.'

25-28. 'Th. Crown me, in spite of Codrus' envy, and protect me against his evil tongue.'

25. The arrogance of Thyrsis is contrasted with the modesty of Corydon.

'Hedera,' VIII 13. 'Doctarum hederæ præmia frontium,' Hor. Od. I i 29. ['Nascentem:' Pal. and Med. corr. have 'crescentem,' accepted by Ribbeck and Conington: Nettleship restored 'nascentem.']

26. 'Invidia rumpantur,' a colloquial expression, doubtless intended as a characteristic trait of Thyrsis. Emm. quotes Cic. in Vatin. 4, 'ut aliquando ista ilia, quæ sunt inflata, rumpantur.' The supposed allusion to the story of Codrus the Moor, glanced at by Hor. Ep. I xix 15, would be out of place, were it only that Virg. sympathizes with Corydon and his friend.

27. Thyrsis affects to fear that Codrus may attempt to injure him by extravagant praise, which, when bestowed on a person either by himself or by another, was considered likely to provoke the jealousy of the gods, and was guarded by the apologetic expression 'præfiscine.' Cerda refers to Titinius (Charis. p. 210), 'Pol tu

ad laudem addito præfiscine, ne puella fascinetur.'

'Ultra placitum' is generally understood 'beyond his judgment,' i.e. with extravagant insincerity; but it more probably refers to the pleasure of the gods.

'Baccare,' IV 19. ['Herba est ad repellendum fascinum,' Serv.—H. N.]

28. 'Mala lingua:' 'nec mala fascinare lingua,' Catull. VII 12.

'Vati futuro' is stronger than 'crescentem poetam' (see note on IX 32), and argues increased self-confidence in Thyrsis.

29-32. 'Cor. Micon offers to Diana a boar's head and a stag's horns, promising her a marble statue if his success in hunting should continue.'

29. Corydon speaks in the character of Micon (see on III 10, 79), who is supposed to dedicate an offering to Diana with an address in the form of an inscription. 'Parvus,' as Menalcas, Theocr. VIII 64, calls himself μικρός, a young boy.

['Apri:' Serv. mentions a variant 'capri.'—H. N.]

30. The verb is omitted, as frequently in inscriptions, A III 288. For the custom of offering spoils of hunting to Diana, comp. A. IX 407, Soph. Aj. 178.

The longevity of the stag was proverbial among the ancients. 'Vivacis cornua cervi' is copied by Ov. M. III 194.

'Ramosa' like 'cornibus arboreis,' A I 190.

31. 'Proprium,' one's own, and hence permanent, coupled by Cic. Pro Lege Manil. 16 with 'perpetuum,' with 'perenne' De Sen. 4. So A. VI 871, 'propria hæc si dona fuissent,' Hor. S. II vi 5, 'propria ut mihi munera faxis.' The thought is the same as in Lucr. III 971, 'Vitaque mancipio nulli datur, omnibus usu.' The thing of which continuance is asked is success in hunting.

'Tota,' not a mere head or bust. Serv.



puniceo stabis suras evincta coturno.

T. Sinum lactis et haec te liba, Priape, quodannis  
expectare sat est: custos es pauperis horti.  
nunc te marmoreum pro tempore fecimus; at tu, 35  
si fetura gregem suppleverit, aureus esto.

C. Nerine Galatea, thymo mihi dulcior Hyblae,  
candidior cycnis, hedera formosior alba,  
cum primum pasti repetent praesepia tauri,  
si qua tui Corydonis habet te cura, venito. 40

T. Immo ego Sardoniis videar tibi amarior herbis,

32. Comp. A. I 337, where this line is almost verbally repeated of a Tyrian huntress. A similar line is quoted by Terentianus Maurus De Metris, professedly from the Ino of Livius Andronicus, 'Iam nunc purpureo suras include coturno.' Diana is generally represented with buskins.

'Puniceo': colouring was frequent in the case of marble statues.

'De marmore stabis': 'aeneus ut stes' Hor. S. II iii 183, *σφουρήλατος ἐν Ὀλυμπία σταθήρι* Plato Phaedr. p. 215. ['Coturno' Med. Pal. Ver. fragm. Gud.—H. N.]

33-36. 'Th. Priapus, we offer thee cakes and milk, being poor; however, though thou hast only a marble statue now, thou shalt have a golden one if the lambing turns out well.'

33. Thyrsis fails first in his subject, Priapus instead of Diana, and then in the sudden and absurd change from ostentatious homeliness to lavish promises.

['Sinum' or 'sinus': a note of Asper quoted in the Verona Scholia, and partly by Serv. and Nonius, p. 547, says 'Sinum est vas vinarium, ut Cicero significat, non ut quidam, lactarium.' Plautus in Curculione (I i 82), 'cedo puere sinum'. . . 'Sinum ergo vas patulum, quod et masculine sinus vocitatum.' He illustrates the word further from Atta and Varro. 'Sinus' is distinguished by Varro from 'poculum,' 'quod maiorem cavationem habet.' (L. L. IV 26.) The resemblance to 'sinus' is accidental.

'Quodannis,' comp. the yearly offering to Daphnis, v 67. ['Quotannis' Med.]

35. 'Pro tempore' coupled with 'pro re' by Caes. B. G. v 8, 'according to our circumstances,' *ἐκ τῶν παρόντων*. Statues of Priapus were commonly of wood; but Thyrsis intends to insult Micon and his Diana, by apologizing for having

had to make his god of the same material which his rivals promise to their goddess—not remembering that such extravagant language is utterly out of character. With 'marmoreum' and 'aureus' Gebauer comp. Theocr. Id. x 23, Epigr. XVII 3 foll., xx 6 foll., and with the general sense Epigr. IV 13 foll.

37-40. 'Cor. Sweet Galatea, lovelier than every thing in nature, come to thy Corydon at evenfall.'

37. Galatea, the Nereid, appears in Theocr. (Idyls VI and XI) as the love of Polyphemus. Virg., who (as Keightley remarks) had transferred the language and feelings of Polyphemus to Corydon in Ecl. II, here makes him address Galatea, who is his love, just as Daphnis, who in Idyl VIII answers to Corydon here, marries a nymph. The words are imitated more or less from Theocr. XI 19 foll., and both passages are characteristically amplified by Ov. M. XIII 789 foll.

'Nerine' seems not to occur elsewhere in Latin as a patronymic, but Catull. LXIV 29 calls Thetis 'Nereine,' [as Haupt conj. or 'Nerine' as Owen conj.]

'Hyblae'; see on I 55, though here it need not be a piece of mannerism; a shepherd speaking as a Sicilian would naturally allude to Hybla.

38. 'Hedera alba,' III 39. ['Formosior' Pal. originally.—H. N. See I 5. Med. has 'formosior,' and so in v. 55, etc.]

41-44. 'Th. May I be more hateful to thee than every thing in nature if I can bear thy absence longer. Go home, my herds.'

41. Thyrsis thinks first of his rivalry with Corydon, 'immo,' implying that he seeks a better way of expressing his passion, and secondly of his own feelings rather than of his love's, and fails accordingly. It is not necessary to suppose that

horridior rusco, proiecta vilior alga,  
 si mihi non haec lux toto iam longior anno est.  
 ite domum pasti, si quis pudor, ite iuveni.

C. Muscosi fontes et somno mollior herba, 45  
 et quae vos rara viridis tegit arbutus umbra,  
 solstitium pecori defendite; iam venit aestas  
 torrida, iam lento turgent in palmite gemmae.

T. Hic focus et taedae pingues, hic plurimus ignis 50  
 semper, et adsidua postes fuligine nigri;  
 hic tantum Boreae curamus frigora quantum

he is addressing Galatea also, as he may only mean to show how much better he loves *his* love. With the form of the wish Gebauer comp. Theocr. v 20, etc.

'Sardoniiis.' The technical name for the plant is 'Ranunculus Sardous,' βαρράχιον χρωδοσίτερον, known in England as the celery-leaved crowfoot, so acrid that its leaves applied externally produce inflammation. Those who ate it had their faces distorted into the proverbial Sardonian smile [as we are told by Solinus and Serv., quoting Sallust]. Thyrsis contrasts it with the thyme of Hybla, as producing proverbially bitter honey ('Sardum mel,' Hor. A. P. 375). So 'horridior rusco' is contrasted with 'candidior cynis,' and 'vilior alga' with 'hedera formosior alba.'

42. 'Rusco,' G. II 413. 'Proiecta' is emphatic: which is thrown on the shore, and which no one cares to take up. 'Vilior alga,' Hor. S. II v 8.

43. Theocr. XII 2, οἱ δὲ ποθεῦντες ἐν ἡματι γηράσκουσι, Anth. Pal. XII 171.

44. He lays the blame on the cattle, as if they were delaying his pleasure by delaying at their food. 'Si quis pudor,' an appeal at once to their moderation in eating, and to their regard for him. It is the same notion as 'improbis anser,' G. I 119, where see note.

45-48. 'Cor. My flocks shall have water, and grass, and shade: summer is at the full of heat and beauty.'

45. 'Muscosi,' gushing from the mossy rock. Catull. LXVIII 58, Hor. Ep. I x 7. 'Somno mollior,' ἕπνω μαλακώτερα, Theocr. v 51, of a fleece (comp. xv 125). μαλακός is an epithet of ἕπνος, as old as Hom. (Il. x 2), like 'mollis' of 'somnus,' G. II 470, etc., and is as likely to have suggested the comparison as any resemblance in the things themselves. The

address is imitated from Theocr. VIII 33 foll., 37 foll.

46. 'Rara,' see on v 7.

47. 'Defendit aestatem capellis,' Hor. Od. I xvii 3. It is difficult to say whether in this and similar instances the dative is to be explained as one of personal relation, 'on behalf of,' or as originally identical with the ablative.

'Solstitium,' G. I 100.

48. With 'aestas torrida' Gebauer comp. Theocr. VI 16, IX 12. Corydon mentioned the summer for its heat, but he is led to dwell on its beauty, a proof of his superiority to Thyrsis.

['Lento' Pal., Med. corr., Serv., who explains 'tarde pondere vites commemorat in Venetia quae est provincia frigidior': so Ribbeck.—H. N. Med. originally had 'leto'; Wagn. and Con. read 'laeto': compare G. II 262, 'laetum vitis genus.']

49-53. '77. Here we are at our fire-side; we can bid defiance to the cold.'

49. Thyrsis' picture, as Keightley remarks, is like a Dutch pendant to Corydon's Claude Lorraine. Its fault is its subject: yet it is the one which would most naturally be expected to follow Corydon's, according to the division of the year in v 70. The 'focus' is one of the details of rural life seemingly ridiculed as a subject for poetry by Persius I 72.

50. 'Semper,' like 'adsidua,' forms part of Thyrsis' boast, and it leads him to dwell on what is itself an unpleasing detail, the δύσκατα δώματα. This and the preceding line seem to be from Theocr. XI 50, as Keightley remarks, though the context there is quite different.

51. Theocr. IX 12 foll., 19 foll. [Serv. mentions a variant 'hinc' for 'hic,' and explains 'hinc' as = 'therefore.' Gud. originally has 'hinc.'—H. N.]



aut numerum lupus aut torrentia flumina ripas.

- C. Stant et iuniperi et castaneae hirsutae;  
strata iacent passim sua quaeque sub arbore poma;  
omnia nunc rident; at si formosus Alexis 55  
montibus his abeat, videas et flumina sicca.
- T. Aret ager; vitio moriens sitit aeris herba;  
liber pampineas invidit collibus umbras:  
Phyllidis adventu nostrae nemus omne virebit,  
Iuppiter et laeto descendet plurimus imbri. 60
- C. Populus Alcidae gratissima, vitis Iaccho,

52. 'Numerum' is understood by Heyne and some later editors of the counting of the sheep, the prospect of which does not deter the wolf from devouring them. The old interpretation seems simpler; the wolf does not fear the multitude of the sheep. Thus the notion is that of Juvenal's 'defendit numerus,' and Horace's 'nos numerus sumus,' 'a mere set of figures.'

53-56. 'Cor. It is the fruit season, and all is luxuriant: but the absence of Alexis would blight all.'

53. 'Stant' is more than 'sunt,' by which Heyne explains it: but it merely gives the picture.

The non-elision of 'iuniperi' and 'castaneae' is a metrical variety borrowed by Virg. from the Greeks. The passage is imitated from Theocr. VIII 41 foll.

54. Perhaps from Theocr. VII 144 foll. 'Quaque,' the conjecture of Heins., Gronovius, and Bentley for 'quaeque,' has been adopted by many editors, including Heyne and Wagn., and is found in two of Ribbeck's cursives. But Lachm. on Lucr. II 371 has shown from other passages that 'quaeque' here would be equally correct, and Wagn. Lect. Verg. pp. 368 foll., does not break down his case. The construction is doubtless to be explained by attraction. Another suggestion is to make 'sua' the abl. sing. pronounced monosyllabically, as in Enn. and Lucr.; but to this Wagn. replies with force that it is most strange that Virg. should have preferred an archaism of this kind when a more obvious expression was close at hand.

55. 'Alexis' is doubtless introduced with a reference to E. II (compare the mention of mountains in II 5), but as Corydon does not always adhere to his own character (see v. 30), we need not suppose that he is always speaking of

those whom he has himself loved. ['Formosus' Pal. originally.—H. N. See v. 38.]

56. The general drought would affect even the rivers, which are the natural resource when there is no rain. Pal. has 'aberit.'

57-60. 'Th. Every thing is parched up: but Phyllis' arrival will bring fertility and refreshing showers.'

57. All that can be said against Thyrsis' here is that he dwells more on unpleasing objects than Corydon: but this was forced on him by the subject of his picture, and he makes what he can of the anticipated contrast, vv. 59, 60.

'Vitio,' disease, a sense more common in the cognate 'vitosus' and 'vitiare: 'Dira lues quondam Latias vitiaverat auras,' Ov. M. xv 626. Virg. may be referring to Lucr. VI 1090 foll., where diseased states of the air are treated as causes of pestilence. Comp. 'morbo caeli' G. I 11478, 'corrupto caeli tractu' A. III 138.

59. 'Nemus omne' may refer to the plantations, or perhaps, as vines have just been spoken of, to the 'arbustum,' which appears to be its sense, G. II 308, 401. [Med. originally had 'videbit.'—H. N.]

60. The image is that of G. II 325, the marriage of Jupiter and Juno, Aether and Earth. Comp. also 'ruit arduus aether' G. I 324, 'caeli ruina' A. I 129, which is the same picture, the whole sky appearing to pour down, though without the added personification. 'Iuppiter' is used of the air, G. I 418, II 419.

61-64. 'Cor. Each god has his favourite tree: but Phyllis is fond of the hazel, so that is the tree for me.'

61. 'Populus,' λευκάν, 'Ἡρακλῆος ἱερὸν ἔρνος,' Theocr. II 121. So G. II 66, A. VIII 276. Leuce was a nymph beloved by Pluto, who caused a white poplar to

formonsae myrtus Veneri, sua laurea Phoebō;  
Phyllis amat corylos; illas dum Phyllis amabit,  
nec myrtus vincet corylos nec laurea Phoebi.

- T. Fraxinus in silvis pulcherrima, pinus in hortis, 65  
populus in fluviis, abies in montibus altis;  
saepius at si me, Lycida formonse, revisas,  
fraxinus in silvis cedat tibi, pinus in hortis.
- M. Haec memini, et victum frustra contendere Thyrsim.  
ex illo Corydon Corydon est tempore nobis. 70

grow up in the shades after her death: Hercules, on his way from the infernal regions, made himself a garland from its leaves.

62. The myrtle, being a sea-side plant ('amantis litora myrtos', G. IV 124), was supposed to have sheltered Venus on her first rising from the sea. ['Formonsae' originally, Pal.—H. N. See v. 38.]

64. Serv. quotes a variant 'Veneris,' for 'corylos,' as occurring 'in Hebra (libro);' Heyne and Gebauer prefer it. But it would weaken the emphasis which at present falls on 'laurea Phoebi.'

65-68. 'Th. Each spot has its favourite tree: but Lycidas will grace any spot more than any tree.'

65. If Thyrsis fails here, it is that he does not pay so high a compliment as Corydon: but his language is more natural. Corydon had spoken merely of favourite trees: Thyrsis compares Lycidas himself to a tree, as being, like it, the glory of the place which he frequents. Comp. v 32 foll.

'Silvis,' probably the plantations which the shepherd has to take care of, as 'horti' are his gardens or orchards. For this reason the trees belonging to them seem to be chosen, rather than the river and mountain trees, to be compared with Lycidas in v. 68; it is to the scenes of his labour that Thyrsis invites his beloved one. 'Pinus' is the *πίτυς ἡμερος*, called by Ov. A. A. III 692, 'pinus culta.'

[Serv. mentions variants: 'Fraxinus in silvis' et post 'populus in fluviis' ut est nunc, in Vari et in Hebra: prius 'populus in fluviis, dein fraxinus in silvis.'—H. N.]

66. 'In fluviis' merely means that the poplar is a river-tree. [Pliny XVI 77 'non nisi in aquis proveniunt salicesalni populi.']

67. ['Formonse' originally, Pal.—H. N. See v. 38.]

68. Comp. Hom.'s comparison of a beautiful youth killed to a poplar cut down, II. IV 482. Pal. and Gud. have 'cedet.'

70. Virg. imitates Theocr. VIII 92, *κῆκ ρούτω πρώτος παρὰ ποιμένα Δάφνις ἔγεντο*, but the meaning of his words is not clear. The alternatives are (1) 'henceforth Corydon is Corydon with us,' as if he had intended to say 'primus,' and then changed the expression, to show that the highest praise that could be bestowed on Corydon was to say that he was himself, and (2) 'henceforth it is Corydon, Corydon with us'—Corydon is in all our mouths. Either yields a good sense, but no adequate parallel has been adduced either for the identical proposition, 'Corydon est Corydon,' or for the use of 'est nobis' to signify 'all our talk is about him.' Παρὰ ποιμένα, however, as Gebauer remarks, is in favour of taking 'nobis' as 'apud nos,' 'nostro iudicio:' and perhaps we may illustrate 'Corydon est Corydon' by the opposite Ἴσος αἶρος of Hom. Od. XV 73. [Serv. says Corydon means 'victor, nobilis supra omnes.' This may mean either that 'Corydon' was a colloquial term for a victor, or (as Ladewig thinks) that the name Corydon could now stand as a symbol for the highest excellence in singing, as that of Cicero or Demosthenes in the sphere of oratory: 'Corydon will be a Corydon.'—H. N.]



## ECLOGA VIII. [PHARMACEUTRIA.]

DAMON. ALPHESIBOEUS.

WE have here the songs of two shepherds, Damon, in the character of a despairing lover lamenting over his faithless Nysa, who has taken a less worthy mate, and finally resolving on self-destruction, and Alpheisiboeus, in the character of a woman also forsaken by her lover, though only for a time, and trying to recover him by enchantments, which at last prove successful.

[Serv. (on vv. 6, 10, 12) says that the poem is addressed to Augustus, but adds that some critics took it as referring to Pollio. The reference to Augustus can only be defended by an unnatural if not impossible interpretation of verse 10. It is much more probable that the piece is addressed to] Pollio, in a preface running parallel with that to E. VI (see Introduction there, and note on v. 7 here). Its date may be fixed from vv. 6 foll., which apparently point to the time when Pollio had gained his victory over the Parthini in Illyricum ('victicris laurus,' v. 13), and was on his way home to receive the triumph which he celebrated Oct. 25, B.C. 39. Whether 'iussis carmina coepta tuis,' v. 11, actually means that Pollio suggested one or both of the subjects of the Eclogue, or merely that he asked to have another pastoral written, is of course impossible to say. \*

The Eclogue itself is so far parallel to E. v that it contains a species of amoebean, consisting not, like Eclogues III and VII, of a number of short efforts, but of two continuous strains of equal lengths—the difference between a dialogue and a set oration followed by a set reply—suggested perhaps by Theocr. Id. IX, where there are two songs of seven lines each. But the detail here is much more complicated, each of the poems being composed of ten stanzas (so to call them), consisting respectively of two, three, four, and five lines, and separated from each other by a burden. The arrangement of the stanzas however is not quite the same in the two poems, as the last three stanzas of Damon's song consist respectively of four, five, and three lines with their burdens, while in Alpheisiboeus' the order of the concluding stanzas runs, five lines, three lines, and four lines.

The circumstances under which this amoebean exercise takes place are not stated (note on v. 14). The two songs have no formal connexion, though baffled love is the theme of both. The first is imitated from various passages in the first, third, and eleventh Idyls of Theocritus, the second entirely from Idyl 11, which Virgil abridges and fits with a more prosperous conclusion. The lynxes (v. 3) and the mention of Oeta (v. 30) show that the scenery is not national.

PASTORUM Musam Damonis et Alpheisiboei,  
immemor herbarum quos est mirata iuvenca

1-5. 'My subject is the songs of Damon and Alpheisiboeus, which entranced all that heard them.'

1. Forb. seems right in supposing that 'pastorum Musam' is equivalent to 'silvestrem Musam,' as 'coniugis amore,' v. 18, appears to be to 'coniugali amore.'

Of course the genitive in each case is still in apposition to the name of the person or persons following. 'Alpheisiboei,' v. 73.

2. For the effect of song upon nature comp. VI 27, 71. The cattle forget to graze for joy and wonder, as in v. 26 for grief.

certantis, quorum stupefactae carmine lynces,  
et mutata suos requierunt flumina cursus,  
Damonis Musam dicemus et Alphesiboei. 5

Tu mihi seu magni superas iam saxa Timavi,  
sive oram Illyrici legis aequoris, en erit umquam  
ille dies, mihi cum liceat tua dicere facta?  
en erit, ut liceat totum mihi ferre per orbem  
sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna coturno? 10  
a te principium, tibi desinet. accipe iussis

3. The lynx, like the lion, v 27, seems to be neither Italian nor Sicilian, so that its introduction is an additional element of unreality. Virg. was doubtless thinking of the effect of the legendary song of Orpheus, and named any savage beast as a proof of the power of music.

[Vahlen (Ind. Lect. Berl. 1887) is perhaps right in taking 'stupefactae' and 'mutata' as parallel, and 'requierunt' as the verb to both 'lynces' and 'flumina.']

4. The traditional explanation of 'requierunt,' as active, is strongly supported by Prop. III xv 25, 'Iuppiter Alcmenae geminos requieverat Arctos,' and a line of Calvus' Io quoted by Serv., 'Sol quoque perpetuos meminit requiescere cursus' (not to mention Ciris, v. 233). Some later editors of Propertius understand the construction to be that of an intransitive verb with a cognate acc.; but such a Grecism is not in the style of Virg. If the active sense of 'requierunt' be not accepted here, 'cursus' might be constructed with 'mutata,' as the course of a river, by being checked, would in effect be changed, though the words, as Wagn. remarks, would rather point to a magician's spell making the river roll back, like Medea's, Val. Fl. VI 443, 'Mutat agros fluviumque vias.'

6-13. 'This poem is for Pollio, to greet his triumphal return. Would that I could hope ever to celebrate him worthily! As it is, I can only offer him a few verses written at his bidding.'

6. 'Tu mihi' is rightly taken by Wagn. and Forb. with 'superas'; we need not suppose a parenthesis from 'seu magni' to 'desinet' (v. 11) with Heyne, or an aposiopesis with the earlier editors. Pollio is returning from his expedition against the Parthini to triumph at Rome. Virg., at the moment of writing, wonders whether the fortunate ship has yet reached Italy or not, the ethical dative expressing

that the poet's feeling goes along with his patron. [Vahlen compares the opening of G 1, etc., and thinks Virg. here intended 'mihi adsis.']

'Superas,' as 'legis' shows, is to be understood of passing by sea, as A. I 244 (note), 'fontem superare Timavi.' 'Magni' expresses the breadth of the stream, and 'saxa' the character of the region about, as described in the note referred to.

7. 'En erit umquam,' I 68. Comp. VI 6 foll., where the general effect is the same, an apology for not celebrating his patron, though Virg. does not hide his unwillingness there, as he seems to do here, under a mask of eager regret.

8. 'Tua dicere facta,' IV 54.

10. Pollio's tragedies have been glanced at, III 84, and are more particularly mentioned by Hor. Od. II i 9, S. I x 42. 'Digna,' like 'dicere Cinna digna,' IX 35. Heyne remarks that it is a questionable compliment from Virg. to talk of making Pollio's verses known by means of his own, though we may suppose the tragedies had not yet been given to the public. [Serv. interprets 'tua carmina' as 'tuae laudes,' 'your praises worthy to be celebrated by the Muse of Sophocles;'] and so Schaper, who thinks that this Eclogue was revised from 27-25 B.C., and refers not to Pollio but to Augustus. But can 'tua carmina' mean anything but 'your poems'?—H. N.]

11. Imitated from Theoc. XVII I, who in his turn has imitated Il. IX 97. With the language comp. III 60. The nom. to 'desinet' must be 'principium,' though Virg. writes as if he had said, 'a te coepit Musa,' or words to that effect. Pal. and perhaps Gud. (originally) have 'desinam,' which Ribbeck adopts. The reading is plausible, as the non-elision of the syllable, with which comp. Hor. S. II ii 28, may have led to the alteration.



carmina coepta tuis, atque hanc sine tempora circum  
inter victricis hederam tibi serpere laurus.

Frigida vix caelo noctis decesserat umbra,  
cum ros in tenera pecori gratissimus herba, 15  
incumbens tereti Damon sic coepit olivae.

D. Nascere, praeque diem veniens age, Lucifer, alnum,  
coniugis indigno Nysae deceptus amore  
dum queror, et divos, quamquam nil testibus illis  
profeci, extrema moriens tamen adloquor hora. 20  
incipi Maenalius mecum, mea tibia, versus.

The promise, which is the same as Horace's to Maecenas, Ep. 1 i 1, is rather premature, as it is only in the Eclogues that any allusion to Pollio occurs. The editors, however, remark that Nestor makes the same promise with regard to Agamemnon in his speech, Il. IX 97, and does not keep it much better.

12. 'Coepta' need not imply that he had taken up the poem and laid it down again, as Spohn thinks.

'Hanc sine,' accept this praise of your tragedies ('hederam' as in VII 25 note) along with the military honours of your triumph.

13. 'Serpere' expresses the character of the ivy, like Persius' 'quorum imagines lambunt Hederæ sequaces,' Prol v. 5. 'Laurus,' Quint. x i 92, Charis. p. 135, Keil. 'lauros,' Med. Pal. Gud. See VI 83 note.—H. N.]

14-16. 'It was just daybreak when Damon began.'

14. Damon and Alpheisboeus had driven their flocks afield before daybreak, as Virg. himself prescribes, G. III 322 foll., for the summer months. Nothing is said of any challenge; the contest may have been agreed on before; or Virg. may have chosen to pass over the preliminaries altogether, as he has done partially in E. VII; or Damon's song may have been answered by Alpheisboeus without any previous concert. Damon need not be supposed to be singing of his own despair, but merely to be performing in character, as Alpheisboeus evidently is; he takes advantage, however, of the early morning, as if he had been bewailing his lost love all night.

15. Repeated G. III 326 with 'et' for 'cum.'

16. 'Tereti olivæ,' not the trunk of an

olive, which would suit neither 'incumbens' nor the epithet 'teres'; but his staff of smoothed olive, which he carried like Lycidas in Theocr. VII 18, *ῥοικᾶν δ' ἔγεν ἀργελαίω Δεξιτέρῳ κορύναν*, or Apollo, Ōv. M. II 680, 'pastoria pellis Texti, onusque fuit dextrae silvestris oliva' (where, however, Heins. and Merkel give 'baculum silvestre sinistrae').

17-21. 'Da. Come, gentle day, I am mourning the broken faith of my love, and appealing to the gods as a dying man.'

17. He sees the day-star rising, and bids it perform its office. 'Surgebat Lucifer . . . ducebatque diem,' A. II 802.

18. 'Indigno amore,' as in X 10, unworthy, because unreturned. Nysa is 'coniunx,' because it was as his wife that Damon loved her. In translating freely we might talk of 'a husband's love.' So 'ereptæ magno inflammatus amore Coniugis,' A. III 330, of Orestes' baffled love for Hermione. Comp. A. II 344, and v. I above.

19. 'Testibus illis:' their testimony has stood me in no stead hitherto, as Nysa has broken the vows made before them. [Ver. resumes here till v. 44.]

20. ['Adloquar,' Pal. corr. and Med. originally; so formerly Ribbeck,—H. N.]

21. 'Maenalius,' Arcadian, VII 3 note, Theocr.'s *βωκολικᾶς ἀουῆς*.

'Tibia,' the flute, was used by shepherds as well as the reed or the Pan-pipe, as appears from Theocr. xx 29 (comp. Lucr. v 1385); but here it may merely be a variety for 'fistula,' v. 33.

'Mecum,' because the music accompanies the song. Hor. Od. I xxxii 1, 'Lusimus tecum . . . Barbite.'

Theocr. introduces refrains into his first and second Idyls, but generally with obvious regularity of recurrence, and occa-

Maenalus argutumque nemus pinosque loquentis  
 semper habet; semper pastorum ille audit amores,  
 Panaque, qui primus calamos non passus inertis.  
 incipe Maenalios mecum, mea tibia, versus. 25  
 Mopso Nysa datur: quid non speremus amantes?  
 iungentur iam grypes equis, aevoque sequenti  
 cum canibus timidi venient ad pocula dammae.  
 [incipi Maenalios mecum, mea tibia, versus.]  
 Mopse, novas incide faces: tibi ducitur uxor; 30  
 sparge, marite, nuces: tibi deserit Hesperus Oetam.

sionally where there is no pause in the sense, so that they seem to represent something in the music. The present line is from Id. I 66, etc., ἀρχετέ βωκολικᾶς, Μοῖσαι φίλαι, ἀρχετ' αἰοῦσᾶς, where it does not end but begin the stanzas.

22-25. 'Arcadia is the country for pastoral song: Pan and the shepherds sing there.'

22. He dwells on the thought suggested by the refrain. 'Argutum' and 'loquentis' are worded as if to express the natural music of the whispering trees (see VII 1), though the reference is really to the echo of the songs. Compare a similar double meaning in V 62 (note). 'Pinifer Maenalus,' X 15. ['Pinus' originally Pal. and Gud.—H. N.]

23. 'Amores,' of love-songs, X 53.

24. Comp. II 32. Pan here appears as a promoter of civilization, by applying natural things to the use of man—the language, as Heyne remarks, resembling G. I 124, 'Nec torpere gravi passus sua regna veterno.' The reeds were not left to murmur chance music (comp. Lucr. V 1382 foll.), but were disciplined for regular use. ['Primum' Med.]

26-31. 'Nysa marries Mopsus, an ill-omened and unnatural union: yes, he has the honours of a bridegroom.'

26. 'Dare,' give in marriage, A. I 345. 'Quid—amantes?' 'what may we not expect as lovers?' i.e. what may we not expect to happen in love?

27. 'Iungentur,' of marriage (A. I 73), as in similar proverbial expressions, Aristoph. Peace 1076, πρὶν κεν λύκος ὄν ὕμεναῖοι, Hor. A. P. 13, 'Serpentes avibus gementur, tigribus agni.' This suits the context better than the interpretation of later editors, of yoking horses and griffins in a car, as in III 91. So the next

verse is intended to express intimate daily association. For the griffins, lions with eagles' heads and wings, see Hdt. III 116.

'Iam' seems to be distinguished from 'aevo sequenti,' the latter marking a later step in the monstrous revolution.

28. 'Timidi dammae,' G. III 539. Virg.'s use of the masc. is noted by Serv. and other grammarians, and perhaps by Quint. IX III 6, though he quotes the two words without the context, and may refer to G. III, l. c. Pal. (originally) and Med. have 'timidae.' The epithet marks their ordinary nature, in spite of which they are to herd with their enemies.

'Pocula' is frequently used to signify not only a cup but its contents, G. I 8, so that it may easily be used here, where the notion of a cup is merely metaphorical. The editors comp. G. III 529, 'Pocula sunt fontes liquidi,' where the metaphor almost passes into a simile—'fontes liquidi sunt pro poculis.'

29. [Ribbeck and Conington introduce this line from Gud. to balance v. 76.]

30. The bridegroom is bidden to prepare for the wedding by getting the torches ready himself. 'Incide faces' is a natural rustic image, as such things were part of a countryman's work, G. I 292 (note), and 'novas' is equally natural, as the occasion would doubtless seem to require new torches. 'Tibi ducitur,' is being brought home to you.

31. 'Nuces' were flung by the bridegroom among the boys carrying the torches, as the bride approached, Catull. LXI 128 foll. The ceremonies are now supposed to have begun, the signal being the rising of the evening star: see Catull. LXII throughout.

'Deserit Oetam,' VI 86, note. Catull. LXII 7, 'Nimirum Oetaeos ostendit Noc-



incipi Maenalios mecum, mea tibia, versus.  
 o digno coniuncta viro, dum despicias omnis,  
 dumque tibi est odio mea fistula dumque capellae  
 hirsutumque supercilium promissaque barba, 35  
 nec curare deum credis mortalia quemquam!  
 incipi Maenalios mecum, mea tibia, versus.  
 saepibus in nostris parvam te roscida mala—  
 dux ego vester eram—vidi cum matre legentem.  
 alter ab undecimo tum me iam acceperat annus; 40  
 iam fragilis poteram ab terra contingere ramos.  
 ut vidi, ut perii! ut me malus abstulit error!

tifer ignis.' Serv. mentions a legend connecting Oeta with the worship of Hesperus, who loved a youth Hymenaeus. If Virg. referred to this or any thing like it, we need not suppose him to be here following a Greek original, though he is likely enough to have been guilty of the incongruity of making a Greek shepherd allude to the details of a Roman marriage.

Keightley remarks on the ignorance shown in supposing that there can be a morning and evening star at the same time (comp. v. 17). The same error is committed by Catull. LXII 34, Hor. Od. II ix 10, and other Latin poets. In general they were careless observers of nature. ['Oetan' Ver.]

33-37. 'A suitable match for one who scorns my rusticity, and perjures herself fearlessly.'

33. This marriage has come upon Nysa as a punishment for her scorn and perfidy. Damon evidently means that Mopsus is confessedly inferior to himself.

34. The maiden scorning the rusticity and unsightliness of her lover is from Theocr. Idyls III, XI, XX.

35. 'Hirsutumque supercilium,' *λαοία όφρύς*, Theocr. XI 31.

'Promissa' Med., Gud., etc.; the old reading 'prolixa' is found in two of Ribbeck's cursives. Pal. has 'demissa.' 'Immissaque barba,' A. III 593. Virg. may have intended it as an imitation of *προγένειος*, Theocr. III 9, which is taken to mean 'having a prominent chin' [by the best edd., but 'bearded' by the Schol. and Hesych.]

36. *οὐκ ἔφα τις θεοῦς βροτῶν ἀξιοῦσθαι μέλειν*, Aesch. Ag. 369. 'Mortalia' = 'res mortalium,' A. I 461; so Lucr. VI 29 'rebus mortalibus.'

38-43. 'I first saw you when I was a child and you came to gather our apples. That moment was my fate.'

38. Theocr. XI 25 foll., the Cyclops tells Galatea that he has loved her ever since she came to gather hyacinths.

'Saepibus in nostris,' within our enclosure (I 54), in our orchard. 'Roscida,' with the dew on them.

39. The boy, knowing every nook of the orchard, shows the way to his mother's guest. The sense of 'matre' is fixed by Theocr. XI 26, *ἔμᾳ σὺν μητρὶ*.

40. Modern editors have found little difficulty in deciding that 'alter ab undecimo' is the twelfth, following the inclusive mode of counting. Comp. 'alter ab illo,' v 49; 'heros ab Achille secundus,' Hor. S. II iii 193. The Romans counted both inclusively and exclusively, and authorities were at one time divided on the question whether Virg. meant the twelfth or the thirteenth. The former view was supported by Vives, Camerarius, Nannius, Sigonius, the elder Scaliger, and Castalio; the latter by Servius, Euphrasius, Manutius, and the younger Scaliger.

'Acceperat' is the reading of all Ribbeck's MSS. 'Accipere' is correlative to 'inire' or 'ingredi,' the year receiving those who enter on it.

41. 'Fragilis,' he was just able to reach and snap them off.

'Ab terra' is restored by Wagn. from Med., and originally Pal., for 'a terra.' ['Ab' is used by Virg. only when it implies place or origin, and, if it precedes a consonant, the consonant must be i, l, r, s, or t.—Georges.]

42. Theocr. II 82, *χὼς ἴδον, ὡς ἑμάνην, ὡς μεν περὶ θυμὸς ἰάφθη* (comp. ib. III 42, Hom. Il. I 512, XIV 294, XX 424), where

incipie Maenaios mecum, mea tibia, versus.  
 nunc scio, quid sit Amor; duris in cotibus illum  
 aut Tmaros, aut Rhodope, aut extremi Garamantes, 45  
 nec generis nostri puerum nec sanguinis edunt.  
 incipie Maenaios mecum, mea tibia, versus.  
 saevus Amor docuit natorum sanguine matrem  
 commaculare manus; crudelis tu quoque, mater;  
 crudelis mater magis, an puer improbus ille? 50

the second  $\acute{\omega}\zeta$  should possibly be  $\acute{\omega}\zeta$ —‘when I saw, I at once became mad,’ or, ‘as surely as I saw, I became mad’—so that Virg.’s ‘ut’ would be a mistranslation. The meaning here apparently is ‘when I saw, how was I undone!’

‘Error,’ madness. Comp. Hor. Ep. II i 118, where it is coupled with ‘insania,’ A. P. 454. The line recurs, Ciris, v. 430.

43-47. ‘Now I know what love is—nothing human, but the savage growth of the wilds.’

44. From Theocr. III 15. Comp. A. IV 365 note. ‘Scio’ and ‘nescio’ are the only instances in which Virg. shortens the final ‘o’ in a verb (comp. A. IX 296). This may be accounted for by their constant colloquial use, and possibly by ‘scio’—having come to be pronounced as a monosyllable.

‘Cotibus,’ the older form of ‘cautibus,’ like ‘plostrum’ of ‘plaustrum,’ etc. [For ‘duris’ Pal. had ‘nudis.’]

45. ‘Aut Tmaros,’ in one form or another, is read by all the oldest MSS., including the Verona fragm. ‘Ismarus,’ the reading of many early editions, is found in some of Ribbeck’s cursives, and we have already seen it coupled with ‘Rhodope,’ VI 30. There is a similar variety A. v 620.

The line is formed on the Greek model, but it need not be a translation. From II. XVI 34 it would appear that the intention was to represent a savage man as actually sprung from a rock: but ‘extremi Garamantes’ here shows that Virg. was thinking less of the rocks than of their inhabitants.

46. ‘Nostri,’ human, like the transferred sense of ‘humanus,’ savages not being included in humanity.

‘Edunt’ seems rightly explained by Wagn. = ‘parentes sunt,’ as if giving birth were a continuing act; so ‘creat,

G. I 279, A. x 705; ‘generat,’ A. VIII 141; ‘educat,’ A. x 518.

48-52. ‘The cruelty of love is an old story: love made Medea kill her children, though her heart was hard too.’

49. ‘Mater’ is clearly to be explained like ‘matrem,’ of Medea, not of Venus, though the close connexion of ‘mater’ and ‘puer’ is awkward when the terms are not correlative. The shepherd is naturally led to blame Medea—she must have had a hard heart to have let love impel her to such a crime,—then recurring to his old complaint against love, he balances the criminality in each case, but cannot adjust the proportions. There is nothing particularly inappropriate in this, though Catrou thinks it mere playing on words, and editors alter variously. Heyne omits vv. 50, 51. Herm. reduces this and the following lines to two, reading: ‘commaculare manus: puer a puer improbus ille: Improbus’ etc.; Ribbeck arrives at the same result by omitting v. 51, and reading ‘commaculare manus, crudelis! tu quoque, mater, Crudelis mater, magis at puer improbus ille.’ Each critic supposes a line to be lost after v. 59. But even this would not restore the symmetry of the two songs, as the present stanza, the eighth of Damon’s, would thus answer not to the eighth but to the ninth of Alpheisboeus’, and Herm. is further obliged to transpose vv. 96-101, inserting them after v. 105.

50. ‘Is the cruelty of the mother, or the wickedness of the boy greater?’ Voss supposes the question to be whether the mother or the wicked boy be the more cruel, the answer being, ‘the wicked boy; though the mother is cruel still.’ But this is far less natural, and overlooks the obvious distinction between the cruelty of Medea and the wanton malice of the god who drove her to crime, which may be compared in point of criminality, but



improbus ille puer ; crudelis tu quoque, mater.  
 incipe Maenalios mecum, mea tibia, versus.  
 nunc et ovis ultro fugiat lupus, aurea durae  
 mala ferant quercus, narcisso floreat alnus,  
 pinguia corticibus sudent electra myricae, 55  
 certent et cynnis ululae, sit Tityrus Orpheus,  
 Orpheus in silvis, inter delphinas Arion,  
 (incipi Maenalios mecum, mea tibia, versus)  
 omnia vel medium fiant mare. vivite, silvae :  
 praeceps aërii specula de montis in undas 60

cannot be identified. So 'Improbe amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis?' A IV 413. 'Vanum mendacemque improba (Fortuna) finget,' A. II 80.

53-57. 'Let the order of nature be reversed, barren things becoming fruitful, and base things honourable.'

53. He had before prophesied unequal and unnatural unions, vv. 27, 28: he now prays that, as he is to die despairing and a meaner man to triumph, a similar change may affect all nature. The changes which he desires are those which are mentioned elsewhere as the results of the golden age (III 89, IV 30, etc., v 60), the same events being capable of being regarded either as a bestowal of favour on the less favoured parts of nature, or as a transference of the just rights of the strong and beautiful to the weak and contemptible. Thus the prayer of v. 56 may be paralleled with Horace's address to the Muse (Od. IV iii 19), 'O mutis quoque piscibus Donatura cynni, si libeat, sonum,' and the change of Tityrus into Orpheus with the shepherd-poet's boast (IV 55 foll.), that he will equal Orpheus and Linus if allowed to sing in the golden age. In Theocr. I 132 foll., from which the passage is copied, the instances seem merely to be chosen as involving a reversal of the order of nature, not as symbolizing the dishonour done to Daphnis.

'Ultrō,' not only forbear to molest them, but actually fly from them in his turn.

'Aurea mala,' III 71.

55. The tamarisk, as in IV 2, VI 10, seems to be chosen as one of the meaner plants, which is supposed to be raised to the privileges of the alder or poplar, the river-trees (VI 63) which were believed to distil amber (Ov. M. II 364).

56. 'Certent—ululae,' a proverbial expression, which appears in various forms, Theocr. I 136, v 136, 137; Lucr. III 6: see also IX 36.

57. 'Arion,' the sea being an element for the shepherd, as a bather or a fisher, as well as the land.

59-62. 'Let earth be turned to sea. I at least will find my death in the deep, and she may delight in it.'

59. Ribbeck [and Conington] accept 'fiat' from Med., Pal., Serv. for 'fiant' [Gud., etc., Priscian, Donatus]. The sense is of course the same either way.

'Medium,' the mid or deep sea. 'Graditurque per aequor Iam medium,' A. III 665. The wish, as Elmsley pointed out, appears to be a mistranslation of Theocr. I 134, πάντα δ' ἐνάλλα γίνοιτο, as if the word were ἐνάλια. Virg. may have intended to lead up to this thought by the mention of Tityrus in the sea, v. 57, 'in short, let earth take the place of sea.' So the farewell to the woods, 'silvae' contrasted with the sea, as in v. 57, and the shepherd's resolution to drown himself, are introduced as if in anticipation of this general change. The notion cannot be called appropriate, though we are prepared for it by such passages as I 60, and that quoted from Hdt. in the note there. The farewell is from Theocr. I 115, where it is given in much greater detail. 'Concedite silvae,' x 63.

60. Theocr. III 25, τὰν βαίταν ἀποδὸς ἐς κύματα τῆνῶ ἀλεύμαι Ὡπερ τῶς θύνηως σκοπιάσεται Ὀλιπὶς ὁ γριπιεύς, where σκοπιάσεται suggested 'specula' here, though the word, like the Homeric σκοπιή, evidently means no more than a mountain-top which may be used as a watch-tower. 'Specula ab alta,' A. x 454. The Ciris has a similar line, v. 301.

deferar ; extremum hoc munus morientis habeto.  
desine Maenaliis, iam desine, tibia, versus.

Haec Damon ; vos, quae responderit Alpheisiboeus,  
dicite, Pierides ; non omnia possumus omnes.

A. Effer aquam, et molli cinge haec altaria vitta, 65  
verbenasque adole pinguis et mascula tura :  
coniugis ut magicis sanos avertere sacris

61. It is doubtful whether 'munus' is to be understood of the song, with Heyne, or of his death, with the majority of editors. The latter is recommended by [Theocr.] XXIII 20, *δωρά τοι ἤλθον Δοῖσθια ταῦτα φέρων, τὸν ἑμὸν βρύχον* : but there is something awkward in death's being called the last gift of a dying man, and it would be more satisfactory if there were any thing connected with his death (like the halter in Theocr.), which he could be supposed to offer her. Virg. however probably meant to convey the sense of Theocr. III 27 (see last note), *καίκα δὴ ποθάνω, τό γε μὰν πένδ' ἀδὴ τίτυκται*.

62. Theocr. I 127, *λίγητε βυκολικᾶς, Μῶσαι, ἴτε, λίγγε' αἰοῦδᾶς*, a line which occurs not only at the end of 'Thyrsis' song, but several times during the latter part of it.

63, 64. 'Alpheisiboeus replies.' Virg. having rehearsed Damon's song in his own person, asks the Muses to repeat that of Alpheisiboeus, alleging that one man is not equal to both. There is nothing here to indicate a preference of the latter. Alpheisiboeus' song is in a totally different style from Damon's : and whether the Muses are invoked as goddesses of memory, or of song, or of both (see note VII 19), it is not extraordinary that the narrator should request for the second song an assistance which he did not require for the first. In fact the words 'non omnia possumus omnes,' a hemistich from Lucilius, Sat. v 52 (Müller), seemingly proverbial (comp. VII 23, G. II 109 note), sufficiently explain themselves. The sentiment is as old as Hom. II. XXIII 670, *οὐδ' ἄρα πως ἦν' Ἐν πάντεσσ' ἐργοῖσι δαίμονα φῶτα γενέσθαι*. The song is meant to correspond to Damon's, like Menalcas' in E. v to Mopsus', as is clear from the whole Eclogue, as well as from the similarity of detail (see note on v. 76) : but an amoebean exercise does not involve a contest here any more than there.

65-69. 'A. Bring lustral water : wreath

the altar with wool : throw sacred boughs and frankincense into the fire : I am trying to bring back my lover by enchantment : now for a magic song.'

65. The maiden is standing before the altar, and about to commence. 'Effer aquam,' to her attendant, Amaryliss (vv. 76, 77, 101), who is bidden to bring the lustral water out into the 'impluvium,' where these solemnities seem to be going on.

'Molli' probably, as Serv. thinks, because the fillet was of wool. 'Terque focum circa laneus orbis eat,' Prop. v vi 6. The passage is imitated more or less closely from Theocr. II 1 foll.

66. 'Verbenae sunt omnes herbae frondesque festae ad aras coronandas, vel omnes herbae frondesque ex aliquo loco puro decerptae : verbenae autem dictae quasi herbenae,' Donatus on Ter. Andr. IV iii 11. [Another etymology, from 'viridis,' is given in Serv. The real derivation is as yet uncertain.—H. N.] For its use in the sense of 'vervain' see G. IV 131.

'Pinguis,' unctuous, and fit for burning.

'Mascula' was the best kind of frankincense, also called 'stagonias,' being shaped like a round drop. Pliny XII 62. Comp. Hor. Od. I xix 13, 'Verbenas, pueri, ponite turaque.'

[Possibly there are two distinct verbs : (1) 'adoleo,' to increase, i.e. pile up, offer on altar, as Nonius explains the word here ; hence (metaph.) to honour ; 'adolere Penates' A. I 704 ; (2) 'adoleo,' to burn, a sense found as early as Ennius and Val. Antias, and assumed for this passage by Serv. Here and A. III 547 either meaning suits : in A. VII 71 the word plainly = 'burn.' See Nettleship's Contributions to Latin Lex. p. 46 and G. IV 379.]

67. 'Coniugis,' placed as in v. 18, near the opening of the song, so as to suggest the intended parallel between the two. Here the lovers seem to have been already united, if we may argue from Theocr.



experiar sensus ; nihil hic nisi carmina desunt.  
 ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnim.  
 carmina v̄el caelo possunt deducere Lunam ; 70  
 carminibus Circe socios mutavit Ulixi ;  
 frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur anguis.  
 ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnim.  
 terna tibi haec primum (triplici diversa colore)  
 licia circumdo, terque haec altaria circum 75  
 effigiem duco ; numero deus impare gaudet.  
 ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnim.  
 nocte (tribus nodis) ternos, Amarylli, colores ;

'Avertere, a sanitate mutare,' Serv. rightly. The phrase is probably a translation of the Homeric *βλάπτειν φρένας*, Od. XIV 178. She wishes him to be 'insanus,' passionately in love, not cold and indifferent.

68. 'Carmina' is her magic song, the same which she has just begun, as the Furies in Aesch. *Eum.* 306 call their choral ode *ῥῆμος δίσμος*.

69. Imitated from the burden in Theocr. II 17, etc., *ἰνῆ, ἔλκε τὸ τῆνον ἔμὸν ποτι δῶμα τὸν ἀνδρα*. 'Ab urbe' seems to imply that the speaker is a countrywoman whose lover is away at Mantua, I 34.

70-73. 'Great is the power of magic song : it can bring down the moon, change men into brutes, burst serpents asunder.'

70. Observe the correspondence of the opening of Alphesiboeus' song with that of Damon's. The first stanza in each gives the subject : the second speaks of the associations connected with the kind of song chosen. With the present passage comp. Tibull. I viii 19 foll., which resembles it closely, and A. IV 487-491. The power of sorceresses to draw down the moon is frequently referred to by the ancients, Aristoph. *Clouds* 749, Hor. *Epod.* v 45, xvii 77.

71. See Od. x 203 foll.

72. For this effect of incantation see Lucil. *Sat.* xx 5 (Müller), 'Iam dirumpetur medius, iam ut Marsu' colubras Dirumpit cantu, venas cum extenderit omnes,' Ov. M. VII 203, Am. II i 25.

'Frigidus anguis,' III 93. 'Cantando' is used substantively or impersonally, like 'habendo' G. II 250, 'tendo' G. III 454, etc.

74-80. 'I twist three threads of different colours round Daphnis' image,

which I carry thrice round the altar, for the virtue of the number. Let them be knit into a love-knot.'

74. 'Terna' probably for 'tres,' though Serv. supposes that there are nine threads of three different colours, and so the author of the *Ciris*, v. 370 foll., where this passage is imitated.

For the magic force of the number three, comp. Theocr. II 43, A. IV 511, Ov. M. VII 189 foll., Tibull. I ii 54, Hor. Ep. I i 36. The three colours, according to Serv., are white, rose-red, and black.

'Tibi' is explained by 'effigiem,' v. 75. 'Primum,' as her first effort at incantation.

['Primum' Pal. originally.—H. N.]

75. For 'haec altaria' one late MS., the Lombard, gives 'hanc,' which Wagn. would introduce. But Jahn and Forb. seem right in remarking that 'tibi' is the keynote of the sentence. 'I bind these threads thrice round thee (thy image), and I carry thee in effigy thrice round this altar.'

76. For the use of images in love-charms, comp. A. IV 508, Hor. S. I viii 30. [O. Hirschfeld, *De incantamentis et devinctionibus amatoris apud Graecos Romanosque*; Tylor, *Early Hist. of Man-kind*, ch. vi.]

'Numero deus impare gaudet : ' one superstition, says Serv., was that odd numbers were immortal, because they cannot be divided into two equal parts, the even being mortal. With the expression comp. III 59, 'amant alterna Camenae.' The hemistich recurs in the *Ciris*, v. 373.

78. 'Twine three colours in three knots ; ' i.e. make three knots, each of a thread with a different colour.

necte, Amarylli, modo, et, 'Veneris,' dic, 'vincula necto.'  
 ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnim. 80  
 limus ut hic durescit et haec ut cera liquescit  
 uno eodemque igni, sic nostro Daphnis amore.  
 sparge molam, et fragilis incende bitumine laurus.  
 Daphnis me malus urit, ego hanc in Daphnide laurum.  
 ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnim. 85  
 talis amor Daphnim, qualis cum fessa iuvenum  
 per nemora atque altos quaerendo bucula lucos  
 propter aquae rivum viridi procumbit in ulva,  
 perdita, nec serae meminit decedere nocti,

79. 'Modo' emphasizes the command thus repeated. 'Just twine them.' 'I modo,' Plaut. Trin. II iv 182.

'Veneris vincula:' for other allusions to these knots, Voss refers to Synesius, Ep. 121, and Apuleius, Met. III 137. The expression is from Theocr. II 21, *πάσσι ἅμα καὶ λέγει ταῦτα· τὰ Δελφιδος δοῖα πάσσω*. The early critics were anxious to read 'nodos' for 'modo,' and had recourse to various devices to account for the metre.

81-85. 'I put clay, wax, and bay-leaves into the fire, each to work a corresponding effect on Daphnis.'

81. Some commentators explain 'limus' and 'cera' of images of clay and wax; but Keightley rightly denies that any more is meant than pieces of clay and wax, which are put into the fire like the sprigs of bay, the 'mola' and the bitumen. This is evident from the words in Theocr. II 28, *Ὡς τοῦτον τὸν καρὸν ἐγὼ σὺν δαίμονι τάκω, Ὡς τάκοιθ' ὑπ' ἔρωτος ὁ Μύνδιος αὐτίκα Δέλφιδος*.

The rhyme is meant to imitate the jingle usual in charms, as Voss remarks, comparing Cato, R. R. 160, where some seemingly unmeaning specimens of the sort are given. [Comp. Varro R. R. I ii 27, 'terra pestem teneto, salus hic maneto;' Wölflin's Archiv I 365.]

82. 'Eodem,' dissyllable. 'Una eademque via,' A. x 487.

'Sic:' so may my love act in two ways, softening Daphnis to me and hardening him to others. Voss.

83. 'Sparge molam:' *ἄλφιδά τοι πρῶτον πυρὶ τάκεται· ἀλλ' ἐπίκασσε*, Theocr. II 18. For 'mola,' in sacrifices, comp. A. II 133, IV 517.

'Fragilis,' crackling. 'Et fragilis soni-

tus chartarum commeditatur,' Lucr. VI 112. Bay-leaves were thrown on the altar, and their crackling was thought auspicious. 'Et succensa sacris crepitet bene laurea flammis, Omine quo felix et sacer annus eat. Laurus, io, bona signa dedit: gaudete, coloni,' Tibull. II v 81 foll. Comp. also Theocr. II 24.

['Laurus,' Pal., Gud. and Ribbeck's chief cursives, see VI 83.—H. N.]

84. *Δέλφιδος ἐμ' ἀνίασεν, ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ Δελφιδὶ δάφναν Αἰθῶ*, Theocr. II 23. 'Ἐπὶ Δελφιδὶ' explains 'in Daphnide,' in the case of Daphnis, like 'talis in hoste fuit Priamo,' A. II 541. There may be a play intended between 'Daphnis' and *δάφνη*.

86-91. 'May Daphnis' longing be like the heifer's, who, tired with seeking her mate in vain, throws herself on the grass, and will not return to her stall.'

86. Virg. must mean that the heifer is seeking her mate, like Pasiphae VI 52 foll.; but the picture is not unlike the celebrated one in Lucr. II 352 foll. (compared by Cerda), of a cow looking for her lost calf, 'desiderio perfixa iuveni.'

87. 'Bucula,' G. I 375.

88. 'Propter aquae rivum,' Lucr. II 30. Pal. originally had 'concumbit,' and so the text of Gud.

89. This line is said by Macrobi. Sat. VI 2 to be taken from Varius' poem De Morte Caesaris, where a dog chasing a stag is thus described, 'Non amnes illam medii, non ardua tardant, Perdita nec serae meminit decedere nocti.' If so, Virg. must be held to have proved his right to the line by the use he has made of it. The thought, the turn of the expression, and the rhythm of the verse, are all better suited to the love-stricken heifer than to the eager hound. The word



talīs amor teneat, nec sit mihi cura mederi. 90  
 ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnim.  
 has olim exuvias mihi perfidus ille reliquit,  
 pignora cara sui; quae nunc ego limine in ipso,  
 terra, tibi mando; debent haec pignora Daphnim.  
 ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnim. 95  
 has herbas atque haec Ponto mihi lecta venena  
 ipse dedit Moeris; nascuntur plurima Ponto.  
 his ego saepe lupum fieri et se condere silvis  
 Moerim, saepe animas imis excire sepulchris  
 atque satas alio vidi traducere messis. 100

'perdita' in particular suggests the abandonment of love more naturally than reckless pursuit, and it is undoubtedly much more effective when hanging, as it were, between two clauses (a position with which Forb. aptly comp. A. IV 562), than when necessarily attached to the latter. With 'perdita' Keightley comp. II 59.

'Decedere nocti' occurs again G. III 467; comp. 'decedere calori,' G. IV 23, and Gray's 'leaves the world to darkness and to me.' Perhaps Virg. or Varius may have thought of Hom.'s *πειθόμεθα νυκτὶ μελαίνῃ* (II. VIII 502).

90. With 'talīs amor Daphnim—talīs amor teneat,' comp. vv. 1, 5.

92-95. 'These things which he has left I will bury at the door, in the hope that they will bring him back.'

92. From Theocr. II 53, where the border of the lover's robe which he has left behind is thrown into the fire. So Dido proposes to burn the relics (called 'exuviae') of Aeneas, A. IV 495 foll. [For the folklore, see also Lucian, Dial. Meretr. IV 4, Apuleius M. III 18.]

'Perfidus ille,' A. IV 421.

93. 'Pignora' seems to imply that they were left purposely, not by accident. 'Limine in ipso,' her own threshold, to which she wishes to attract him, the threshold being, as Heyne remarks, a common-place in Latin poetry in connexion with lovers' visits; there is no allusion to the practice mentioned by Theocr. II 60, of performing incantations at the door of the person whose presence was desired.

94. 'Debent' is explained by 'pignora.' They are his pledges, and bind him to redeem them.

96-101. 'These poison-plants I had from the great Moeris, who by their help could transform himself, conjure up spirits, and charm away crops.'

96. 'Herbas atque venena,' hendiadys. Pontus had a reputation for poisons from its connexion with Mithridates, and produced a particular poison-plant, the aconite. But it may be put here for Colchis, the country of Medea, in the [wider sense of the word] which we find in Cic. Pro Lege Man. 9, Juv. XIV 114, cited by Forb. [and in Ovid.]

97. 'Moeris' is mentioned nowhere else; but his name is given to a shepherd in the next Eclogue, and he is doubtless meant to be a noted country wizard.

'Plurima' is closely connected with 'nascuntur.'

98. The change of men into wolves, *λυκανθρωπία*, was a common superstition, lasting into and beyond the Middle Ages. The story of Lycaon, Ov. M. I 209 foll., is seemingly one of the earlier traditions on the subject.

'Et se condere silvis' goes closely with 'lupum fieri,' 'his' belonging to the one clause only in its connexion with the other. In Ov. I. c. Lycaon 'nactus silentia ruris exululat.' So in VI 80, Tereus or Philomela, immediately on being transformed, flies to the desert.

99. 'Nocturnosque ciet Manis,' of the sorceress, A. IV 490.

100. 'Cantus vicinis fruges traducit ab agris,' Tibull. I viii 19. The practice was forbidden in the Twelve Tables, under the name of 'fruges excantare,' Pliny XXVIII 18. [Serv. on v. 72 says 'Sane veteres "cantare" de magico carmine dicebant, unde et "excantare" est magicis carminibus obligare: Plautus in Bacchidibus "Nam tu

ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnim. 101  
 fer cineres, Amarylli, foras, rivoque fluenti  
 transque caput iace; nec respexeris. his ego Daphnim  
 adgrediar; nihil ille deos, nil carmina curat.  
 ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnim. 105  
 aspice, corripuit tremulis altaria flammis  
 sponte sua, dum ferre moror, cinis ipse. bonum sit!

quidem cuius excantare cor facile potes." See also Nonius, p. 102.—H. N.] Our own unfortunate witches, as Keightley reminds us, were (and are still) accused of charming away butter out of the churn.

102-105. 'Take the ashes and throw them over your head into the running stream; perhaps they may have effect.'

102. The imitation here is of another passage in Theocr. xxiv 91 foll., where Tiresias bids Alcmena burn the serpents which Hercules had strangled in his cradle at midnight, and make one of her maids fling away their ashes in the morning. Here the burning of the sacrificial boughs and frankincense with the wax and clay, the salt cake and sprigs of bay, answers (as Voss suggests) to the burning of the serpents; and the ceremony of flinging away the ashes is evidently meant to be similar. There is, however, some difference in the detail. In Theocr. the servant is to carry the ashes across the stream and then to fling them away, and return without looking back; in Virg. she is to fling them away down the stream, not looking back when doing so. Comp. Aesch. Cho. 98, 99, στείχων, καθάρμαθ' ὡς τις ἐκπέμψας, πάλιν, Δικουῖσα τεύχος, ἀστρόφοισιν δμμασιν, where Blomfield remarks on Virg.'s misunderstanding of Theocr. It is not easy to see the supposed object of the process here; it can hardly be connected with expiation as in Theocr. and Aesch. Voss thinks she intends nothing short of the destruction of Daphnis, which is symbolized by the ashes thrown into the river, and carried into the sea, just as in Theocr. Id. 11 the enchantress finally threatens to poison Delphis; but v. 104 shows that she is still hoping to bring him back. Whatever it is, she seems to look upon it as a last resource, vv. 102, 103.

'Rivo fluenti iace,' like 'undis spargere,' A. iv 600; ['disiice corpora ponto,' i 70, etc. The dat. seems (as Landgraf points out in Wölfflin's Archiv viii 69-74)

to belong to the same class as 'it clamor caelo,' 'terrae defiguit arbos,' G. ii 290, 'facilis descensus Averno,' A. vi 126, etc.]

103. 'Nec' Med., Gud., Pal. originally; 'ne' Pal. corrected and one or two of Ribbeck's cursives. The grounds for deciding between them are slight. Wagn. argues for 'nec' because Virg. means her not to look back while flinging the ashes away, but this is begging the question, as the passage in Theocr. might suggest another meaning. It would seem, however, from Od. v 349 that the two actions of throwing away and turning the back were meant to be closely connected; Ulysses is bidden ἀπ' ἀποδοσάμενος βαλῆεν εἰς οἶνοπα πόντον Πολλὸν ἀπ' ἠκείρου, αὐτὸς δ' ἀπὸ νόσφι τραπίσθαι, to cast away Leucothea's scarf, and turn his back. Eur. Andr. 294 speaks of flinging an inauspicious thing ὑπὲρ κεφαλάν, [and the superstition prevails widely].

106-110. 'Here is a good sign at last; the ashes flame up suddenly. It must be so: and the dog is barking. Can it be Daphnis? It is; cease, my charms.'

106. The last command is anticipated by a sudden flame in the ashes. Serv. makes Amaryllis the speaker, on account of the words 'dum ferre moror,' [and so Vahlen and Ribbeck in his last edition.] But this would be awkward. We may easily suppose that both enchantress and attendant would join in removing the ashes. The blazing of the fire was a good omen, as its smouldering was a bad one (comp. G. iv 385, 386, Soph. Ant. 1006); and a sudden blaze would naturally be thought an especial token of good. Serv. and Plutarch (life of Cicero, c. xx) relate that this omen happened to Cicero's wife as she was sacrificing to Vesta in the year of Catiline's conspiracy, and that it was interpreted as a sign of honour and glory.

[Serv. takes 'altaria' of the offerings. See v 66.—H. N.]

107. Voss distinguishes 'sponte sua' from 'ipse,' making the latter mean the



nescio quid certe est, et Hylax in limine latrat.  
credimus? an, qui amant, ipsi sibi somnia fingunt?  
parcite, ab urbe venit, iam, carmina, parcite, Daphnis. 110

mere dying cinders; but a pleonasm would agree better with Virg.'s general use of 'ipse,' and would here, as elsewhere, be highly forcible in itself.

'Bonum sit' or 'bene sit' was the usual ejaculation. Cic. Div. 1 45 (quoted by Emm.) gives a fuller one, 'Maiores nostri omnibus rebus agendis quod bonum, faustum, felix, fortunatumque esset praefabantur.'

108. 'Nescio quid certe est' is copied from Catullus, as it is copied by Persius. This shows that the present punctuation is the right one, as against Döring's 'Nescio quid . . . certe est!'

'Hylax' is a natural name for a dog, like 'Hylactor' Ov. M. III 224. The MSS. have 'Hylas,' but on the orthography of proper names their testimony is worth little: see A. III 701. The

barking is in Theocr. II 35, though the connexion there is different.

109. Cerda comp. Publ. Syr. 'Amans quae suspicatur vigilans somniat.' 'Somnia fingere' occurs in Lucr. I 104.

['Qui amant:' for the metre see the note on E. II 65.]

110. Daphnis is seen, and the charms are bidden to cease; in Theocr. the enchantress is unsuccessful.

'Iam, carmina, parcite' was introduced by Voss from Med. and one cursive for 'iam parcite, carmina,' [which is preferred by Ribbeck, Thilo, and others.] Wagn. defended the old reading by referring to v. 67; but the position of 'tibia' there is evidently meant to answer to its position in v. 21, etc., so that we may argue that 'carmina' should stand here where it has stood in v. 68, etc.

## ECLOGA IX. [MOERIS.]

## LYCIDAS. MOERIS.

THE historical occasion of this Eclogue has been already noticed in the Introduction to E. 1. According to the traditional account, Virgil, after obtaining a promise of protection, returned to his property, but he found his entrance resisted and his life menaced by an intruding soldier, whose name is variously given as Arrius, Clodius, or Milienus Toro; he then fled, and made a second appeal to the higher authorities, which was crowned with more permanent success. Ruæus conjectures that the present Eclogue was in fact a poetical petition presented to Varus or Octavianus. [It is possible, however, as is argued in an excursus at the end of this Eclogue, that the traditional account is untrue, and that this poem is earlier than the first Eclogue.]

Whatever its exact occasion, it is skilfully contrived to interest the reader in the poet's favour. Moeris, one of the servants, is going to the town, doubtless Mantua, with part of the farm produce, which he is to give to the usurping proprietor, when he is stopped by a neighbour, Lycidas, relates his and his master's troubles, and receives a warm expression of sympathy at a loss which had so nearly fallen on the whole district by the death of their illustrious compatriot. Some of the poet's verses are quoted by way of showing how great that loss would have been, while Virg.'s successful return is hinted at as an event which will produce further poems. There is a compliment to Varus (v. 27), and another to Caesar (v. 46).

The framework is more or less borrowed from the *Θαλύσια* of Theocritus (Idyl viii), the most personal of that poet's works, the first part of which is taken up by an account of a country walk, in the course of which Lycidas, a goatherd and a famous singer, comes up with Simichidas, the representative of Theocritus, and consents to sing with him as they journey along. Some passages in the Eclogue are modelled on passages from other Idyls which are referred to in the notes.

As there are no hills or beeches in the Mantuan territory, which, if any, must be referred to vv. 7 foll., the scenery seems to be imaginary or confused, a conclusion confirmed by v. 57. (See note at the end of the Eclogues, p. 125.)

The correspondence between the specimens quoted from Menalcas' poetry, Lycidas and Moeris first repeating three, then five lines each, is doubtless intentional. See the last paragraph of the Introduction to the Eclogues (pp. 20-21).

The date of the poem is perhaps later than that of Eclogue v (see v. 19), and consequently than those of Eclogues II and III.

## L. QUO te, Moeri, pedes? an, quo via ducit, in urbem?

1. 'L. Whither away, Moeris? to the city?' So the Lycidas of Theocr. (see Introd.) asks Σμιχίδα, πᾶ δὴ τὸ μεσαμίριον πόδας ἔλκεις; 'Quo te pedes?' the ellipse, which is natural in questions of the kind (comp. III 25, 'cantando tu illum,' Madvig, § 479, d), is apparently to be

supplied from 'ducit.' Voss comp. Pliny Ep. vii 5, 'Ad diaetam tuam ipsi me, ut verissime dicitur, pedes ducunt,' from which he infers that the phrase had come to be used for involuntary motion. So Theocr. XIII 30, XIV 42, ἃ πόδες ἄγον, of persons hastening they know or care



- M.* O Lycida, vivi pervenimus, advena nostri,  
 quod numquam veriti sumus, ut possessor agelli  
 diceret: 'Haec mea sunt; veteres migrate coloni.'  
 nunc victi, tristes, quoniam Fors omnia versat, 5  
 hos illi—quod nec vertat bene—mittimus haedos.
- L.* Certe equidem audieram, qua se subducere colles  
 incipiunt, mollique iugum demittere clivo,  
 usque ad aquam et veteres, iam fracta cacumina, fagos

not whither, like Horace's 'I pedes quo te rapiunt et aerae' (Od. III xi 49), 'ire pedes quocunque ferunt' (Epod. XVI 21). In Hom. however (e.g. II. XVIII 148, τὴν μὲν ἄρ' Ὀδυσσεύονδε πόδες φέρον) it is merely a primitive expression for walking or running; and it might be doubted whether it is more here, were it not for Theocr. VII 21. Virg.'s more usual expression is 'ferre (efferre, referre) pedem.' 'Quo via ducit:' 'qua te ducit via, dirige gressum,' A I 401.

'Urbem' seemingly Mantua, I 20, 34.  
 2-6. '*M.* We have lived to be turned out of our farm by an intruder. It is to him I am carrying this present.'

2. 'Vivi pervenimus,' we have lived to see (Serv.); 'vivi' expressing both that they might have expected to die before such an outrage (as Wagn. explains it), and that death would have been a boon.

'Advena,' contemptuous, as A. IV 591, XII 261. The order of the words seems to express the confusion of Moeris, who brings them out in gasps.

3. Wagn. reads 'quo' for 'quod,' from three MSS. (none of Ribbeck's), denying 'pervenimus ut' to be Latin: it is however sufficiently defended by Forb., who contends that 'eo' is implied in the form of the sentence,—a remark which really applies to all cases where 'ut' means 'so that,' though no antecedent like 'sic,' 'adeo,' or 'talis' is expressed. On the other hand, 'quo,' besides its deficiency in external authority, would introduce greater confusion into the order of the sentence than could be excused by Moeris' perturbation of mind. Lachm. on Lucr. VI 324, [Munro on Lucr. I 553, and most editors] accept 'quod.'

['Possessor.' Cf. 'Sullani possessores, Sullanæ possessiones' Cic. Leg. Agr. II 69, 98; III 10; 'bonorum possessor, expulso, evertor' Pro Quint. 30; the word had got to be associated with violence.]

4. 'Haec mea sunt:' VII 46. It was the natural language in laying a claim.

5. The emphatic word would seem to be 'fors,' not 'versat'—'since things are regulated by chance, which makes void the rights of property.'

6. ['Nec' = 'non:' Munro, Lucr. II 23.]

'Vertat bene' is the order of Med., Pal. originally, and Gud. corrected, preferred by Wagn. on rhythmical grounds to the common 'bene vertat,' which is found in Pal. corrected, Gud. originally, and one other of Ribbeck's MSS. The latter order seems more usual in prose, but the former occurs more than once in Terence.

'Mittimus' is used because Moeris, though carrying the kids himself, speaks for his master, who sends the present.

7-10. '*L.* I thought your master's poetry had saved all his property.'

7. 'Certe equidem,' frequently found together. Hand, Tursell. ii p. 28.

'Qua—fagos' is connected with 'omnia,' expressing the extent of the property. Though the scenery is imaginary, the specification here seems to show a jealousy on behalf of the strict rights of Menalcas, which, as Voss points out, doubtless represents Virg.'s own feeling.

'Subducere,' draw themselves up from the plain, the slope being regarded from below; in 'iugum demittere' it is regarded from above.

8. 'Molli clivo,' G. III 293. Caes. B. C. II 10, speaks of 'fastigium molle,' as he elsewhere uses 'lene,' like our expression 'a gentle slope.'

9. The old reading, 'veteris iam fracta cacumina fagi' (Pal., Gud. originally, and most of Ribbeck's cursives), is supported by [Quint. VIII vi 46 (who quotes vv. 7-10) and] Pers. v 59, 'Frerit artuculos, veteris ramalia fagi.' The present reading, restored by Heins. (Med. and the margin of Gud.), is neater and more poetical, comp. II 3 note, III 12.

omnia carminibus vestrum servasse Menalcan. 10

*M.* Audieras, et fama fuit; set carmina tantum  
nostra valent, Lycida, tela inter Martia, quantum  
Chaonias dicunt aquila veniente columbas.  
quod nisi me quacumque novas incidere lites  
antesinistra cava monuisset ab ilice cornix, 15  
nec tuus hic Moeris, nec viveret ipse Menalcas.

*L.* Heu, cadit in quemquam tantum scelus? heu, tua nobis  
paene simul tecum solacia rapta, Menalca?  
quis caneret Nymphas? quis humum florentibus herbis ;;

10. See Introd. 'Vestrum,' because Moeris had spoken in the plural, as for the whole household.

11-16. '*M.* So people believed: but soldiers do not respect poetry: in fact, we were nearly killed.'

11. 'Audieras' affirmative, not interrogative. Moeris asserts what Lycidas had told him, merely to show that he believes it. 'Yes, so you did, and so the story went.' ['Set' Pal.—H. N.]

12. 'Nostra,' speaking for Menalcas in particular. Serv. quotes Cic. Pro Milone 4, 'silent leges inter arma.'

13. 'Chaonias,' referring to the doves of Dodona—a literary epithet: see 1 54. With the language, as Heyne observes, comp. Lucr. III 752, 'accipiter fugiens veniente columba;' with the thought comp. Soph. Aj. 169.

14. 'Me.' 'We may suppose that Moeris first observed the prophetic bird, and that he then informed Menalcas of what it portended.' Keightley.

'Incidere ludum,' Hor. Ep. I xiv 36 [and often.] Comp. Serv. on v. 1, 'se omnem litem amputaturum interfecto Vergilio.' Pal. has 'quocumque.'

15. The appearance of a raven on the left hand seems simply to have constituted the augury a credible one. Cic. De Div. I xxxix 85, 'Quid (habet) augur, cur a dextra corvus, a sinistra cornix faciat ratum?' Plaut. Asin. II i 12, 'Picus et cornix a laeva, corvus, parra a dextera.' What determined the character of the augury to be favourable or the reverse does not appear. Voss, following Serv., thinks that the unlucky sign here was the hollowness of the oak. Martyn however observes with some justice that the present omen may be regarded as lucky or unlucky, according as we choose to look at

Menalcas' escape or the loss of his property. All that we can say is that it was a warning, as in Hor. Od. III xxvii 15, 'Teque nec laevus vetet ire picus Nec vaga cornix.'

['Antesinistra indivise legendum,' Serv., who interprets 'ab antica ad sinistram partem.'—H. N. The word occurs nowhere else. Conington and all other editors read 'ante sinistra.']

16. 'Hic,' the speaker himself, like 586. 'Tibi erunt parata verba, huic homini verbera.' Ter. Haut. II iii 115. Comp. A. I 98. So 'hic' and 'ipse' are contrasted above III 3.

17-25. '*L.* Was Menalcas so near death? Who could write verses like his, such as those of his where he commends his sheep to Tityrus?'

17. 'Cadit:' 'non cadit . . . in hunc hominem ista suspicio,' Cic. Pro Sull. 27, etc. In such expressions 'cadere' seems to be used in the sense of 'is the lot' or 'part of,' so that 'suspicio cadit in aliquem' is little more than equivalent to 'cadit aliquis in suspicionem.' So *τυγχάνειν* is used indifferently of the thing happening and the person to whom it happens.

18. 'Solacia' is referred by Voss specifically to the song on Daphnis, which is alluded to in the next verse; but the application is doubtless more general.

19. The allusion is seemingly to v 20, 40, on which latter see the note. The song is that of Mopsus, not that of Menalcas; but Menalcas is apparently regarded as the poet who rehearses his friend's song as well as his own, just as he there declares himself the poet of E. III (v 86, note)—in other words he is Virg. For the representation of the poet as actually doing what he only sings of, comp. VI 46, 62.



spargeret, aut viridi fontes induceret umbra? 20  
 vel quae sublegi tacitus tibi carmina nuper,  
 cum te ad delicias ferres, Amaryllida, nostras?  
 'Tityre, dum redeo—brevis est via—pasce capellas,  
 et potum pastas age, Tityre, et inter agendum  
 occursare capro, cornu ferit ille, caveto.' 25

*M.* Immo haec, quae Varo necdum perfecta canebat :  
 'Vare, tuum nomen, superet modo Mantua nobis,  
 Mantua, vae, miserae nimium vicina Cremonae,  
 cantantes sublime ferent ad sidera cuncta.'

21. 'Or (who would sing) the songs I lately stole from you?' 'Tibi' is evidently Menalcas, who is going to visit Amaryllis, like the *κωμαστις* in Theocr. Id. 111, and like him, *ib. vv. 3 foll.*, asks Tityrus to take care of his goats till he comes back. Lycidas hears him singing on the way, and catches the words and the air. *Vv. 23-25* are a close version of Theocr. 4-6, so that Virg. must be understood as indirectly praising himself not only as the rustic poet who sings to his friend and to his love, but as the Roman Theocritus. See *Intr. to the Eclogues*, p. 13.

['Nam quae' Non. 332.]

22. 'Nostras' does not imply that there was any rivalry between Lycidas and Menalcas, but merely that Amaryllis was such 'that the swains desired her.' ['Te ferres,' boasting.—H. N.]

23. 'Dum redeo,' 'while I am on my way back.' In strictness we should expect 'dum absum'; but the speaker, in asking to be waited for, naturally talks of himself as coming back. [But 'dum' with the present ind. = 'until' is common in early Latin (*Holtze Syntax ii p. 130*), and occurs in *Cic., Ovid, etc.*: see *Munro Lucr. i 949, Dräger ii p. 610*. The use is part of a widespread use of present for fut., see *Roby § 1461, Madvig 339, examples in Dräger i p. 287.*]

In Theocr. there is nothing answering to 'dum redeo' or 'brevis est via,' though the former is implied in the context.

24. 'Inter agendum:' *Serv.* cites 'inter loquendum' from *Afranius*, and 'interponendum' from *Ennius*. [See *Quint. i iii 12, 'inter ludendum,' etc.*, and so *G. III 206, 'ante domandum;*' *Dräger ii p. 852, Roby § 1378.*]

26-29. '*M.* Yes, or the verses he wrote to Varus, about sparing Mantua.'

26. *Moeris* quotes another triplet of *Menalcas*, [apparently with a preference, and adds that the poem is not yet finished, so as to show the loss which lovers of song would have suffered in the poet's death. There is some skill in the intimation of the preference, which implies not only a compliment to *Varus* (*E. VI*), but a recommendation of *Virg.*'s own interests.

'Necdum' is not simply for 'nondum,' as *Voss* thinks. 'Nec' has the force of 'and that not,' or 'not either,' and lays stress on the unfinished state of the poem.

*Pal.* originally had 'canebam.'

27. 'Superet' = 'supersit:' *G. II 235. Serv.* (on *v. 10*) says *Virg.* interceded for the Mantuan district as well as for his own lands, and obtained the restitution of part.

28. 'Nimium vicina,' though they were forty miles apart. *Serv.* (on *v. 7*) says that *Octavius Musa*, who had been appointed to fix the boundaries, found the territory of *Cremona* insufficient for the soldiers, and assigned to them fifteen miles' length of that of *Mantua*, in revenge for an old affront. He adds (on *v. 10*) that *Alfenus Varus* exceeded his instructions in the extent of territory which he took from the Mantuans, and left them only the swampy ground, a proceeding with which he was taxed in a speech by a certain *Cornelius*.

29. The same promise is made to *Varus* which we have had *VI 10*, though the image is varied. *Mantua* was celebrated for its swans, *G. II 199*, and the music of swans was a commonplace with the ancients, so that the song of the swans aptly represents *Virg.*'s gratitude, at the same time making it contingent on the preservation of his lands. *Pal. corr. and Gud.* have 'ferant.'

L. Sic tua Cyrneas fugiant examina taxos, 30  
 sic cytiso pastae distendant ubera vaccae,  
 incipe, si quid habes. et me fecere poetam  
 Pierides; sunt et mihi carmina; me quoque dicunt  
 vatem pastores; sed non ego credulus illis.  
 nam neque adhuc Vario videor, nec dicere Cinna 35  
 digna, set argutos inter strepere anser olores.

30-36. 'L. As you hope for a farmer's blessings, let me hear more of such verses. I am something of a poet myself, though the shepherds overrate me.'

30. 'Sic' in adjurations, x 5. 'May your bees (I 55, VII 13) continue to give good honey.' The use is virtually the same as that of 'sic' or 'ita' in protestations, when it is frequently, though not always, followed by 'ut.' 'Sic has deus aequoris artis Adiuvet, ut nemo iam dudum litore in isto . . . Constitit,' Ov. M. VIII 867. Thus the Greek *ὄρω* and our 'so.'

['Cyrneas' Med. originally, Serv., the Berne Scholia, and Isid. xfv vi 42: 'Grynaeas,' Med. corrected, Pal., Gud., and the lemma of the Berne Schol.—H. N.] There seems no authority for representing Corsica (called Cyrrnus by the Greeks; see Dict. Geogr.) as famous for yews, which is assumed by several of the commentators. But the honey of Corsica, though known historically as one of its articles of produce, was, like that of Sardinia (VII 41), proverbially bitter (Ov. Am. I xii 20, 'mel infame'), and, as 'the baleful yew' (G. II 257) was prejudicial to bees (G. IV 47), Virg. seems, as Martyn observes, to have thought himself at liberty to connect the two. So Ov. l. c. affects to suppose that the Corsican honey must be collected from hemlock-flowers.

31. 'Cytiso,' I 79, G. III 394 foll., where it is given to goats, as here to cows, to increase their milk.

32. 'Si quid habes,' III 52, note. The remainder of Lycidas' speech is from Theocr. VII 37 foll.

'Poetam,' not 'vatem.' It can hardly be doubted that Virg. means to distinguish between 'poeta' and 'vates,' Lycidas asserting himself to be 'poeta,' while he does not claim the honours of the 'vates.' What the precise distinction is, cannot easily be determined from the usage of words either in Virg. (who scarcely uses

'poeta' except in the Eclogues) or in other writers; but we may perhaps infer from the other sense of 'vates' that it would naturally denote a bard in his inspired character, and its transference to other acts, 'medicinae vates,' Pliny XI 219, 'legum vates,' Val. Max. VIII xii 1 (quoted by Martyn), shows that it suggested the notion of eminence. In Theocr. l. c. the shepherd says that he is the shrill mouth of the Muses, and that all call him the best singer. ['Set' Pal.—H. N.]

35. 'Varo' Med. and some of Ribbeck's cursives; but 'Vario' is supported by Pal., Serv., and Cruquius' Schol. on Hor. Od. I vi, and required by the context, as the mention of Cinna and the parallel in Theocr. l. c., where Asclepiades and Philetas are spoken of, show that two poets are here intended. 'Varo' is easily to be accounted for from vv. 26, 27.

[Varius is the celebrated poet of epic and tragedy: C. Helvius Cinna, a friend of Catullus, was chiefly known for his 'Smyrna,' a learned poem in the Alexandrian manner, on which he was engaged nine years (Catullus, xciii); a fact to which Horace was supposed to have alluded in his 'nonumque prematur in annum' (A. P. 388). Philargyrius on this place.—H. N.]

36. 'Argutos—olores,' an expression of the same class as those referred to on VIII 55, though the allusion here seemingly is not to a contest between geese and swans, but to geese spoiling the melody of swans' songs by their cackling.

'Anser,' Serv. tells us, is a punning reference to a contemporary poet of that name. He is mentioned by Ov. Trist. II 435 along with Cinna, and by Cic. Phil. XIII 5 as a friend of Antony, and probably, like Bavius and Maevius, was personally obnoxious to Virg., as would appear from an obscure passage in Prop. III xxxii (II xxxiv) 83, 84.

['Set' Med.—H. N.]



*M.* Id quidem ago et tacitus, Lycida, mecum ipse voluto,  
si valeam meminisse; neque est ignobile carmen.

'Huc ades, o Galatea; quis est nam ludus in undis?  
hic ver purpureum, varios hic flumina circum 40  
fundit humus flores, hic candida populus antro  
imminet, et lentae texunt umbracula vites;  
huc ades; insani feriant sine litora fluctus.'

*L.* Quid, quae te pura solum sub nocte canentem  
audieram? numeros memini, si verba tenerem. 45

*M.* 'Daphni, quid antiquos signorum suspicis ortus?

37-43. '*M.* I am trying to recollect. Here are some lines in which he asks Galatea to leave the sea, and come on shore and enjoy the glories of spring.'

37. 'Id agere' is a common phrase for being busy about an object, as in the well-known expression 'hoc age,' the same sense doubtless which appears in the common use of the imperative 'age,' though in the Greek *ἀγε*, from which it obviously comes, the notion must be that of leading or going along with.

38. 'Si valeam,' in the hope that, like 'si forte,' VI 57, A. II 756.

'Neque' here gives the reason why he is trying to recollect the verses, like 'et' A. XI 901.

39. Condensed from Theocr. XI 42 foll. Galatea is addressed as in VII 37.

For the interposition of a word between 'quis' and 'nam' see on G. IV 445.

'Ludus in undis:' comp. Theocr. XI 62, ὡς κεν ἴδω τί ποχ' ἀδὸ κατοικῆν τὸν βυθὸν ἕμμιν.

40. 'Purpureum,' v 38 note; red may be meant as the prominent colour of blooming flowers, like 'vere rubenti,' G. II 319. Theocr. XVIII 27 has λευκὸν ἴαρ. ['Sunny.'—H. N.]

41. 'Candida populus' ('alba' Hor. Od. II iii 9), λεύκη being the Greek name.

'Antro' carries us back to Polyphemus and his cave in Theocr. XI 44.

42. Pal. originally had 'e' for 'et,' whence Ribbeck gratuitously reads 'en.'

Whether the vine grows over the cave, as in v 6, or forms a bower of itself, is not clear. 'Umbracula:' 'prope aream faciundum umbracula, quo succedant homines in aestu tempore meridiano,' Varro, R. R. I 51.

43. 'Insani,' 'the wild waves' play' on

the shore, is contrasted with the quiet beauty of the land, that Galatea may give the latter the preference. [Bentley on Lucan II 673 suggests 'incani' here and 'incanis' for Ovid's 'obrutus insanis esset adulter aquis,' Her. I 6.]

44, 45. '*L.* What of that song of his I heard you singing to yourself the other night?'

44. 'Quid, quae,' like the common phrase 'quid, quod.' 'What do you say to those verses?' [introducing a new topic].

'Pura sub nocte:' comp. G. II 364 note. The clearness of the night is doubtless mentioned because Moeris sang in the open air; there may be also a reference to the clear sky as a medium for sound. Forb. well comp. Lucr. I 142, 'inducit noctes vigilare serenas.'

45. 'I remember the tune, if I only had the words.' ['Numeri' is explained by Quint. IX iv 54, and Serv. on A. VI 645 as = 'rhythmi, soni,' and here as = 'metra vel rhythmos.' It seems to mean the air and the rhythm, which would probably, in ancient music, be inseparably connected.—H. N.]

In the construction 'memini—si tenerem,' the conditional clause is not logically connected with the other, but with something understood, e.g. it might be 'numeros memini, et carmen ipsum revocarem, si verba tenerem.' We may compare the use of 'si' to express a wish.

46-55. '*M.* The Julian is the star of stars: it will tell us when to sow, plant, and graft. Memory fails me, memory, that was once so good, and voice too: but Menalcas will gratify you yourself.'

46. Ribbeck, following Med. and Gud., continues vv. 46-50 to Lycidas, who is supposed to recollect what he was trying vainly to recover. But the ordinary

ecce Dionaei processit Caesaris astrum,  
 astrum, quo segetes gauderent frugibus, et quo  
 duceret apricis in collibus uva colorem.  
 insere, Daphni, piros; carpent tua poma nepotes.' 50  
 omnia fert aetas, animum quoque; saepe ego longos  
 cantando puerum memini me condere soles:  
 nunc oblita mihi tot carmina; vox quoque Moerim  
 iam fugit ipsa; lupi Moerim videre priores.

arrangement is supported by Pal. and others [as well as by Serv.], and suits the context: it is plain that vv. 51 foll. would not have much meaning except on the supposition that Moeris had repeated part of what Lycidas had asked for, and was lamenting that he could not recall more.

Daphnis is addressed as the representative of the shepherds, who watch the stars for agricultural purposes (G. I 204 foll., 257, 258). 'Antiquos' is transferred from 'signorum' to 'ortus.'

47. A comet appeared while Octavian was giving games in honour of Julius in July, 44, and was supposed to signify the dictator's apotheosis (Suet. Caes. 88, Serv. here and A. VIII 861, Plin. N. H. II 93). Comp. Hor. Od. I xii 47, 'micat inter omnis Iulium sidus.'

'Dionaei' as the descendant of Venus, who is called 'Dionaea mater,' A. III 19. 'Processit,' of the rising of a star, VI 86.

48. The Julian star is to be the farmer's star, as Julius in V 79 is the farmer's god, and Octavian also (G. I 24 foll.).

'Quo' denotes the agency, not, as in 'quo sidere,' G. I 1, the time. The rising of the star might naturally be the signal for harvest and vintage (G. I 253): but Virg. evidently expresses himself here as if the stars not only formed the shepherd's calendar, but actually foretold or created agricultural prosperity. Keightley suggests that the summer of 44, when the comet appeared, would naturally have been hot and dry; and we may be reminded of our own belief in the effect of comets upon the vintage.

'Segetes,' of fields, as in G. I 47.

['Gauderent,' ought to be rejoicing. Comp. A. VI 534.—H. N. See p. 114.]

49. 'Duceret—colorem:' 'variis solet uva racemis Ducere purpureum nondum matura colorem,' Ov. M. III 484, 'Uvaque conspecta livorem ducit ab uva,' Juv. II 81.

50. 'Poma' are the fruit which are to grow on the pear-tree.

'Insere piros,' I 74. The meaning is not merely that the trees shall bear for more than one generation, but that the farmer's posterity shall enjoy the property of their progenitor. Serv. says 'Hoc in gratiam Augusti, per cuius beneficium securus de agris suis est. . . Ac si diceret, Nihil est quod possis timere: nam illud respicit quod supra invidiose aiebat [I 74], Insere nunc, Meliboeae, piros.' Palladius (VIII 3, IX 6) says that pears may be grafted in August, or, if the soil is moist (which is the case near Mantua), in July.

51. 'Fert,' as in V 34. Emm. comp. Plato's verses, αἰὼν πάντα φέρει δολιχῶς χρόνος οἶδεν ἀμείβειν ὄνομα καὶ μορφήν καὶ φύσιν ἠδὲ τύχην.

'Animum:' 'in animo esse' = recollect' (Ter. And. I v 47), 'ex animo effluere' = forget (Cic. de Or. II 74); hence probably 'animus' comes to be used for the memory, like 'mens' in Cic. Brut. 61, 'huic ex tempore dicenti effluit mens.' Comp. the old English 'to bear a brain' for 'to remember.'

52. 'Condere,' to bury, i.e. to see go down: Callim. Ep. II 3, ἥλιον ἐν λίσσῃ κατεδύσαμεν, Lucr. III 1090, 'vivendo condere saecula,' [though Munro there takes 'condere' in the sense of 'condere lustrum.'] So Hor. Od. IV v 29, 'Condit quisque diem collibus in suis.'

53. 'Oblita,' passive: a rare use, followed by Val. Fl. I 792, II 388 [etc.]; Prop. I xix 6, 'ut meus oblito pulvis amore vacet'; Ausonius Id. IV 52, copying this line (Neue-Wagener, Formenlehre, III 70). The use appears to be purely literary.]

54. A man meeting a wolf and not catching its eye first was supposed to be struck dumb. Pliny, VIII 80, speaks of it as an Italian belief: it is also alluded to by Plato, Rep. I, p. 336, where So-



sed tamen ista satis referet tibi saepe Menalcas. 55  
 L. Causando nostros in longum ducis amores.  
 et nunc omne tibi stratum silet aequor, et omnes,  
 aspice, ventosi ceciderunt murmuris aurae;  
 hinc adeo media est nobis via, namque sepulchrum  
 incipit apparere Bianoris: hic, ubi densas 60  
 agricolae stringunt frondes, hic, Moeri, canamus;  
 hic haedos depone, tamen veniemus in urbem.  
 aut si, nox pluviam ne colligat ante, veremur,  
 cantantes licet usque—minus via laedit—eamus;  
 cantantes ut eamus, ego hoc te face levabo. 65

crates congratulates himself on having first caught sight of Thrasy-machus. In Theocr. xiv 22 *ὄφθελξῆν*; *λύκων εἶδες*, the effect seems to be attributed to meeting a wolf under any circumstances.

<sup>1</sup> Priores, like 'prior inquit,' A. I 321. ['Moerim' Pal.; 'Moerem' Med.—H. N.]  
 55. 'Ordo est, satis saepe.' Serv. ['Set' Pal. originally.—H. N.]

56-65. 'L. Do not put me off—there is perfect stillness about us, and we are half-way to the town: we can afford to stop: or if you want to get on, we can sing as we walk.'

56. Comp. Lucr. I 398, 'quamvis causando multa moreris.' 'Amores' for 'studium' or 'cupido.' 'Si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros,' A. II 10.

57. Apparently imitated from Theocr. II 38, *ἠνίδε, σιγῇ μὲν πόντος, σιγῶντι δ' ἄηται*, so that 'aequor' seems to be the sea, the scenery being taken from Sicily. Neither the context nor the language of the line itself suits the swamp of the Mincio. 'Tibi,' for your purpose, so that you may sing.

58. 'Ventosi murmuris' is apparently equivalent to 'venti murmurantis,' with which 'aurae' is naturally connected, like 'Zephyri tepentibus auris,' G. II 330, quoted by Voss. Virg. probably intended a variation on the more natural expression, 'ventosae murmura aurae.' This seems better than with Heyne to make 'murmuris,' the attributive genitive, like 'veneni,' IV 24.

'Cadere,' of winds, G. I 354.

59. 'Adeo' throws stress on 'hinc' (see on IV 11), or on 'media.' The line is from Theocr. VII 10, *κοῦπω τὰν μεσάταν ὄδον ἀνιμς, οὐδὲ τὸ σᾶμα Ἀμῖν τὸ Βρασιλα κατεφάινετο*.

60. Bianor, according to Serv., was the same as Ocnus, founder of Mantua (A. x 199). He is called by Cato in his Origines Ocnus Bianorus.

61. 'Stringere' of the 'frondatio,' or stripping of leaves, which were used for fodder, G. I 305, II 368, Hor. Ep. I xiv 28. 'Oleam ubi nigra erit stringito,' Cato, R. R. 65. Col. XI 2, § 65 (referred to by Keightley) says that the 'frondatio' should be done 'antelucanis et vespertinis temporibus.'

'Canamus:' they were to sing alternately, as in Theocr. VII.

62. 'Tamen,' after all, notwithstanding. 'Tamen cantabitis,' x 31 (note). Keightley thinks the expression strange, as they were within a mile and a half of Mantua: but it seems to be a playful anticipation of an objection from Moeris. ['Aedos' Pal., and Ribbeck formerly.—H. N.]

63. The night is said to 'gather the rain,' because the gathering of the clouds precludes rain. Comp. G. III 327, 'ubi quarta sitim caeli collegerit hora.'

['Veremur.' Pal. originally had 'meremus.'—H. N.]

64. From Theocr. VII 35. 'Usque' with 'eamus,' let us go straight on. 'Iuvat usque morari,' A. VI 487.

Heins. read 'laedat,' found in one [bad] MS., the first Mentelian, but in none of Ribbeck's. Gud. corrected and two other of Ribbeck's cursives have 'laedet.' Wagn. rightly prefers 'laedit,' the reading of Med., Pal., etc. The sense seems to be 'cantantis via minus laedere solet.' Comp. x 75, 'Surgamus: solet est gravis cantantibus umbra.'

65. 'Fascis,' of a burden generally, as G. III 347 of a soldier's baggage, G. IV

*M.* Desine plura, puer, et, quod nunc instat, agamus ;  
carmina tum melius, cum venerit ipse, canemus.

204 of the food brought home by the bees : here of the kids, which may have been carried in some sort of bundle. Comp. Moretum v. 80, 'venalis holerum fasces portabat,' of things taken to market.

66, 67. '*M.* Best think only of our present business, and leave singing till we see Menalcas again.'

66. 'Desine plura, puer,' v 19. 'In-

stat,' reminding Lycidas that the business admits of no delay, not even of singing or talking as they walk along. Some varieties in Ribbeck's MSS. seem to show that there was once a reading, 'nunc, quod nunc instat.'

67. 'Ipse,' Menalcas, designated either as Moeris' master (111 3 note), or, in relation to the songs, as their author.

#### EXCURSUS ON THE RELATION OF THE FIRST TO THE NINTH ECLOGUE.

[THE first Eclogue represents Virgil as restored to the possession of his estate, while the ninth complains of his violent expulsion from it. This fact was explained by Servius, and is still explained, I think, by modern critics, by the hypothesis that after the poet had been restored by Octavian he was again expelled, and afterwards, at some time not specified, again reinstated.

But it may be doubted whether this notion of a double ejection rests on sufficient evidence. The two poems in question lend no real support to it, but, if anything, rather the reverse. The ninth Eclogue represents Virgil as saying that a misfortune had come upon him of which he had never had any apprehension, 'quod numquam veriti sumus;' strange language, surely, had he been ejected only a few months before. The poem proceeds: 'I had heard that Menalcas' poetry had proved the salvation of his estate,' 'omnia carminibus vestrum servasse Menalcan.' 'Yes, and it was a mere rumour, for the din of arms has silenced poetry.' These words do not necessarily, I think, imply more than that Virgil had hoped at one time to retain his farm, but that it had after all been taken away. It is indeed quite likely that when the first order came for the confiscation of the Mantuan territory, Virgil made interest with Pollio for at least the temporary preservation of it, and that thus arose the rumour alluded to. But if Virgil had really gone to Rome before the ninth Eclogue was written, and returned with an order from Octavian for the restoration of his estate, is it conceivable that he should have made no mention in the poem of so important a fact? But what does he say of Octavian? Only this:

'ecce Dionaei processit Caesaris astrum,  
astrum, quo segetes gauderent frugibus,'

'the star of Caesar has arisen, under which the fields *ought to be rejoicing* in their fruits'; for I do not know what other meaning the words can bear. It is his complaint in the fifth Eclogue and in the first Georgic that the overthrow of Julius Caesar's authority has ruined agriculture, and in the same spirit he expresses a faint hope (and no more) in the ninth Eclogue that the star of Caesar may again bless the country.

The life of Virgil by Suetonius makes no mention of a double ejection.<sup>1</sup> And the commentary attributed to Probus, which (in this part of it) seems to be based on the

<sup>1</sup> § 19. Ad Bucolica transiit, maxime ut Asinium Pollionem, Alfenum Varum, et Cornelium Gallum celebraret, quia in distributione agrorum qui post Philippensem victoriam veteranis dividebantur indemnem se praestitissent.



same sources as the biography by Suetonius, informs us that Virgil had his estate restored on being introduced to Octavian by Cornelius Gallus; that the veterans were so irritated at this that the poet was nearly killed by a *primipilaris* Milienius Toro; that the Eclogues were not published in the order in which they were written, for the ninth, a complaint of injury, ought to be placed before the first, which is an expression of gratitude for the redress of the injury. Thus Probus, or the compiler of the commentary attributed to him, regarded the first Eclogue as referring to the final restoration of Virgil to his estate, subsequent to the act of violence of which complaint is made in the ninth.

But Servius, in his introduction to the Eclogues (Thilo p. 3), says, in explaining the relation of the ninth Eclogue to the first, that, after the first Eclogue was written, Virgil went back to his estate, was then almost killed (not by Milienius Toro but) by a centurion Arrius, saved himself by leaping into the Mincio, and afterwards had his estate again restored by Octavian. Servius places the ninth Eclogue after the first, and so do 'others' (*alii*) whom he quotes, who however give quite a different account of the transaction. According to them Virgil, after obtaining *immunitas agrorum* from Octavian, fell into a dispute with a neighbour about his boundaries; a man named Clodius threatened to kill him, and pursued him with a drawn sword, but Virgil escaped into a charcoal-burner's shop. (Serv. on E. IX 1.)

I doubt whether it is worth while attempting, as Ribbeck does in his Prolegomena, to weave these different accounts into a consistent whole. It is clear that, as is natural in such a case, different versions of the transaction must have existed in the time of Servius, and very probably much earlier. The main question, however, is, what does the best evidence, that of the Eclogues themselves, warrant us in inferring? The commentators were evidently somewhat puzzled by the fact of the ninth Eclogue coming after the first. The difficulty is noticed by Probus, who accounts for it in a rational way; but I suspect that Servius and the authorities whom he quotes were misled by the order in which the Eclogues stand, and arranged the facts so as to put the ninth chronologically subsequent to the first. I believe that Probus (if it be Probus) was right in supposing the ninth to have been the earliest, and the first to refer to the final restoration of Virgil's estate. This supposition is not contradicted by the mention of Varus in the ninth Eclogue, supposing him, as we must suppose, to be the Alfenus Varus who had succeeded Pollio in Cisalpine Gaul. For Suetonius expressly says that it was this Varus, with Asinius Pollio and Gallus, whose influence secured to Virgil the possession of his estate. In other words, the entreaties addressed to Varus in the ninth Eclogue were successful, Varus not caring to pursue his political differences with Pollio so far as to injure Pollio's friend.

I doubt then whether the evidence afforded by the Eclogues themselves and by the biography of Suetonius (and the other evidence we have seen to be confused and inconsistent) warrants our assuming more than this: that Virgil was ejected with violence and at the peril of his life from his farm, after having been under the impression that he was to keep it; that in his trouble he was assisted by Maecenas (Suetonius, § 20); that he addressed Alfenus Varus on the subject in the ninth Eclogue, and probably also in plain prose; that he then went to Rome, where, backed by the influence of Pollio, Varus, and Gallus (to whom the eighth, ninth, and tenth Eclogues are respectively dedicated), he obtained from Octavian the restoration of his estate.—H. N.]

## ECLOGA X. [GALLUS.]

IF the claims of friendship were but scantily acknowledged in the sixth and eighth Eclogues, they are abundantly satisfied in the present, which is entirely devoted to Gallus. Like Varus, Cornelius Gallus is said by Servius (E. VI 13) to have been Virgil's early associate and fellow-student under Siron. He is said by the same authority to have been appointed by the Triumvirs to collect money from those transpadane towns whose lands were to be spared; and it is conjectured that he may have been the Cornelius who, according to Serv., attacked Alfenus Varus in a speech for his division of Mantuan territory as unfair to the inhabitants. Either of these grounds would be sufficient to account for Virgil's connexion with him, even if the story of their previous intimacy should be deemed untrustworthy. Besides, he had been already admitted to Pollio's friendship (Cic. Fam. x 32, B.C. 43), and so might easily win the regard of Pollio's protégé. His further life need not be noticed here; all we have to do with is the fact that, as this Eclogue shows, at the time of its composition he had become known as a poet and a lover, having written elegies (four books, Serv. says), chiefly addressed to his mistress Lycoris, like Propertius' to Cynthia, and Tibullus' to Delia, and had translated some of the poems of Euphron (note on v. 50). Lycoris is identified by Serv. with Volumnia Cytheris, a freedwoman of Volumnius Eutrapelus, and at one time mistress of M. Antonius, whom the same account represents as the rival mentioned v. 23 (see note). These elegies are repeatedly mentioned by Ovid, who appears to have regarded them with high admiration, and once, in an obscure passage (III xxvi 91, 92) by Propertius. Only one pentameter survives, preserved by Vibius Sequester.

Here, as in E. 1, the identification of the shepherd and poet is so rudely managed as to amount to absolute confusion. The subject of the Eclogue is the hopeless and absorbing passion of Gallus: Gallus, if not a pastoral poet himself, is the friend of a pastoral poet, and so one of the pastoral company: accordingly he is represented as being at one and the same moment a soldier and a shepherd, serving in the camp in Italy, and lying under a rock in Arcadia with wood-gods to comfort him. As before, the naked simplicity of the explanation has caused it to be missed: Gallus has been supposed to have gone on furlough into Arcadia, while others, who could not reconcile the language of v. 44 with his being in Arcadia at all, have changed the text.

The structure of the poem is taken from the latter part of Theocr. Idyl 1, the dying Daphnis supplying the model for Gallus, whose despair however does not bring him to death. Virgil is supposed to narrate the story in a song as he is tending his goats, and in rising to go home for the evening he gracefully intimates that he is closing the volume of pastoral poetry.

The time is commonly thought, [though Ribbeck and Thilo would date the poem earlier,] to be fixed by vv. 23, 46 foll., and by general considerations regarding the date of the Eclogues, to the end of 38 B.C. or the beginning of 37, when Agrippa was fighting in Gaul and along the Rhine. Gallus' rival is supposed to have joined Agrippa, while Gallus himself was engaged in some other service, perhaps in Italy under Octavian, acting against Sex. Pompeius. Vv. 20, 23, 47 seem to point to winter or early spring. The scenery seems to be Arcadian throughout, at least in the narrative part of the Eclogue.



EXTREMUM hunc, Arethusa, mihi concede laborem :  
 pauca meo Gallo, set quae legat ipsa Lycoris,  
 carmina sunt dicenda : neget quis carmina Gallo?  
 sic tibi, cum fluctus subterlabere Sicanos,  
 Doris amara suam non intermisceat undam, 5  
 incipe ; sollicitos Galli dicamus amores,  
 dum tenera attendent simae virgulta capellae.  
 non canimus surdis ; respondent omnia silvae.  
 Quae nemora, aut qui vos saltus habuere, puellae

1-8. 'My last pastoral strain is in honour of Gallus : I sing of his love with my goats about me in the wood.'

1. 'Arethusa' was conventionally the pastoral fountain, Mosch. III 78, and as such apparently is invoked by the dying Daphnis, Theocr. I 117. She is here addressed as a Muse might be, like the 'Nymphae Libethrides,' VII 21.

'Concede laborem,' like 'carmen concede,' VII 22. 'Laborem' as in G. II 39. He asks to be allowed to elaborate one song more. Pal. originally had 'laborum,' which Ribbeck arbitrarily adopts.

2. Wagn., followed by Forb., connects this line with the preceding, placing a period at 'Lycoris.' This change seems plainly for the worse, as 'meo Gallo' would come awkwardly after 'mihi,' while 'pauca' evidently refers to 'carmina.'

'Set quae' is the antithesis to 'pauca,' 'though few, they must be such as may attract even her scornful eye.' ['Set' Med. Pal.—H. N.]

4. 'Sic' followed by 'incipe,' as in IX 30-32.

The legend of the union between Arethusa and Alpheus recurs A. III 694 foll., and is the subject of what remains of Moschus' eighth Idyl, vv. 4, 5 of which Virg. seems to have imitated: *καὶ βαθὺς ἐμβαίνει τοῖς κύμασι, τὴν δὲ θάλασσαν Νέρθεν ὑποτροχάει, κοῦ μίγνυται ὕδασι νῦδωρ*. Alpheus in the legend is the pursuing lover ; here Virg. apparently contemplates them as reconciled, and passing to and fro to visit each other, and prays Arethusa to assist his tale of love, if she would have the course of her own love run smooth.

5. 'Doris,' wife of Nereus and mother of the Nereids (Hes. Theog. 240), is here put for the sea, perhaps, as Heyne suggests, after some Alexandrian poet, like Amphitrite, the wife of Neptune, Hom.

Od. XII 60, 97 (referred to by Voss), Thetis, E. IV 32. 'Amara' = 'salsa,' with which it is coupled G. II 238.

6. 'Sollicitus' is an epithet of love here and in Ov. Her. XVIII 196, of a lover Hor. Od. III vii 9 ; so 'cura' is a common synonym of 'amor.'

7. 'Simae capellae,' *σῖμαι ἔριφοι*, Theocr. VIII 50. 'Virgulta,' note on G. II 2. The goats browse while the goatherd sings, as in V 12.

8. 'Non canimus surdis,' like 'non iniussa cano,' VI 9. 'We are not singing to deaf ears.' There is an allusion, as Emm. remarks, to the proverbial 'surdo canere,' or 'surdo narrare fabulam,' Livy XL 8, Ter. Haut. II i 10, Hor. Ep. II i 200.

'Respondere' takes an acc. of the answer made. Here it has the wider sense of 'reddere' or 'referre,' to repeat or give back. Comp. Ov. M. XI 52, 'flebile lingua Murmurat exanimis : respondent flebile ripae,' and for the general sense 'resonare doces Amaryllida silvas,' I 5.

9-30. 'Why were not the nymphs present when their favourite lay dying? All nature mourned for him : his sheep grieved for their master : the swains came to visit him : Apollo was there, and Silvanus and Pan, bidding him leave brooding to no end over blighted hopes.'

9. This and the three following lines are from Theocr. I 66 foll., where the nymphs are naturally mentioned in connexion with Daphnis, who, according to Id. VII 92, was married to a Naiad. Here, as in v. 1, they seemed to play the part of the Muses, and are consequently associated with Parnassus, Pindus, and Aganippe. This connects them not only with Gallus, but with Virg., who had just addressed Arethusa, and at the end of his song, v. 70, turns to them again.

Naides, indigno cum Gallus amore peribat? 10  
 nam neque Parnasi vobis iuga, nam neque Pindi  
 ulla moram fecere, neque Aonie Aganippe.  
 illum etiam lauri, etiam flevere myricae;  
 pinifer illum etiam sola sub rupe iacentem  
 Maenalus et gelidi fleverunt saxa Lycaei. 15  
 stant et oves circum;—nostri nec paenitet illas,  
 nec te paeniteat pecoris, divine poeta:  
 et formonsus ovis ad flumina pavit Adonis—  
 venit et upilio; tardi venere subulci;

10. 'Peribat' Pal., Rom. (which here resumes after the lacuna), Med. corr., etc.; 'periret' Med., Gud. corr., and other cursives. External evidence justifies Wagn. in reading 'peribat'; intrinsically either might stand. See Madv. § 358.

'Indigno amore,' VIII 18, note.

11. The two mountains are mentioned, as Heyne observes, with a reference to the springs belonging to each.

12. 'Ulla' = 'ullo modo' [so 'nullus,' 'totus,' 'omnis' in such usages as 'is nullus venit' (Plaut. *As.* II iv 2), 'cum rogaberis nulla' (Catull. VIII 14); see Munro *Lucr.* I 377, II 53.]

'Moram fecere': 'feret vento mora ne qua ferenti,' A. III 473.

'Aonie' Pal., some cursives, and Serv.; 'Aoniae' Med., Rom., Gud., Charisius and all other grammarians, who however read 'Aganippae' also. Ribbeck accepts 'Aoniae:' but it is more likely that the Greek nominative was misunderstood by copyists; it is the natural form in a metrical licence like this, intended as imitation of the Greek. So *Sil.* XIV 515, 'Ortygie Arethusa,' which Heins. restored 'ex scriptis' for 'Ortygiae Arethusae.'

13. From *Theocr.* I 71, 72, where however the mourners are wolves, jackals, and lions, as in *E.* v 26. The neglect of the nymphs is contrasted with the sorrow of the trees and shrubs, which were vocal as echoing to Gallus' lament, the bays being introduced as in VI 83, the tamarisks as in VI 10. Such an explanation of the image was evidently in Virg.'s mind (comp. v 62 note, VIII 22 note), but he does not put it forward prominently, as it would interfere with the effect of the rest of the passage, where actual mourners are introduced.

There are some variations in the reading of the line. Rom. substitutes a second 'illum' for the second 'etiam,' which in Gud. is written over an erasure; another of Ribbeck's cursives reads 'illum' with 'etiam' written over it, apparently as an insertion, not as a correction; and 'illum etiam' is found in the Lombard and a few other MSS., and was the old reading before Heins. [Probably the hiatus puzzled the copyists.] Both language and rhythm plead for the text as now received.

14. Comp. VIII 22. 'Sola sub rupe;' so Orpheus (*G.* IV 508, 509) 'rupe sub aeria deserti ad Strymonis undam Flevisse, et gelidis haec evolvisse sub antris.'

15. 'Lycaei,' G. I 16.

16. 'Nostri,' of us shepherds. The sheep do not regret their connexion with us, and the best of us need not regret his with them.

17. 'Nec te paeniteat,' II 34 note. Gallus is addressed as if he had been a shepherd, and so doubtless Virg. chooses to regard him: but the language here seems intended to meet an objection that the connexion might disgrace him, so that the sense, stripped of metaphor, will be 'do not regret or think scorn of your association with pastoral poetry.' [Ribbeck chooses to bracket the line.]

'Divine poeta,' v 45, also of a shepherd.

18. From *Theocr.* I 109, XX 33, where however the connexion is quite different. The thought here is like *E.* II 60. ['Formonsus,' the best MSS.—H. N.]

19. ['Upilio' is usually connected with 'opilio,' a shepherd (Plaut. *As.* III i 36, *Cato R. R.* 10). The scansion of the two words, however, differs: 'opilio' has *i* in Pl., and Serv. assigns it initial *ō*: 'propter metrum ait, sicut *ὄνομα* pro *ὄνομα*.' No satisfactory explanation of the two forms



uvidus hiberna venit de glande Menalcas. 20  
 omnes 'Unde amor iste, rogant, tibi?' venit Apollo:  
 'Galle, quid insanis?' inquit; 'tua cura Lycoris  
 perque nives alium perque horrida castra secuta est.'  
 venit et agresti capitis Silvanus honore,  
 florentis ferulas et grandia lilia quassans. 25  
 Pan deus Arcadiae venit, quem vidimus ipsi

has yet been given: the usual derivation of 'opilio' from 'ovis' seems contrary to the quantities of the two first syllables.] 'Opilio' here is the original reading of Pal., found also in one or two of Ribbeck's cursives, and supported by the grammarian Caper. The 'opilio' is mentioned by Cato R. R. 10 [comp. Varro R. R. 1 xviii] among the staff of farm labourers, one being required for a property of two hundred and forty jugera.

'Subulci' all the MSS.; 'bubulci,' which Heyne retained, was due to the earlier modern critics (Parrhasius, Ursinus, Erythraeus, Stephanus, Cerda: see Taubmann). The reasons alleged for the change were, (i) the parallel passage in Theocr. 1 80, where swineherds are not named, (ii) the absence of swineherds elsewhere in the Eclogues, only cowherds, shepherds, and goatherds, coming within the dignity of pastoral poetry, (iii) the probability that Menalcas from his occupation is himself intended for a swineherd, (iv) the allusion in two passages of Apuleius (Flor. 1 3, Apol. p. 407) to Virg.'s 'opiliones' and 'busequae,' (v) a quotation in Terent. Maur. v. 1191, where however 'subulci' has recently been restored on MSS. authority, and (vi) the epithet 'tardi,' which is supposed to point to the motion of cows, and consequently of cowherds. In reply it is sufficient to say that swine are elsewhere referred to by Virg. (G. 1 400, 11 72, 520) as belonging to rustic life, while there is distinct propriety in mentioning them here, as they were plentiful in Arcadia: that the passages in Apul. do not prove that he read 'bubulci,' [any more than Metam. VIII 1, where he again has 'opiliones et busequae;'] that 'bubulci,' indeed, would not necessarily be synonymous with 'busequae,' the former word generally meaning a ploughman, not a herdsman; and, lastly, that 'tardi' implies no more than weariness with their day's labour, which might easily be conceived of a swineherd, even if we had not

Eumaeus' complaint of the hardship of the life, Od. XIV 415 foll.

20. Menalcas is probably a husbandman who has been gathering and steeping acorns, which were the food not only of swine, but, in the winter, of cattle also. Wagn. refers to Cato R. R. 54, 'Ubi sementim patraueris, glandem parari legique oportet et in aquam conici. Inde semodios singulis bubus in dies dari oportet.' This explains both 'hiberna' and 'uvidus.' For the time of year see *Introd.*—Rom. has 'umidus,' as in G. 1 418.

21. Theocr. 1 81 foll. 'Apollo' appears as god of both poet and shepherd.

22. 'Tua cura,' 1 57. 'She for whom you care so cares nought for you.'

23. See *Introd.* [Serv. identifies 'alium' with Antony. In 43 B.C., after Mutina, Antony was in S.E. Gaul, and some of his cavalry chased Dec. Brutus past the sources of the Rhine. Mr. Nettleship thought that this might be referred to here, but it is not probable. It is quite possible that no special campaign, either of Antony's or of Agrippa's, is meant.]

24. 'Silvanus,' G. 1 20, 11 494, A. VIII 600. Wund. seems right in replacing the comma, omitted by Heyne, after 'honore,' so as to make v. 25 epexegetical of 'venit agresti honore.' With the construction he comp. Juv. XI 106, 'clipeo venientis et hasta.'

'Honore,' beauty, G. 11 404 note.

25. From Lucr. IV 587, 'Pan Pineae semiferi capitis velamina quassans,' a passage which Virg. has more than once had before him: see II 24, VI 27.

'Quassans' expresses the size and length of the fennel and lilies. The use of fennel flowers for garlands is vouched for by Pliny XXI 55 (Voss).

26. Virg. emphasizes his having been allowed to look on Pan, as he was a formidable personage (Theocr. 1 16 foll.), and the sudden sight of him produced madness, hence called 'panic' (Eur. Rhes. 36, etc.). See on VI 13, 24.

sanguineis ebuli bacis minioque rubentem.  
 'Ecquis erit modus?' inquit, 'Amor non talia curat;  
 nec lacrimis crudelis Amor, nec gramina rivis,  
 nec cytiso saturantur apes, nec fronde capellae.' 30  
 tristis at ille: 'Tamen cantabitis, Arcades,' inquit,  
 'montibus haec vestris: soli cantare periti  
 Arcades. o mihi tum quam molliter ossa quiescant,

27. The details vouch for the reality of the vision, perhaps in a spirit of rustic simplicity. Both the Greeks and Romans seem not infrequently to have painted their gods red (see Plutarch, Q. Rom. 98, and other passages referred to by Voss), especially perhaps the deities of the country, such as Bacchus and Priapus, which probably accounts for the trick played on Silenus in VI 22. In Tibull. II 1 55 the rustic worshipper of Bacchus paints himself with vermilion ('minium'): and Pliny tells us (XXXIII 111) that the bodies of generals who triumphed were coloured with the same substance.

'The Latin "minium" was the sulphide of mercury, the Greek *κιννάβαρι*, our cinnabar or vermilion. It came from Spain, whose quicksilver mines of Almaden are still prolific.' Keightley. [Corpus Inscr. Lat. II p. 323, Plin. N. H. XXXIII 119, Cic. Phil. II 48.]

28. 'Sed quis erit modus?' A. IV 98. 'Amor non talia curat' answers to Theocritus' ἀπόρριστος ἔρωσ. Pan, as Serv. remarks, may be speaking from his own experience, 'bethinking him,' in Keats' words, 'how melancholy loath he was to lose fair Syrinx.'

29, 30. Pan, as the patron of rural life, chooses his images from the country. Voss observes that he is elsewhere connected with bees, being called *μελισσοσόος* (Anth. Pal. IX 226), while honey is offered to him, Theocr. v 58. Is it merely by accident that in the song to Pan, just quoted, in Keats' Endymion, book I, 'yellow-girted bees' are said to 'fore-doom their golden honeycombs' to him?

'Gramina rivis:' see III 111, G. I 269.  
 'Cytiso apes:' 'Cytisum in agro esse quam plurimum maxime refert, quod galinis, apibus, ovibus, capris, bubus quoque et omni generi pecudum utilissimum est,' Col. v 12. It is not named in G. IV. 'Fronde' seems to mean leaves stripped for fodder: otherwise we should have expected some other tree to have been particularized as a pendant to 'cytisu.'

31-43. 'So they: but Gallus replied: Let me be remembered in your songs, Arcadians; would that I only had been one of you, living your life and enjoying my love; even Lycoris might have stayed with me then.'

31. Doubts about the pointing of this line existed as early as the time of Serv., who rightly decides that 'tamen' forms part of Gallus' speech. Wagn. seems right in saying that the word here naturally introduces a consolatory thought, as in A. IV 329, x 509, though he spoils the effect by referring it directly to what goes before: 'licet sciam nullum amoris esse remedium in luctu et lacrimis, iuvat tamen indulgere huic dolori, quod meos amores non tacebunt Arcadiae pastores.' Serv. shows a truer appreciation: 'licet ego duro amore consumar, tamen erit solacium, quia meus amor erit vestra cantilena quandoque,' adding, not less justly, 'videtur enim neque obiurgationes neque consolationes (sc. deorum) recipere obstinate moriturus: nihil enim ad dicta ab eis respondit.' In English we may perhaps express it, 'you will sing for me, though, when I am gone.'

'Cantabitis' has an imperative sense, as in G. IV 105, Hor. Ep. I xiii 2, etc., the speaker assuming what he desires. 'Quiescant,' v. 33, shows that it is not an ordinary future. [Roby 1589; the use is common both in command and in prohibition.]

32. 'Montibus,' dative, as II 5, 'Montibus et silvis studio iactabat inani,' rather than local ablative.

'Haec,' explained by 'meos amores,' v. 34.

Pal. and one of Ribbeck's cursives originally had 'nostris,' out of which Ribbeck extracts 'vostris.'

'Soli cantare periti Arcades' may be either a vocative in apposition, or a separate sentence, 'none but Arcadians know how to sing,' which last seems preferable. For the general sense comp. VII 4 note.

33. One of the countless variations of the common 'Sit tibi terra levis.'



vestra meos olim si fistula dicat amores!  
 atque utinam ex vobis unus, vestrique fuissem 35  
 aut custos gregis, aut maturae vinitor uvae!  
 certe, sive mihi Phyllis, sive esset Amyntas,  
 seu quicumque furor,—quid tum, si fuscus Amyntas?  
 et nigrae violae sunt et vaccinia nigra—  
 mecum inter salices lenta sub vite iaceret; 40  
 serta mihi Phyllis legeret, cantaret Amyntas.  
 hic gelidi fontes, hic mollia prata, Lycori,  
 hic nemus; hic ipso tecum consumerer aevo.  
 nunc insanus amor duri me Martis in armis

35. The feeling is like that of II 28 foll., a comparison of which will show that Gallus does not wish, as Voss thinks, to be a slave in Arcadia, as if even the lowest condition there would be bliss, but merely to take part in their simple rustic life. At the same time it is not wrong to bear in mind that in Italy, at least, such occupations would probably imply slavery, as it helps us to estimate the reality of the feeling expressed in the Eclogues. See the general Introduction.

36. 'Vinitor uvae' is a pleonasm (not unlike the Homeric *νεκταρ ἐπινοχέει*), introduced doubtless on account of the epithet 'maturae' and the picture of the vintage thus presented to the mind.

37. In Arcadia he could have found some rustic love, and their mode of life would have kept them united. The passage is slightly imitated from Theocr. VII 86 foll. 'Certe,' at any rate. 'I could have counted on having my love, whoever it might be, with me.'

In 'esset—iaceret,' etc., the tense is changed from 'fuissem,' as Gallus is speaking of what, had his lot been cast in Arcadia, might then be going on.

38. 'Furor,' 'cura,' v. 22, 'ignis,' III 66.

39. Theocr. X 28, *καὶ τὸ ἴον μέλαν ἐντὶ, καὶ ἄ γραπτὰ ὑάκινθος*, E. II 16 foll.

40. The association of the willow with the vine has caused much perplexity. Vines however are, I am told, trained on willows in Lombardy in the present day: and Columella tells us (v 7) that this was done in the 'Gallicum arbustum,' or 'rumpotinum,' though he himself thinks the practice prejudicial to the vine, and only allows it when no other tree can be found. Voss puts a comma after 'salices,'

making 'lenta sub vite' mark a different spot; this is to a certain extent countenanced by Theocr. VII 88, *ὑπὸ δρυσίν, ἢ ὑπὸ πεύκαις*, but is condemned by the harshness of the omission of 'aut.' Schrader ingeniously proposed 'inter calices,' which would answer to 'sub arta vite bibentem,' Hor. Od. I xxxviii 7. Pal. (originally) and Med. have 'iaceres.'

42. 'But why dream of Phyllis and Amyntas? Why might I not be enjoying this life with Lycoris?' The line is imitated from Theocr. v 33, where one shepherd points out to another a place for singing in. ['Lycoris' Med. Pal.—H. N.]

43. 'Here we might grow old together, decaying by mere lapse of time.' 'Aevum' is not old age, here or elsewhere in Virg., but simply time or time of life, the notion of old age coming from the context. See A. II 435, 509, VIII 307, XI 85.

44-49. 'As it is, I am mad enough to serve in the wars, and you have gone to those wintry Alps—may frost and ice spare you!'

44. Heyne remarked that 'Martis' might be taken with 'amor' or with 'armis;' the former, which is the better view, has, however, been ignored by most editors, except Forb., who quotes 'Accendamque animos insani Martis amore,' A. VII 550; 'Saevit amor ferri et scelerata insania belli,' ib. 461. Love can have nothing to do with keeping Gallus in the camp away from Lycoris; and to say with Catrou and Ruæus that his passion drove him to the war in despair is to say what Virg. does not say, and what no authority confirms. On the other hand the connexion 'insanus amor Martis' is

tela inter media atque adversos detinet hostes ; 45  
 tu procul a patria, nec sit mihi credere tantum!  
 Alpinas, a dura, nives et frigora Rheni  
 me sine sola vides. a, te ne frigora laedant!  
 a, tibi ne teneras glacies secet aspera plantas!  
 ibo, et, Chalcidico quae sunt mihi condita versu 50  
 carmina, pastoris Siculi modulabor avena.

recommended by the whole tone of the passage, 'Would I had been a peaceful shepherd, living my life and loving my love! but military madness has made me a soldier, and my love has easily left me.' Heyne read 'te' from a conjecture of Heumann, supposing that Lycoris had gone after a soldier lover, leaving Gallus to pastoral poetry and sorrow.

'Nunc,' as things are, used frequently to contrast an actual state with a hypothesis. Forb. comp. Tibull. I x 11 foll. 'Tunc mihi vita foret . . . nunc ad bella trahor,' where the subject as well as the expression is more or less similar.

46. 'Tantum' seems best taken as equivalent to 'tantam rem,' the object of 'credere,' as 'credita res,' A. II 196, of a thing believed. 'Would that I might find myself unable to believe it!' Heyne comp. Tibull. III iv 82, 'A ego ne possim tanta videre mala!' 'Procul tantum' (VI 16 note) would be out of place here; the harshness of separating the words would be great, and 'tantum' with 'nives vides' would be exceedingly weak.

Serv. says on this line that these verses are really Gallus' own, extracted from his poems; but he does not say where the extract begins or ends.

47. Humboldt (Cosmos, vol. II, Sabine's trans.) instances the uniform language of the Romans about the savageness and physical discomforts of the Alps as a proof of their insensibility to beauty of scenery. So there is nothing in the Prometheus to show that Aeschylus felt with any distinctness the sublimity of the landscape, on which a modern poet could hardly have failed to dwell.

'Frigora' is in itself no more than cold weather or winter, as in v. 65, but in connexion with 'Rheni' it might imply that the river was frozen. In that case, 'frigora laedant' in the next verse will be the same as 'glacies secet aspera plantas,' in v. 49.

'Dura:' the hardness of nature which

steeled Lycoris against Gallus' love would lead her to brave Alpine snows. Comp. such passages as Hor. Od. I III 9 foll.

48. Voss comp. Prop. I VIII 7, 'Tu pedibus teneris positas fulcire pruinas, Tu potes insolitas, Cynthia, ferre nives?' Emm. comp. Ov. M. I 508, 'ne prona cadas, indignave laedi Crura secent sentes,' which seems to show that Virg. here is expressing a caution rather than a wish.

50-51. 'I will turn my poems into pastorals, and record my love on the banks of trees; I will hunt with the nymphs and the shepherds, in the hope—a vain hope—of cure.'

50. Gallus had translated Euphron of Chalcis, whose poems were chiefly mythological and of the Alexandrine school. He was popular in the time of Cicero, who complains (Tusc. III 19) of his being preferred to Ennius by the taste of the day, and elsewhere (De Div. II 64) speaks of his obscurity, a common Alexandrian vice, which, however, seems to have recommended him to Tiberius (Suet. Tib. 70). As he is said to have been imitated also by Tibullus and Propertius, his elegiac poems may have been those most in favour at Rome; and these accordingly may have been the poems which Gallus put into Roman dress (possibly in his elegies to Lycoris), and which he now proposes to adapt to the pastoral model of Theocritus. (For other conjectures see Heyne's Excursus.) How the adaptation was to be made is not very easy to see, unless we suppose that Gallus was to speak of himself and his sufferings in pastoral phraseology, changing his actual circumstances into the accidents of a shepherd's life, as Virg. has done for him in this Eclogue.

['Chalcidico' Med. Pal., and so Ribbeck.—H. N.]

51. 'Modulabor,' v 14. The image by which the change is expressed is that of setting to tune or playing verses already composed.



certum est in silvis, inter spelea ferarum  
 malle pati tenerisque meos incidere amores  
 arboribus; crescent illae, crescetis, amores.  
 interea mixtis lustrabo Maenala Nymphis, 55  
 aut acris venabor apros; non me ulla vetabunt  
 frigora Parthenios canibus circumdare saltus;  
 iam mihi per rupes videor lucosque sonantis  
 ire; libet Partho torquere Cydonia cornu  
 spicula. tamquam haec sit nostri medicina furoris,  
 aut deus ille malis hominum mitescere discat! 61  
 iam neque Amadryades rursus nec carmina nobis

52. 'Spelea,' *σπήλαια*, Ciris, 466: it seems not to occur again till Claudian (B. Get. v. 354), who doubtless copied Virgil.

53. 'Malle,' rather than live a soldier's life. 'Pati,' absolutely. 'Disce sine armis Posse pati,' Lucan v 313, 'Et nescis sine rege pati,' Id. IX 262, quoted by Emm.—as we say, 'to get through life.'

'Amores' used as Ovid uses it as the title of his poems. It may have been the title of Gallus' elegies; the words of Serv. (v. 1) are 'amorum suorum de Cytheride libros scripsit quattuor.' With the whole passage comp. Prop. I 18. For carving verses on trees see v 13.

54. Heyne comp. Ov. Her. v 23, 'Et quantum trunci, tantum mea nomina crescant: Crescite, et in titulos surgite recta meos.' Perhaps Virg. may mean, as Voss thinks, not merely that the verses will grow with the tree, but that the passion will increase.

55. He will throw himself into the hunting part of a shepherd's life (II 29 note). 'Mixtis Nymphis,' a common variety for 'mixtus.' 'Mixtoque insania luctu,' A. x 871. The nymphs of the wood and mountain would take part in the chase, as when they attend on Diana, Od. vi 105.

'Lustrare' need not refer specially to dancing, as Voss thinks, though that may have been the motion in the chase (comp. A. I 499). With the passage generally comp. G. III 40 foll.

56. 'Aut' merely distinguishes the actual chase from its preliminaries. So A. I 322, 'errantem . . . succinctam . . . aut spumantis apri cursum clamore prementem.'

57. 'Parthenios' agrees with the Arcadian scenery. 'Canibus circumdare saltus,' G. I 140. See on VI 56.

58. 'Lucusque sonantis,' with the cry of the hunt (G. III 43). The words recur G. IV 364, where the noise is that of water.

59. 'Partho' and 'Cydonia' ('Gnosia spicula,' A. v 306, the Cretan reeds being especially good for arrows) are probably literary epithets (note on I 54).

'Cornu' for a bow of horn, A. VII 497. See the description of Pandarus' bow, II. IV 105 foll.

'Torquere,' improperly used of shooting an arrow, as in A. v 497.

60. In the full burst of enthusiasm he feels he is deluding himself (Heyne).

'Sint' was adopted by Heyne after Heins. from Med.; Wagn. justly regards this as a case of the confusion of numbers, common even in the best MSS. (see on VI 30), 'haec' having been wrongly supposed to refer to 'spicula.' [See also Ribbeck, Prolegomena, p. 207.]

61. 'Ille,' whom we know so well—too well to think him capable of pity. So 'illum,' v. 64.

62-69. 'No, woodland and song are delusions after all; love is not to be baffled by the most violent change of scene—we have only to give way.'

62. 'Iam' expresses that the change of feeling is already begun.

'Amadryades,' the nymphs of v. 55.

'Rursus' is restored by Wagn. here and in 63 from Pal., Rom. and Med. corr. with the remark that in the best MSS. 'rursum' is generally found only before a vowel. [Ribbeck following Med. pr. m. has 'rusum' here, 'rursus' in 63.]

ipsa placent; ipsae rursus concedite silvae.  
 non illum nostri possunt mutare labores,  
 nec si frigoribus mediis Hebrumque bibamus 65  
 Sithoniasque nives hiemis subeamus aquosae,  
 nec si, cum moriens alta liber aret in ulmo,  
 Aethiopum versemus ovis sub sidere Cancri.  
 omnia vincit Amor; et nos cedamus Amori.

Haec sat erit, divae, vestrum cecinisse poetam, 70  
 dum sedet et gracili fiscellam textit hibisco,  
 Pierides; vos haec facietis maxima Gallo,  
 Gallo, cuius amor tantum mihi crescit in horas,

63. 'Ipsa' emphasizes the second negative clause, A. IV 601, 'non socios, non ipsum absumere ferro Ascanium?' Songs had formerly been his especial passion. So 'ipsae silvae,' because it is the whole of woodland life that he quarrels with.

'Concedite: 'Concedite atque abscedite, omnes de via decedite,' Plaut. Amph. III iv 1: less courteous than 'vivite silvae,' VIII 59.

64. 'He is not one on whom any hardships of ours (vv. 62, 65) can work a change.' Both hardship and effort seem included in 'labores' here. 'Mutare,' of effecting a change in a person, A. V 679, XII 240. The sentiment resembles Horace's 'Caelum non animum,' etc.

65. From Theocr. VII 111, where the subject is a menace to Pan. The Hebrus, spoken of by Hor. Ep. I iii 3 as 'nivali compe vincus,' was, as Forb. remarks, one of the first ice-bound rivers which the Romans had encountered in their expeditions. Virg. may be thinking of hunting in winter, as in v. 56, but there is nothing to fix it definitely.

66. 'Memphin carentem Sithonia nive,' Hor. Od. III xxvi 10. The second syllable is long in Hdt. VII 122, but shortened by Lycophron v. 1357 and the Latin writers.

'Aquosae,' as Wagn. observes, is an epithet of an Italian rather than of a Thracian winter. 'Dum pelago desaevit hiemps et aquosus Orion,' A. IV 52. 'Torquet aquosam hiemem,' A. IV 671.

'Frigoribus mediis' belongs to this line as well as the former, as 'Hebrumque' seems to show. See however G. II 119.

67. 'When the elm is parched to the quick,' 'liber' being the inner bark.

'Liber moriens,' however, is a somewhat extravagant expression.

68. 'Should ply a shepherd's calling in Aethiopia,' as Pan in Theocr. VII 113 is told *παρ' Αιθιοπεισι νομείοις*, with reference rather to his own habits than to their fitness for the country.

'Versemus,' perhaps a translation of the Greek *πολεῖν*: though the word was doubtless chosen to express the long weary wanderings of a shepherd in the desert: see G. III 339 foll.

'Cancri: 'Aestus erat mediusque dies, solisque vapore Concava litorei fervebant brachia Cancri,' Ov. M. X 126.

69. 'Since love conquers every thing, change of climate, occupation and all, why should I hold out?' Med. has 'vincet,' Rom. 'vicit.'

70-77. 'So much for my pastoral song for Gallus; may it be worthy of my ever-growing love for him! A shepherd must not remain in the shade too long, and the flock must be driven home.'

70. 'Divae: ' see on v. 9.

71. 'Hibisco,' II 30. Basket-work is the shepherd's employment for idler hours; see II 71. The object of the 'fiscella' is shown by the imitation in Tibull. III 15, 'Tum fiscella levi detexta est vimine iunci, Raraque per nexus est via facta sero.' See also Col. VII 8.

72. 'Slight as this is, you will make it of highest worth for Gallus,' will give it a peculiar charm in his eyes: 'quae Maxima semper Dicetur nobis, et erit quae maxima semper,' A. VIII 271.

73. 'My love for Gallus grows as fast, hour by hour, as the alder in spring.' Ursinus comp. Pind. Nem. VIII 40, *αἰξεται δ' ἀρετά, χλωραῖς ἱέρσαις ὡς ὅτε δένδριον ᾄσσει*. Pal. has 'hora.'



quantum vere novo viridis se subicit alnus.  
 surgamus ; solet esse gravis cantantibus umbra ; 75  
 iuniperi gravis umbra ; nocent et frugibus umbrae.  
 ite domum saturae, venit Hesperus, ite capellae.

74. 'Vere novo,' as the growing time, G. II 323 foll. 'Se subicit,' ib. 19.

75. 'Gravis umbra : ' comp. Lucr. VI 783, 'Arboribus primum certis gravis umbra tributa Usque adeo, capitis faciant ut saepe dolores, Si quis eas subter iacuit prostratus in herbis.' 'Cantantibus,' to those who sit and sing under them—not with reference to any effect on the voice, as Dryden translates it.

76. 'Iuniperi,' VII 53. He is sitting then under a juniper. Martyn declares that the smell of the juniper is considered

wholesome ; but Heyne refers to Apoll. R. IV 156, where Medea uses a branch of juniper as the vehicle for sprinkling her drugs on the dragon's eyes, as a proof that the ancients thought there was something prejudicial about it.

'Nocent et frugibus umbrae,' G. I 121. The fact seems mentioned here as a shepherd's way of confirming his statement—'It is bad singing in the shade : why, shade does harm to the crops.'

77. For the turn of the line comp. I 74, VII 44 ; for the sense, VI 85, 86.

#### NOTE ON THE SCENERY ABOUT MANTUA.

Readers of Eustace's Classical Tour through Italy may remember that while asserting that 'Virgil's pastorals ought in general to be considered not as pictures of real scenery . . . but as mere *lusus poetici* composed in imitation of Theocritus,' he excepts the descriptive passages in the First, Seventh, and Ninth Eclogues, and discovers the place

'qua se subducere colles  
 incipiunt, mollique iugum demittere clivo'

in the neighbourhood of Valeggio, 'near which town they (the hills) begin to subside, and gradually lose themselves in the immense plain of Mantua.' There, and nowhere else on the banks of the Mincius, he finds the rocks, crags, and mountains of the first Eclogue. (Tour, vol. i pp. 217 foll., third edition.) I have applied to Mr. Keightley on the subject, and have pleasure in extracting part of the answer with which he has favoured me. 'All I can tell you is that on my arriving in Mantua in company with two French gentlemen, whose sight was better than mine, we all ascended the Torre di Gabbia to view the surrounding country, which I swept with a good opera-glass, and we came, without a moment's hesitation, to the conclusion expressed in p. 15 of my Virgil. I had intended walking out to Pietola, but from the view I had of it I saw that it would be quite a work of supererogation. Next day a gentleman who resided in Cremona accompanied us to Milan, when, finding that he was a sportsman and was in the habit of traversing the country in all directions, I asked him about rocks, etc., and he assured me there was no stone at all in the plain—nothing but *gesso*, sulphate of lime.'

I ought also to mention that, according to Eustace, 'the "spreading beech" still delights in the soil and adorns the banks of the Mincius in all its windings.'

So far as Virgil is concerned, it is obvious that the question is an unimportant one, as it is admitted on both sides that the scenery of the Eclogues is generally Theocritean, but that the actual features of the Mantuan district are represented in one or two exceptional instances.

ON  
THE LATER BUCOLIC POETS OF ROME,  
ESPECIALLY CALPURNIUS AND NEMESIANUS.

IF bucolic poetry found no cultivators at Rome before the time of Virgil, it does not seem to have enjoyed much more popularity afterwards. Wernsdorf (*Poetae Latini Minores*, vol. ii, praef. pp. vi, vii), who wonders that it should not have flourished more among a people originally sprung from shepherds and preserving the recollection of their origin by annual festivals, and inclines to lay the blame on the luxurious temper of the great city, as being naturally antagonistic to a taste for rustic simplicity, is sufficiently explicit in his testimony to the fact, stating that no trace can be discovered of the existence of any bucolic writer after Virgil earlier than Calpurnius, while the pastoral poets of a later period, with the exception of Nemesianus, who, in his view, as we shall see, is not really one of them, are inelegant and hardly worth reprinting. Calpurnius and Nemesianus themselves cannot be said to stand high in the list of post-Augustan authors; but as they happen to fall within the classical period, as commonly understood, and conform more closely than their successors to the Theocritean or Virgilian type, perhaps a brief account of them may not be unacceptable.

At the outset we are met by a critical question, affecting the authorship of the works which bear their name. These amount jointly to eleven pastorals, most of them averaging less than one hundred lines. All of them were assigned by the five first editions, following the majority of the MSS., to a single writer, T. (or, as the first edition gives it, after one MS., C.) Calpurnius Siculus. The sixth edition, 'impressum Parmae per Angelū Ugoletū,' without a date, but referred by Ulitius to the year 1500, made a division of the authorship, attributing the seven first pastorals to Calpurnius, the remaining four to [M. Aurelius Olympius] Nemesianus, on the authority of a 'most ancient and correct' MS. from Germany belonging to Thadaeus Ugoletus. It also prefixed a title to the bucolics of Calpurnius, inscribing them to this same Nemesianus. This arrangement seems to have been followed almost unhesitatingly by subsequent editors till the time of Janus Ulitius, who, in his *Venatio Novantiqua* (Elzevir, 1645, an edition of the didactic writers on hunting,



together with the pastorals of Calpurnius and Nemesianus), stated reasons for restoring the whole to Calpurnius. The tide now turned: Burmann, in the preface to his *Poetae Latini Minores* (Leyden, 1731), accepted Ulitius' view, though, like him, he did not venture in his text to disturb the received division; and Wernsdorf, fifty years afterwards, in his preface cited above, and in an introductory essay on Calpurnius and his Eclogues, enforced the same doctrine by an array of arguments which till very lately were generally supposed to have set the question at rest. The main considerations on which he relies are the absence of any mention of Nemesianus as a pastoral writer by Vopiscus, who alludes to his other works, as well as by the earlier scholars after the revival of learning, the fact that no MS. containing his undisputed works contains these pastorals, the insufficiency of a single MS. authority, the self-contradictory character of the testimony supplied by the Parma edition, which apparently shows that in that single MS. the arrangement had been tampered with by a later hand, the similarity of the style of the two sets of poems, 'ut lac lacti simillimus,' and the probability that Calpurnius would write neither more nor less than eleven pastorals, that being the number of the Idyls of Theocritus which may fairly be called rustic proper—an argument somewhat recondite in itself, and depending on a proposition which has itself to be supported by a good deal of wire-drawn reasoning. So matters appear to have stood till the publication of Maurice Haupt's *De Carminibus Bucolicis Calpurnii et Nemesiani Liber* (Leipsic, 1854) [in his collected works, vol. i pp. 358 foll.]. In this monograph, which in its comprehensive knowledge and ingenuity of conjecture is a fair specimen of the best German scholarship of our day, the divided authorship of these Eclogues is strongly asserted. Rejecting considerations grounded on the literary character of the several poems as too dependent on individual taste to furnish material for argument, the writer points out one remarkable peculiarity which discriminates the undisputed Calpurnian Eclogues from the others, the absence of elisions in any foot but the first, most of the few apparent exceptions being shown either to arise from false readings, or to be such as really prove the rule—a degree of strictness transcending that of Tibullus, Lygdamus, and Ovid, who are particular only not to elide long vowels after the first foot, whereas Calpurnius does not elide long vowels at all. From this positive proof of a distinction of authors, a proof all the stronger as being furnished, as it were, unconsciously by the poems themselves, he proceeds to controvert Wernsdorf's arguments for identity. The argument drawn from the supposed number of the rustic Idyls of Theocritus he meets not only by denying the proposition on which it rests, but by showing how easily a counter argument might

be constructed to prove that Calpurnius wrote only seven Eclogues, because, according to Servius, only seven of Virgil's are rustic proper. Wernsdorf had passed lightly over an apparent objection to his theory founded on the similarity of passages in the earlier Eclogues to passages in the later, alleging other instances in which poets repeat themselves: Haupt contends that this apology does not touch the case of the third and ninth Eclogues, the latter of which is an obvious though unskilful imitation of the former. Having thus, as he conceives, shown that the poems in question cannot be by Calpurnius, he endeavours to prove that they are rightly attributed to Nemesianus, pointing out some resemblances between them and Nemesianus' *Cynegetica*, and urging that the silence of Vopiscus is not of that kind which would establish a negative. He shows that the MS. evidence for divided authorship, instead of resting on a single copy, is really supported by two others, one of them the best of all, the Neapolitan, and by the tradition of a third; while he considers the inscription of Calpurnius' Eclogues to Nemesianus to have arisen from a confusion between the concluding 'Explicit Calpurnii bucolicon' and the opening 'Aurelii Nemesiani Carthaginiensis bucolicon incipit,' which would follow it immediately, and cites other instances of similar amalgamations by transcribers. Lastly, he separates the two poets, who had been previously supposed to be contemporaries, by a gulf of more than two centuries, leaving Nemesianus at the date to which he is commonly fixed by external evidence, the date of the emperor Carus and his sons, and advancing Calpurnius, whose ordinary date rests partly on the inscription to Nemesianus mentioned above, partly on an arbitrary identification of him with a certain Junius Calpurnius, named by Vopiscus as the emperor's 'magister memoriae,' to the time of Nero, to whose reign he points out several allusions in the Eclogues. Without presuming to affirm or deny the validity of this chain<sup>1</sup> of reasoning, I may perhaps be allowed so far to adopt Haupt's position as to speak of Nemesianus as the author of four out of the eleven pastorals.

Calpurnius' first Eclogue is a sort of imitation of the Pollio, introduced by a dialogue between two shepherds, brothers, Ornitus and

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Merivale (*Hist.*, vol. vii p. 41) contends that the allusion to the emperor at the end of the seventh Eclogue 'points much better to Domitian.' On the other hand, Mr. Greswell believes the emperor in question to be the youngest Gordian, [and so Garnett, *Journal of Philology* xvi 217. But the conclusions of Haupt as to date and authorship are now generally accepted: that is, Calpurnius wrote seven Eclogues in the earlier part of Nero's reign. His poems have been edited (with numerous conjectures) by Bährens (*Poetae Lat. Min.*) and Schenkl (*Leipzig, 1885*) and translated into English by E. Scott (*London, 1891*).]



Corydon, who, as they take refuge from the heat in a cave sacred to Faunus, observe some verses carved on a beech-tree, apparently, so it is intimated, by the prophetic god himself. In these verses Faunus, in language reminding us sometimes of Virgil's Daphnis, sometimes of Jupiter's speech to Venus in Aeneid 1, sometimes again of the portents at the end of Georgic 1, announces that the golden age has come, that justice has returned under the auspices of the youth who became a pleader in his mother's arms—an allusion, Haupt thinks, to the early forensic efforts of Nero—that civil war shall be bound in chains, the senate no longer be sent to the block, and civic honours no more be a mockery—in confirmation of which blissful prediction he points to the meteor, then shining, not with a bloody glare, but in a clear sky. The brothers receive the intimation with becoming awe, and resolve to record the verses, in the hope that Meliboeus—perhaps Seneca, perhaps, as Haupt thinks more probable, Calpurnius Piso—may convey them to the ears of Augustus. The MSS. give this Eclogue the somewhat inappropriate title *Delos*, which may have arisen, as Wernsdorf suggests, from an association in the transcriber's mind between the prophetic island and prophecy of any sort.

The second Eclogue is called *Crocale*, from a maiden with whom Astacus, a gardener, and Idas, a shepherd, are in love, and whom they accordingly celebrate in amoebean strains, with their respective produce as the stakes, Thyrsis as the umpire, and Faunus and the Satyrs, the Dryads and Naiads, 'sicco Dryades pede, Naides udo,' and all nature, animate and inanimate, as the audience. They appeal to their patron gods, talk of their respective occupations, vie with each other in offers to any deity who will bring the absent Crocale, enumerate their wealth, boast of their personal attractions, and finally are each reminded that it is time to go home. Thyrsis pronounces them equal in the following words :

'Este pares, et ob hoc concordēs vivite : nam vos  
et decor, et cantus, et amor sociavit, et actas.'

The third Eclogue, entitled *Exoratio*, is pronounced by Scaliger to be 'merum rus, idque inficetum : ' and certainly, though its coarseness may be paralleled from Theocritus, it is not what we should have expected from an imitator of Virgil. Iolas, on asking another shepherd, Lycidas, after a stray heifer, finds that he can think of nothing but Phyllis, who has deserted him. Lycidas had discovered her under a tree, singing with his rival Mopsus, and inflicted personal chastisement on her : on which she had run off to her friend Alcippe, declaring that she would live with Mopsus for the future. The forsaken lover now

I.

K

wishes for her back on any terms, and bethinks himself of sending her a poetical entreaty, which Iolas good-naturedly offers to convey. It is accordingly recited by Lycidas, and taken down by Iolas on cherry-bark—a piteous composition, describing the lover's desolate condition, reminding Phyllis of her past pleasure in his society, comparing his personal attractions and his wealth with those of Mopsus, offering to let her bind his vindictive hands—hands which nevertheless had given her many presents—sneering at Mopsus' poverty, and finally threatening that the lover will hang himself in the event of rejection from the tree which first made him jealous. Iolas promises to report it, and is rewarded at the same moment by the sight of his heifer, which he kindly sets down as an omen of his friend's success.

The fourth Eclogue, *Caesar*, is again political. Meliboeus, the shepherd-poet's patron, finds Corydon meditating a more than rustic song in praise of Caesar, a design in which his younger brother Amyntas is also anxious to join. The patron reminds Corydon that he had often warned his brother against the thriftless occupation of singing, and is told that it is his own kindness which has placed them both above want, and has given them the means of thinking of such pursuits. As the lines may, perhaps, possess some biographical interest, though the images are obviously borrowed from Virgil's first Eclogue, it may be worth while to quote them, by way of a specimen of the poet's manner :

' Haec ego, confiteor, dixi, Meliboe : sed olim :  
 non eadem nobis sunt tempora, non Deus idem :  
 spes magis adridet. certe ne fraga rubosque  
 colligerem, viridique famem solarer hibisco,  
 tu facis, et tua nos alit indulgentia farre.  
 tu, nostras miseratus opes docilemque iuventam,  
 hiberna prohibes ieiunia solvere fago.  
 ecce nihil querulum per te, Meliboe, sonamus,  
 per te secura saturi recubamus in umbra,  
 et fruimur silvis Amaryllidos, ultima nuper  
 litora terrarum, nisi tu, Meliboe, fuisses,  
 ultima visuri, trucibusque obnoxia Mauris  
 pascua Geryonis, liquidis ubi cursibus ingens  
 dicitur occiduas impellere Baetis harenas.  
 scilicet extremo nunc vilis in orbe iacerem,  
 a dolor ! et pecudes inter conductus Iberas  
 inrita septena modularer sibila canna,  
 nec quisquam nostras inter dumeta Camenas  
 respiceret, non ipse daret mihi forsitan aurem,  
 ipse Deus, vacuum, longeque sonantia vota  
 scilicet extremo non exaudiret in orbe.'

Meliboeus, after deprecating an expression in which Corydon



apparently speaks of himself as successor of the great Tityrus (doubtless Virgil), consents to listen to an amoebean song from the brothers in honour of the emperor. They invoke Caesar, speak of his superhuman power in calming the woods, rendering the cattle prolific, and fertilizing the country, of the freedom to dig treasure and celebrate rural festivities, and the general security enjoyed under his reign, and finally hope that this Deity may live and rule for ever on earth. Meliboeus compliments them on the improvement in their singing which the change of subject has produced, and Corydon in return hopes that he will prove a second Maecenas to a second Virgil, introducing him to the imperial city, and bidding him rise from rural to martial strains.

*Mycon*, the fifth Eclogue, is a kind of Georgic in a bucolic form. The person who gives it its title, an old shepherd, takes the opportunity of a mid-day sitting in the shade to lecture a young pupil on the care of sheep and goats, the times for grazing and milking, the cautions to be observed in shearing, the remedies for wounded sheep, the best kind of winter fodder, in a speech of 120 lines, rather closely studied after the third Georgic of Virgil.

A pastoral quarrel, *Litigium*, is the subject of the sixth Eclogue. Lycidas is informed by Astilus that he has just arrived too late for an amoebean contest between Nyctilus and Alcon, in which the latter has been conqueror. Lycidas has a different opinion of the prowess of the combatants, arraigns the judgment, and challenges the judge. A contest is agreed on, Astilus wagering a stag, Lycidas a horse, and Mnasyllus, the umpire, bids them sing of their respective loves. But a taunt from Lycidas rouses his rival, and they appear to be coming to blows, when they are stopped by Mnasyllus, who declines to have anything to do with this physical encounter, and ends an Eclogue, not unreasonably pronounced by Barth and Wernsdorf the most unsuccessful of Calpurnius' bucolic efforts.

In the seventh and last Eclogue, to which a transcriber has given the not very appropriate title of *Templum*, the chief speaker is a shepherd, newly returned from town, and full of a show which he has seen in the amphitheatre, where he has been particularly struck with the beauty of the building and the variety of the wild beasts. He is congratulated on being young when this glorious age is beginning, and questioned about the personal appearance of the imperial deity. The answer which he gives is complimentary enough as far as it goes, but conveys little information, and certainly forms rather an abrupt termination to an Eclogue assumed to be the last of the series.

‘ O utinam nobis non rustica vestis inesset !  
vidissem propius mea numina : sed mihi sordes,

pullaque paupertas, et adunco fibula morsu  
 obfuerunt. utcumque tamen conspeximus ipsum  
 longius, ac, nisi me decepit visus, in uno  
 et Martis vultus et Apollinis esse putavi.'

Nemesianus,<sup>1</sup> who, if not Calpurnius, was certainly an imitator of Calpurnius, makes his first Eclogue a funeral poem on Meliboeus, an exalted personage resembling the Meliboeus of his prototype. Tityrus is asked by Timetas to sing, but excuses himself on account of his age, and begs that the author of the request, who has become recently distinguished by a victory over Mopsus, will himself perform the task, taking as his subject the death of their common friend. Timetas complies, having recently composed an epicedium which he has inscribed on the bark of a neighbouring cherry-tree. Air, earth, and water are invoked to carry the lament to the ears of Meliboeus, whom the poet then proceeds to panegyrize.

'Longa tibi cunctisque diu spectata senectus,  
 felicesque anni, nostrique novissimus aevi  
 circulus, innocuae clausurunt tempora vitae.  
 nec minus hinc nobis gemitus lacrimaeque fuere,  
 quam si florentis mors invida pelleret annos.  
 nec tenuit talis communis causa querellas :  
 heu, Meliboee, iaces letali frigore segnis  
 lege hominum, caelo dignus, canente senecta,  
 concilioque Deum. plenum tibi ponderis aequi  
 pectus erat : tu ruricolam discernere lites  
 adsueras, varias patiens mulcendo querellas.  
 sub te ruris amor, sub te reverentia iusti  
 floruit, ambiguos signavit terminus agros.  
 blanda tibi vultus gravitas, et mite serena  
 fronte supercilium, sed pectus mitius ore.'

The usual topics then succeed : the gods of the country bring gifts in honour of the dead : trees and herds, 'nostra armenta,' repeat his name : for the sea and land will change their inhabitants, and the products of the seasons become confused, before Timetas will cease to sing of him. Tityrus compliments the singer, hints that the song may be the means of advancing him from a country life to a life in Rome, a species of promotion which these shepherds appear especially to desire, and finally reminds him that the hour is late. *Epiphunus* (ἐπι-funus) is the title which the MSS. give to the poem—a curiously illiterate confusion of Greek and Latin.

The second Eclogue is entitled *Donace*, the name of a girl who has

<sup>1</sup> [M. Aurelius Olympius Nemesianus of Carthage wrote about A.D. 284 ; Teuffel 386. His poems have been edited by Bährens, *Poetae Latini Minores*, vol. iii, and Schenkl, Leipzig, 1885 ; both editors have introduced conjectures very freely.]



been removed by her parents from the passionate pursuit of two shepherd boys, Alcon and Idas, and whose absence they accordingly lament in amoebean strains. It is modelled to a certain extent on Calpurnius' second and third Eclogues, not without some exaggeration and coarseness of handling, which are due to the author himself. The images in which the lovers express their longing are, as usual, borrowed from Theocritus or Virgil: one recommends himself on account of his wealth, the other on the score of his personal appearance: one talks of all nature as blighted to him while Donace is away, the other reminds her that gods have led a shepherd's life: and evening as usual comes in to stop the singing. The only noticeable passage is about a tame nightingale, which Alcon has sent as a present to Donace, though the thought gains but little from its expression.

' Munera namque dedi, noster quae non dedit Idas,  
vocalem, longos quae ducit, aëdona, cantus;  
quae, licet interdum contexto vimine clausa,  
cum parvae patuere fores, ceu libera ferri  
norit, et agrestis inter volitare volucres,  
scit rursus remeare domum, tectumque subire  
viminis, et caveam totis praeponere silvis.'

It is noticeable that the two songs, which are continuous, are of exactly the same length, like those in Virgil's fifth and eighth Eclogues.

In the third Eclogue Nemesianus has imitated Virgil's sixth. Three shepherds find Pan asleep, take his pipe, and vainly try to perform on it: he awakes, and immediately offers to play, taking for his subject the praises of Bacchus, whose name the copyist has accordingly prefixed to the Eclogue. The song, which is of no great length, being given in the 'oratio recta,' not, like Virgil's, thrown into the form of a rapid summary, speaks of the birth and infancy of the god, and of the production of the grape, the first treading of which is described. There is considerable picturesque power in various parts of the song, which admits, as Wernsdorf remarks, of illustration from various extant gems. Here is a picture of the child in the arms of Silenus.

' Quin et Silenus parvum veneratus alumnum  
aut gremio fovet, aut resupinus sustinet ulnis,  
et vocat ad risum digito, motuque quietem  
adlicit, aut tremulis quassat crepitacula palmis:  
cui deus adridens horrentis pectore setas  
vellicat, aut digitis auris astringit acutas,  
applauditve manu mutilum caput aut breve mentum,  
et simas tenero collidit pollice nares.'

Evening ends the Eclogue, which Fontenelle rather boldly pronounces to be superior in elegance of invention to its Virgilian prototype. It is

difficult to see the appropriateness of the praises of Bacchus in the mouth of Pan, though they might have come with some grace from Silenus ; while the pictorial features, being such as are found represented in works of art, may perhaps be due as much to artistic tradition as to the imagination of the poet.

The fourth Eclogue, *Eros*, is again amoebean, Mopsus and Lycidas singing of their loves, Meroe and Iolas. The strophes are short, five lines each, and each has the same burden, 'Cantet, amat quod quisque : levant et carmina curas.' The topics are, as usual, chiefly Theocritean and Virgilian, the transitoriness of beauty, the universality of passionate pursuit, the lover singing in the heat when all else is sheltered, and the employment of the various resources of magic. As in the eighth Eclogue of Virgil, there is no formal conclusion.

Such are the somewhat meagre products yielded by Roman bucolic poetry after Virgil's time—compositions as unreal as Virgil's own, without that exquisite grace which makes us delight in the poem where we cannot recognize the genuine pastoral. A few other pieces of bucolic verse, included by Wernsdorf in his second volume, may perhaps be worth a few lines of mention. Citerius Sidonius Syracusanus (the suffix is noteworthy, as compared with that of Calpurnius) contributes an 'Epigramma de Tribus Pastoribus,' eight closely packed lines, specifying the antecedents, fortunes, occupations, ages, musical qualifications, loves, and love-presents of three shepherds. Severus Sanctus, 'rhetor et poeta Christianus,' has a dialogue in Asclepiad stanzas, 'de Mortibus Boum,' in which Buculus laments the loss of his cattle by an epidemic, finds that Tityrus' herds have escaped by being signed with the cross, and becomes himself a convert from Paganism to Christianity. One Vespa writes 'Iudicium Coci et Pistoris, iudice Vulcano,' in which the baker and the cook extol their own art and depreciate each other's, in verses of no classical merit, but with some humour, the cook being told that he is responsible for the suppers of Thyestes and Tereus, and replying that his art supplies liver for Tityus, wings for Icarus, and beef for Europa. Last comes an Eclogue by the venerable Bede, 'Conflictus Veris et Hiemis, sive Cuculus,' Spring and Winter arguing in verse before a company of shepherds for and against the appearance of the cuckoo, till the judges, naturally enough, decide that the cuckoo shall come, and conclude, 'Salve, dulce decus, cuculus, per saecula salve.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Two fragments of Eclogues resembling those of Calpurnius, and probably dating from the reign of Nero, have been edited from an Einsiedeln MS. of the tenth century. They amount in all to eighty-eight hexameters and are of little importance : one of the poems quotes Virg. E. IV 10. See the reff. in Teuffel 306, 8.]



P. VERGILI MARONIS  
G E O R G I C O N

LIBER PRIMUS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE student of Virgil may be said to enjoy a singular advantage in the preservation of those works of Greek poetry which his author professes to have imitated. A few fragments are all that is left of that glorious body of lyric song which, after having been the delight of Greece, while Greece was yet a nation, lived again at Rome in the Odes of Horace, inspiring their spirit and dictating their metre. Still more scanty is our knowledge of the poems which are supposed to have served as models for Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, such as the Hesiodic *Ἠοΐαι* or the *Ἐπεροῦμένα* of Nicander. Not only may we suppose that we have lost the key to many thoughts, images, and phrases, which the possession of the Greek would have enabled us to clear up, but the whole relation of the Latin poems to their originals becomes a matter of inference and of vague conjecture. But in possessing Theocritus, Hesiod, and Homer, we may feel that we possess, as it were, the exciting causes of the *Eclogues*, the *Georgics*, and the *Aeneid*. They do not indeed represent all the literary influences which must have told upon Virgil's genius, or disclose to us the origin of the peculiar manner in which he has conducted the work of imitation : but they show us what it was that in each successive case first stimulated his general conception of his subject—what it was that he admired in the literature of Greece, and sought to reproduce among his own countrymen : they enable us

to judge of him not only as a poet, but as a critic of the poetry of others.

With regard to Hesiod, indeed, there is considerable reason to doubt whether we possess the whole of what Virgil set himself to copy. Various agricultural precepts are cited from Hesiod—for instance, about the culture of the olive and the vine—which find no place in the *Works and Days*, as we now read them; and though some of these may be disposed of by the consideration that the name of Hesiod was often loosely applied to any thing which might fall under the head of rural didactics, enough remains of a more strictly Hesiodic character to render some other hypothesis necessary—whether it be the popular German theory that the extant *Works and Days*, interpolated as the same authority pronounces them to be, represent only a part of the work which was read by Virgil, or the more cautious speculation of Colonel Mure, who refers the unincorporated fragments to some of the lost poems traditionally ascribed to Hesiod, such as the *Astronomy* and the *Maxims of Cheiron*. Possibly Propertius<sup>1</sup> may have been thinking of these when he addressed Virgil as repeating in song the directions of the old Ascræan bard, and telling of the plain in which the corn-crop grows greenest, the slope on which the grape clusters best, though it is equally likely that he simply intended to acknowledge the *Georgics* as a Hesiodic poem, characterizing them, not by any thing in Hesiod, but by their own argument as summed up in the exordium of the *First Book*. In any case, however, we may be sure that what we have lost bears no proportion in value, as a means of estimating the relations of Hesiod and Virgil, to what we have preserved. The recovery of the whole of Hesiod's poetry would doubtless supply us with illustrations of many passages in the *Georgics*: it is not needed to indicate and shadow forth, though it might possibly deepen, the contrast between the poet of Augustan Rome and the half-mythical minstrel of Boeotia.

The *Works and Days* are the earliest classical representative of that species of poetry which is known as the *Didactic*, a variety

<sup>1</sup> 'Tu canis Ascræi veteris praecepta poetae,  
quo seges in campo, quo viret uva iugo.'

(Prop. II (111) xxxiv 77, 78.)



which has been extensively cultivated in later times, and may be said to have flourished in England down to the end of the last century. Yet it is not too much to assert that a critic who wished to justify the disfavour with which didactic poetry is regarded by the writers and readers of the present day might find his strongest arguments in an examination of Hesiod's poem, not by attempting to derogate from its characteristic excellences, but by using it as a witness to show that the class of compositions of which it is a specimen was not calculated for permanence. Colonel Mure is not exceeding his customary modesty of theorizing when he delivers it as his opinion that 'had prose composition been already popular in Hesiod's time, the Works and Days would probably have been embodied in that form.' It is indeed obviously the product of a time when verse was the one mode of formal composition, recommending itself to the reader's memory by its portability, and to the writer's imagination, as differing most from that common every-day speech which it must have seemed impossible to invest with any artistic associations. Hesiod doubtless was sensible of the pleasures of a composer, and sought for such graces of imagery and style as lay within his horizon: but his first object was to enunciate those practical rules which he regarded as necessary to the conduct of life in an agricultural community. But after prose writing had come to be studied, didactic poetry of this kind was no longer possible. It might linger on among the uneducated: but among the cultivators of composition as an art, those who wished really to instruct were sure to write in prose. Theophrastus took the place of Hesiod by the same law which gave the chair of Xenophanes and Empedocles to Plato and Aristotle. The Hesiodic form however remained after its spirit had passed elsewhere. The union of practical teaching with the charms of versification continued to be attempted by writers who forgot to ask themselves under what circumstances that union had first been realized. It was easy to produce something more systematic than the Works and Days, while the discovery of images appropriate to rural life, yet not unsuited to the dignity of the Muse, furnished a sufficient employment to the poet's fancy. The poetical grammarians of Alexandria were naturally attracted

to a species of composition which, though perhaps incompatible with a spirit of profound criticism, has peculiar points of affinity to the temper of a critical age : and the Alexandrianizing poets of Rome were not unwilling to follow the example. The Phaenomena of Aratus found at least two distinguished translators : Lucretius and Manilius gave the form and colour of poetry to the truths of science, Virgil and Horace to the rules of art ; and the rear is brought up by such poets as Grattius, Nemesianus, and Serenus Sammonicus. In the so-called Augustan age of English literature the same causes were seen to produce the same effects. We had Essays on Satire, Essays on Unnatural Flights in Poetry, Essays on Translated Verse, Essays on Criticism, Essays on Man : Arts of Preserving Health, Arts of Dancing, and even Arts of Cookery : the Chase, and the Fleece, and the Sugar-cane. Some of these the world has forgotten : others are still read with pleasure, not however for the precepts contained in them, but for the terse language and polished verse in which those precepts are enforced. But whatever may be their beauties, the Hesiodic spirit is absent from one and all alike. If we are resolved to track it to its lurking-places in English poetry, we must ascend to times more nearly resembling Hesiod's own, when old Tusser could write, not for critics, but for farmers, and the Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry were received as respectable poetry because they were known to be good sense.

Colonel Mure lightly remarks that the Works and Days might be more correctly described as a Letter of Remonstrance and Advice to a Brother. It is round the grasping, lazy, improvident Perses, μέγα νήπιε Πέρση, as his brother calls him more than once, that the whole poem gathers itself, parts of it, it is true, being connected with him somewhat loosely, but never absolutely detaching themselves from him. Hesiod invokes the Muses, but it is that they may tell him of Zeus, and induce the great Father to see that human justice is rightly awarded, while he himself speaks to Perses the words of truth. Perses is no Maecenas, who, though he may have suggested the subject of the song, is addressed in it merely as a sort of ideal reader : he is a wrong-doer in whose mind a change has to be wrought, for his own



sake and for the sake of others, and legend, fable, and precept are employed by turns to bring him to a sense of past misconduct and present duty. The subject is introduced, as it were, by a fresh leaf out of the Theogony, in which, however, the mythological element is subordinated to the moral, a description of two goddesses of strife, whom we may distinguish in modern language as Discord and Emulation, the first the source of war and misery, the second of honourable endeavour. But the moral is for Perses, who is warned not to waste time which a busy man can ill spare on the false strife, forensic wrangling, but to have the question of his own and his brother's inheritance settled by impartial arbiters, not, as at the last trial of the suit, by judges whom he had bribed. For him, too, is told the legend of Prometheus and Zeus, showing how Pandora first brought evil among mankind, who had lived till then untroubled by hard toil and grievous sickness, and concluding thence that there is no way of escape from the eye of Zeus. That tale being over, Perses is asked if he will hear another, and bidden to lay it up deep in his heart. Then follows the narrative of the five ages, in the last of which men are now living, an evil time, when father shall be at variance with child, guest with host, friend with friend, and brother with brother; when justice and conscience shall not be found in the hands of men, but the base shall supplant the more noble, speaking crooked words, and shall swear a false oath. One more tale is told, a very brief one, addressed to kings and judges of the earth. It consists simply of a reply by a hawk to a nightingale struggling in his talons, and appealing for mercy, a reply which amounts to no more than that she is absolutely at his disposal and had better not resist; the intention doubtless being to put the case of oppression in all its naked repulsiveness, that human perverters of justice may understand and pause in their wrongful course. Passing from fable to a more direct mode of appeal, he again exhorts both Perses and the judges. The former is bidden to 'look on this picture and on this;' on the flourishing city of the just, where there are peace and festal doings, where the oak carries acorns at its top and honey at its core, where the children resemble their parents, and none go on shipboard, for earth

produces fruit enough ; and on the unjust nation, which is ever wasted by famine and pestilence, ever cursed with barrenness in its homes, ever feeling the hand of Zeus in the loss of its broad armies, of its walls, or of its ships at sea. The latter are told that there are thirty thousand heavenly watchers over the affairs of men, who walk abroad over the earth, clad in mist, to see the right and wrong that are done, and that Justice when outraged by human crime sits down by her father Zeus, and talks to him of the perverse heart of man, that a people may suffer for the unrighteousness of its kings. And now he quits justice, and dilates with equal emphasis and at still greater length on the second part of his thesis, the duty of work. The two are indeed closely connected, as the opposition is between living on others and living by a man's own exertion. The easy path of vice is contrasted, in lines that have become famous, with the up-hill path of virtue, steep and rugged at first, but smooth when the ascent has once been mastered. 'Work then, Perses,' he continues, 'like a man of gentle blood as thou art, that famine may hate thee as its foe, and august Demeter of the bright crown may love thee and fill thy granary with sustenance.' One terse proverbial saying follows another, to illustrate the broad distinction between the working and the unworking life : 'Shame is found with poverty, boldness with wealth : gain from the hand of rapine is not good, gain from heaven's hand is far better :' while other maxims of virtue and prudence are intermixed, against violations of social and family ties, on neighbours, on gifts, on spending and saving, on women and children, ending with the assurance that if Perses' heart is set on wealth, he must work, work upon work. From this point the precepts assume a more definite and business-like character in reference to agricultural life. The rising of the Pleiades is the signal for reaping, their setting for ploughing. A man should strip to sow, strip to plough, strip to reap, if he would have every thing come up in its season, and not go begging to his neighbours. 'It was thus that thou camest to me even now : but I will give thee nought ; work, foolish Perses, work the work that the gods have assigned to men, that thou mayest not have to ask from others in vain : twice or thrice thou mayest obtain : but if thou troublest them



further, thou wilt gain nought, and lose many words.' A house, a female slave, an ox, and household stuff are what a man should provide for himself, and that without delay, for delay fills no granaries. The rainy season of autumn is the time when wood is cut best: it is then that the various parts of the plough should be shaped, each from its proper tree. Two oxen nine years old should be chosen for yoking together, and the ploughman should not be under forty years: a younger man is always flying off to his companions. The cry of the crane is the signal for ploughing: before that every thing should be in readiness. 'It is easy to say, Lend me your oxen and your plough: and it is as easy to reply, My oxen have their own work to do.' Slave and master alike should put to their hand, the master guiding the plough, not without prayers to Zeus and Demeter, while the slave a little behind gives trouble to the birds by covering the seed well up. The winter is the time for social meetings: but such things are not for idle waiters on fortune. While it is yet summer, a man should warn his slaves, 'Summer does not last for ever: make barns for the corn.' But all should avoid the wintry sleet, that pierces even the fur of shaggy beasts, the hide of the ox, and the hair of the goat, but cannot reach the sheep through its thick wool, nor penetrate the tender skin of the maiden that sits at home with her mother, or lies warm in bed, well bathed and anointed. Then is the time to go warm clad and thick shod, finish work early, and get home before the storm. At the rising of Arcturus the vines are to be pruned before the swallow appears; but when House-carrier<sup>1</sup> (the snail) leaves the earth and mounts the trees, then the sickle should be sharpened and the slaves called early. 'Morning cuts off a third of the day's work: morning makes way in travelling, and makes way in working—morning, whose dawn sets many a man on his road, and puts the yoke on many an ox.' But when the thistle is in blossom, and the cicada pours its midsummer song from the trees, weary man must look for enjoyment, for a rock to shelter him, milk and wine to drink, and beef and kid's flesh to eat. As soon as Orion rises, the corn should be winnowed: that done, the

<sup>1</sup> *φείροικος*, one of a number of descriptive adjectives which Hesiod converts into substantives, like Aeschylus' *ἡ ἀμίαντος*, *ἡ ἀνθεμουργός*.

slave should be turned out, and a spinster without a child fetched in, and the watch-dog fastened up for fear of thieves. When Orion and Sirius are in mid-heaven, let the grapes be gathered: when the Pleiades and Hyades and Orion set, it is time to think of ploughing again. But it is a bad time for having a ship at sea, if Perses should think of sailing, as well he may, seeing that his father and Hesiod's sailed from Cyme to Ascrea, a bad dwelling-place either in winter or summer, all that he might fly from poverty. For himself, Hesiod owns that he has had no great experience in ships: he has had a single voyage from Aulis to Euboea, when he went to Chalcis and won a tripod with ears there as a singing-prize: still, the Muses have inspired him, and he will give directions about this also. The best season for sailing is at the end of summer, but the mariner must hasten back and avoid the autumn rains: the other time is in spring, when the leaves at the end of the spray have grown to the length of a crow's foot: he will not, however, recommend it, as there is danger, though men persist in braving it, and it is terrible to die at sea. From sailing he passes to marrying, and from marrying to many smaller moralities and decencies of life, his direction about which occupy more than fifty lines, the sum of the whole being a caution to avoid ill report. 'Ill report is a light load to take up, but a heavy one to carry, and a hard one to shake off: for no report dies altogether which has been reported of many people: for it has something of the god in it.' The last series of precepts is about the lucky and unlucky days of the month, which are enumerated with a fulness contrasting strangely with Virgil's brief notice of the subject. 'Different men,' concludes the old bard, 'praise different days, but few have any knowledge: sometimes a day is a stepmother, sometimes a mother: wherefore blessed and happy is he that has knowledge of all, and works his work unblamed by the immortals, distinguishing omens, and avoiding occasions to transgress.'

I have thought it worth while to give this sketch of Hesiod's poem, endeavouring to preserve something of its colour as well as its form, that it may be seen how far removed it stands in its rude simplicity from the pomp and circumstance of later didactic poetry, and how little Virgil understood of his author's genius or



his own when he spoke of himself as singing the song of Asra through the towns of Rome. The Iliad and Odyssey, if modern criticism will allow us to enjoy them in their integrity, might easily be shown to possess most of those requisites which the writer of the Aeneid and the grammarians whom he not improbably followed doubtless considered the invariable elements of an epic poem: but even though the Works and Days should be judged to have successfully resisted the solvent power of German analysis, its relation as a whole to the Georgics must still be regarded as one of contrast rather than of similarity. But where a poet avows himself an imitator, traces of imitation are not likely to be wanting in his work: and though Virgil has not followed Hesiod as closely or as constantly as he has followed Theocritus or Homer, the instances of resemblance between them in points of detail are neither few nor equivocal. Even the pervading philosophy, if so it may be called, of the Works and Days, the philosophy of labour, reappears, with no perceptible loss of reality, as the animating soul of the Georgics, though the plain directness with which it is enforced in the one affords a significant contrast to the artful dexterity with which it is insinuated in the other. The picture of the Five Ages doubtless suggested Virgil's lines on the transition from the reign of Saturn to the reign of Jove, which in their turn supplied some hints to Ovid when he set himself to reproduce the Hesiodic narrative at the opening of his Metamorphoses. The story of Prometheus has no counterpart in Virgil, except so far as it may have taught him that an episode may furnish an agreeable relief in didactic poetry, and so have given rise to the narratives which conclude his third and fourth books; but the moral of the story, the duty of submitting to a dispensation in which those who would live must labour, is identical with the lesson which he draws from his briefer view of the legendary antiquities of his subject. The description of the plough is from Hesiod, though the later poet, in spite of his evident anxiety to attain exactness of detail, does not come up to the fulness of the earlier. The very meagreness of Virgil's paragraph (I 276) about the lucky and unlucky days, whether it be true or no that the precise substance of it is borrowed from another writer, may induce us to

surmise that he would not have given a paragraph to the subject at all, but for his deference to the example of Hesiod. The famous storm-piece in the Georgics was evidently suggested by the winter-piece in the Works and Days, both being introduced to warn the farmer of the dangers to which he is liable in his calling, while each is evidently intended by its author as a specimen of elaborate description, at the same time that it is curious to contrast Virgil's rapid enumeration of the more striking features of the scene, the continuous burst of rain, the levelling of the crops, the swelling of torrent and sea, the flashing of the lightning, the terror of man and beast, the fall of the mountain peak, and the howling of the wind, with the Dutch fidelity of drawing with which Hesiod represented a single point, the effect of the sleet on the animals, how it pierces some and fails to pierce others, and how the wilder sort scud to their dens, like an old man moving on three legs, with his back rather broken than bent, and his head looking down to the ground. Not less instructive is the parallel between the two poets in the lines where they speak of the coming in of the warm weather, 'when lambs and goats are at their fattest, and wine at its mellowest.' Mr. Ruskin might appeal to the sequel of the passage in Hesiod, the wish for a sheltering rock, and wine of Biblos, and a cake raised by yeast, and goat's milk, and the flesh of a cow that has not yet calved, and of firstling kids, as a proof of the utter subordination of any feeling of the picturesque in the early Greek mind to a sense of physical comfort; while it would be only just to note that Virgil, in talking of the pleasure of mid-day sleep, and of the thickness of the shadowing foliage on the mountains, has at any rate omitted the grosser and more purely corporeal accessories of meat and drink. Virgil may be said also to follow Hesiod in his natural calendar, generally fixing the time of the year by the rising or setting of some star, and once or twice noting the return of a season by the return of a bird, such as the stork or the swallow. As in the Eclogues, the stately march of his diction has in it nothing of agricultural simplicity; yet there are instances in which he has imitated the proverbial quaintness of some of Hesiod's sayings, and expressed an epigrammatic precept in language of no less point and terse-



ness. Owing to the nature of the subject, the passages in which Virgil has directly copied Hesiod are almost entirely confined to the first two-thirds of the First Book of the Georgics. We may conjecture that he may have been indebted in later parts of the poem to lost Hesiodic writings, but we shall be conjecturing with few or no data. Enough however has been said to show that if the rural poetry of Virgil bears the impress of a genius unlike that which produced the rural poetry of Hesiod, it is not because the Roman poet made no attempt to model his work on the Greek.

The same good fortune which has preserved to us the most important of Hesiod's agricultural poems enables us to judge also of Virgil's obligations to another writer, whom he has nowhere named or acknowledged. In the *Phaenomena* and *Diosemeia*, or *Prognostics*, of Aratus, we have a specimen of the didactic poetry of the earlier Alexandrian school. Cicero, who translated both works, speaks of him in a well-known passage<sup>1</sup> as a writer who, though ignorant of astronomy, made an excellent poem about the heavenly bodies; and one of the early notices of his life helps us to explain the apparent anomaly by telling us that his *Phaenomena* is a metrical paraphrase of a treatise by Eudoxus, made at the request of his royal patron, Antigonus Gonnatas. He was in fact a metaphrastes, one of a class of writers not uncommon in the later times of Greek literature, who paraphrased the works of other authors, sometimes versifying a prose writer, at others transposing a poet, sometimes turning a hexameter poem into iambics, at others preserving the metre while they altered the words. Sometimes a successful paraphrase became in its turn the subject of metaphrastic ingenuity. Aratus himself was rewritten in iambics by one Marianus, an unwearied writer, who attempted similar reproductions of Theocritus, the *Argonautics* of Apollonius Rhodius, several poems of Callimachus, Nicander's *Theriaca*, and, as Suidas

<sup>1</sup> De Oratore I 16: 'Etenim si constat inter doctos hominem ignarum astrologiae, ornatissimis atque optimis versibus, Aratum, de caelo stellisque dixisse, si de rebus rusticis hominem ab agro remotissimum, Nicandrum Colophonium, poetica quadam facultate, non rustica, dixisse praeclare, quid est, cur non orator de rebus iis eloquentissime dicat, quas ad certam causam tempusque cognorit?'

I.

L

tells us, many others.<sup>1</sup> Of the two poems now in question, if they are to be regarded as two, and not as one falling into two parts, Virgil has been but sparingly indebted to the first, the plan of the Georgics not leading him to attempt any description of the stars as they appear in heaven, which is the subject of the *Phaenomena*. But the other work, the *Diosemeia*, has been laid under heavy contributions, to furnish materials for that account of the prognostics of the weather which occupies the latter part of Virgil's First Book. The very first words of Aratus' poem, *ὄψις ὀράσας*, evidently suggested the familiar appeal *nonne vides*, which Virgil, in imitation of Lucretius, introduces more than once in the Georgics. The whole of the prognostics that follow, signs of wind, signs of rain, signs of fair weather, signs from sounds by land or by sea, signs from the flight, the motion, or the cry of birds, signs from the actions of beasts, reptiles, and insects, signs from the flames of lamps, and the appearances on water, signs from the sun and moon at their rising and at their setting, are all given nearly as Aratus has given them, though the manner in which they are dealt with is Virgil's own. We know not how closely Aratus may have followed his original, if indeed he had an original in this as in his other poem; but however much or however little scientific precision may have suffered from his language, which is that of a tolerably successful imitator of the old epic style, somewhat diffuse, but on the whole perspicuous, and not greatly over-wrought, the arrangement of his subject is sufficiently like that which we should expect to see in a prose treatise, so that the charms of variety are occasionally sacrificed to the claims of practical utility, the same thing being mentioned more than once where it happens to belong to more than one cluster of phenomena. But Virgil pushes the right of a poet over his materials far beyond Aratus. He delights in the profusion of picturesque images which is to be found in Aratus' collection of prognostics, and he makes free use of them for his own purposes; but those purposes are rather poetical than properly didactic. If the reader is not wearied, it matters little that he is left in ignorance of part of what it concerned him to know.

<sup>1</sup> See O. Schneider's *Nicandrea* (Leipsic, 1856), p. 202, on which work parts of what follow are based.



Any one who will compare the hundred and fourteen lines in the *Diosemeia*, on the signs given by the moon and the sun, with the thirty-seven in the First Book of the *Georgics* on the same topic, will see at once that the two writers must have proposed to themselves different objects. The first thought of the one was to communicate information ; the first thought of the other was to impart pleasure.

In the case of a third writer whom Virgil is supposed to have imitated, circumstances have been less favourable to us. Quintilian, in the well-known chapter in which he reviews the various authors of Greece and Rome, asks whether Virgil can be called an unsuccessful follower of Nicander. But of Nicander's *Georgics*, which is evidently the work referred to, we possess only fragments ; and these, with the exception of one or two of the least important, relate to any part of the subject rather than to those of which Virgil has chosen to treat—to such trees as the beech, the mulberry, the palm, and the chestnut, to turnips, and gourds, and cabbages, to flowers of all kinds, and to pigeons. We may agree with the last editor of the *Nicandrea*, Schneider, that notwithstanding these specimens of his work, Nicander probably went over much the same ground as Virgil, only taking a more comprehensive view of his subject ; but we have only Quintilian's authority for surmising that the resemblance between the two poems extended beyond the name. Equally tantalizing is the condition of our knowledge about another work by Nicander, the *Μελισσοουργικά*, the title of which promises to throw a flood of light on Virgil's Fourth Book, while the notices of it that have been preserved merely tell us that the author used *θύμος*, thyme, as a masculine noun, that he applied the verb *εὐφορέω*, if the reading is right, to the drones, in what connexion we know not, and that he placed the original birth-place of the bees in Crete, in the days of Saturn—the last point, at any rate, being one in which Virgil may seem to have followed his example. But if we are ignorant of those works of Nicander about which, as students of Virgil, we should have most wished to be informed, we can at any rate satisfy ourselves as to the general character of the poet by looking at his two extant productions, the *Theriaca* and the *Alexipharmaca*. Like Aratus, he appears to have been a metaphrastes ; like him,

he appears to have been honoured after his death by having his works subjected to the same process which he had tried on those of others ; and he receives from Cicero a similar equivocal compliment; that he had written admirably on agricultural subjects, without ever having had the slightest connexion with agriculture. But though the translator of Aratus includes them in the same eulogy, they appear to have received very different degrees of consideration. One of the points on which the latest editor of Nicander has laboured most is to prove that his author was never much read. 'Nicander parum lectus' is a thesis which is dilated on more than once in his Prolegomena. The poet had his metaphrastes ; he had his scholiasts ; he seems even to have had his interpolators ; but he was but little read, even by those who, journeying over the same ground, might have been expected to avail themselves of the notes of a former traveller. Dioscorides, Celsus, Scribonius Largus, Galen, Serenus Sammonicus, Oribasius, Aetius Amidenus, Paulus Aegineta, Theophanes Nonnus, and Ioannes Actuarius, are successively passed under review, to show that they attended to Nicander very slightly or not at all. Nor can it be said that he is likely to receive from modern readers the favour which was denied him by those who approached more nearly to his own time. The interest which attaches to him is purely historical and philological. He is supposed to have lived ninety years after Aratus ; and his language shows plain marks of an increasing corruption in taste. He wrote a work on *γλῶσσαι*, and his own poems contain many words which would fall under that category ; terms borrowed from Homer, and used in questionable or altogether unauthorized senses ; terms borrowed from the local usage of the different Greek nations, the Aeolians, the Aetolians, the Ambracians, the Cyprians, the Dorians, the Peloponnesians, and the Rhodians ; terms invented by his own ingenuity, through the process of derivation or composition. The structure of the two poems, so far as I have examined them, seems to be not unlike that which is familiar to the readers of didactic poetry. Each commences with a brief address to the person to whom the poem is inscribed, and a brief statement of the subject, in the one case a description of noxious reptiles, and of the cures for their bites, in the other an account of edible and



potable poisons and their remedies ; each consists of a number of paragraphs of moderate length, apparently bearing a substantial resemblance to one another, connected by modes of transition which are not quite free from sameness, and occasionally relieved by some mythological or geographical notice ; and each ends with a brief reference to the author, whom the person addressed is requested to bear in mind. In the Theriaca there are one or two passages which enable us to compare Nicander more closely with Virgil. The directions in the Third Book of the Georgics to get rid of serpents from the cattle-sheds by fumigation are to be found at the opening of Nicander's poem. Later in the poem occur a few lines on the Chersydros, which have supplied Virgil with the details of his picture of the baleful serpent which haunts the mountain lawns of Calabria. Every reader of the Georgics will recognize<sup>1</sup> the monster that at first under the wide-throated lake wages truceless war with the frogs, but when Seirius dries up the water, and the dregs at the bottom of the lake are seen, appears that moment on land, adust and bloodless, warming his grim form in the sun, and hissing with out-darted tongue makes a thirsty furrow as he goes.

The mention of these metaphrastae may perhaps indicate the right point of view from which to regard Virgil's own work. Their characteristic was that they furnished metre and language to matter which had been collected by others ; and any one who will read the Georgics, verifying the references made by the commentators, such as Heyne, to the prose writers on agriculture, will probably agree that this is substantially what Virgil has done. If he differs from them, it is that he passes from writer to writer, the extent of his subject suggesting that variety which his

<sup>1</sup> ὅς δ' ἦτοι τὸ πρὶν μὲν ὑπὸ βροχῶδεϊ λίμνῃ  
 ἀσπείστον βατράχοισι φέρει κόντον· ἀλλ' ὅταν ὕδωρ  
 σείριος αὐτήνῃσι, τρύγη δ' ἐν πυθμένι λίμνης,  
 καὶ τόθ' ὄγ' ἐν χέρσῳ τελέθει ψαφάρός τε καὶ ἄχρους,  
 θάλπων ἡελίῳ βλοσυρὸν δέμας, ἐν δὲ κελεύθοις  
 γλώσση πομφύγδην νέμεται διψήρεας ὄγμους.

Theriaca, vv. 366-371 (ed. O. Schneider).

I am not sure that I have in all cases rightly interpreted the words, as in a writer like Nicander there is room for considerable differences of opinion : but I have endeavoured to render closely, so as to give some notion of his style.

poetical feeling would lead him joyfully to embrace, that he selects and abridges, instead of simply reproducing, always with a view to poetical effect, and that he is far more partial to digressions and episodes—points of difference which only remove him still further than them from those authors who have written with a practical knowledge. It is certain that he gives few directions in any part of his subject which may not be found in some previous writer ; it is, I think, no less certain that he occasionally appears to misapprehend the point of his own precept. The question is one on which I would desire to speak with all the humility of a person professing his own ignorance of agricultural details ; but the instances of apparent mistakes which are mentioned from time to time in the notes, many of them pointed out by a commentator who professes to speak as a practical man, Mr. Keightley, seem to show that the supposed reality of the Georgics is as questionable as that of the Eclogues or the Aeneid. It is true that Pliny and, still more, Columella quote Virgil with the respect due to an original authority on matters of agriculture ; but we may perhaps see a reason for distrusting their judgments when we consider that both of them have something of the rhetorician in their own composition, and so may be biased in their estimate of an author who, as Columella has expressed it,<sup>1</sup> first gave Roman agriculture the power of song. That Cicero at least would have considered the imputation as no reproach is evident from his language already more than once referred to, where his object is to vindicate for the orator that power of dealing with subjects only studied for the occasion which, he tells us, Aratus and Nicander have successfully asserted for the poet. But whatever may have been the extent of Virgil's special familiarity with agriculture, a criticism which professes to regard the Georgics simply in their poetical aspect may waive the discussion of Virgil's relation to the more practical writers who preceded him, Aristotle, Theophrastus, the earlier authors in the Geoponica, Cato, and Varro, and confine its view to those who, being poets themselves, are likely to have influenced in any way the production of a poem which readers ignorant of the simplest processes of farming may still study with wonder and delight. Of these the last, and

<sup>1</sup> 'Vergilium, qui carminum quoque potentem [agricolationem] fecit.' Col. 1 i 12.



perhaps the greatest, has yet to be noticed. I allude of course to Lucretius.

The poem on the Nature of Things could hardly be overlooked in speaking of the Georgics, even if there were no avowed connexion between the later work and the earlier. Not only is it the single instance of a Latin didactic poem produced by any predecessor of Virgil whose works have come down to us, but it is the only didactic poem of extant antiquity which can be put into comparison with the Georgics for largeness of scope and elaboration of structure. The Works and Days, as I have said, has few of the characteristics of systematic poetry: the poems of Aratus and Nicander embrace each a limited subject, which they handle nearly as it might be handled in a prose treatise. But it is the glory of Lucretius' poem, as it is the glory of the Georgics, that it is founded on a theme which in compass and variety is worthy to be the material of a great work of art, and that it considers that theme with a reference, more or less distinct and unvarying, to its capability of affecting the imagination. The one teaches the laws which govern the universe of nature, that man may cease to quail before an unknown power; the other teaches the appliances by which man may subdue the earth, and live in enjoyment of the simple blessings which nature confers: but both profess to go as deep as life itself, and both seek to impress the mind not only with principles of truth, but with images of beauty. But our interest in the parallel increases when we perceive that there is something in it more than mere coincidence. It is a singular thing that Virgil never mentions by name any of those whom he sets himself to imitate. Even in the Eclogues, where he talks of Pollio and Gallus, of Varius and Cinna,—nay, of Bavius and Maevius, he never names Theocritus, Bion, or Moschus, though we hear of the Sicilian Muses, the verse of Syracuse, and the shepherd of Sicily. In the Georgics he does not name Hesiod otherwise than by glancing at the song of Ascra and the Aonian mount (III 11), while of Nicander and Aratus there is no hint whatever. The whole of the Aeneid passes without the slightest reference to Homer, though we have occasionally a glimpse of Virgil's own personality, and in one passage (IV 471) a distinct mention of

Greek legends as they are treated in Greek tragedy. Thus it need excite no surprise that Lucretius is nowhere named in the Georgics, or even indicated by any epithet or circumlocutory expression. But there is one remarkable passage which speaks as plainly to any reader of the *De Rerum Natura*, as if Virgil had talked of Lucretius with the same directness with which Lucretius himself talks of Epicurus, Empedocles, and Anaxagoras. I mean those celebrated lines towards the close of the Second Book, where the poet prays first of all that the charming Muses, whose minister he is for the great love that has smitten him, would admit him of their company, and teach him the courses of the stars in heaven, the various eclipses of the sun, and the agonies of the moon, whence come quakings of the earth, what is the force by which the deep seas swell to the bursting of their barriers and settle down again on themselves, why the winter suns make such haste to dip in ocean, or what is the retarding cause which makes the nights move slowly ;—and then, after adverting to the humbler pleasures of a country life, commemorates the happiness of the man who has gained a knowledge of the causes of things, and so trampled under foot all fears, and fate's relentless decree, and the roar of insatiate Acheron. It is in Lucretius' poem that eclipses, earthquakes, and the varying lengths of days in winter and summer, are discussed and accounted for: it is Lucretius himself who dilates on the beatific vision disclosed to the follower of the Epicurean system, when the terrors of the mind flee away, and the walls of the universe part asunder, and the mansions of the gods appear in calm, unclouded light, but the realms of Acheron are no more seen. Besides this direct recognition, the number of imitations of Lucretius contained in the Georgics is very great. Even Forbiger, who had edited Lucretius before he undertook Virgil, though he has gathered a copious harvest, has left some for a casual reader to glean: and I cannot doubt that an attentive student of Lucretius, who could perceive less obvious resemblances, would be able to collect many more. The invocation of Venus is perhaps rather to be contrasted than compared with the briefer addresses to the different rural gods which open the First Book of the Georgics, but it seems to have supplied a hint for the



invocation of Bacchus which stands at the head of the Second, while Memmius, allowance being made for the greater diffuseness in which Lucretius throughout indulges, stands in nearly the same relation to the one poem as Maecenas to the other. The narrative of the plague of Athens, with which Lucretius concludes his poem, was obviously the model of the account of the pestilence in Northern Italy at the end of Virgil's Third Book. Nor, while we remark a general similarity in the structure of the paragraphs in which the strictly didactic portion of the two poems is contained, need we pass over the fact that Virgil is indebted to Lucretius for several of the formulae with which he introduces these divisions of his subject—for the 'Principio,' for the 'Praeterea,' for the 'Nunc age,' for the 'Quod superest,' and for the 'Contemplator.'

To inquire into the points of dissimilarity between the *De Rerum Natura* and the *Georgics* is virtually to inquire into the causes which have made the latter uniformly popular, while the former has been comparatively neglected. The answer is not to be found in the difference of their subjects. The materialism of Lucretius is cold and cheerless enough: but the details of ploughing and fallowing, of budding trees and training vines, of fattening bulls and curing sick sheep, are not in themselves more inviting, at least to an unprofessional reader. Nor can it be said that Lucretius fails, where such writers as Aratus and Nicander fail, from inferiority in poetical power. The invocation to Venus, the picture of the old age of the world, the expostulation of nature with the mortal who repines at his mortality, the portrait of the seasons and their attendants, and other passages that might be named, appeal to the imagination perhaps more strongly than any thing which can be adduced from the *Georgics*. But it is the artistic part of poetry—that which I have attempted to characterize in the Introduction to the *Eclogues*—which has the most enduring charm for the generality of readers: and there it is that Lucretius falls short and Virgil succeeds. Lucretius wrote before the modulation of the Latin hexameter was thoroughly understood, before the strength and weakness of the Latin language, 'quid possit oriri, quid nequeat,' had been sufficiently tested. Even in his finest passages the versification is monotonous, the diction cumbrous and diffuse: his lines follow each other with a

certain uniformity, each containing a given portion of the sentence, instead of being fused together into a complex and inextricable harmony : the words are arranged in a prosaic order, adjectives and substantives coming together, though both may be terminated by the same sound : sometimes we are surprised by a new and startling metaphor, sometimes wearied by expressions which appear to be mere surplusage. In Virgil, on the contrary, the imagination may or may not be awakened, but the taste is almost invariably satisfied. The superiority of his versification to that of any earlier author whose works have come down to us is something extraordinary. His lines are as far removed from those of Lucretius or Catullus as Pope's are, I do not say from Dryden's, but from Spenser's. Never harsh or extravagant, his language is at the same time never mean or trivial. The position of his words is a study in itself. Even where he takes a line or phrase from a previous writer, he incorporates it with a skill which, in the absence of evidence to the fact, might make us think that he is not appropriating another's, but reclaiming his own. This difference is still more perceptible in the strictly didactic parts, the staple, in fact, of the two poems. Few of those who read the *De Rerum Natura* read it continuously : few, if any, of those who read the *Georgics* read them in any other way. There is however another aspect in which the advantage is not on the side of Virgil. One great reason why Lucretius is found to be unreadable is his enthusiasm for his subject. Whether he thoroughly understood the Epicurean system is, I believe, doubted by some of those who have most right to raise the question : but no one will say that he did not embrace it with all the burning energy of deep conviction. Admitting the uncongeniality of his subject to Latin verse and its distastefulness to the vulgar, he has good hope that he shall be able to make it palatable to his friend : but he does not avoid philosophical detail for fear of being thought tedious or repulsive. If Memmius is weary, the remedy, he tells him, is not to hear less, but to hear more (I 410-417) :

' Quod si pigris paulumve recesseris ab re,  
hoc tibi de plano possum promittere, Memmi ;  
usque adeo largos haustus e fontibu' magnis  
lingua meo suavis diti de pectore fundet,  
ut verear ne tarda prius per membra senectus



serpat, et in nobis vitæ claustra resolvat,  
 quam tibi de quavis una re versibus omnis  
 argumentorum sit copia missa per auris.<sup>1</sup>

Virgil is equally conscious of a difficulty, though the manner in which he expresses it, while partially borrowed from another passage in Lucretius, is characteristically different. 'For myself,' he says (G. III 289), 'I too am well assured how hard the struggle will be for language to plant her standard here, and invest a theme so slender with her own peculiar glory: but there is a rapturous charm that whirls me along over Parnassus' lonely steep; a joy in surmounting heights where no former wheel has worn a way, no easy slope leads down to the Castalian spring.' 'Angustus hunc addere rebus honorem:' such is the object which he proposes to himself: and the way in which he attains it is by keeping out of sight the more prosaic parts of his subject, substituting poetical ornament, as I have said elsewhere, for logical sequence, and too frequently preferring ambiguity to tedious repetition. He had to choose between the farmer and the reader: and in his consideration for the one he has sometimes forgotten the compassion which, at the very outset of his work, he professes to feel for the other.

But the question of the reality of the Georgics does not wholly depend on the value of the work as an agricultural treatise. It may be true that Virgil is an inaccurate farmer's guide, yet true, also, that he is a warm and hearty lover of nature. This is a praise which is usually conceded to the Georgics without hesitation. Horace said that Virgil received the endowment of delicacy and artistic skill from the Muses of the country; and the sentence which, in the mouth of its author, was merely the expression of a fact, has been accepted and repeated in later times as the announcement of a judgment. Now that Virgil has ceased to be regarded as the rival of Homer, it is common to represent him as the poet of rural life, who is to be estimated not by the ambitious task which imperial vanity thrust upon his manhood, but by the more simple and genial works to which he turned of himself in the freshness of youth. Such is the view which is enforced by Mr. Keble in his Lectures on Poetry.<sup>1</sup> That which

<sup>1</sup> Praelectiones Academicae, vol. ii, praell. xxxvi, xxxvii.

especially distinguishes Virgil, it is eloquently maintained, is his ardent and irrepressible love of the country. Not only is it the animating soul of the Eclogues and Georgics, but it haunts him throughout the Aeneid, venting itself in a number of half-melancholy retrospects, and breaking out into 'a thousand similes.' He seems scarcely to wish to make his hero interesting, but he is never tired of illustrating epic situations by the characteristic beauties and delicate proprieties of natural objects. Nay, it is even suggested that the event in his personal history which most markedly connects him with the country, is likely to have had a large share in determining the character of his poetry. Anxiety about the safety of his farm was one of the presiding feelings in the composition of the Eclogues: the tender recollection of the past danger and of the scenes which he may have afterwards revisited hovers over the Georgics: gratitude for the protection extended to him induced him to make a sacrifice of his truer instincts, and undertake the Aeneid.

To attempt a full discussion of this opinion would be obviously presumptuous in one who is conscious of his own deficiency in the power or habit of appreciating external nature, and so is incapable of rightly estimating those descriptive or allusive touches which undoubtedly appear throughout Virgil's poems. Such a one, however, may perhaps be allowed to state his own impression with regard to the prominence of the position which the feeling in question would seem to have occupied in the poet's mind as unfolded in his works. The choice of a subject certainly furnishes a *prima facie* argument that the subject, or something connected with it, has been thought congenial by the chooser, though we must not forget that Virgil himself speaks of kings and battles as having been the object of his first poetical aspirations, referring, so tradition interprets the passage, to an abandoned intention of celebrating the 'Albani patres,' the royal line from which Rome was derived. Again, we may credit the statement of his biographer that his parentage connected him with the country, where his early life was doubtless chiefly passed, at the same time that we see the fact to be susceptible of another use, as showing how he may have been drawn to rural poetry, without having felt a decided love for it. But it is difficult to conceive



that a man in whose mind the ambition of imitation, the charm of recollected reading, and a taste for conventional conceptions filled so large a space can have found his delight and solace, at least to the extent supposed, in sympathy with external nature. The unreality of the pastoral life in the *Eclogues* does not indeed prove the existence of similar unreality in the *Georgics*; but it prepares us to expect it. Probably there is no passage in the *Georgics* in which sympathy with nature is more strongly expressed than that to which I have already adverted, where he contrasts the vocation of Lucretius with his own. He prays that he may delight in the country and the streams that freshen the valleys—that he may love river and woodland with an unambitious love. He sighs for Sperchius and Taygetus, the revel-ground of Spartan maidens, and longs for some one who will set him down in the cool glens of Haemus, and shelter him with the giant shade of its boughs. He talks of the bliss of the man who has won the friendship of the rural gods, Pan and old Silvanus, and the sisterhood of nymphs. He occupies the rest of the book with the praises of the country life, its tranquillity and purity, its constant round of pleasant employments, its old historic and legendary renown. But he has already painted the destiny of a scientific inquirer into nature in colours which can scarcely be intended to be less glowing, and declared that his first love is centred there. The very distinctness with which Lucretius is indicated as the ideal after which he primarily aspires is itself a presumption that the aspiration is in some sort genuine. There is, indeed, something strange and sad, if this were the place to dwell on it, in the spectacle of a man contemplating the Lucretian system and an attempt to realize the old rural belief as two feasible alternatives, and leaving the choice to be determined by his mental constitution: stranger, perhaps, and sadder still, if we suppose him to be using words without a distinct consciousness of their full meaning, and to be thinking really of the comparative aptitude for poetical purposes of the two opposite aspects of nature. But though such a state of mind has no affinity to the terrible earnestness of Lucretius himself, it is not uncharacteristic of a would-be philosopher: while the touch which immediately follows, the praise of a country life as afford-

ing no scope for the pains of pity or of envy, seems to show a lingering sympathy with philosophic doctrine even after he had resigned himself to an unphilosophic life. Nor is this the only passage in which we find traces of a yearning after philosophy as the true sphere of a poet. The song of Iopas in the First Book of the *Aeneid*, where several lines are repeated from the passage we have just been considering, shows that the conception was one which continued to dwell with him through life : the song of Silenus in the sixth *Eclogue* is a witness no less to its early formation. In the latter, as we there saw, a cosmogony which, though not strictly Epicurean, is expressed throughout in Lucretian phraseology, is succeeded by a series of mythological stories, as in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* : but the compromise is merely equivalent to the oscillation of mind shown in the *Georgics*, between the scientific temper that defies death by disbelieving the future and the primitive faith in wood-gods and nymphs. The same feeling shows itself in the scattered hints of a pessimist spirit which appear even on trifling occasions, in the reflection on the unequal struggle between man and nature as exemplified in the sowing of pulse, and the exhortation to the breeder of cattle to take advantage of those bright days of life which are the first to fly. The general impression which we thus gain is singularly confirmed by Virgil's biographer, who tells us, with every appearance of truth, that just before his last illness he had resolved to spend three years abroad in polishing the *Aeneid*, and then, for the rest of his life, to devote himself to philosophy. Such a taste is of course not in itself inconsistent with a love of the external aspects of nature ; but it shows that, in his judgment at least, natural beauty was not his one congenial element, the only atmosphere which could invigorate the pulses and sustain the wings of his fancy. His philosophical aspirations are those of an intellectual amateur rather than of a genuine lover of wisdom : but the temperament which admits of such lukewarm devotion is one which we should expect to find not in the single-minded enthusiast for nature, but in the many-sided cultivator of art.

The *Georgics* have been characterized by Mr. Merivale as the *Glorification of Labour*. Such epigrammatic judgments are,



from the nature of the case, apt to be too narrow for the facts which they profess to cover : and a reader of Virgil may perhaps be surprised to find an intention attributed to the poet which does not display itself prominently on the surface of the work. Yet I may be allowed to say that my own examination of the poem, extending over a time previous as well as subsequent to the publication of Mr. Merivale's criticism, has led me to believe that the remark is scarcely less true than pointed. Passages may undoubtedly be shown where little or no trace of the feeling appears : but it can be proved to lurk in others where its existence hitherto would seem to have been unsuspected ; nor can I doubt, on the whole, that, as I have said in a former page, it was as strongly present to Virgil's mind as to Hesiod's, though it is certainly not put forth in the same homely plain-spoken manner. So far is the poet from masking the toilsome nature of the task to which he calls the farmer, that he everywhere takes occasion to bring it out into strong light, dwelling on it as in itself a source of enthusiasm, and urging those whom he addresses to spare no pains to make the work thorough. Observe the form into which he throws his very first sentence, as soon as the ceremony of invocation is over, and the practical part of the Georgics begun. 'In the dawn of spring, when icy streams trickle melting from the hoar mountains, and the crumbling clod breaks its chain at the west wind's touch, even then I would fain see the plough driven deep till the bull groans again, and the share rubbed in the furrow till it shines.' All that is ornamental, or, as it may be called, poetical in the latter part of the sentence, the deep-driving of the plough, the groaning of the bull, the shining of the share, tends directly to one point; hard and unsparing labour. The same spirit may be discovered in the next sentence, concealed in the single word 'sensit,' which denotes the laying bare, as it were, of the nerve of the soil to the two opposite influences by a thorough ploughing twice in each season. A few lines further on we have a passage which not only enforces strongly the practical duty of work, but states the theological ground (so to name it) on which it rests. 'Remember'—such in effect is Virgil's language—'that the special aptitudes of the soil must be studied. Different regions have different products : corn is more congenial to one, the vine

to another. Such,' he goes on to say, 'is the chain of law, such the eternal covenant, with which nature has bound certain climes, from the day when Deucalion first hurled his stones on the unpeopled globe, stones whence sprung man's race, hard as they.' In the fourth Eclogue he had said that when the golden age of the future should at length be fully consummated, the occupations of the sailor and the farmer would cease together : all lands would produce all things : the ground should not feel the harrow, nor the vineyard the pruning-hook : the sturdy ploughman too (mark the epithet) should at length set his bullocks free from the yoke. But such is not the dispensation under which men now live. The appropriation of certain produce to certain soils is expressly intended to make labour necessary : and the same order of things which ordained labour ordained frames of stone and thews of iron to grapple with it. What is the moral? What, but that man and beast should accept the law of their being, and work with all their might? 'Ergo age,' concludes the poet,

' Ergo age, terrae  
pingue solum primis extemplo a mensibus anni  
fortes invertant tauri, glaebasque iacentis  
pulverulenta coquat maturis solibus aestas.'

The soil is rich (in the supposed case), requiring and repaying work : the bullocks are to be strong : the very line in which they are mentioned labours with the intensity of their exertion, which is to begin with the year itself and to be repeated in the summer : and when the clods have thus been a second time turned up and exposed to the sky, the sun is to perform its part in the great confederacy of toil, darting its meridian beams upon them, and baking them thoroughly till they crumble into dust. Having delivered his precepts for ploughing, fallowing, stubble-burning, harrowing, cross-ploughing, irrigating, and draining, he reflects again on the arduousness of a farmer's duties, and proceeds again to lay a mythological foundation for their support. Following what is apparently a different, if not an inconsistent, line of legend, he refers the origin of labour not to Deucalion's time, but to the coming in of the silver age under Jupiter. In Saturn's days mankind had one common stock, and earth yielded every thing freely : Jove was the first to break up the land by human



skill, using care to sharpen men's wits, nor letting the realm which he had made his own grow dull under the weight of lethargy. Then came the divers arts of life: so Toil conquered the world, relentless Toil, and Want that grinds in adversity. The acorns had begun to fail in the sacred forests and Dodona to withhold her sustenance, when Ceres taught men to plough and sow. Soon the corn itself had hardship and sickness laid upon it: those plagues came in which gave the farmer no respite, and, if he relaxes his vigilance, drive him back into a barbarism which resembles the golden age only in what it is without. 'Unless your rake is ever ready to exterminate weeds, your shout to scare away birds, your hook to restrain the shade which darkens the land, and your prayers to call down rain, poor man, you will gaze on your neighbour's big heap of grain with unavailing envy, betake yourself to the woods again, and shake the oak to allay your hunger.' The same indomitable enthusiasm animates the poet, when, with the Second Book, a fresh division of his subject opens upon him. In a second invocation he sees himself and Bacchus as fellow-labourers, taking part in every detail of the vintage. 'Come hither, Father of the winepress! strip off thy buskins, bare thy legs, and plunge them with me in the new must.' He surveys his new province in all its length and breadth; and the result is a fresh access of exulting energy. 'Come then, husbandmen, and learn the culture proper to each according to its kind, and so mellow your wild fruits by cultivation, nor let the ground lie idle. What joy to plant Ismarus all over with the progeny of the wine-god, and clothe the mighty sides of Taburnus with a garment of olives!' No jot of the difficulty is abated or omitted: the objects of labour are mountains, which themselves suggest the notion of an arduous undertaking: but the planting is to be thorough, the clothing entire: and the reward is to be found in the work itself—that the wine-god should be propagated by human aid—that the weaving of so vast a robe should be in human hands. But the poet is a worker too. His task is to instruct the labourer in his manifold duties, and record his manifold triumphs. He has launched his bark, and must perform the voyage; and he calls on his patron to stand at his side, and spread with him

I.

M

the flying sail over this broad ocean. 'Again and again in the book we see glimpses of the same unflinching resolution :

' terram multo ante memento  
*excoquere, et magnos scrobibus concidere montis.*'

' Seminibus positis, superest diducere terram  
*saepius ad capita, et duros iactare bidentis,*  
aut *presso exercere solum sub vomere, et ipsa*  
*flectere luctantis inter vineta iuvencos.*'

The ploughing is to be across, as well as up and down, the lines of vines. The bullocks may be restiff: the turns may be sharp and awkward: but the work is to be done. So when he passes from the vine, the olive, and the apple and its cognates, to less favoured trees, he seeks to shame the reluctant husbandman into a sense of his duty. 'I speak of fruit-trees—while the whole forest is teeming with produce, and the haunts of the birds, that know nought of culture, are red all over with blood-dyed berries. The lowly lucerne is food for cattle: the tall grove supplies pine-torches: hence are fed the flames that give us light by night. And are men to hesitate about planting and bestowing their pains?' 'Shall nature do her part, and shall not man do his?' For the Third Book I need only refer to the passage which I instanced in a preceding paragraph—that where he talks of the arduous nature of the work to which he has bound himself, and the joy which for that very reason attends it. As before, he mentions his own labours in connexion with those of the husbandman. 'Enough of herds: another part of our charge is yet to do, the ceaseless care of the woolly sheep and shaggy goat. Here is a task indeed: here fix your hopes of renown, ye brave sons of the soil.' The nature of his own exertion is changed: it is not the immensity of his work which he contemplates now, but the resistance to be overcome in expressing a mean subject in the language of poetry: but it is labour still, and it is the effort required that makes him love it. In the Fourth Book, it must be confessed, there seem to be few, if any, touches of this feeling. Yet some may perhaps be inclined to think that it does really appear there, only in another shape. There is no other part of the Georgics where we hear so little of the human labourer. But the pervading atmosphere of the book



is one of labour, from beginning to end. The community which is the subject of the labourer's care is itself a miracle of labour : and the poet for the time is absorbed in it. He gives directions as usual to the husbandman about the position and construction of the hive, the taking of the honey, the remedies for disease, and the like : the cares of a bee-keeper are in some measure illustrated by the elaborate episode in which he tells how the means of producing a new swarm came to be discovered : but his enthusiasm is reserved for the unflagging toil of the bees themselves, for that organized industry to which the superhuman labours of the Cyclopes are supposed to furnish no exaggerated parallel—for that self-sacrificing patriotism which makes them brave death in carrying home their contribution to the common stock of honey. In the exordium of the First Book, at the end of a summary which speaks of nothing but human labour, an epithet is introduced which strikes a chord, as some have thought, out of harmony with the context, by commemorating the frugality of the bee side by side with the weight of experience required for rearing and keeping it. If that epithet was not intended, as it may well have been, to announce to the reader that the poem would treat of bees as fully as of their keepers, it may at least witness to the division of interests even then existing in the poet's mind, and show that in the brief glance with which he took in the whole of his subject, he thought not of man alone, but of all that can combine intelligence with energetic toil.

## [DATE OF THE GEORGICS.

THE chronology of the Georgics involves far fewer difficulties than that of the Eclogues. All our evidence agrees in suggesting that they were commenced about 36, shortly after the completion of the Eclogues, and were completed in 29. (1) Suetonius tells us that they were written in seven years and read to Octavian at Atella, that is, just before the great triple triumph of August, 29, and his statement, though questioned by some recent writers, seems quite worthy of credence. (2) It is

supported by internal evidence, which points to a period between 37 (or 36) and 29. The *Portus Iulius* (Georgic II 161) was completed in 37; the line 'hinc movet Euphrates, illinc Germania bellum' (I 509) may possibly refer to the same year, possibly to some later date earlier than 29; the prefaces to the first and third books, and the last eight lines of the fourth book, were plainly written in 30 or 29, while the conclusions of the first two books suit 33 or 32.<sup>1</sup> (3) General probabilities also favour this view. It is natural that the commencement of the *Georgics* should follow the completion of the *Eclogues* at no great interval, and Virgil's habits of composition, as Conington observes, required a long period like seven years for the production of a poem like the *Georgics*. The poem appears to have been written, in part at least, in Campania. The conclusion of the fourth Georgic indicates that about 30 Virgil was residing at Naples: a curious story in Gellius (VI 20) assigns him a villa at Nola and connects with it a line in the second book (II 225). After July, 36, the south of Italy was tranquil enough even for a poet, and the general aspect of the poem is confessedly Campanian. There are, however, a few passages (notably II 197) which remind us of Mantua.

It is probable that an important alteration of the poem was made some years after 29. Servius twice tells us (E. X 1, G. IV 1) that the second half of the fourth book contained the praises of Cornelius Gallus, and that after his death (in 26) Virgil, at the order of Augustus, substituted the story of Orpheus. Gallus was 'praefectus' of Egypt from 30 till 27 or 26, and a panegyric of him, written in 30 or 29, would have found a fit place near the end of the book (compare IV 285), while the episode of Orpheus certainly does not contain the answer which we should have expected Proteus to give to Aristaeus. We may therefore assume the truth of the story of Servius. Whether this alteration was accompanied by changes in other parts of the *Georgics*,

<sup>1</sup> See also II 171 note. The fact that most of these allusions concern the years B.C. 32-29 has led some recent writers to limit to these years the period during which the *Georgics* were composed. Wagner deduced this from IV 560 foll., but that, as Conington observed, is to disregard probability without gain from increased strictness of language.



and was in fact part of a new edition, as Ribbeck thinks, is less easy to decide. There is, however, no allusion to any event later than 29 (see III 31), and no real literary evidence of revision: it is, therefore, rash to assume that the alterations made in or after 26 extended beyond the episode of Gallus. It appears equally rash to argue from the instructions left by Virgil to Varius and Tucca (Suet. 40) that the poet did not himself publish his second edition and that Varius and Tucca edited it from his papers: Suetonius plainly implies that the work edited by these two scholars was the Aeneid.]

## LIBER PRIMUS.

THE subject of the First Book is the tillage of the ground with a view to crops, chiefly corn. The mention of the uncertainty of the weather at different seasons leads the poet (v. 351) to give a list of the signs of storms and of fair weather, abridged from the *Diosemeia* of Aratus. From this he passes (v. 461) to the signs of the political storm which had broken over Rome, shows that external nature had been no less eloquent there, and prays that Octavian may be spared to save society.

The events mentioned in the concluding lines have usually been considered to point to the earlier part of the period (37-29) during which Virgil is supposed to have composed the *Georgics*, and to the time immediately preceding that period. Mr. Merivale, on the other hand, believes the passage to have been written early in 32, during the general expectation of war between Octavian and Antony. His explanation deserves quoting, both for the ingenuity of the conception and for the rhetorical ability with which it is enforced. 'The prevailing sentiment of gloomy yet vague forboding found expression in the voice of a youthful enthusiast. Cherished by Maecenas, and honoured with the smiles of Octavian himself, Virgil beheld in the sway of the chief of the Romans the fairest augury of legitimate and peaceful government. With strains of thrilling eloquence not less musical than those with which Lucretius had soared into the airy realms of imagination, he descended to the subject of the hour, and gave words to the thoughts with which every bosom was heaving. He invoked the native gods of Italy, with Romulus and Vesta, guardians of Tuscan Tiber and Roman Palatine, to permit the youthful hero to save a sinking world. He reminded his countrymen of the guilt of their fathers' fathers, which had effaced the landmarks of right, and filled the world with wars and a thousand forms of crime. He mourned the decay of husbandry, the dishonour of the plough, the desolation of the fields: he sighed over the clank of the armourer's forge, and the training of the rustic conscript. It was not the border skirmishes with the Germans or the Parthians that could excite such a phrenzy of alarm: it was the hate of neighbour against neighbour, the impending conflict of a world in arms. The foes of Rome were indeed raging against her, but her deadliest enemy was of her own household. Virgil pointed to the Rhine and the Euphrates, but his eye was fixed upon the Nile.' (Hist. iii 303, ed. 1.) In a note, after quoting vv. 509-511, he adds: 'In the year 37 there was actual warfare on the Rhine and the Euphrates, but at that time there was apparent harmony between the triumvirs, and the prospect at least of universal pacification. On the other hand, in the year 32, there was no apprehension of hostilities on the eastern or the northern frontier, but there was a general foreboding of civil war.' [Mr. Nettleship also referred the passage to the period just before Actium, i.e. approximately to 32. But the language is too vague to justify a positive conclusion; it suggests rather that Virg. had no special circumstances in his mind when he wrote. See the notes, esp. on vv. 509, 510.]



QUID faciat laetas segetes, quo sidere terram  
 vertere, Maecenas, ulmisque adiungere vitis  
 conveniat, quae cura boum, qui cultus habendo  
 sit pecori, apibus quanta experientia parcis,  
 hinc canere incipiam. vos, o clarissima mundi

1-5. 'Agriculture, the cultivation of vines, the care of cattle and of bees, are my subjects: ' a fairly precise enumeration of the matters actually treated in the Georgics, though the subject of Books I and II are indicated poetically rather than fully described.

1. This division of the subjects of Book I seems taken from the title of Hesiod's poem, *Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι* (Serv.). So II 1, 'Hactenus arborum cultus et sidera caeli.'

'Laetae segetes' was a common expression; Cic. de Or. III 38, 'gemmae vites, luxuriam esse in herbis, laetas segetes etiam rustici dicunt,' where it is instanced as a metaphor. Keightley thinks that the physical sense of 'laetus' was the primary one, and that it was thence transferred to the mind; [so Nettleship, Stowasser, and others; Serv. refers to 'laetamen,' manure].

It is not easy to determine whether 'segetes' refers to land or corn. Columella (II 15) has 'segetes laetas excitare,' which points to the corn: but a few lines above he uses 'segetem' unmistakably of the field where the corn is to be sown. 'Laetas' would apply equally to both (vv. 101, 102).

'Quo sidere' like 'quo signo,' v. 354. Addison (Essay on the Georgics prefixed to Dryden's translation) says that 'Virgil, to deviate from the common form of words, would not make use of "tempore," but "sidere:"' but the stars enter prominently into Virg.'s plan, constituting the shepherd's calendar (vv. 204 foll.).

2. 'Vertere terram' as in v. 147, where 'ferro' is added. 'Vertentes vomere glaebas,' Lucr. I 211. 'Vertere' is used without an ablative by Col. III 13, in conjunction with 'subigere.'

'Maecenas,' to whom the poem is inscribed, as the Works and Days to Perses, the poem of Lucr. to Memmius.

3. 'Cultus' and 'curatio' occur in a similar connexion, Cic. N. D. II 63.

'Habendo pecori,' as we should say, for breeding cattle: nearly equivalent to 'ad habendum pecus,' a common use of the dative with the gerundive, especially in official designations, e.g. 'tresviri agris dividendis.' Madv. §241, obs. 3, §415 obs.

4. 'Experientia,' of the bee-keeper, not of the bees, whose habits are only described incidentally. So IV 315, 316 [where see note, and cp. Stat. Theb. VI 775, 'is vigor ingenio, tanta experientia dextrae est.—H. N.]. 'Habendis' then will have to be supplied from 'habendo.'

'Parcis' is an ornamental epithet, indicating the bee as it is in itself, not as an object of its keeper's care. It has an appropriateness here, showing that the nature of the bees themselves is a part of the subject of Book IV. Wagn. and Forb. refer it to the difficulty of keeping up the stock of bees. This would agree well with 'habendo,' but the use of 'parcus' would be extremely harsh; it is not supported by III 403 (where the epithet is poetically transferred from the sparer to the thing spared), and the fact itself is disputed by Keightley.

5. 'Hinc incipiam' [as opposed to the Eclogues.—H. N.]. Varro R. R. II 1, proceeds to his subject with the words 'incipiam hinc;' E. VI 41, 'hinc refert,' 'next he sings.' Voss's interpretation of 'hinc' as 'horum partem,' 'ex his,' like τῶν ἀμύθεν, Hom. Od. I 10, as if to show the modesty of the poet, is far less simple and obvious. Pal. originally had 'hic.'

'Incipiam' is rather 'I will undertake' than 'I will begin' (Henry on A. II 13). Keightley comp. Lucr. I 55, 'Disserere incipiam.' The whole exordium may be translated, 'What makes a corn-field smile, what star suits best for turning up the soil and marrying the vine to the elm, what care oxen need, what is the method of breeding cattle, and what weight of man's experience preserves the frugal commonwealth of bees—such is the song I now essay.'

5-42. 'I invoke sun and moon, the powers that give corn and wine, the wood-gods and nymphs, the gods of horses, herds and flocks, the patrons of the olive, the plough, and the forest-trees—in short, every rural power, and especially Caesar, our future deity, who has yet his province to choose. May he, in pity to the husbandmen, begin his reign at once, and accept their homage and mine.

lumina, labentem caelo quae ducitis annum ; 6  
 Liber et alma Ceres, vestro si munere tellus  
 Chaoniam pingui glandem mutavit arista,  
 poculaque inventis Acheloia miscuit uvis ;  
 et vos, agrestum praesentia numina, Fauni, 10  
 ferte simul Faunisque pedem Dryadesque puellae :  
 munera vestra cano. tuque o, cui prima frementem  
 fudit eum magno tellus percussa tridenti,

5. ['Mundi,' the sky, v. 232, A. IX 328, Munro Lucr. I 788.]

6. [Mr. Nettleship, with most recent edd., separates 'mundi lumina,' the sun, moon, and stars, from Liber and Ceres. Con. was inclined to identify them because of (1) the asyndeton, (2) a note in Macrob. Sat. I 18, and (3) the fact that Bacchus is sometimes identified with the sun, though Ceres never is with the moon.]

'Lumina': Serv. says: 'Numina fuit, sed emendavit ipse, quia postea ait, Et vos agrestum praesentia numina Fauni.' Wakefield adopts 'numina'; Wagn. supposes Serv.'s remark to refer to v. 7, where 'numine' is the reading of Med. corr.

'Caelo,' along the sky. [The simple abl. of place where (without 'in' or an adj. like 'totus') is confined in early Latin to a few special uses. It becomes common in Virg. (where it is commoner in Georg. and Aen. than Ecl.), in Livy, etc. Dräger I 525, Roby 1173.]

The sense is parallel to Lucr. v 1436 foll., 'At vigiles mundi magnum versatile templum Sol et luna suo lustrantes lumine circum Perdocuere homines annorum tempora verti Et certa ratione geri rem atque ordine certo.'

7. 'Si' used as frequently in adjurations. The worshipper affects to make the existence of the attributes of the gods dependent on the granting of his prayer. ['Sit' Med. originally for 'si.'—H. N.]

8. 'Chaoniam,' a literary epithet: see E. I 54. So 'Dodona,' v. 149.

9. 'Pocula,' perhaps of the draught rather than of the cup, as E. VIII 28. 'Acheloia' agrees with 'Chaoniam,' as if the poet had meant to represent Epirus and Aetolia as the cradle of the human race. Achelous was said to be the oldest of all rivers, whence the name was frequently put for water in general (Eur. And. 166, Bacch. 625; see Macrob. Sat. v 18). Hyginus (fab. 274) and Serv. have stories connecting the discovery of

wine with the neighbourhood of the Achelous.

11. 'Ferre pedem,' of ordinary motion, A. II 756, Catull. XIV 21; of dancing, Hor. Od. II xii 17, which may be its sense here, as the Fauns in E. VI are made to dance. The repetition of 'Fauni' serves to correct the previous verse, where they alone were mentioned. Keightley remarks on the union of Italian Fauns with Greek Dryads.

12. 'Munera,' E. III 63. 'Tuque' and 'cultor nemorum' may be coupled with the preceding lines, being constructed grammatically with 'ferre pedem,' or a verb may be borrowed from v. 18.

'Prima' is equivalent to 'primum'; this was the first horse produced.

'Frementem,' of a war-horse, A. VII 638, XI 599, XII 82.

13. Neptune in Thessaly produced the horse by a stroke of his trident (Lucan VI 393, etc.). Serv. asserts that he did so in his contest with Minerva about the naming of Athens, and supposes Virg. to refer to that. But the ordinary version of the contest ascribes to Neptune the production of a fountain, and this version appears in Ovid (M. VI 77, 'exiluisse fretum'). The version which introduces the horse is later, [appearing only in Lactantius, Serv. and late writers (see the quotations in Stefani, Comptes Rendu, 1872, p. 72), and is unknown to art. It probably arose either from a contamination of the Thessalian and Attic legends or from a misunderstanding of some such work of art as the Kertsch hydria.]. Serv. says that in his time various copies here read 'aquam' [and so the Berne scholia.—H. N.].

'Fudit' of easy production, as in Lucr. v 917, 'Tempore quo primum tellus animalia fudit' (quoted by Cerda), which perhaps Virg. had in his mind. Pal. has 'fundit'; comp. A. VIII 141. ['Ecum' Med., 'equom' Pal. originally.—H. N.]



Neptune; et cultor nemorum, cui pingua Ceae  
 ter centum nivei tondent dumeta iuveni; 15  
 ipse, nemus linquens patrium saltusque Lycae,  
 Pan, ovium custos, tua si tibi Maenala curae,  
 adsis, o Tegeaeae, favens; oleaeque Minerva  
 inventrix; uncique puer monstrator aratri;  
 et teneram ab radice ferens, Silvane, cupressum; 20  
 dique deaeque omnes, studium quibus arva tueri,  
 quique novas alitis non†ullo seminē fruges,

14. 'Cultor nemorum:' Aristaeus (G. IV 315 foll.); he delivered Ceos from drought, and he was honoured there with the attributes of Zeus.

'Cultor' [either (1) cultivator, as Conington thought; or (2) inhabitant: comp. A. III 111, 'Cybelae cultrix,' XI 557, 'nemorum cultrix' (see note), Plaut. Amph. V i 13, Iuppiter 'caeli cultor,' etc. The second explanation is better supported, and comes nearer to the sense 'patron,' which (as Con. says) is here the general sense. Comp. Corpus Inscr. Lat. VII 980, 'dis cultoribus huius loci']

'Cui' implies that the process goes on for him, because he is its patron and author. Comp. II 5; Lucr. I vii 8, 'tibi suavis daedala tellus Summitit flores: tibi rident aequora ponti.'

'Pingua,' luxuriant. So 'folia pinguis-sima' Pliny XXI 53, 'coma pinguis-sima' Suet. Ner. 20. In Ceos the wild fig-tree was said to bear three times a year, Athen. III p. 77, quoted by Cerda.

15. 'Pascuntur . . . amantis ardua dumos,' III 315. 'Ter centum,' indefinite, like 'trecentae catenae,' Hor. Od. III iv 79 [esp. common in Catullus and Virg.: Wölfflin's Archiv ix 189].

['Dummeta' originally Pal.—H. N.]

16. 'Come thou too in thy power from thy forest home and the Lycaean lawns, Pan, tender of sheep, by the love thou bearest thy Maenalus, and stand graciously at my side, god of Tegea.' 'Ipse,' as the great rural god. The line is apparently modelled on Theocr. I 123 foll.; the resemblance would be closer if we were to read 'seu' for 'si' with Schrader; but 'si' is sufficiently defended by V 7. 'Lycae,' E. x 15.

17. 'Ovium custos,' the shepherd καρ' ἔξοχῶν. 'Maenalus,' E. VIII 21, x 55.

18. 'Calami, Pan Tegeaeae, tui,' Prop. IV iii 30. For the story of Minerva see v. 13.

19. Triptolemus comes naturally after Minerva, as the legend connected both with Attica. Other stories represented Osiris as the inventor of the plough (Tibull. I vii 29), and this is the view of Serv. here: but 'puer' points to Triptolemus, who appears in [Ovid Met. v 645 and on] works of art as a youth.

'Monstrator:' 'sacri monstrator iniqui,' Ov. Ibis 399. So 'monstrata piacula,' A. IV 636, the expiations prescribed by the priestess. ['Mostrator' originally Med., and so Ribbeck.—H. N.]

20. Silvanus (E. x 24) is represented in sculpture with a cypress in his hand, and hence called δειδροφόρος. His connexion with the cypress is accounted for by the legend of his attachment to Cyparissus (Serv.), an Italianized version of one of the mythes of Apollo.

'Ab radice' with 'ferens,' condensed, as Catullus LXIV 288, 'tulit radicitus.' Serv. mentions a variant 'tenera.'

21. Serv. says that the pontiffs, after invoking the gods whose aid was specially required in the particular case, concluded with a general invocation. The names of some of the rural deities of Italy may be found in Varro, R. R. I 1; others are given by Serv. from Fabius Pictor. Ursinus quotes Prop. IV xiii 41, 'Dique deaeque omnes, quibus est tutela per agros,' evidently an imitation.

'Studium tueri,' II 195; see note on v. 213. In the case of 'studium' perhaps it is most natural to regard the infinitive as a nominative, and make it the subject of the proposition. But in III 179, 180 'studium' certainly seems to be the subject, 'praelabi' being connected with it, like 'ad bella,' probably in a gerundial construction, as if it had been 'studium bellandi, aut praelabendi.'

22. 'Non ullo' (Med., Serv. and the Berne scholia) was restored by Heins.

quique satis largum caelo demittitis imbrem ;  
 tuque adeo, quem mox quae sint habitura deorum  
 concilia, incertum est, urbisne invisere, Caesar, 25 *ecr*  
 terrarumque velis curam, et te maximus orbis  
 auctorem frugum tempestatumque potentem  
 accipiat, cingens materna tempora myrto;  
 an deus immensi venias maris, ac tua nautae *rea*  
 numina sola colant, tibi serviat ultima Thule, 30  
 teque sibi generum Tethys emat omnibus undis;

for 'nonnullo,' which is found in Gud. Pier. mentions another reading, 'nullo de; Rom. unmetrically gives 'non ullo de.'

The abl. is descriptive of 'fruges.' The distinction is a general one between nature and cultivation, not, as in II 10-13, between spontaneous production and production by seed.

24. This invocation of Caesar is probably, as Keightley observes, the first specimen of the kind. It was followed by Lucan and Statius, the former invoking Nero, the latter Domitian.

'Adeo:' see on E. IV 11. 'Mox' has been thought to contain a bad compliment; but the poet's present object is to say that his patron will be deified, not to wish that his death may be delayed. Comp. v 503.

25. 'Concilia' seems to mean merely company or society, as in Cic. Tusc. I 30, 'seclusum a concilio deorum.' 'Of whom we know not in what house of gods thou art in good time to sit.'

'Urbis.' Some understand 'urbis' (genitive) of Rome, and connect 'invisere' with 'curam.' It is more natural to confine 'invisere' to 'urbis,' and make 'curam' the object of 'velis,' as indeed is 'invisere,' rightly regarded. So in Hor. Od. I i 4 'collegisse' is virtually a nominative, and as such is joined with 'meta.' Gell. XIII 21 says that 'urbisne' was found in a copy corrected by Virg.'s own hand, but he regards it as acc. pl.

27. 'Auctorem' has its full etymological force, 'augere' and its cognates being repeatedly used of vegetable growth. 'Ad fruges augendas atque animantis,' Lucr. v 80. [Serv. however and the Berne scholia take it as 'parent, creator:' 'qui frugibus et ceteris rebus originem praestas.'—H. N. In his Contr. to Latin Lexicography, Mr. Nettleship suggests that 'auctor' here =

increaser, from 'augere:' all other uses of 'auctor' he derives from a lost verb, 'augere,' to tell or declare.]

'Tempestatumque potentem' occurs again A. I 80, III 528, where it seems to mean storms rather than, as here, weather generally; but the repetition may teach us that the different meanings are not likely to have been discriminated in Virg.'s mind so sharply as in ours. 'The giver of its increase, and lord of its changeful seasons.'

28. 'Cingens materna tempora myrto,' nearly repeated A. v 72. For the connexion of the myrtle with Venus, see E. VII 62; for that of the Julian family with Venus, E. IX 47. The myrtle coronation seems to be meant as an acknowledgment of royalty.

29. 'Or whether thy coming shall be as the god of the unmeasured sea, the sole power to claim the seaman's homage, with furthest Thule to be thy handmaid, and Tethys buying thee as husband for her daughter with the dower of all her waves.'

'Deus,' the god, not a god, as is shown by 'sola, ultima Thule' (expressing the extent of the dominion) and 'omnibus undis.'

'Inmensi maris,' Lucr. II 590, the ἀπειρών πόντος of Homer.

'Venias:' [the idea is the same as 'invisere' and 'accipiat' above. Con. took it = 'become,' but his parallels (Iuv. II 83, VII 29) are erroneous, and there seems to be no real example of 'venio' in this sense.]

30. 'Thule:' [here put for Britain: III 25 note].

31. 'Emat:' so Eur. Med. 234, χρημάτων ὑπερβολῇ Πόσον πρίασθαι. [Serv. and the Berne scholia notice that Virg.'s use of 'emo' here has intentional reference to the ancient ceremony of 'coemptio.'—H. N.]



anne novum tardis sidus te mensibus addas,  
 qua locus Erigonen inter Chelasque sequentis  
 panditur † ipse tibi iam bracchia contrahit ardens  
 Scorpios, et caeli iusta plus parte reliquit ; 35  
 quidquid eris,—nam te nec sperant Tartara regem,  
 nec tibi regnandi veniat tam dira cupido †  
 quamvis Elysios miretur Graecia campos,  
 nec repetita sequi curet Proserpina matrem—  
 da facilem cursum, atque audacibus adnue coeptis, 40  
 ignarosque viae mecum miseratus agrestis

32. Caesar is invited to take his place among the signs of the Zodiac, which were identified with living beings.

'Tardis' is generally explained of the summer months, after Manil. II 102, 'cum sol adversa per astra Aestivum tardis attollit mensibus annum.' But it need be only a disparaging epithet, intended to exalt the power of Caesar, who is to speed the year, as Cowley (Davideis, Book 1) says, 'The old drudging Sun from his long-beaten way Shall at thy voice start, and misguide the day.'

33. 'Chelas,' χηλας, the claws of the scorpion (Arat. 81, μεγάλας ἐπιμαίω χηλας), which in early representations of the zodiac occupied the place of a separate sign. So Ov. M. II 195, 'Est locus, in geminos ubi bracchia concavat arcus Scorpios, et cauda flexisque utrimque lacertis Porrigit in spatium signorum membra duorum.' When the Balance was introduced, it was sometimes placed in the Scorpion's claws, as in a sculpture referred to by Heyne. Augustus' birth is said to have taken place under Libra, according to the ordinary computation, and there may be also a compliment intended to the justice of his government.

'Sequentis,' next in order.

34. 'Ipse . . . reliquit,' parenthetical. The scorpion retires of himself, so that the place is in fact ready for Caesar.

'Ardens,' as a star, and also as a poisonous creature.

35. 'Reliquit' (Med., Rom., Gud.) is more forcible than 'relinquit' (Pal. and two of Ribbeck's cursives), expressing further the scorpion's alacrity. Comp. the note on v. 49 below.

'Iusta plus parte : ' having formerly taken more than his share, now he is content with less.

36. 'Sperant' (Med., Rom., Pal.) was rightly adopted by Wagn. The sense is, 'The honour is too great for Tartarus to hope; and you cannot be so desirous of empire on any terms as to wish to be king there.' 'Sperant' (Pal. corr., Med. corr.) would create a tautology with the next line. For 'nec' Med. (first reading) has 'ne.'

37. 'Tam dira cupido,' A. VI 373, IX 185, which show that 'dira' merely means intense. The line was not improbably the original of Milton's, 'To reign is worth ambition, though in hell.'

38, 39. 'Though the Greeks paint glowing pictures of Elysium, and Proserpine shows a preference for the world below over the world above.'

40. 'Vouchsafe me a smooth course, and smile on my bold endeavours, and in pity, like mine, for the countryman as he wanders blind and unguided, assume the god, and attune thine ear betimes to the voice of prayer.' The sentence begun v. 24 is here completed.

'Da facilem cursum,' a metaphor from sailing ('cursum dare,' A. III 337). Comp. II 39, where Maecenas is asked to become the companion of the voyage, as Caesar here to be its patron. So Ovid (F. I 3, quoted by Cerda) to Germanicus, 'timidae dirige navis iter.'

'Audacibus,' like 'sanctos ausus recludere fontis,' II 175. Keightley.

41. The ignorance of the husbandmen is involved in the poet's undertaking to enlighten them. If we believe Virg. to have found a special motive for writing his poem in the depressed state of Roman agriculture, there is an allusion to it here. 'Viae,' perhaps with reference to the metaphor of the preceding line. 'Mecum' with 'miseratus.'

ingredere, et votis iam nunc adsuesce vocari.

Vere novo, gelidus canis cum montibus umor  
liquitur et Zephyro putris se glaeba resolvit,  
depresso incipiat iam tum mihi taurus aratro 45  
ingemere, et sulco attritus splendescere vomer.  
illa seges demum votis respondet avari  
agricolae, bis quae solem, bis frigora sensit ;  
illius immensae ruperunt horrea messes.  
ac prius ignotum ferro quam scindimus aequor, 50  
ventos et varium caeli praediscere morem

42. 'Ingrederere.' Comp. A. VIII 513, where Evander invites Aeneas to take command of the Tyrrhenians, and 'Adgrederere o magnos, aderit iam tempus, honores,' E. IV 48. Caesar then is called upon to enter on his divinity. The other interpretation, explaining the word with reference to 'viae,' 'begin to tread the path,' seems less likely on account of the words that follow, 'votis iam nunc adsuesce vocari.'

'Votis' abl. : see on A. V 234.

43-49. 'Begin to plough as soon as winter is over. A fourfold ploughing will be repaid by an abundant harvest.'

43. Columella (II 2, § 2) tells the farmer not to wait for some fixed day, as the beginning of spring, but to commence operations before the winter is well over, say after the ides of January. 'Gelidus . . . resolvit' give the reason why this is the earliest moment for ploughing.

44. 'Liquitur montibus,' like 'liquuntur rupibus amnes,' II 185.

'Zephyro' is the agent by whose help the liberation takes place. Emm. well comp. II 330, 'Zephyrique tepentibus auris laxant arva sinus,' Hor. Od. I iv 1, 'Solvitur acris hiemps grata vice veris et Favoni,' Stat. Theb. IV 1, 'Tertius horrentem Zephyris laxaverat annum Phoebus.'

45. The adjuncts 'depresso,' 'ingemere,' 'attritus,' 'splendescere,' imply that the ploughing is to be thorough. So 'fortes invertant tauri,' v. 65. The language of the first clause is borrowed from Lucr. V 209, 'vis humana . . . valido consueta bidenti Ingemere, et terram pressis proscindere aratris.'

'Taurus' here and elsewhere for 'bos' or 'iuvencus.' The ancients never ploughed with bulls, any more than the moderns.

46. Serv. quotes from Cato's discourse

to his son, 'Vir bonus est, M. fili, colendi peritus, cuius ferramenta splendent.' The notion here may be of rubbing off the rust of winter. Med. (second reading and one or two others have 'vomis,' [and Serv. and the Berne scholia remark on the double form of the nom.—H. N.]

47. 'Respondet :' see II 64 note.

47, 48. The common practice was to plough three times in spring, summer, and autumn ; where the soil was strong there was another ploughing in the autumn of the previous year. So Pliny explains the passage (XVIII 181), 'quarto seri sulco Vergilius existimatur voluisse, cum dixit, optimam esse segetem, quae bis solem, bis frigora sensisset.' Heyne comp. Theocr. XXV 25, τριπόλους σπάρων ἐν νειοῖσιν 'Εσὶ δτε βάλλοντες καὶ τετραπόλοιον ὁμοίως. 'Sensit' refers to the effect of the ploughing, after which the land would be more alive to feel the hot and cold seasons. 'Seges' is the land.

49. 'Illius,' segetis.

'Ruperunt horrea :' 'burst at once,' the perf. expressing instantaneous action, as in I 330, II 81. It would be equally possible, though less forcible, to render the perfect 'have been known to burst.' [Comp. IV 43, 213, notes.]

50-63. 'First however understand the nature of the soil and climate. Different soils are adapted to different products, as experience shows. It is nature's law, as old as man's creation.'

50. 'Ac' Med., Rom., Pal. ; 'At' Gud. and Ribbeck. [Serv. mentions a variant 'inmensum' (comp. v. 29).—H. N.]

51. The same question is raised by Varro at the outset of his work (I iii 4), and also by Columella (I pref.), who has Virg. in his mind. Lucr. I 296 talks of the 'facta ac mores' of the winds.



cura sit ac patrios cultusque habitusque locorum,  
 et quid quaeque ferat regio, et quid quaeque recuset.  
 hic segetes, illic veniunt felicius uvae;  
 arborei fetus alibi, atque iniussa virescunt 55  
 gramina. nonne vides, croceos ut Tmolus odores,  
 India mittit ebur, molles sua tura Sabaei,  
 at Chalybes nudi ferrum, virosaque Pontus  
 castorea, Eliadum palmas Epiros equarum?  
 continuo has leges aeternaque foedera certis 60  
 imposuit natura locis, quo tempore primum  
 Deucalion vacuum lapides iactavit in orbem,  
 unde homines nati, durum genus. ergo age, terrae

52. 'Patrios cultus,' as we should say, the agricultural antecedents of the spot, which is spoken of as if it were a person with ancestors. So 'morem caeli' and 'recuset' imply personifications. The expression then is virtually equivalent to 'proprius cultus,' II 35. Comp. A. I 51, 539 notes. [Prop. IV v 25, 'varium caeli perdiscere morem.'—H. N.]

53. [Plin. N. H. XVIII 170 quotes from Cato, 'oraculum illud: quid quaeque regio patiatur.'—H. N.]

54. 'Veniunt' = 'proveniunt,' II 11. Pal. originally had 'hinc—illinc.'

55. With Keightley I have placed a comma after 'alibi,' so as to make 'fetus' and 'gramina' alike subjects of 'virescunt,' which seems appropriate where young trees are spoken of.

56. 'Nonne vides,' a favourite Lucretian expression. So Aratus opens his *Diosemeia* with *ὄχι ὄραας*.

'Tmolus' is named by no earlier writer than Virg. as producing saffron. The place most famous for saffron was Cilicia, and this may be one of Virg.'s geographical inaccuracies. Later writers who support Virg. (Columella, Solinus, Martianus Capella) probably only copy him. Serv. mentions an alternative, to understand 'croceos odores' of the peculiar smell of Tmolian wine (II 98); but this seems very unlikely. [Ribbeck spells 'Molus,' following Med., etc.: see his *Prol.* p. 447.]

57. 'Mittit,' to Rome. For the indic. see on E. IV 52. Med. corr. [and Seneca *Epist.* LXXXVII 20] have 'mittat'; Pal. gives 'mittet.' India produced the largest elephants (Pliny VIII 32), whence ivory is called 'Indus dens,' Catull. LXIV 48.

'Molles sua tura Sabaei,' 'odores, Quos tener e terra divite mittit Arabs,' Tibull. II ii 4.

58. 'At,' as in II 447, distinguishes one part of an enumeration from another. 'Chalybes,' called *αἰθρητοκροτες*, Aesch. *Prom.* 714. 'Nudi' gives the picture of them working in a forge, like the Cyclopes A. VIII 425.

'Virosa castorea' like 'castoreo gravi,' Lucr. VI 794, referring to the strong smell. For the fable and the fact about the beaver, see Mayor on Juv. XII 34. The best 'castoreum' was produced in Pontus; an inferior sort in Spain. Strabo III p. 163 Cas.

59. 'The palms of the mares of Elis' for 'the mares which win palms at Elis.' Thus the expression is not quite parallel to 'tertia palma, Diore,' A. V 339, with which it is commonly compared.

With 'Epiros' comp. III 121, with 'Eliadum,' ib. 202. Mares are mentioned as fleetier than horses. 'Apta quadrigis equa,' Hor. Od. II xvi 35. But the word may be chosen to indicate Epirus as the breeding country.

60. 'Continuo' connected with 'quo tempore.' 'Foedera' of the laws of nature, as in A. I 62, Lucr. I 586, v 57, 924. Pal. has 'alterna,' an obvious error.

62. Compare E. VI 41.

63. 'Durum genus,' born from the stones. Comp. II 341, Lucr. v 926. The connexion seems to be that the restriction of certain products to certain soils is part of the iron rule of the world, which is now inhabited by men of rougher mould, doomed to labour, and physically adapted to it. Work then, Virg. goes on to say,

pingue solum primis extemplo a mensibus anni  
 fortes invertant tauri, glaebasque iacentis 65  
 pulverulenta coquat maturis solibus aestas;  
 at si non fuerit tellus fecunda, sub ipsum  
 Arcturum tenui sat erit suspendere sulco:  
 illic, officiant laetis ne frugibus herbae,  
 hic, sterilem exiguus ne deserat umor harenam. 70  
 Alternis idem tonsas cessare novales,

man and beast, and accomplish your destiny. Contrast E. IV 39, 41, how all countries shall produce all things, and the strength of man and beast no more be put under requisition.

63-70. 'Work then, as soon as weather allows you: plough with your might in spring and cross-plough in summer; that is, where the soil is rich and strong: if it be meagre, a shallow ploughing in September will do.'

64. 'Pingue' emphatic, as v. 67 shows.

65. 'Fortes' emphatic, like 'validis terram proscinde iuvenis,' II 237. The rhythm of the line is obviously intended to suit the sense.

'Iacentis,' upturned by the plough and lying exposed to the sun. The word probably indicates that there should be a second ploughing or cross-ploughing in summer. See on vv. 47, 48, and comp. II 261, 'Ante supinatas Aquiloni ostendere glaebas.' 'Let the clods be exposed for summer to bake them to dust with its full mellow suns.'

['Invortant' Med. originally.—H. N.]

66. 'Maturis' of full midsummer heat; but it seems also to contain the notion of actively ripening. Rom. has 'frugibus,' doubtless from v. 69. Serv. says 'ipsius manu adiectum "maturis solibus,"' referring to some copy supposed to be corrected by Virg. himself.

67. So Col. II 4, 'Graciles clivi non sunt aestate arandi, sed circa Septembres Calendas: quoniam si ante hoc tempus proscinditur, effeta et sine succo humus aestivo sole perurit, nullasque virium reliquias habet.' This September ploughing apparently supersedes both winter and summer ploughing: Col. however adds, that the ploughing must be repeated shortly after, so that sowing may take place at the beginning of the equinoctial rains.

68. 'Non. Septemb. Arcturus exoritur,' Col. I 2.

'Suspendere tellurem,' not 'aratum.' 'Neque enim parum refert suspensissimum esse pastinatum [solum], et, si fieri possit, vestigio quoque inviolatum,' Col. III 13, who immediately afterwards talks of 'vineam in summa terra suspendere,' as opposed to planting deep. The notion of raising seems to have come from that of holding up in air: comp. A. VII 810, 'fluctu suspensa tument.' [Pallad. I XXI 1, 'stabula ab omni umore suspensa.'—H.N.] At the same time the passages of Col. apparently show that it is not simply i. q. 'tollere,' but implies that the thing is done lightly, perhaps with reference to such phrases as 'suspenso gradu' or 'suspensa manu.'

69. 'Illic' refers to vv. 64-66, 'hic' to vv. 67, 68. 'Laetis,' as the quality of the soil would make the corn luxuriant. Forb. comp. II 251, 'Umida maiores herbas alit, ipsaque iusto Laetior.'

Serv. on 67 says 'Ipsius manu adiecti sunt, deletis duobus, quorum alter totus legi potuit, "Illic officiant segetes ne frugibus illis," ex altero hoc tantum "ne deserat umor harenam,"' words which can hardly belong to any passage but the present.

71-83. 'Let your land lie fallow every other season: or change the crops, and so relieve the soil at the same time that you turn it to some account.'

71. 'It can hardly be meant that the land was to be let lie idle an entire year; for in that case there would be only one crop in three years. What he means is, that, after the corn had been cut in the summer, the land was to be let to lie and get a scurf of weeds till the following spring, when they were to be ploughed in,' Keightley. However, on v. 47, he quotes a passage from Simond's Travels in Italy and Sicily, showing that the extreme view of the length of time allowed to elapse between the crops is counted



et segnem patiere situ durescere campum ;  
 aut ibi flava seres mutato sidere farra,  
 unde prius laetum siliqua quassante legumen,  
 aut tenuis fetus viciae tristisque lupini  
 sustuleris fragilis calamos silvamque sonantem.

75

nanced by the present practice at Soiacca in Sicily. 'When the land is manured, which is rarely the case, it yields corn every year, otherwise once in three years: thus, first year corn (fromento); second year fallow, and the weeds mowed for hay; third, ploughing several times, and sowing for the fourth year' (p. 476). Dickson (*Husbandry of the Ancients*, i 444) concludes that fallowing was the rule in Italy. 'When the several authors treat of ploughing, and direct at what seasons this operation should be performed, they have the fallow-land only in view. The seasons of ploughing . . . were in the spring and summer, while the crop was on the ground; for the seed-time was in autumn, and the harvest in the end of summer. The directions given must therefore relate only to the fallow. It would seem that they considered the ploughings given to land that had carried a crop the preceding year, and was immediately to be sown for another, as of so little consequence that it was needless to give any directions about them. From this we may conclude that they considered ploughing and sowing immediately after a crop as bad husbandry, and only to be practised in a case of necessity; or at least that they were of opinion that very little of their land was so rich as to allow this kind of management.' Compare Daubeny's *Lectures* p. 125, [Plin. XVIII 137].

'*Alternis*,' alternately, implying no more than that the husbandman instead of sowing every time is to sow every other time.

'*Idem*,' as we should say, at the same time, implying that the rules already given do not exhaust the subject. '*Sapienter idem Contrahes* . . . *vela*,' Hor. Od. II x 22.

'*Tonsas*,' reaped. '*Colonus agros uberis tondet soli*,' Sen. Phoen. 130.

'*Novales*,' E. i 70, note. Here it apparently means fallow-land, the word being used proleptically.

[ '*Tonsis* ' originally Med.—H. N.]

72. '*Situ* : ' '*Sed nos de agitatione*

*terrae nunc loquimur, non de situ*,' Col. i 2, § 6. Here '*situ*' may denote not only repose, but the scurf that forms on things allowed to lie [compare A. VI 462.—H. N.], as '*durescere*' seems to mean the physical effect of exposure to the air. [Recent writers on philology, Stolz, de Saussure, etc., seem inclined to connect '*situs*' = decay, and perhaps '*sino*' and '*desino*,' with the Greek *φθίνω* and other words denoting decay.]

73. '*Mutato sidere* : ' wheat would not be sown at the same season as pulse. See vv. 215, 220. '*Sidere*' is used strictly, as in v. 1, for the seasons of the year were marked by the constellations. Keightley seems right (after Voss) in supposing these two crops to be sown in the same year, the pulse in spring, the wheat in autumn. Rom. has '*semine*.'

'*Farra*,' properly 'spelt : ' here probably corn. 'The Romans had some glimpses of the doctrine of the rotation of crops: but it does not appear that any system of culture founded upon this knowledge was in general use among them,' Daubeny, p. 124. [Compare Dict. Antiq. i p. 71 (ed. 3), Pliny XVIII 187.]

74. 'The pulse which is luxuriant with quivering pod'—a description of the bean. Pliny XVIII 185.

75. '*Tenuis viciae* : ' 'The tare or vetch is called slight because its halm is so slender and its seed so small compared with those of the bean or pea,' Keightley.

'*Tristis*,' bitter, as in II 126, [III 448; Lucr. I 944, IV 125, and often.]

Vetches and lupines were supposed to enrich the land, acting as manure if immediately after they had been cut the roots were ploughed in and not left to dry in the ground. Col. II 13; Plin. XVIII 137, 187.

76. '*Silvam*,' like '*calamos*,' belongs to '*viciae*' and '*lupini*,' expressing the luxuriance of the crop. So '*aspera silva*,' v. 152, of burrs and caltrops. ['*Silva*,' here, as in vv. 152, 481; II 17, 207, etc., = bushes, or a bushy growth.—H. N. Contr. to Latin Lex. p. 586.]

urit enim lini campum seges, urit avenae,  
 urunt Lethaeo perfusa papavera somno :  
 sed tamen alternis facilis labor ; arida tantum  
 ne saturare fimo pingui pudeat sola, neve 80  
 effetos cinerem immundum iactare per agros.  
 sic quoque mutatis requiescunt fetibus arva,  
 nec nulla interea est inaratae gratia terrae.  
 saepe etiam sterilis incendere profuit agros  
 atque levem stipulam crepitantibus urere flammis : 85  
 sive inde occultas vires et pabula terrae  
 pingua concipiunt ; sive illis omne per ignem  
 excoquitur vitium, atque exsudat inutilis umor ;

77. The general sense is that the same crop, invariably repeated, will exhaust the soil. Flax, oats, and poppies are specified merely as instances of this rule, though of course they are chosen as significant instances. Virg. then adds that, though this is the tendency of these crops in themselves, it need not be apprehended when they alternate with each other, if only the soil is renovated after each crop by plentiful manuring. This is substantially the interpretation of Wagn., and seems the only satisfactory one.

'Lini : ' Tremellius obesse maxime ait solo virus ciceris et lini, alterum quia sit salsae, alterum quia sit ferividae naturae,' Col. II 13, who quotes this passage.

78. G. IV 545, 'Lethaea papavera,' where see note ; A. V 854.

79. 'Labor' of the field. 'Rotation will lighten the strain.' 'Mox et frumentis labor additus,' v. 150. 'Arida' and 'effetos' are emphatic—after the parching and exhausting effect of each crop. We may render freely 'only think of the dried-up soil, and be not afraid to give it its fill of rich manure : think of the exhausted field, and fling about the grimy ashes broadcast.'

80. 'Pudeat,' because shame restrains men from excess in any thing. Comp. E. VII 44 note. 'Iactare' in the same way seems to imply profuseness.

81. [Rom. has 'effectos.'—H. N.]

82. 'Sic quoque' is explained by 'mutatis fetibus.' Rest is gained by a change of crops as well as by leaving the land untilled. Rom. has 'requiescent.'

83. 'Nor is the land meantime, while enjoying its rest, thankless and un-

fruitful, because unploughed.' 'Gratia' is said of land which repays the labour bestowed on it, and restores the seed committed to it with interest. 'Siccum, densum, et macrum [agri genus] . . . ne tractatum quidem gratiam referet,' Col. II 2, § 7. So Martial uses 'ingratus' of a field that does not bear.

'Inaratae terrae,' genitive after 'gratia,' the thanklessness of unploughed land ; the thanklessness, as it were, of that which has nothing to be thankful for.

84-93. 'Burning stubble is a good thing, either as invigorating the soil, or as getting rid of its moisture, or as opening its pores, or as acting astringently.'

84. 'Saepe' with 'profuit.' 'Steriles agros' is perhaps rightly explained by Keightley of the lands from which the corn had been carried, and which therefore have nothing but the stubble on them.

85. 'Levem stipulam,' v. 289. Emm. comp. Ov. M. I 492, 'Utque leves stipulae demptis adolentur aristis.' The most common mode of reaping was to cut the corn in the middle of the straw, leaving the rest in the ground ; Varro, R. R. I 50. The rhythm again is accommodated to the sense.

86. Daubeny (pp. 91 foll.) accepts all Virg.'s reasons but the last, 'seu durat,' etc., remarking that light and sandy soils are injured by the operation. He adds that the ancients do not seem to have reached the modern practice of burning away the turf, though Virg.'s words would be a good statement of its salutary effects.

88. 'Vitium' as the cold in soils is called 'sceleratum,' II 256.



seu pluris calor ille vias et caeca relaxat  
spiramenta, novas veniat qua sucus in herbas ; 90  
seu durat magis, et venas adstringit hiantis,  
ne tenues pluviae rapidive potentia solis  
acrior aut Boreae penetrabile frigus adurat.

Multum adeo, rastris glaebas qui frangit inertes  
vimineasque trahit cratis, iuvat arva ; neque illum 95  
flava Ceres alto nequiquam spectat Olympo ;  
et qui, proscisso quae suscitatur aequore terga,  
rursus in oblicum verso perrumpit aratro,

90. 'Spiramenta,' IV 39. So 'spiracula' Lucr. VI 493, 'spiramina' Lucan X 247. 'Qua' follows 'viis' similarly A. V 590.

91. The object of 'durat' seems to be the land itself rather than the pores, 'venas hiantis.' The explanations given are apparently intended to vary according to the different kinds of soil.

92. 'Tenues,' subtle, penetrating. 'Tenuisque subibit Halitus,' II 349.

'Pluviae' is grammatically constructed with 'adurant,' supplied from 'adurat,' which however belongs to it in sense only so far as it contains the general notion of injuring. See on A. II 780. 'Rapidi,' E. II 10.

93. 'Penetrabile : ' penetrare frigus,' Lucr. I 494. ['Penetrabilis' = penetrating. Adjectives in '-bilis' are properly passive, but instances occur with active meaning (as here) throughout literary Latin from Lucr. onwards: a few exx. from Plautus, etc., are disputed (Munro Lucr. I 11; Hanssen, Philologus, 1889, 274). This use of 'penetrabilis' recurs A. X 48, and is imitated by Ovid, Martial, Silius, etc.]

'Adurat : ' cold is said to burn both by poets (e.g. Ov. M. XIV 763, 'frigus adurat Poma') and by prose writers, as Tac. A. XIII 35, 'ambusti multorum artus vi frigoris.' Cerda quotes Aristot. Meteor. IV 5, *καὶν λέγεται καὶ θερμαίνειν τὸ ψυχρόν, οὐχ ὡς τὸ θερμόν, ἀλλὰ τῷ συναγεῖν ἢ ἀντιπεριστάναι τὸ θερμόν.* So ἀποκαίεσθαι is used in Theophr. and the Geoponica.

94-99. 'Harrowing is useful, and so is cross-ploughing.'

94. 'Our way, after breaking a field, is to tear it up with a heavy harrow with iron teeth, drawn by two or more horses. The ancients, who were unacquainted with this harrow . . . used to break the clods by manual labour with an implement called a "rastrum," or a "sarculum : "

and then, to pulverize it, the men, or perhaps oxen, drew over it bush-harrows (crates), nearly the same as now in use,' Keightley, who explains 'rastrum' to be a heavy rake, with iron teeth, probably four in number (Cato X).

'Inertes,' helpless, denotes the state of the clods when left to themselves, not unlike 'segnem campum,' v. 72.

95. 'Crates,' v. 166.

96. 'Flava Ceres,' 'rubicunda Ceres,' v. 316, Hom. ἱς ξανθὴ Δημήτηρ, the epithet here seemingly indicating the nature of the reward.

'Neque—nequiquam,' A. VI 117. Ceres does not regard him vainly, as if she were an idle spectator, or unable to help. So 'respicere' of divine aid E. I 27. Virg. may have thought of Hes. Works 299.

97. Virg. means merely to distinguish the processes of harrowing and cross-ploughing, though he expresses himself as if both were not carried on by the same individual, or applied to the same land. He seems to be enumerating the different parts of cultivation without regard to order, forgetting that he has already recommended cross-ploughing, v. 48. 'Proscindere' is the technical term for the first ploughing, the second being expressed by 'offringere,' the third by 'lirare.'

'Suscitat' is illustrated by 'inertes,' v. 94, and also by 'suspendere,' v. 68. Though in the present tense, it must not be understood as implying that ploughing was to be immediately followed by cross-ploughing, as the two took place at different times; it merely denotes the husbandman's practice. The 'clods which he turns up he afterwards breaks across.' 'Terga,' of the surface presented by the clods, II 236.

98. ['Oblicum' Pal., 'obliquom' Med. Gud.—H. N.]

exercetque frequens tellurem, atque imperat arvis.

Umida solstitia atque hiemes orate serenas, 100  
agricolae; hiberno laetissima pulvere farra,  
laetus ager: nullo tantum se Mysia cultu  
iactat et ipsa suas mirantur Gargara messis.  
quid dicam, iacto qui semine comminus arva  
insequitur cumulosque ruit male pinguis harenae, 105

99. 'Exercet': 'paterna rura bobus exercet suis,' Hor. *Epod.* 11 3.

['Frequens,' at his post, a military expression, like 'exercet' and 'imperat.' Cp. Donatus on Ter. *Andr.* (1 i 80) 'frequens: ut miles apud signa,' Cic. *Verr.* v. 33; Sall. *Cat.* 18; Paul ex Fest. p. 112 'infrequens: miles qui abest a fuitve a signis.'—H. N.]

'Imperat arvis': 'ut fertilibus agris non est imperandum, cito enim exhauriet illos non intermissa fecunditas, ita animo inpetus adsiduus labor frangit,' Sen. *de Tranq.* 15, which however refers to constant sowing (comp. 'imperare vitibus,' to task vines by making them bear, 'imperare voci,' to task the voice by exerting it), rather than as here to constant breaking up the ground. Cic. *De Sen.* xv 51 says of the earth 'quae nunquam recusat imperium,' and so the author of the lines prefixed to the *Aeneid*, 'ut quamvis avido parent arva colono.' Comp. the use of 'subigere' (11 50 note).

100-117. 'Dry winters and wet summers are best for the land. It is well to irrigate the field after sowing; well, too, to let the cattle eat down the young corn, if too luxuriant, and to drain off water when the land is too moist.'

100, 101. Macrobius (*Sat.* v 20) says that Virg. has followed an old 'rusticum canticum,' 'hiberno pulvere, verno luto, grandia farra, Camille, metes.' Ribbeck imagines that this and the three following lines contain an after-thought of Virg., not harmonized with the context. But it is obvious that the poet, wishing to speak of irrigation and drainage, might naturally begin by speaking of the amount of wet and dry desirable at different seasons: and the form into which he has thrown his remarks is simply due to the liveliness of his fancy. [Plin. xvii 13 refers to the lines without giving Virgil's name, but this hardly proves, as has been suggested, that they are interpolated.]

'Solstitium,' properly of either solstice;

when used alone, restricted to the summer. 'Sic multas hiemes atque octogesima vidit Solstitia,' Juv. iv 92.

102. 'Moesia' (Pal. corr.) is the reading of the older editions: 'Mysia' (Med., Rom., Pal.) is required by the context, being the region of which Gargarus, the highest summit of the range of Ida, forms a part. Both readings are mentioned by Serv. [and the Berne scholia.]

The fertility of Gargarus (or of the lands about it) was proverbial. 'Gargara quot segetes, quot habet Methymna racemos,' Ov. *A. A.* i 57. The sense then seems to be, as Heyne takes it, 'Mysia is never so much in its pride, and Gargarus never so marvellously fertile, as in a dry winter,' as if he had said 'Mysia et Gargara se iactant.' 'Cultu' then is not to be pressed, the meaning being merely 'Mysian farming is never so successful,' etc. Wagn. and others adopt another interpretation suggested by Macrobius, 'No Mysian cultivation can equal an ordinary field in a dry winter:' but then 'ipsa suas mirantur Gargara messis' would be very awkwardly expressed. A third way, as Mr. Blackburn suggests, would be to press 'cultu'; Mysia and Gargarus owe their fertility to such seasons far more than to cultivation.

103. Comp. 11 82. Probus reads 'iactet—mirentur'; [so Serv. *A. A.* i 140.—H. N.]

104. 'Quid dicam,' a form of enumeration, v. 311. 'Qui,' antecedent omitted, as in *E.* 11 71, etc.

'Iacto,' 11 317. The metaphor, as Keightley has seen, is from a soldier throwing his lance, and then coming to close quarters sword in hand.

105. 'Ruit,' levels, whereas 'ruam acervos,' Hor. *S.* 11 v 22, means to heap up. So 'Sol ruit,' *A.* 111 508, means goes down; 'ruebat dies,' *A.* x 256, was coming up. The notion of the word seems to be that of violent movement: the direction of the movement depends on the context. ['Rueret harenam' seems to



deinde satis fluvium inducit rivosque recentis, 106  
 et cum exustus ager morientibus aestuat herbis,  
 ecce supercilio clivosi tramitis undam  
 elicit? illa cadens raucum per levia murmur  
 saxa ciet, scatebrisque arentia temperat arva. 110  
 quid, qui, ne gravidis procumbat culmus aristis,  
 luxuriam segetum tenera depascit in herba,  
 cum primum sulcos aequant sata? quique paludis  
 collectum umorem bibula deducit harena, 114

have been the ordinary phrase for 'to level' or 'scatter' sand: Fest. p. 262 Müller 'rutrum tenentis iuvenis est effigies in Capitolio ephēbi more Graecorum harenam ruentis.'—H. N.]

'Cumulos' seems rightly understood by Dickson (i 518) of the earth at the tops of the ridges, which is brought down by rakes or hurdles on the seed, comparing Col. II 4, § 8, 'inter duos latius distantis sulcos medius cumulus siccam sedem frumentis praebat.' Med. corr. has 'tumulos.'

'Male pinguis,' 'non pinguis,' like 'male sanus' for 'insanus,' Serv. This interpretation gives 'harenae' its ordinary sense, and agrees better, as Wagn. remarks, with what follows, where dry ground requiring irrigation is spoken of. Mr. Long however rendered 'male pinguis' too stiff (comp. II 248), remarking that a very light soil would not have 'cumuli.'

106. "'Satis," segetibus, agris satis, id est, seminatis: nam participium est,' Serv. ['Recentis.' The MSS. have 'sequentis' (and so Serv.), except Rom. 'fluentes.' Probably 'sequentis' is a misreading of 'recentis' and 'fluentes' a gloss upon that word: Serv. A. VI 635 'recens: semper fluens.'—H. N.]

107. 'Herbis' must mean the blades of corn, not the grass, which would not be growing in a corn-field. With the language comp. E. VII 57, 'Aret ager: vitio moriens sinit aëris herba.'

108. 'Clivosi tramitis,' i.e. 'clivi per quem unda tramitem facit,' 'trames' being used proleptically.

'Ecce' at once gives the picture and expresses the unexpected relief to the soil. 'And when the scorched land is in a glow, and the corn-blades dying—O joy! from the brow of the channelled slope he entices the flood: see! down it tumbles, waking hoarse murmurs among

the smooth stones, and allaying the sun-struck ground as it bubbles on.'

109. 'Elices' is the technical word for drains, and 'aquilices' for men employed to discover water (Serv. and Festus). [Both words are perhaps derived from 'lacio': Stolz Hist. Gramm. 414-416.]

'Illa cadens:' τοῦ μὲν τε προέροντος ὑπὸ ψηφίδες ἀπασαὶ ὄχλευνται· τὸ δὲ τ' ὡκα καταειβόμενον κελαροῦζει, II. XXI 260.

110. 'Temperat:' 'frigidus aëra vesper Temperat,' III 337. Contrast Hor. Od. III xix 6, 'quis aquam temperet ignibus?' where it is the cold that is mitigated.

111. 'Quid, qui' is explained by 'dicam,' v. 104; otherwise the construction might be the same as E. IX 44 (note).

'Gravidis—aristis:' Cerda comp. Hes. Works 473, ὡδὲ κεν ἀδρυσίνη σταχῆς νεύοιεν ἔραζε.

112. [Cic. De Or. II 23, 'ut in herbis rustici solent dicere, in summa ubertate inest luxuries quaedam, quae stilo depascenda est.'—H. N.] Heyne comp. Pliny XVIII 161, 'Luxuria segetum castigatur dente pecoris in herba dumtaxat: et depastae quidem vel saepines nullam in spica iniuriam sentiunt.' This luxuriance was occasionally corrected by harrowing, 'pectinatio,' Id. ib. 186.

113. 'Sulcos' here are the ridges between the furrows (Dickson i 517 note).—Pal. has or had 'palude.'

114. 'Deducere,' draw off water, v. 269.

'Bibula harena' might be referred with Keightley [and most editors], to the soil from which (local abl.) the water is drawn, called 'harena' with reference to the water. But the scope of the passage seems to require that it should be taken instrumentally, so that it would refer to the drains, which Col. II 2 and others recommend to have half filled with small stones or gravel. Heyne refers to Dickson to show that sand is sometimes

praesertim incertis si mensibus amnis abundans 115  
 exit et obducto late tenet omnia limo,  
 unde cavae tepido sudant umore lacunae?

Nec tamen, haec cum sint hominumque boumque  
 labores

versando terram experti, nihil improbus anser  
 Strymoniaeque grues et amaris intiba fibris 120  
 officiant aut umbra nocet. pater ipse colendi  
 haut facilem esse viam voluit, primusque per artem  
 movit agros, curis acuens mortalia corda,

mixed with soil in order to absorb moisture, but he does not give the page, and I have not found it. Mr. Blackburn, agreeing generally with Keightley, takes 'harena' in its strict sense, considering 'bibula harena' as an oxymoron, and remarking that he has found it the worst soil to drain. 'Bibulam pavit aequor harenam,' *Lucr.* II 376.

115. 'Incertis mensibus' is explained of the months when the weather is uncertain, i.e. spring and autumn (comp. vv. 311 foll., *Lucr.* VI 357-378); here the spring. *Forb. comp. Lucan* IV 49, 'incertus aër.' The words themselves would more naturally mean 'at uncertain seasons.'—*Probus, Inst.* I x 4, mentions a reading 'certis.'

116. 'Exit' of a river, *A.* II 496.

117. 'Sudant umore,' *Lucr.* VI 943. 'Whence if the water is not drawn off before the sun begins to act on it, it might rot the plants' (Keightley).

118-146. 'Besides all this, the farmer has many enemies to fight with, birds, weeds, and shade. Such is Jove's ordinance; it was he that introduced labour. Before him men had every thing to their hands, and property was not: he brought in dangers and difficulties, to sharpen human wit: and so inventions and discoveries multiplied, under pressure of want.'

118. 'Boumque labores,' v. 325, 'hominumque urbisque labores,' *A.* II 284.

119. 'Versare' like 'vertere,' v. 2, with a farther notion of frequency.

'Improbis': 'probus' is frequently coupled with 'pudicus' (note on v. 80), expressing the civic virtue of moderation and respect for the rights of others. 'Improbis' denotes the absence of such moderation, and is applied to the wanton malice of a persecuting power, *E.* VIII 51, to the unscrupulous rapacity of noxious

animals, III 431, *A.* II 356, etc., and even to things which are exacting and excessive, v. 146 'labor,' *A.* XII 687 'mons.' Here the goose is characterized as unconscionable, regardless of its own and the farmer's dues. Comp. the use of *ἀναίδης*, e.g. of Sisyphus' stone. Of the goose *Palladius* (I 30) says, 'Anser locis consitis inimicus est, quia sata et morsu laedit et stercore,' the latter charge being, as *Martyn* observes, a vulgar error.

120. 'Strymoniae': see on *E.* I 55. No other writer seems to speak of cranes as enemies to the farmer.

'Intiba' chicory or succory would be injurious, as *Turnebus* (*Advers.* XXVII 25) explains, both directly, as a weed, and indirectly, as attracting geese, which are fond of it (*Col.* VIII 14), 'Amaris fibris' would point to the direct effect; but the words may be ornamental.

121. 'Umbra,' v. 157. *E.* x 76, 'nocent et frugibus umbrae.'

'Pater ipse': comp. generally *Hes.* Works 42 foll., where the difficulties introduced by Zeus are attributed to resentment against Prometheus.

'Ipse' added to the name of a god seems to express dignity, as *Wagn.* remarks, 'the great Father himself,' though this does not always exhaust its meaning. See on v. 328.

122. 'Per artem,' *A.* x 135.

123. 'Movit,' II 316. Comp. the use of 'suscito' (v. 97), 'agito,' and note on v. 72.

'Corda,' in older Latin, the intellect. 'Aliis cor ipsum animus videtur, ex quo excordes, vecordes, concordesque dicuntur, et Nasica ille prudens, bis consul, corculum, et Egrege cordatus homo catus Ælii' *Sextus, Cic. Tusc.* I 9; 'hebeti cognoscere corde,' *Lucr.* IV 53 (44). [So 'mens,' the intellect, sometimes denotes the emotions, in early and in Augustan Latin.]



nec torpere gravi passus sua regna veterno.  
ante Iovem nulli subigebant arva coloni ; 125  
ne signare quidem aut partiri limite campum  
fas erat : in medium quaerebant, ipsaque tellus  
omnia liberius, nullo poscente, ferebat.  
ille malum virus serpentibus addidit atris,  
praedarique lupos iussit pontumque moveri, 130  
mellaque decussit foliis ignemque removit  
et passim rivis currentia vina repressit,  
ut varias usus meditando extunderet artis

124. This and the last line give the good side of the changes of the silver age ; labour was necessary for the development of man. The old mythology, however, taught that man first deteriorated, and that the need to labour was intended as his punishment.

125. 'Subigebant,' tilled : see II 50 note.

126. 'Ne' is the reading of nearly all MSS. ; one cursive has 'nec,' the reading of the old editions and originally of Heyne ; comp. III 561. Madvig, Excursus 3 on Cic. de Finibus, decides against the possibility of 'nec . . . quidem.'

The sense seems to be : the ground was free not only from breaking up by the plough, but from division by the landmark. The thought will hardly bear to be put into more prosaic shape ; for, though agriculture and property are doubtless connected, Virg. would scarcely speak of the latter as necessarily preceding the former. Ov. M. I 136 postpones the division of the land till the brazen age, cultivation having begun in the silver. 'Signare' may contain a reference to 'assignatio.'

127. 'In medium,' IV 157, A. XI 335 (note), with a view to the common stock. This refers to 'ne signare quidem,' and 'ipsaque tellus' to 'ante Iovem.'

'Ipsaque tellus : ' *καρπὸν δ' ἔφερε ζείδωρος ἄνωρα Αἰτωμάτη πολλὸν τε καὶ ἄφθονον*, Hes. Works 118. So even Lucr. II 1159, 'Ipsa dedit dulcis fetus et pabula laeta, Quae nunc vix nostro grandescunt aucta labore,' and V 942.

128. 'Liberius' seems to include both generosity and freedom from constraint. 'Imetata quibus iugera liberas Fruges et Cererem ferunt,' Hor. Od. III xxiv 12. Heyne.

129. The extinction of the serpent and pacification of the wolf signalize the return of the golden age. E. IV 24, v 60.

'Malum' may be used, as Serv. thinks, because 'virus' is a neutral word for animal fluid : but it seems more obvious to take 'virus' in its ordinary sense, and regard 'malum' as a piece of descriptive simplicity, like 'malos fures,' Hor. S. I i 77.

'Ater' frequently occurs as an epithet of serpents, when it would not be easy to say whether it is to be construed in its primitive sense of black, or its derivative meaning of deadly. In IV 407, where it is applied to a tiger, it means the latter.

130. 'Moveri,' deponent, to swell. To understand it of sailing would anticipate v. 136, as Heyne remarks. Forb. comp. Lucr. V 999 foll., where the sea is described as rising and falling idly so long as there were no ships for it to threaten. But the two passages are contrasted as well as parallel ; what is the second stage with Virg. answers to the normal state with Lucr.

131. 'Mella : ' see E. IV 30, note.

'Ignemque removit : ' *κρύψε δὲ πῦρ*, Hes. Works 50, who goes on to tell how Prometheus defeated the purposes of Zeus by stealing fire.

132. 'Flumina iam lactis, iam flumina nectaris ibant,' Ov. M. I 111. 'Passim' goes with 'currentia.'

133. 'Usus : ' see II 22. It is virtually personified, whence 'meditando.'

'Extunderet artis,' IV 315, where 'experientia,' v. 316, answers to 'usus' here. Cerda comp. Hom. Hymn to Hermes, 508, *σοφίης ἐκμάσαστο τίχνην*. Pal. corr. has 'extruderet,' [and Gud. 'extuderet,' i.e. 'excuderet.'—H. N.]

paulatim et sulcis frumenti quaereret herbam,  
 ut silicis venis abstrusum excuderet ignem. 135  
 tunc alnos primum fluvii sensere cavatas ;  
 navita tum stellis numeros et nomina fecit,  
 Pleiadas, Hyadas, claramque Lycaonis Arcton ;  
 tum laqueis captare feras et fallere visco  
 inventum et magnos canibus circumdare saltus. 140  
 atque alius latum funda iam verberat amnem,  
 alta petens, pelagoque alius trahit umida lina.  
 tum ferri rigor atque argutae lammina serrae—

134. 'Paulatim' is illustrated by Lucr. v 1452, 'Usus et inpigrae simul experientia mentis Paulatim docuit pedetemtim progredientis.' Comp. the following lines, which Virg. doubtless had before him.

We might have expected 'ut' for 'et' here, and 'et' (which is given by Aug.) in the next line: Virg., however, has chosen to vary the expression, coupling a particular fact with a general, and then sub-joining a second particular, as a co-ordinate clause with the two.

'Sulcis' seems to mean not *in* but *by* furrows. 'Might get corn by ploughing.'

135. 'Quaerit pars semina flammae, Abstrusa in venis silicis,' A. VI 6. [Serv. quotes 'inter venas saxi' from Claudius Quadrigarius.—H. N.] 'Abstrusum,' by Jupiter. 'Excuderet,' A. I 174.

136. 'Alnos,' growing on the riverbanks (E. VI 63, note), and thus suggesting the experiment. 'Sensere,' felt the weight of.

137. 'Facere nomen alicui' is a phrase (IV 272), to which 'numeros' is added by zeugma. With the thought comp. Soph. Naup. fr. 2 (Wagn.), *ἔφειρε δ' ἄστρων μέτρα καὶ περιστροφάς . . . Ἄρκτου στροφάς τε καὶ Κυνὸς ψυχρὰν δόσιν*. Still closer, if the parallel be allowed, is Psalm CXLVII 4, 'He telleth the number of the stars: He calleth them all by their names.'

138. For the lengthening 'Pleiadās,' comp. E. II 53 note.

'Hyadas,' A. 1744. 'Lycaonis Arcton,' like 'Scyllam Nisi,' E. VI 74. Ovid connects the three similarly (M. XIII 293), 'Pleiadasque, Hyadasque, immunemque aequoris Arcton.'

'Claram' is emphatic. Aratus (Phaen. 40) speaks of Helice as *καθαρή καὶ ἐπιφάσασσθαι ἰοίμη*, *Πολλὴ φαινόμενη ἑλική κούτης ἀπὸ νυκτός*. The present line is mainly in apposition to 'nomina,' but it

may also refer to 'numeros,' as it is itself an enumeration.

139. The absence of snares is one mark of the return of the golden age, E. v 60. Cerda quotes Soph. Ant. 343 foll., where man is said to show his sagacity by snaring beasts, birds, and fishes.

140. See E. VI 56.

142. The structure of the line shows that 'alta petens' refers to what has gone before. The meaning seems to be that the fisher throws his casting-net as deep as he can, the largest fish, as Mr. Blackburn remarks, lying in the deep pools. The words are elsewhere used of the sea; but they are also applied to shooting into the air (A. v 508, where the structure of the line is the same), and there is no reason why they should not here be used of a river, of which 'altus' is not an uncommon epithet (IV 333). To couple 'alta petens pelagoque,' with Wagn. and Munro, like 'longius ex altoque' III 238, 'extremus galeaque ima' A. v 498, would be, I think, less good. [Serv. recognizes both interpretations.—H. N.]

'Lina' used of a net like *λίνα*. The drag-net is here meant.

143. 'Ferri rigor,' 'ferrum rigidum.' 'Rigor auri solvitur aestu,' Lucr. IV 492. Comp. Id. VI 1011, 'quam validi ferri natura et frigidus horror;' II 410, 'serrae stridentis acerbum horrorem,' which Virg. may have thought of, as the latter part of the present verse shows. Ov. M. I 141, of the iron age, 'Iamque nocens ferrum ferroque nocentius aurum Prodierrat.'

'Serrae:' the invention of the saw was attributed to Daedalus (Pliny VII 198), to his nephew (Ov. M. VIII 244, where the hint is said to have been taken from the back-bone of a fish), or to Talus (Sen. Ep. 90).



nam primi cuneis scindebant fissile lignum,—  
 tum variae venere artes. labor omnia vicit 145  
 improbus et duris urgens in rebus egestas.  
 prima Ceres ferro mortalis vertere terram  
 instituit, cum iam glandes atque arbuta sacrae  
 deficerent silvae et victum Dodona negaret.  
 mox et frumentis labor additus, ut mala culmos 150  
 esset robigo segnisque horreret in arvis  
 carduus; intereunt segetes, subit aspera silva,  
 lappaeque tribolique, interque nitentia culta

144. Jacob Bryant and Heyne thought the line spurious. It is certainly awkward; one might have supposed that cleaving of wood did not go on in the golden age. But Virg. need not have been consistent in his conception of the progress of society. For the diction comp. A. VI 181.

[‘Primi’ ‘men of old.’—H. N.]

146. ‘Improbus,’ v. 119. Emm. comp. Theocr. XXI 1, ἀ πένια, Διόφαντε, μόνα τὰς τίχνας ἐγείρει. [‘Surgens’ Pal. and originally Med.—H. N.]

147-159. ‘Agriculture was introduced by Ceres. Even that was afterwards made difficult by diseases in wheat and intrusion of weeds: in fact, the farmer has to use every exertion if he would not submit to failure and hunger.’

147. The sowing of corn has been mentioned (v. 134) as a feature of the silver age; its introduction is here spoken of more at length. ‘Ceres,’ v. 7.

[The construction of ‘instituit’ with acc. as well as inf. (as E. II 32, etc.) seems due to the analogy of ‘doceo.’]

148. ‘Glandes atque arbuta’ may be the subject of ‘deficerent’ (‘sacrae silvae’ being the gen.), or its object. ‘Deficere’ generally takes an acc. of the person or thing failed or forsaken (as v. 148), not of the thing in which the failure takes place. Varro however, R. R. III 16, has ‘deficiant animum,’ speaking of bees, and the analogy of ‘sufficio’ may be urged. Comp. II 520, ‘dant arbuta silvae.’

‘Sacrae’ is explained by ‘Dodona.’ Comp. II 15, ‘nemorumque Iovi quae maxima frondet Aesculus, atque habitae Grais oracula quercus.’ The sacredness of the groves recalls the golden age. Virg.’s notion seems to be that in the silver age the supply of acorns was checked, in order that man might be driven to some other food; but here, as elsewhere, he is em-

barrassed by the conflicting views of human degeneracy and human development. Acorns are more naturally the food of savages than the diet of the golden age; and so in Ov. M. I 101 foll., after we have heard that every part of the earth yielded every kind of product freely, it is strange to be told that men in those times lived on arbutes, strawberries, cornels, mulberries, and acorns fallen from the tree. At the end of the present paragraph (v. 159) a meal of acorns is evidently regarded as a relapse into barbarism,—not to dwell on the question how man still has the option of following a diet which since the golden age has been forbidden him.

150. ‘Soon however the wheat had plagues of its own.’ ‘Labor,’ of the sufferings of things inanimate, v. 79.

‘Ut’ may merely denote consequence, as in ‘accidit ut;’ but the passage will gain force if we suppose it to indicate the will of Jupiter, ‘additus ut’ implying something like ‘edictum est ut.’ ‘The baleful mildew was bidden to eat the stems, and the lazy thistle to set up its spikes in the fields.’

151. ‘Robigo,’ mildew, was controlled, according to Italian belief, by a god, ‘Robigus,’ or a goddess, ‘Robigo,’ who was propitiated by a special festival, the ‘Robigalia.’

‘Segnis,’ the symbol of inactivity, growing up where the field is left to itself.

152. See on E. v 37 for the belief that these various weeds were really diseases in the wheat. [‘Silva:’ see v. 76 note.]

153. ‘Lappaeque tribolique,’ G. III 385. ‘Lappae’ are ‘cleavers, clivers, or goccegrass’ (Keightley). ‘Triboli,’ τριβόλοι, caltrops, so called from their resemblance to the pieces of iron thrown among an enemy’s cavalry. ‘Lolium tribolique fati-

infelix lolium et steriles dominantur avenae.  
 quod nisi et adsiduis herbam insectabere rastris 155  
 et sonitu terrebis aves et ruris opaci  
 falce premes umbram votisque vocaveris imbrem,  
 heu, magnum alterius frustra spectabis acervum  
 concussaque famem in silvis solabere quercu.  
 Dicendum et quae sint duris agrestibus arma, 160  
 quis sine nec potuere seri nec surgere messes :  
 vomis et inflexi primum grave robur aratri  
 tardaue Eleusinae matris volventia plaustra  
 tribulaque traheaeque et iniquo pondere rastris ;

gant *Triticeas messis et inexpugnabile gramen,* Ov. M. v 485.

'Nitentia culta' answer, as Keightley says, to the 'nitidae fruges' of Lucr. I 252.

154. See on E. v 37.

155. 'Quod nisi,' Madv. § 449. 'Herbam insectabere:' comp. 'inexpugnabile gramen,' quoted above from Ovid.

'Herbam' is the reading of most MSS., and suits the context better than 'terram' (Rom.), which Heyne retained.

156. ['Opaci' overgrown, sunless: A. III 508, VI 673, etc.]

'Aves:' 'avidaeque volucres Semina iacta legunt,' Ov. l. c.

157. 'Umbram' Non., Serv., Med., Rom., Gud.; 'umbras' Philarg., Aug., Pal. and two cursives.

'Premes,' like 'premant vitem,' Hor. Od. I xxxi 9.

'Votis:' vows were paid to Jupiter Pluvius (Tibull. I vii 26). There were similar invocations at Athens. M. Anton. v 7, *ἐὶχῆ Ἀθηναίων. ὄσον, ὄσον, ὦ φάει Ζεῦ, κατὰ τῆς ἀρούρας τῆς Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν πεδίων.*

158. This line is modelled on Lucr. II 2, 'magnum alterius spectare laborem,' and is imitated by Hor. Od. II ii 24, 'ingentis oculo inretorto Spectat acervos.' The sense resembles Hes. Works 394, *ὡς τοὶ ἕκαστα ἄρι ἀίετται μὴ πως τὰ μεταξὺ χαλῶν Πτώσσης ἀλλοτρίους οἴκους καὶ μηδὲν ἀνίσσης.* 'Acervum,' v. 185.

159. 'You will end where men began, and fall back upon acorns.' Observe 'in silvis,' the scene of wild life, implying a contrast to 'in arvo.' The thought is not unlike Lucr. v 206 foll.

160-175. 'The implements for a farmer are ploughs, waggons, thrashing instru-

ments, harrows, baskets, hurdles, and fans. The plough has several parts, made from the wood of different trees, which should be well seasoned.'

160. 'Duris agrestibus,' A. VII 504.

'Arma:' 'Cerealiaque arma,' A. I 177.

161. 'Nec potuere' [could not have been.—H. N.]

162. 'Robur aratri,' like 'robur ferri,' A. VII 609, Lucr. II 449, 'robur saxi,' Lucr. I 882. The expression seems ornamental, not necessarily denoting a heavy plough for deep ploughing, which would not be suited to all soils. 'Inflexi' is explained by vv. 169, 170.

163. 'Tarda' qualifies 'volventia.' 'Eleusinae matris,' Ceres, introduced (like Celeus and Bacchus) to give a religious dignity to what might otherwise seem trivial. 'Eleusinus novavit poeta pro vulgari Ἐλευσίνιος,' Heyne. The waggons apparently belong to her as goddess of husbandry; the conveyances used in the Eleusinian processions were not 'plaustra,' but 'tensae.' 'Matris' is sufficiently explained by Δημήτηρ, without referring to the appellation which the Italians are supposed to have given to their goddesses.

164. 'Tribulum,' τὰ τρίβωλα, a 'thrashing-sledge.' 'Fit e tabula lapidibus aut ferro asperata, quae inposito auriga aut pondere grandi trahitur iumentis iunctis ut discutiat e spica grana,' Varro, R. R. I 52, who mentions another kind made 'ex assibus dentatis cum orbiculis, quod vocant postellum poenicum.' One of these was perhaps the 'trahea.' 'The "tribulum" ("trebbio," It.; "trillo," Sp.) is still used in the East, in Spain, and in the south of Italy.' Keightley.



virgea praeterea Celei vilisque supellex, 165  
 arbuteae crates et mystica vannus Iacchi.  
 omnia quae multo ante memor provisa repones,  
 si te digna manet divini gloria ruris.  
 continuo in silvis magna vi flexa domatur  
 in burim et curvi formam accipit ulmus aratri. 170  
 huic ab stirpe pedes temo protentus in octo,  
 binae aures, duplici aptantur dentalia dorso.

165. 'Celeus,' Κελεύς, father of Triptolemus and Demophon, and the first priest of Demeter at Eleusis.

'Virgea supellex' seems to include baskets, colanders, etc. (E. II 71, X 71, G. I 266, II 241), as well as hurdles and fan.

166. The winnowing-fan was carried in the Eleusinian processions in honour of Iacchus, the son of Demeter and Zeus, sometimes confounded with Bacchus (E. VI 15, VII 51), sometimes distinguished. Rom. has 'vallus,' which according to Serv. meant the same.

167. Hes. Works, 457, τῶν πρόσθεν μελίτην ἰχέμεν οἰκίῃ θεσθαί. 'Memor' seems a translation of μνησμένος, Id. ib. 422. In the whole passage Virg. probably had that part of Hesiod's poem before his mind. 'Repones,' imperative: E. X 31.

[Pal. originally had 'provissa.'—H. N.]

168. 'If you are destined ('manet') to win and wear the full honours of the divine country.'

'Digna,' 'full,' i.e. glory such as would be worth ambition. Serv. ('si te capit dignitas ruris') explains it 'deemed worthy by you' (comp. 491): Keightley renders 'deserved,' that is, due.

'Divini' is another attempt to revive the sacred associations of rural life. The same tone is perceptible in 'manet.'

169. 'Continuo' is explained by 'in silvis'; [compare I 356 note]. The words can only mean that the young elm while yet in the woods is bent and made to grow in the required shape, whatever may be thought of the possibility of the thing, which Keightley denies.

170. 'Buris,' also 'urvum,' γῆης, the plough-beam. Nothing in our plough exactly answers to it. 'It was a piece of strong wood, naturally or artificially curved, to one end of which was affixed the pole, to the other the "dentale," and into it was morticed the "stiva." It therefore formed the body of the plough,

which from its shape is termed by Lucretius "curvum" [as here]. . . In Virg.'s plough the "buris" is of elm, while in that of Hesiod it is of ilex (πρίνος). (Keightley.) Daubeny (p. 101), following Seguer, identifies the Virgilian and Hesiodic ploughs with one still used in the south of France under the name of the Hérault plough, where there is a 'buris' called 'basse.' Seguer however considers Hesiod's ἔλυμα to be the 'buris,' his γῆης being the 'dentale.'

171. "'Temo," ῥυμός [in Hesiod ἰστοβοεῦς], the pole. The "temo" was part of the plough, as well as of a cart or carriage. The yoke was fastened to the end of it, and by means of it the oxen drew. . . Hesiod (Works 435) says it should be of elm or bay.' Keightley, who remarks that 'protentus' had better be taken as a verb (instead of supplying 'aptatur'), as the 'temo' is not fitted on like the 'aures' and 'dentalia.' But 'aptantur' probably refers to the shaping of the pieces of wood, not to fitting them on to the plough. So A. I 552, 'et silvis aptare trabes.'

'Ab stirpe' is restored by Wagn. from Med. corr. for 'a stirpe'; see E. VIII 41.

172. "'Auris" a mould-board. When the plough was prepared for seed-sowing, the "aures" or "tabellae" (Varro I 29) were put to the "vomer," so that it then resembled our strike furrow plough. Pliny (XVIII 180) would seem to speak of only one "auris," but perhaps his words are not to be taken strictly.' Keightley.

"Dentale," ἔλυμα, the share-beam, or share-head, a piece of wood which was fixed horizontally at the lower end of the "buris," and to which the share was fitted. In some cases the "dentale" was itself shod with iron. It is not certain whether it was one solid piece of timber, with a space to admit the end of the "buris," or two pieces fastened on each

caeditur et tilia ante iugo levis altaque fagus  
 stivaque quae currus a tergo torqueat imos ;  
 et suspensa focis explorat robora fumus.

175

Possum multa tibi veterum praecepta referre,  
 ni refugis tenuisque piget cognoscere curas.  
 area cum primis ingenti aequanda cylindro

side of it and running to a point: the former seems the more probable, and the "duplici dorso" of Virg. may only allude to its position as on each side of the "buris," and its support of the two "aures." The plural "dentalia" is used by this poet in speaking of one plough, but it is probably nothing more than a poetic licence. Hesiod directs the "dentale" to be made of oak. Id. According to Daubeny, the 'dentale' is a share of wood, made double by a share of iron placed over it so as to realize the 'duplex dorsum.'

173. 'Iugum,' ζυγός, yoke, 'a piece of wood, straight in the middle and curved towards the ends, which was attached to the end of the pole of the plough or cart, and went over the necks of the oxen, which drew by means of it. It was by the neck the oxen drew.' Keightley.

174. "Stiva," ἔχιρλη, plough-tail, or handle. The "stiva" was originally morticed into the "buris," but sometimes formed one piece with it. It had a cross piece named "manicula," by which the ploughman held and directed the plough.' Keightley.

'Stivaque' is the reading of all MSS. [and of Serv.]. Martyn, followed by Voss, Jahn, Wunderlich, and Schaper, conjectures 'stivae,' which would at once clear up the sense. But the change wants authority, and would not improve the metre, while the MSS. reading is only a poetical way of saying the same thing, by the help of a hendiadys, and is quite in keeping with Virg.'s love of variety of expression. The other alternative, keeping 'stivaque,' is to place the comma after 'fagus,' and take 'que' in 'altaque' as equivalent to 've'—'the light lindentree or tall beech is cut beforehand for the yoke.' Ribbeck follows Schrader in placing this line before v. 173, an ingenious suggestion, but not to be admitted in Virg. See on IV 203-205.

'Currus' (so the MSS.) is applied naturally to a plough in motion, as in Catull. LXIV 9 to a ship; a plough, that

is, is a species of carriage, containing a 'temo' and a 'iugum' at least. Serv. says that in Virg.'s own parts wheel-ploughs were used; this was the case in Pliny's time (xviii 172) in Gaul, and is still in Lombardy.

175. In Hes. Works XLV 629 the rudder is to be hung in the smoke; in Aristoph. Ach. 279 the shield when war is over. Comp. II 241.

'Explorat' seems to combine the notions of searching (drying) and testing. Before Heins. the reading was 'exploret' (Med. late corr.): but the context is descriptive, not preceptive.

On the whole subject of Virg.'s plough see Keightley's Terms of Husbandry, annexed to his edition, s. v. 'Aratrum,' and Daubeny, Lect. 3.

176-186. 'There are many precepts of husbandry to be learnt; for instance, the threshing-floor should be made thoroughly smooth and hard that it may not gape, and leave room first for weeds and then for animals of all kinds.'

176. 'Possum:' comp. Plaut. Trin. II ii 99, 'Multa ego possum docta dicta et quamvis facunde loqui,' Kritz Sall. C. LI 4, [Cic. de Sen. 24, 55, etc., Roby 1535, Munro Lucr. I 400.]

'Tibi:' Maecenas is addressed throughout as Memmius by Lucr. Keightley well comp. Lucr. I 400, 'Multaque praeterea tibi possum commemorando Argumenta fidem dictis conradere nostris.' Comp. also ib. 410, 'Quod si pigris, paulumve recesseris ab re.'

177. 'Refugis,' from hearing; A. II 12 from speaking. Observe mood and tense, 'I can repeat . . . but I see you start off.'

178. The chief passages in the writers De Re Rust., referring to the construction of a threshing-floor, are Cato 91, 129, Varro I 51, Col. II 19 (20). A summary of their results is given by Keightley. 'An elevated spot, to which the wind would have free access, was to be selected, but care was to be taken that it should not be on the side from which the wind



et vertenda manu et creta solidanda tenaci,  
 ne subeant herbae neu pulvere victa fatiscat, 180  
 tum variae inludant pestes: saepe exiguus mus  
 sub terris posuitque domos atque horrea fecit;  
 aut oculis capti fodere cubilia talpae;  
 inventusque cavis bufo, et quae plurima terrae  
 monstra ferunt; populatque ingentem farris acervum  
 curculio atque inopi metuens formica senectae. 186

usually blew on the house and garden, as the chaff was injurious to trees and vegetables. It was to be circular in form, and elevated a little in the centre, so that the rain might not lie on it. It was sometimes flagged, but was more usually formed of "argilla," with which chaff and "amurca" were well mixed. It was then made solid and level with rammers or a rolling-stone, in order that it might not crack and so give harbour to mice, ants, or any other vermin, and that grass might not grow on it. Beside the "area" was a building named "nubilarium," into which the corn was carried when there appeared any danger of rain or storm. Sometimes the 'area' was covered (Varro l. c.), but generally it was in the open air.

'Cum primis dicebant pro eo quod est in primis.' Gell. xvii 2. The question between 'cum primis' (= 'inter primos') and 'cumprimis' (= 'praecipue') seems really a question as to the words with which 'cum primis' is connected: e.g. in the present line it might be taken with 'area,' or with 'ingenti,' or with 'aequanda.' Here it seems best to refer it to what has gone before, the 'multa praecepta,' of which this that follows is the first.

Pal. has 'cylindroest,' ['est' being added apparently by a second hand.—H. N.]

179. 'Vertenda manu,' as Serv. remarks, really precedes 'aequanda cylindro,' as the preparation of the floor is the first thing. 'Creta,' = 'argilla' as in II 215, as appears from Varro, l. c.

180. 'Pulvere pro siccitate,' Philargyrius, the effect for the cause, if 'pulvere' is taken with 'victa.' But it may be a modal abl. with 'fatiscat' like 'rinis fatiscunt,' A. I 123.

'Fatisco' seems here to have both its original sense of breaking into chinks, and its secondary one of exhaustion. In this latter sense it is joined with 'victus,' as constantly in Lucr. with 'fessus.'

181. 'Inludant:' Pal., Med., Rom.,

Gud.; before Heins. the common reading was 'inludunt' (Med. corr.). 'Mock the threshing floor and the husbandman's labour.' So in II 375 the goats are said to mock the young vine.

'Pestes,' as injuring the floor and annoying the husbandman. 'Exiguus mus:' 'Risimus, et merito, nuper poetam, qui dixerat Praetextam in cista mures rosere Camilli. At Vergilii miramur illud: saepe exiguus mus. Nam epitheton exiguus [aptum, proprium] effecit, ne plus expectaremus, et casus singularis magis decuit, et clausula ipsa unius syllabae non usitata addidit gratiam. Imitatus est itaque utrumque Horatius, Nascetur ridiculus mus.' Quint. VIII 3. [Serv. has the same story.—H. N.]

183. The use of 'talpa' masc., like 'damma,' E. VIII 28, is noted by Quint. IX 3, and Serv.

'Oculis capti:' 'Hannibal . . . quia medendi nec locus nec tempus erat, altero oculo capitur,' Livy xxii 2, [a very common use of 'captus.'] So 'capi,' 'to be injured,' Lucr. v 929, 'Nec facile ex aestu nec frigore quod caperetur, Nec novitate cibi, nec labi corporis ulla.' [Nonius, p. 249, quotes the line, and says 'capere, implicare, impedire.'—H. N.]

184. 'Inventus' is probably the finite verb, not the participle. 'Bufo' occurs nowhere else in the classics.

185. 'Monstra,' used of hateful creatures without reference to size, as in III 152 of the gadfly. 'Populatque ingentem farris acervum,' A. IV 402.

186. "'Curculio,' weevil. This larva is known to be very destructive to corn and flour, but only in the granary. Even with us corn is not left long enough on the barn-floor to be attacked by it.' Keightley. Varro, I 63, says that when weevils begin to devour corn, it should be carried out and placed in the sun, with vessels of water for the weevils to drown themselves in.

contemplator item, cum se nux plurima silvis  
 induet in florem et ramos curvabit olentis :  
 si superant fetus, pariter frumenta sequentur,  
 magnaue cum magno veniet tritura calore ; 190  
 at si luxuria foliorum exuberat umbra,  
 nequiquam pinguis palea teret area culmos.  
 semina vidi equidem multos medicare serentes,  
 et nitro prius et nigra perfundere amurca, 191

'Inopi senectae,' a poetical expression for the winter, the ant being spoken of in human language (Keightley). With the dat. comp. 'metuisse tuis,' A. x 94. It is generally understood that the ancients were in error about the ant, which has no store-houses, and remains torpid during most of the winter. Mr. Blackburn however says that this is not always so, the case depending on climate.

187-192. 'The yield of corn is prognosticated by the walnut. If the tree bears largely, the harvest will be good ; if there are many leaves and little fruit, bad.'

187. A second precept. 'Contemplator,' Lucr. II 114, VI 189. [The form in -tor is generally used when, as here, there is distinct reference to future time.—H. N. Compare Neue-Wagener, Formenlehre III 213-223 (ed. 3); E. III 77, etc.]

'Nux' is generally taken of the almond : so Serv., Isidorus (xvii 7), and Theophrastus (Nat. Q. 17). Martyn and Keightley, however, understand it of the walnut, which is the more usual sense of the word, and agrees with 'olentis.'

'Plurima' with 'induet,' like 'descendet plurimus,' E. VII 60.

188. 'Induet in florem,' like 'induerat in voltus,' A. VII 20 ; 'In fraudem induimus,' Lucr. IV 817.

'Curvabit,' as Wagn. remarks, is not strictly accurate ; branches are weighed down by fruit, not by leaves or blossoms. 'Curvavit' (Med.) arises from a common confusion of the letters 'b' and 'v,' though a quotation in Rufinianus has 'induit—curvavit.' ['Induit' Gud. and Isid. xvii vii 23.—H. N.]

189. 'Superare' of abundance, II 330. 'If a great number of the blossoms set, as the gardeners term it.' Keightley.

190. 'Aestus nimios fore significat, aut calorem dixit festinationem,' Serv. He gives the picture of the 'tritura,' hard work

and a broiling sun : comp. v. 298, III 132 foll.

191. ['Luxuriae,' i.e. 'luxurie,' Rom.—H. N.] 'Foliorum' is emphatic, opp. to 'fetus,' 'umbra' general. 'If the luxuriance of the shade is merely a luxuriance of leaves.' Emm. comp. the word *φυλλομανείν*.

192. 'Nequiquam' with 'teret,' 'pinguis' with 'palea.' Before Heins. the common reading was 'paleae' [which, though mentioned by Philarg., is now found in no good MS.—H. N.].

'Teret area,' v. 298. The 'tritura' was performed sometimes by the trampling of oxen, sometimes by the 'tribulum,' or 'trahea' (see on v. 164), sometimes (Col. II 21) by 'fustes,' flails or sticks. Rom. has 'terit.'

193-203. 'Steeping seed-beans is a plan often pursued, to make the produce larger and easier to be cooked. But the best seeds will degenerate, unless you pick every year. It is the tendency of everything in nature, and only man's most strenuous efforts can counteract it.'

193. A third precept. From vv. 195, 196, it seems that Virg. is speaking of leguminous plants : and so the passage is explained by Pliny, xviii 157, Col. II 10. But he may be thinking of corn as well, and using pulse only as one instance. See on v. 199. 'Serentes' subst.

194. 'Nitro.' 'The *νίτρον* . . . of the ancients was not our nitre : it was a mineral alkali, carbonate of soda, and was therefore used in washing.' Keightley.

'Amurca,' *ἀμόργης*, a watery fluid contained in the olive, of a dark colour, and of greater specific gravity than the oil, which must be carefully separated from it.' Id. ['Amurca' is the true spelling. Serv. says 'amurca per c scribitur, et per g pronuntiatur, ut C. Gaius, Cn. Gnaeus : 'so Terentianus Maurus, p. 352.—H. N.]



grandior ut fetus siliquis fallacibus esset, 195  
 et, quamvis igni exiguo, properata maderent.  
 vidi lecta diu et multo spectata labore  
 degenerare tamen, ni vis humana quot annis  
 maxima quaeque manu legeret. sic omnia fatis  
 in peius ruere ac retro sublapsa referri, 200  
 non aliter, quam qui adverso vix flumine lembum  
 remigiis subigit, si bracchia forte remisit,  
 atque illum in praeceps prono rapit alveus amni.

195. 'Siliquis fallacibus:' Forb. comp. Tibull. II i 19, 'Neu seges eludat messem fallacibus herbis,' where both passages seem to be imitated. Here the epithet refers to the general character of the pods of beans, which in this particular case are to be less deceptive than usual.

196. This line was supposed by most of the old interpreters to refer to what follows, as if Virg. meant to say that even slightly boiling seeds, as well as steeping them before sowing, was not sure to be effectual. The present punctuation, introduced by Catrou, has been generally followed since Heyne; it is supported by two writers in the Geoponica, Didymus II 35, and Democritus II 41 (referred to by Keightley), and by Palladius, XII 1, who recommend the steeping of beans that they may boil more easily.

'Madeo' is used in the sense of being sodden Plaut. Men. II ii 51, and elsewhere. 'Properata' goes closely with 'maderent,' being nearly equivalent to 'proper.' So 'propera atque elue,' Plaut. Aul. II iii 3 = 'properare elue,' 'properandus et fingendus,' Pers. III 32, 'properare fingendus.'

198. 'Vis humana,' Lucr. v 206, 'Quod superest arvi, tamen id Natura sua vi Sentibus obducat, ni vis humana resistat,' where the pessimist feeling is the same as here.

199. The same precept is given by Varro I 52 with regard to corn; and this may be Virg.'s meaning. So Col. II 9.

'Sic—referri' is not dependent on 'vidi,' but forms an independent sentence. The force of the truth of general decay would be greatly weakened, if it were understood as resting on the poet's individual observation. 'So it is: all earthly things are doomed to fall away and slip back into chaos; like a boatman who is just managing to make head against the

stream, if the tension of his arms happens to relax and the current whirls away the boat headlong.'

200. This line nearly coincides with A. II 169 (note). The metaphor here is explained by what follows; the fates answer to the current, the course of nature to the bark, and human labour to the rower. The general sense is not unlike Bacon's celebrated sentence (Essay 24), 'If time of course alter things to the worse, and wisdom and counsel shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the end?'

Pal. and two cursives have 'et retro.'

['Sublapsa' Med., Pal., Gud.—H. N.]

201-203. The constr. of the sentence is: 'non aliter, quam (retro referuntur) qui . . . subigit, si bracchia remisit atque illum,' etc. In such similes Virg. does not introduce an apodosis, but makes the sentence depend on the 'quam' or 'si': A. IV 669, 'non aliter, quam si ruat Karthago flammae volvantur;' VIII 243, 'haud secus ac si terra reseret et recludat superque pandatur.' So Catull. LXV 23 (here imitated) 'ut malum, dum adventu matris prosilit, excutitur, atque illud pronopraeceptis agitur decursu.'

['Atque' joins 'rapit' to 'remisit,' according to the above interpretation. Gellius, however (x 29 = Nonius, p. 530), made it = 'statim,' introducing the apodosis to 'si.' This use is found in Plaut. four or five times, Lorenz Mostell. 1050, but hardly anywhere else in Latin. See E. VII 7 note.]

202. 'Subigit,' A. VI 302. ['Subegit,' i.e. 'subigit,' Pal.—H. N.]

203. 'Alveus' the channel of the river, from which it is easy to infer the notion of the current. Otherwise one might [with Nettleship] understand it of the vessel, 'illum' being referred to the rower, though the imitations in Sen. Ag. 497, Hipp. 182, Thy. 438, look the other way.

Praeterea tam sunt Arcturi sidera nobis  
 Haedorumque dies servandi et lucidus Anguis, 205  
 quam quibus in patriam ventosa per aequora vectis  
 Pontus et ostriferi fauces temptantur Abydi.  
 Libra die somnique pares ubi fecerit horas,  
 et medium luci atque umbris iam dividet orbem,  
 exercete, viri, tauros, serite hordea campis, 210

Pal. has 'illum praiceps,' which Ribbeck adopts; Rom. corr. 'prono in praiceps;' [Med. and Gud., supported by Gellius and Nonius, 'in praiceps prono.'—H. N.] Rom. also has 'trahit' for 'rapit.'

204-230. 'The husbandman has as much need to know the stars as the sailor. Sowing barley may begin when the sun is in the Balance, and go on till mid-winter: flax and poppies too. The rising of the Bull is the time for sowing beans, lucerne, and millet. Wheat must not be sown till the Pleiades and Crown are set: to attempt it earlier leads to failure. Vetches, kidney-beans, and lentils may be sown from the setting of Arcturus till mid-winter.'

[For the astronomical details see Dict. Ant. i 228-232, ed. 3.]

204. 'Arcturi,' v 68, ὑπὸ ζώνῃ δὲ οἱ (βιώτη) αὐτὸς Ἐξ ἄλλων ἀρκτοῦρος ἐλίσσεται ἀμφαδὸν ἄστῆρ, Arat. Phaen. 94. Both the rising and setting of Arcturus are attended with storms. Arcturus says (Plaut. Rud. Prol. 71), 'Vehemens sum exoriens, quom occido, vehementior.'

205. The Kids are two stars in the arm of the Charioteer (λεπτά φαίνονται ἱριφοὶ καρπὸν κατὰ χειρός, Arat. Phaen. 166); they rise April 25th and Sept. 27th-29th. 'Pluvialibus Haedis' A. ix 668.

'Anguis,' v. 244, near the North Pole.

206. 'As useful to the husbandman as to the sailor,' who first gave attention to the stars, v. 137. With the language comp. A. vi 335.

'Vectis' raises a difficulty, as the sailors have not returned home. The words may mean 'whose way home lies over stormy waters,' stress being laid on 'ventosa per aequora,' and the participle perhaps implying that they have sailed home ere now, and so that sailing is their calling. It may be simpler to say that 'vectis' = 'euntibus;' [the use of the past for the pres. part. of deponent or semi-deponent verbs is not uncommon, Madv. 431 b.; see below vv. 293, 339, A. v 708, and possibly vi 335].

207. 'Ostriferi . . . Abydi:' 'Ostrea plurima Abydi,' Enn. Hedyph. 2. 'Ora Hellespontia, ceteris ostreosior oris,' Catull. xviii 4.

208. 'Libra;' see v. 33.

'Die,' the reading of Serv. here and A. i 470 and most MSS., is acknowledged by Priscian, Donatus, and Probus as an old form of the genitive, [was accepted by Caesar de Anal. and occurs fairly often: see Georges, Wortformen]. Rom. and a late correction in Med. give 'diei,' which may be meant for 'dii,' a form introduced by some editors in A. i 636 (note). Charisius, p. 126, 32 K, quotes the line with 'die,' but seems to mention a variant 'dii' (genitive). Gellius (ix 14) says in a copy reputed to be Virg.'s own the reading was 'dies,' which he parallels from Ennius (Ann. 401), 'Postremae longinqua dies confecerat aetas.' Wagn. inclines to this, regarding 'dies' however as the acc. pl.

'Pares,' referring to the autumnal equinox. So Lucan viii 467, 'Tempus erat quo Libra pares examinat horas.'

209. 'Dividet:' Rom., Gud., and another of Ribbeck's cursives, for which Heins. restored 'dividit.' 'Dividit' (Med., Pal.) is preferred by Heins. and Wagn., who adduces passages where 'cum iam' is joined with a present. But the question is not the propriety of the present by itself, but its propriety in combination with 'fecerit,' for which we should have expected 'fecit.' On the other hand, the combination of the fut. ind. with the so-called fut. exactum is not uncommon in Virg.: see on iv 282. In iv 401, 2, 'cum accenderit' and 'cum sitiunt' are not really co-ordinate. Accordingly, I have accepted 'dividet,' though it must be confessed that 'iam,' meaning that the act is just happening, goes better with the present. The confusion of these forms is one of the commonest in MSS.

210. 'Exercete tauros,' plough for sowing.



usque sub extremum brumae intractabilis imbrem ; 21  
 nec non et lini segetem et Cereale papaver  
 tempus humo tegere et iandudum incumbere aratris,  
 dum sicca tellure licet, dum nubila pendent.  
 vere fabis satio ; tum te quoque, Medica, putres 215

211. 'Extremum imbrem' can hardly be the end of the rainy season, for this precept is apparently meant to be parallel to v. 214. Keightley seems right in referring it to the winter, the end of the year, unless we could take it of the beginning of the rainy season, 'the very verge.'

'Intractabilis' like 'non tractabile caelum,' A. IV 53, that cannot be dealt with, or, as we should say, impracticable, i.e. when no work can be done.

212. 'Lini . . . papaver.' See vv. 77, 78. 'Segetem,' proleptic. 'Cereale : ' Ceres was represented with poppies in her hands. She was said to have introduced the poppy, consoling herself with its seeds in her grief for Proserpine, and to have fed Triptolemus upon it.

213. 'Humo tegere,' of sowing ; in III 558 of burying.

A question has been raised whether 'tempus tegere' is to be explained 'tempus est tegendi' or 'tegere (satio) tempus (tempestivum est).' The same difference of opinion exists with regard to other expressions of the same kind. Thus 'modus inserere' (II 73) is resolved by some into 'modus inserendi ;' others make it a construction 'ad sensum,' as if Virg. had said, 'nec solemus inserere uno tantum modo.' So 'Mos est . . . gestare,' A. I 336, may be explained 'mos est gestandi' or 'gestare (gestatio) mos est.' So, again, in A. II 10 'amor cognoscere' opinions waver between taking 'cognoscere' as = 'cognoscendi,' 'amor est cognoscere' as = 'amas cognoscere,' and 'cognoscere' as nom., 'amor' meaning a thing loved. The first thing to remark is that there is nothing unaccountable in the supposition that the infinitive may be used gerundially, i.e. in these instances, stand for a noun in the genitive. The infinitive is equivalent to a noun for almost every purpose ; even where it follows a verb it can be at once resolved into a noun, and we know that it was formerly so regarded in Greek, from the custom of prefixing the article to it. Every solution that has been attempted of the expressions in question involves this substantival use of the infinitive. It would

follow that the construction of the infinitive—in other words, the case of the noun—must be determined in each instance by the structure of the passage. In the expression 'mos est gestare' it is simplest to regard 'gestare' as nominative ; in 'modus inserere,' 'inserere' seems as plainly to be genitive. The present passage and A. II 10 are more doubtful. On the whole, however, the genitive is the more probable construction in each. But it is difficult to say what is absolutely true where, as in all these passages, both alternatives are equally sanctioned by the usages of language, while it might be plausibly argued that the framers of the expression, so far as we can conceive them to have gone to work consciously, may have had both solutions in their mind, and have taken advantage of the ambiguity.

'Iandudum' is explained by the next line, which implies that the time is short, and ploughing should take place without delay. 'Iandudum sumite poenas,' A. II 103.

'Incumbere,' like 'curvus arator,' E. III 42. 'The flax was sown all through October and November, the poppy in September and October. We sow flax only in the spring . . . on account of the severity of our winter.' Keightley.

For 'aratris' Rom., Med. corr. and Pal. corr. give 'rastris:' but Serv. perhaps read 'aratris,' and the context shows that ploughing is meant.

214. 'Pendent,' because they do not yet come down, 'ruunt.'

215. 'Vere:' Virg. was thinking of the Mantuan custom (Pliny XVIII 120). In the warmer parts of Italy beans were sown in autumn, as Varro (I 34) and others direct.

'Medica,' Μηδική (πόα), lucerne, said to have been introduced into Greece in the invasion of Darius (Pliny XVIII 144), was sown in April or May.

'Putres' seems emphatic ; Col. (II 11) says that the land, where it is to be sown, should be ploughed in October, and lie fallow ('putrescere') through the winter.

accipiunt sulci, et milio venit annua cura,  
 candidus auratis aperit cum cornibus annum  
 Taurus, et averso cedens Canis occidit astro.  
 at si triticeam in messem robustaque farra  
 exercebis humum solisque instabis aristas,  
 ante tibi Eoae Atlantides abscondantur  
 Gnosiaque ardentis decedat stella Coronae,

216

220

216. 'Milio,' millet. 'Annua cura,' to distinguish it from lucerne, which lasted ten years in the ground. Sen., Ep. 86, charges Virg. with inaccuracy, saying that he had himself seen beans reaped and millet sown on the same day towards the end of June. The fact is that the time of sowing varied according to the climate, and Virg. is again speaking of a colder latitude.

217. 'Candidus . . . astro,' a periphrasis for 'vere.' 'In spring time, when the sun with Taurus rides.' The allusion, as Keightley points out, is to the milk-white bulls with gilded horns which appeared in the triumphal processions at Rome, though they did not strictly speaking lead the way (see on 11 148).

Whether 'auratis cornibus' is to be taken descriptively with 'taurus,' or instrumentally with 'aperit,' is not clear. The former is maintained by Serv., who observes that the bull rises with his back, not with his horns, and seems more reasonable, as there would be no natural propriety in the image of a bull using his horns to open a gate.

'Aperit' is illustrated by the etymology of 'Aprilis.'

218. The MSS. are [and were in the time of Serv.] divided between 'adverso' (Med.) and 'averso' (Pal., Rom., fragm. Aug., Gud.). [Philargyrius as quoted by the Berne scholia read 'adverso.'—H. N.] 'Averso' was restored by Heins.: 'adverso' was preferred by Heyne and most subsequent editors, except Ribbeck. If 'adverso' is read, 'astro' is probably dative, signifying the Bull, before whose advancing front the Dog retires, though as the reference is to the heliacal setting of Sirius, i.e. his obscuration by the sun, 'astro' has been taken of the sun. 'Averso' would be abl., perhaps abl. abs., expressing the flight of the Dog, whose tail and feet disappear before his head and shoulders. Voss objects that the Dog does not really turn from the

Bull, but confronts him even when retreating. On the whole I have allowed the weight of external authority to decide me in favour of 'averso.' [In his prose transl. Mr. Conington accepted 'adverso.']

219. 'Robusta:' Theoph., Caus. Pl. IV 6, mentions *πυρός ἢ κριθή* among *τὰ λοχυρότατα*, and Pliny says (xviii 83), 'ex omni [frumentorum] genere durissimum far et contra hiemes firmissimum.' [Col. II ix 8.—H. N.]

220. 'Solis,' opposed to the produce just mentioned, vv. 215 foll. 'Instabis aristas,' like 'instans operi regnisque futuris,' A. I 504. 'Press on with an ardour which only corn can satisfy.'

221. 'Atlantides,' the Pleiades, daughters of Atlas. These set 'Eoae,' in the morning, about November 11 according to Pliny II 125, about October 20 according to Col. II 8, xi 2.

[The apparent morning setting of the Pleiades at Rome in Virgil's time was Nov. 8; the apparent evening setting of the Crown was Nov. 9: see Dict. Ant. I 227, 232.]

222. 'Gnosia stella Coronae:' *στρίφανος, τὸν ἀγαυὸς ἴθιγε Σῆμι' ἔμεναι Διόνησος, ἀποχομένης Ἀριάδνης*, Arat. Phaen. 71. Virg., like Democritus in Geop. II 14 and Ptolemy, places the setting of the Crown between November 15 and December 19. Others (Col. XI 2, etc.) placed its rising about the same time, though earlier (about October 8); Serv. accordingly would understand 'decedat' of retiring from the Sun. Its sense however is fixed by such passages as v. 450, E. II 67. Virg.'s meaning is express, and his error is sufficiently accounted for when its source is pointed out.

'Stella,' perhaps because one star in the Crown is brighter, and rises earlier than the rest: but the distinction between 'stella' and 'sidus' was sometimes overlooked.

['Cnosia' Pal., 'Gnosia' Med., Rom., Gud.—H. N.]



debita quam sulcis committas semina, quamque  
 invitae properes anni spem credere terrae.  
 multi ante occasum Maiaie coepere; sed illos 225  
 exspectata seges vanis elusit avenis.  
 si vero viciamque seres vilemque phaselum  
 nec Pelusiaca curam aspernabere lentis,  
 haut obscura cadens mittet tibi signa Bootes:  
 incipe, et ad medias sementem extende pruinas. 230  
 Idcirco certis dimensum partibus orbem  
 per duodena regit mundi Sol aureus astra.  
 quinque tenent caelum zonae; quarum una corusco

223. 'Ere you charge the furrows with the seed which they have begun to want, or force the care of a whole year's hopes on a reluctant soil.'

224. 'Invitae,' like 'properes,' refers in thought, though not grammatically, to the earth *before* the proper sowing-time.

225. 'Maia' was one of the Pleiades.

226. ['Vanis,' empty: Col. II ix 6; Non. p. 416.—H. N.]

For 'avenis' (Pal., Gud.) 'aristis' is found in Med., Rom., fragm. Aug., and Nonius, pp. 301, 416. 'Avenis' is supported by the belief already alluded to on E. v 37, that corn had a tendency to degenerate into wild oats if it lay too long in the ground; 'aristis' may have been introduced from v. 220. Col. (XI 2) mentions an old saying among farmers, 'Maturam sationem saepe decipere solere: seram nunquam quin mala sit.'

228. 'Accipe Niliacam, Pelusia munera, lentem: Vilior est alica, carior illa faba,' Mart. XIII 9.

229. 'Bootes,' v. 204, otherwise called Arctophylax, sets acronychally from October 29 to November 2. Kidney-beans ('phaseli') were sown a month earlier when they were intended for eating, not for seed. Col. XI 2, § 72. Vetches appear to have been sown twice, in January and in the autumnal equinox (Col. II 10). Med. and fragm. Aug. have 'mittit.'

231-251. 'It is to ensure this regular succession of the various seasons that the sun makes his yearly way along the zodiac. There are five zones; one torrid, two frigid, one at each extreme, and two temperate between them and the torrid. Between the temperate zones passes the zodiac. There are two poles, one rising

over our heads, the other extending below into the depths. In the former are placed the Serpent and the Bears; the latter is either in perpetual darkness, or visited by the sun while he is away from us.'

231. Virg.'s meaning is that these various seasons depend in fact on the sun's apparent yearly course in the heavens. 'Certis partibus,' the twelve divisions of the zodiac. 'Orbem:' 'Annuus exactis completur mensibus orbis,' A. v 46.

232. 'Duodena' may, as Forb. thinks, refer to the annual course of the sun, which sees twelve signs in each circuit. But it seems simpler to make it = 'duodecim.'

'Regit,' of directing a way. 'Cur-susque regebam,' A. VI 350, 'Nulla viam fortuna regit,' XII 405.

'Mundi' with 'astra' like 'sidera mundi,' Lucr. I 788, II 328, v 514 [see v. 5].

'Sol aureus:' 'simul aureus exoritur Sol,' Enn. A. 95.

233. This passage down to v. 251 seems to be thrown in to give a notion of the magnitude and fixity of the mundane system. The description of the zones is taken from the Hermes of Eratosthenes, quoted by Achilles Tatius and in part by Heraclides of Pontus. It may be worth while to give it in extenso:

πέντε δὲ οἱ ζώναι περιελάδες ἰσπεύρητο,  
 αἱ δύο μὲν γλαυκοῖο κελαινότεραι κύναιο,  
 ἡ δὲ μία ψαφαρῆ τε καὶ ἐκ πυρρὸς οἶον ἱρυθρῆ.  
 ἡ μὲν ἴην μεσάτη, ἱκτικαυτο δὲ πᾶσα περιπρὸ  
 τυπτομένη φλογμοῖσιν, ἐπεὶ ῥα ἔ μοῖραν ὑπ'  
 αὐτῆν  
 κελιμένην ἀπὲρ τίνες ἀειθερές πυρρῶσιν.  
 αἱ δὲ δύο ἐκάτερθε πόλοισ περιπεπητῆσαι  
 αἰεὶ κρυμάλαι, αἰεὶ δ' ὕδασι μογῖουσαι'

semper sole rubens et torrida semper ab igni;  
 quam circum extremae dextra laevaue trahuntur, 235  
 caeruleae, glacie concretæ atque imbribus atris;  
 has inter mediamque duæ mortalibus ægris  
 munere concessæ divom, et via secta per ambas,  
 oblicus qua se signorum verteret ordo.  
 mundus, ut ad Scythiam Riphæasque arduus arces 240

οὐ μὲν ὕδωρ, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀπ' οὐρανὸθεν  
 κρύσταλλος  
 κείται ἀναπείσχε· περίψυκτος δὲ τέ-  
 τυκτο. (κεῖτ', αἶαν τ' ἀπέσχε?)  
 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν χερσαῖα, καὶ ἀμβρατὰ ἀνθρώ-  
 ποισι.  
 δοιαὶ δ' ἄλλαι ἔσιν ἰναντία ἀλλήλων  
 μεσηγῆς θέρους τε καὶ ὑέτιον κρυστάλλον,  
 ἄμφω ἰσχυροὶ τε καὶ ὄμπιον ἀδίσκουσαι  
 καρπὸν Ἐλευσίης Δημητῆρος· ἐν δὲ μὲν  
 ἄνδρες Ἀντιποδες ναίουσι.

Comp. also Ov. M. I 45 foll., Tibull. IV  
 I 151. An unimportant fragment on the  
 zones from a poem by Varro Atacinus is  
 preserved by Isidorus and Bede (Werns-  
 dorf's Poet. Lat. Min. v p. 1403).

'Caelum,' because the zones of heaven  
 answer to the zones of earth, and deter-  
 mine their character. Macrobius dis-  
 cusses the subject Somn. S. II 7.

234. 'Ab igni' is a translation of *ἐκ  
 πυρός* in Eratosth. We should have ex-  
 pected the instr. abl. So probably 'plu-  
 vioque madescit ab Austro,' Ov. M. I 66.

235. 'Trahuntur' expresses extent,  
 like 'tractus,' and is meant to translate  
*περιπεπηγυῖαι*.

236. ['Caeruleae' Med. Pal. Rom.  
 Gud. 'Caerulea' is only found in inferior  
 copies.—H. N.]

'Caeruleus' is used widely to express  
 various colours of a dull blue or green sort,  
 being to a certain extent, as Dr. Arnold  
 remarked, the opposite of 'purpureus'  
 (E. v 38 note). So A. III 194, v 10, it is  
 used of a black storm-cloud (answering  
 to 'atris' here); G. IV 482, A VII 346, of  
 a serpent. The mention of ice seems  
 more appropriate to the earthly than to  
 the heavenly zones, as Keightley ob-  
 serves: but Virg. was doubtless thinking  
 of the sky as the parent of ice. [The  
 rhythm is like that of Il. IV 281, *Κυάνεαι,  
 σάκεσιν τε καὶ ἔγχρσι πέφρουκυῖαι*.—H. N.]

237. 'Mortalibus ægris,' Lucr. VI 1,  
 Hom. *δαιλοῖσι βροτοῖσι*. Comp. also A.  
 II 268, where there is a similar juxta-

position of man's weakness and heaven's  
 indulgence. The ancients supposed only  
 the temperate zones to be habitable:  
 consequently, as discovery advanced, the  
 area occupied by those zones was ex-  
 tended, so that instead of five parts or  
 thirty degrees (from 24° to 54°), the space  
 originally allotted to them, they were made  
 to contain seven parts, to 66°.

238. 'Per' is rightly explained by  
 Macrobius Somn. S. II 8, as equivalent to  
 'inter,' as the sun never enters the tem-  
 perate zones. That which goes between  
 two connected objects goes through the  
 pair. So v. 245, 'per duas Arctos.'  
 Comp. Ov. M. II 130, 'Sectus in obli-  
 cum est lato curvamine limes, Zonarum-  
 que trium contentus fine, polumque Effu-  
 git australem, iunctamque Aquilonibus  
 Arcton.'

239. 'Oblicus' with 'se verteret.' So  
 'sese tulit obvia,' A. I 314, 'Infert se  
 saeptus nebula,' ib. 439; compare the  
 participle in such expressions as 'sensit  
 medios delapsus in hostis,' A. II 377.  
 The ordinary grammatical usage attaches  
 an adjective or participle to a noun as its  
 absolute property: here the adjective or  
 participle belongs to the noun only contin-  
 gently on the relation of the noun to the  
 verb. Thus in the present line the order  
 of the signs is oblique not in itself but in  
 reference to its revolution. The principle  
 is the same as in cases of prolepsis. The  
 language here is not strictly accurate,  
 as it was not the zodiac but the sun  
 that was supposed to move.

['Oblicus' Pal., 'obliquus' Rom., 'obli-  
 quus' Med.—H. N.]

240. Virg. goes on to describe the  
 Poles, North and South, speaking of the  
 one as elevated and visible, the other as  
 depressed and invisible. 'Scythia' is  
 used for the North generally, as in III 349.  
 The 'Riphæae (*ῥίπη*) arces' ('arces' of  
 mountains, 'Rhodopeiae arces,' IV 461)  
 were supposed to separate the Hyper-  
 boreans from the rest of the world. Comp.



consurgit, premitur Libyae devexus in austros. 241  
 hic vertex nobis semper sublimis; at illum  
 sub pedibus Styx atra videt Manesque profundi.  
 maximus hic flexu sinuoso elabitur Anguis  
 circum perque duas in morem fluminis Arctos, 245  
 Arctos Oceani metuentes aequore tingui.  
 illic, ut perhibent, aut intempesta silet nox  
 semper et obtenta densentur nocte tenebrae,

III 381, IV 517. Here these countries are supposed to be in the centre of the earth (II 292): so here they are said to be over the south pole. 'Sub pedibus' is to be connected with 'videt,' the feet being those of Styx and the Manes; but 'videt' of course is not to be pressed, as if it were meant that the south pole were actually visible from the shades. Arat. Phaen. 25 says of the poles, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν οὐκ ἐπίσπτος, ὁ δ' ἀντίος ἐκ βορείας, Ὑψόθεν ὠκεανοῖο.

242. 'Vertex' is a translation of 'polus.' 'Extremusque adeo duplici de cardine vertex Dicitur esse polus,' Cic. N. D. II 41 (translating Aratus).

243. The infernal regions were supposed to be in the centre of the earth (II 292): so here they are said to be over the south pole. 'Sub pedibus' is to be connected with 'videt,' the feet being those of Styx and the Manes; but 'videt' of course is not to be pressed, as if it were meant that the south pole were actually visible from the shades. Arat. Phaen. 25 says of the poles, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν οὐκ ἐπίσπτος, ὁ δ' ἀντίος ἐκ βορείας, Ὑψόθεν ὠκεανοῖο.

244-246. From Arat. Phaen. 45.

Τὰς δὲ δι' ἀμφοτέρων, οἷη ποταμοῖο ἀπορ-  
 ρῶξ,  
 εἰλεῖται, μέγα θαῦμα, δράκων, περὶ τ' ἀμφὶ  
 τ' ἰαγῶς,  
 Μυρίος' αἱ δ' ἄρα οἱ σπείρης ἐκάτερθε φύ-  
 ονται

\* Ἄρκτοι κυανίου πεφυλαγμένοι ὠκεανοῖο.

'Elabitur,' shoots out: not the same as 'labitur,' Forb.

246. 'Metuentes—tingui' like 'metuente solvi,' Hor. Od. II 11 7. So Hom. of the Bear (II. XVIII 489), οἷη δ' ἀμμορός ἴστι λοετρῶν ὠκεανοῖο.

247. The two cases are that either the southern regions are in total darkness or that they have day when we have night. The doctrine that the sun perishes every day is Epicurean. Lucr. mentions both alternatives (v 650 foll.):

'at nox obruit ingenti caligine terras,  
 aut ubi de longo cursu sol ultima caeli  
 impulit atque suos efflavit languidus ignis  
 concussos itere et labefactos aere multo,  
 aut quia sub terras cursum convertere  
 cogit

vis eadem, supra quae terras pertulit orbem.'

'Intempesta nox:' Enn. A. 21, 171 M.; Lucr. v 986; [Virg. A. III 587, XII 846; Cic., etc. As used, the phrase = dead of night, but the Roman scholars differ in their accounts of it. Varro (L. L. VI 7, VII 72) says it denotes the time 'inter vesperuginem et iubar,' the really dark hours of night: he derives it from 'in' and 'tempus' in the sense of 'quo tempore nihil agitur.' Festus p. 82 thinks it denotes no fixed time of night, again arguing from etymology. Macrobius (I 3, VI 1) places it 'inter concubiam noctem et mediam,' and so Censorinus. Apul. and Serv. A. III 587 identify it with midnight. Most modern scholars explain it either as = undivided (by man's hours): so Mr. Nettleship, or as = 'unseasonable,' unsuited for work; Stowasser suggests untempered, i.e. cold. In A. x 184 'intempesta Graviscae' plainly = unhealthy (? chilly, i.e. feverish). The Greek ἀσπι νεκρός, etc., seem to mean simply unseasonableness.]

The rhythm of the verse is doubtless meant to be descriptive.—'All is wrapped in eternal night, with its silence that knows no seasons, and its thick pall deepening the gloom.'

248. Wagn. connects 'semper' with what follows: but the rhythm is superior if we connect it with v. 247.

'Obtenta nocte,' introduced rather carelessly after 'nox,' is perhaps imitated from Od. XI 19, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ νύξ ὀλοή τίεται δειλοῖσι βοροῖσι.

Here as elsewhere the best MSS. are divided between 'densentur' (most) and 'densantur' (Med.). On the whole authority favours 'densere,' which Serv. on A. VII 794, XI 650 declares to be the legitimate form. But the point is difficult to settle, as forms of 'densare' undoubtedly occur. [See further Neue-Wagener, Formenlehre III 289.]

aut redit a nobis Aurora diemque reducit,  
 nosque ubi primus equis Oriens adflavit anhelis, 250  
 illic sera rubens accendit lumina Vesper.  
 hinc tempestates dubio praediscere caelo  
 possumus, hinc messisque diem tempusque serendi,  
 et quando infidum remis impellere marmor  
 conveniat, quando armatas deducere classis, 255  
 aut tempestivam silvis evertere pinum :

249. 'Redire' 'reducere,' and other such words, are constantly used, as Wund. remarks, of the recurring order of nature. 'Informes hiemes reducit Iuppiter, idem Summovet,' Hor. Od. 11 x 15.

250. 'Oriens,' the rising sun, as in A. v 739, where this line is nearly repeated. The horses of the sun come panting up hill, casting their breath, which, as Keightley observes, represents the morning air, on the objects before them.

251. Seneca (Ep. CXXII 2) quotes this line with 'illis,' which would be highly plausible, if it had other support. But Virg. is speaking of the region, not of the inhabitants, and the hypothesis of vv. 247, 248 would be hardly compatible with the existence of antipodes at all, though in a different connexion, v. 237, he seems to believe in them. So 'a nobis,' v. 249, answers to 'illic,' v. 247.

'Lumina' is Vesper's own rays; not the sunset, as Voss thinks, taking 'Vesper' generally of evening; nor the other stars, as others interpret it, much less, as the old commentators thought, the candles that are lighted on earth. Comp. IV 401, 'medios cum sol accenderit aestus.'

'Rubens' may merely mean bright, like 'luna rubens,' Hor. Od. 11 xi 10, or the colour of sunset may be naturally transferred to the star.

252-258. 'From this disposition of nature the husbandman and the mariner get certain knowledge, and may consult the heavens with confidence.'

252. 'Hinc' seems to refer to the whole of the preceding passage from v. 231, which has been devoted to an exposition of certain parts of the mundane system. That system has been mentioned at the outset ('Idcirco,' v. 231) as the guarantee for the regularity of the seasons, on the knowledge of which the proceedings of the husbandman depend, and now Virg. enforces the conclusion—'It is on

the strength of this that we know beforehand,' etc. Vv. 257, 258 clearly belong to this paragraph, not to that which follows (Ramsay, Classical Museum, v 107). They come in fact under 'Hinc,' which is the introduction to the whole paragraph. 'Hence it is that our watchings for the rising and setting of the stars and our attention to the course of the seasons are not useless.' Not perceiving this connexion, Ribbeck has placed vv. 257, 258 after 251.

'Tempestates' seems rightly understood by Keightley of changes of weather, which agrees with 'dubio caelo.' Rom. and fragm. Aug. have 'praedicere.'

253. The weather and the seasons are of equal importance to landsmen and seamen (vv. 204 foll. : comp. v. 456), so the occupations of both are mentioned here.

'Infidum' is significant, as showing the importance of knowing when to venture on the sea. There may be a distinction, as Voss thinks, between 'remis,' the smaller craft, and 'classis,' the larger. But it seems more likely that Virg. first speaks generally of putting to sea, and then contrasts the fleet when rigged with the cutting down of the timber.

255. 'Armatas,' rigged. 'Armariclassem cursumque parari,' A. IV 299.

'Deducere' of ships, A. III 71, IV 398. Cerda comp. Hor. Od. I IV 1, 'Solvitur acris hiemps grata vice veris et Favoni, Trahuntque siccas machinae carinas.'

256. 'Tempestivam' with 'evertere : ' ὥρατα ῥέμνισθαι ξύλα, Theophr. cited by Ursinus. Cato XXXI, whom Macrob. Sat. VI 4 rather unreasonably charges Virg. with copying, says, of pines and other trees, 'cum effodies, luna decrescente eximito, post meridiem, sine vento austro. Tum erit tempestiva, cum semen suum maturum erit.' Pal. (XII 15) says that the best time of the year is February.



nec frustra signorum obitus speculamur et ortus,  
temporibusque parem diversis quattuor annum.

Frigidus agricolam si quando continet imber,  
multa, forent quae mox caelo properanda sereno, 260  
maturare datur: durum procludit arator  
vomeres obtunsi dentem, cavat arbore luntres,  
aut pecori signum aut numeros impressit acervis,  
exacuunt alii vallos furcasque bicornis,  
atque Amerina parant lentae retinacula viti. 265  
nunc facilis rubea texatur fiscina virga;

257. ['Signorum ortus et obitus,' Cic. Inv. I 34.—H. N.]

258. 'Parem' is intended to contrast with 'diversis' (Serv.). The seasons are diverse, yet as they are of equal lengths, and succeed each other regularly, they make the year uniform. 'Speculamur' in v. 257 appears to mean strictly to be on the watch for: here it means merely to pay attention to.

259-275. 'Even rainy weather has its employments; so have holy days.'

259. Hitherto Virg. has been insisting on the importance of the weather: he now shows that weather which is bad for ordinary out-door purposes is good for other things. 'Frigidus imber' cannot apply to the winter, on account of 'si quando': besides, winter occupations are mentioned vv. 305 foll. 'Frigidus' is an ordinary epithet of rain, as chilling the air, just as 'hiemps' is used indifferently of storm and winter.

'Continet,' keeps him from his work: confines him to the house. 'Dum se continet Auster, Dum sedet et siccat madidas in carcere pinnas,' Juv. v 100.

260. 'Properare,' to hurry, is contrasted with 'maturare,' to get done in good time. See A. I 137. The contrast is noticed by Gell. x 11 = Macrob. Sat. vi 8, who follow a remark of Nigidius Figulus, 'Mature est quod neque citius neque serius sed medium quiddam et temperatum est.' [The note in Gell. and Macrob. is abridged in the Berne scholia.—H. N.]

261. 'Procludit' is explained by 'obtunsi.' Forb. quotes Lucr. v 1264, 'Et prorsum quamvis in acuta ac tenuia posse Mucronum duci fastigia procludendo.'

262. ['Vomeris dentem,' II 423.]  
'Arbore,' material ablative, like 'ocreas lento ducunt argento,' A. VII 634.

'Luntres' were troughs into which grapes were put after the vintage. 'Servabit plenis in linitibus uvas,' Tibull. I v 23. Cato (XI) mentions them among the apparatus for a vineyard, saying that two are required for a vineyard of 100 jugera. They appear to have been the same as 'naviae' (Fest. p. 169, s.v. 'navia'), which were made from a single piece of wood, and were so called from their resemblance to ships or canoes, whence both names.

263. [He stamps a seal for (marking) his cattle or tickets for (numbering) his heaps of corn. 'Facit aut characteras quibus pecora signantur aut tesseris quibus frumentorum numerus designatur' (Serv.). No instance of 'imprimere signum,' = make a stamp, is quoted in the lex., but there is nothing in such a phrase which violates Latinity.—H. N.] Branding-cattle is mentioned III 158.

['Impressit': the perfect in a series of present tenses may possibly be used because stamping a seal or ticket is a single action, hollowing a tree, etc., a prolonged one.—Marindin.]

264. The 'valli' and 'furcae' were probably to support the vines. See II 359.

265. Col. (IV 30), speaking of willows for tying up the vine ('salices viminales'), enumerates three sorts, Greek, Gallic, and Sabine or Amerian, the last of which has a slender red twig.

266. 'Facilis,' pliant, an epithet belonging rather to 'virga,' as Keightley remarks. Pal. has 'facili.'

'Rubea' of briars. 'Vincula qualia sunt ex rubo,' Col. IV 31. Serv. [and Philarg. quoted in the Berne scholia] make it an adjective from Rubi in Apulia (Hor. S. I v 94); but there is no reason to suppose that the twigs there were good for basket-making.

nunc torrete igni fruges, nunc frangite saxo.  
 quippe etiam festis quaedam exercere diebus  
 fas et iura sinunt; rivos deducere nulla  
 religio vetuit, segeti praetendere saepem,  
 insidias avibus moliri, incendere vepres,  
 balantumque gregem fluvio mersare salubri.

270

267. A. 1 178, 179. The roasting or drying was to make the corn easier to grind. Rom. has 'saxis.'

268. 'Why, even on holy days a husbandman may do something.' So Cato II, speaking of the means which the landowner has of checking the amount of work done by his servants, mentions holy-day employments after those for rainy weather. The things which may or may not be done on holy days are enumerated by Col. II 21 (22).

269. 'Fas et iura,' divine and human laws, Serv. [and the Berne scholia], who however seem wrong in seeking for a real distinction where Virg. probably only intended surplusage.

'Rivos deducere:' it is not clear whether letting water on or off is meant. The language will bear either equally, according to the use of 'deducere.' 'Deducere aquam in vias,' Cato CLV, is used for drawing water off from a field [though Keil there reads 'diducere']; so 'deducit' above v. 113 (opposed to 'inducit,' v. 106), [and Pallad. 1 172.—H. N.] Serv. [and the Berne scholia] accept this sense here: Serv. asserts on the authority of Varro that letting water on was forbidden, and appeals to the Pontifical books to show that works might be finished on holy days, though not begun, and consequently that water already let on might be let off. But the extract which Serv. gives is not very conclusive: 'feriis denicalibus aquam in pratium ducere, nisi legitimam, non licet: ceteris feriis omnis aqua licet deducere' (Col. II 21 (22) draws a similar distinction between the sanctity of 'feriae denicales' and of other holy days). Macrob., Sat. III 3, explains 'deducere' by 'detergere,' alleging that old watercourses might be cleaned on holy days, but not new ones made: and Columella, l. c., enumerates among lawful things 'fossas veteres tergere et purgare.' But it is not easy to extract this sense out of the words of Virg., though Heyne attempts to do so, arguing that he who cleans a watercourse lets the

water flow, 'deducit.' If any argument could be founded on the greater or less appropriateness of the work to holy days, it would be natural to suppose Virg. to be speaking of drawing off a stream which had suddenly overflowed in the corn-field. On the other hand, Mr. Maclean remarks that to lead the water down the channels would be a daily necessity for gardens in hot weather.

'Deducere:' Med. has 'diducere;' but in such cases MSS. are of little weight, and the question, so far as they are concerned, is really one of spelling: comp. II 8. [But see A. I 211 note.]

270. 'Religio' is here used in its technical sense as a restraining, not an imperative power.

'Segeti praetendere saepem' raises a difficulty, as Col. l. c. says that the pontiffs forbid the making of hedges for corn on holy days. Forb. and Keightley suppose that old hedges might be repaired, though not new ones made: but Virg.'s words are surely express.

271. 'Insidias avibus moliri' seems to refer to snaring mischievous birds (vv. 119, 156). That would be a work of necessity, which ordinary bird-catching would not be.

'Incendere vepres:' Cato II (quoted by Keightley), mentions 'vepres recidi' among the works for holy days.

272. Washing sheep for cleanliness was not allowed on holy days, according to Macrob. and Col. ll. cc., who observe that 'salubri' is emphatic, indicating that the washing is to cure disease. Comp. III 445.

'Balantum' is doubtless meant to be forcible, the sheep bleating when they are washed, as in III 457, when they are in pain. Generally it is a descriptive word, discriminating sheep from other cattle by their bleat, as in A. VII 538. To which class such passages as Enn. Alex. fr. I 5, Lucr. II 369, vi 1132 are to be referred, is hard to say.

['Fluvio:' abl. A. VI 348, etc. Others make it dat. E. VIII 101, A. XII 256.]



saepe oleo tardi costas agitator aselli  
 vilibus aut onerat pomis, lapidemque revertens  
 incusum aut atrae massam picis urbe reportat. 275  
 Ipsa dies alios alio dedit ordine Luna  
 felices operum. quintam fuge: pallidus Orcus  
 Eumenidesque satae; tum partu Terra nefando

273. Varro ap. Serv. says that markets were held on holy days, to give countrymen a chance of going to town. Col. l. c. quotes Cato (CXXXVIII) assaying that mules, horses, and asses had no holy days, though the pontifical books forbade the harnessing of mules on 'feriae denicales.'

'Agitator aselli,' the driver, like 'equorum agitator,' A. II 476, i.e., not the man whose business it was to drive asses ('asinarius'), but the peasant who happens to drive the ass to market. We need hardly inquire whether 'aselli' belongs primarily to 'costas' or to 'agitator.'

274. 'Vilibus' suits with 'onerat,' implying, as Serv. remarks, that they are abundant. 'Lapidem incusum' is explained by Serv. [and Gaudentius in the Berne scholia] of a millstone, which is indented that it may crush the corn better.

275. 'Picis:' for marking cattle, securing casks, repairing vessels, etc. ['Incusum' Med. Pal. Rom.—H. N.]

276-286. 'The days of the lunar months are not all equally lucky for work. The fifth is bad, the seventeenth good, and, in a different way, the ninth.'

276. Virg. is said by Pliny (xviii 321) to have followed Democritus in this enumeration of lucky and unlucky days. Hesiod (Works 765 foll.) had treated the subject at much greater length. Varro, I 37, has a chapter on the same subject, but his treatment is entirely different. Virg.'s own treatment is sufficiently cursory, only three days being named in all, for good or for evil, and those not accurately represented, at least according to Hesiod, who was evidently to some extent his model.

The force of 'ipsa' seems to be that the mere position of days in the month gives them a certain fitness or unfitness for agricultural purposes, irrespectively of more scientific considerations.

'Dedit' is commonly taken as an aorist: but it may mean that the moon has made the ordinance once for all in regulating the month.

'Alio ordine' opp. to 'uno ordine,' II 102. It is as if Virg. had said 'omnes dies non pariter felices fecit.' 'Alios' is followed by 'quintam,' as in Tibull. III vi 32 (quoted by Wund.), 'Venit post multos una serena dies.'

277. 'Felices operum' [productive of, H. N. Con. rendered happy in respect of, and comp. for the genitive, G. III 498, 'infelix animi,' A. IV 529, 'fortunatus laborum,' II 416. But this gen. of cause after 'felix' appears to be used only of persons, not as here, of things.]

'Operum' agricultural work, II 472: comp. the title of Hesiod's poem.

'Quintam:' comp. Hes. Works 802:

Πέμπτας δ' ἐξάλιασθαι, ἐπει χαλεπαὶ τε καὶ αἰνάι.

Ἐν πέμπτῃ γάρ φασιν Ἐρινύας ἀμφιπολεῖν

Ὀρκον γεινόμενον, τὸν Ἔρις τίκε πῆμ' ἐπιόρκους.

Wilfully or ignorantly Virg. misinterprets Hesiod; he confounds Ὀρκος, god of the oath, with the Latin Orcus, god of the dead, and makes the Eumenides born themselves on the fifth, instead of attending the birth of Ὀρκος (if that be Hesiod's meaning, which is doubtful). Pal. gives 'Horcus' [and this reading is mentioned by Serv. and the Berne scholia. Celsus (ap. Serv.) explained 'pallidus,' 'quia iurantes trepidatione pallescunt;'] Serv. adds 'Probus Orchus legit: Cornutus vetat aspirationem addendam,' where Mr. Nettleship emends 'Probus Horcus legit.' So the Berne schol. 'quidam cum aspiratione Horcus legunt.' Evidently some Roman scholars preferred to think that Virg. had not confounded or combined Orcus and Ὀρκος: so also Ribbeck.]

278. 'Tum' seems better taken with Serv. in its ordinary sense of 'then' than with Forb. as 'moreover.' It appears to be added here because it had been omitted in the previous clause. No other extant authority appears to fix the birth of the giants to this day.

Coeumque Iapetumque creat saevumque Typhoea  
 et coniuratos caelum rescindere fratres. 280  
 ter sunt conati imponere Pelio Ossam  
 scilicet, atque Ossae frondosum involvere Olympum ;  
 ter Pater exstructos disiecit fulmine montis.  
 septima post decimam felix et ponere vitem,  
 et prensos domitare boves et licia telae 285  
 addere ; nona fugae melior, contraria furtis.  
 Multa adeo gelida melius se nocte dedere,

279. The birth of 'Coeus' and 'Iapetus' is mentioned Hes. Theog. 134, that of 'Typhoeus,' ib. 821 foll., the latter not taking place till after the expulsion of the Titans from heaven. The two former were the sons of Earth and Uranus, the latter of Earth and Tartarus. 'Typhoeus' is distinguished by the epithet 'saevus,' as he was the most formidable (Hes. l. c.).

'Creat:' see on E. VIII 45. 'Typhoea' is probably a trisyllable, the two last vowels coalescing (comp. 'Orphea,' E. VI 30), as in Greek (Τυφωεία), though it might be scanned as a dactyl, see II 69.

280. It is doubtful whether 'fratres' refers to the giant-brood generally, or to the two Aloidae. The deeds mentioned in the following lines are ascribed to the latter by Hom. (Od. XI 304 foll.), and by Virg. himself (A. VI 582, where the words 'rescindere caelum' recur): but the Aloidae were the sons of Poseidon and Iphimedeia, not of Earth. Possibly Virg. misunderstood the passage in the Odyssey, where they are said in Homeric phrase to have been nourished by the earth, though the word there used is ἀρουρα.

'Rescindere' may be to break open, like 'vias rescindere,' Lucr. II 406, or it may be compared with Aesch. Prom. 357 (of Typhoeus) ὡς τὴν Διὸς τυραννίδ' ἐκπίρρων βίῃ.

281. Ὀσσαν ἐπ' Οὐλύμπῳ μέμασαν θέμεν, αἰτάρ ἐπ' Ὀσση Πήλιον εἰνοσιφύλλον, ἴν' οὐρανὸς ἀμβατὸς εἴη, Hom. l. c. Virg. reverses the positions of Pelion and Olympus, and transfers to the latter the epithet attached to the former.

The non-elision of the 'i' and 'o' and the shortening of the 'o' are in imitation of the Greek rhythm, and are appropriate here and elsewhere where the subject reminds us of Greek poetry.

282. 'Scilicet,' agreeably to its etymo-

logy ('scire licet'), introduces an explanation or development. Here it introduces the details of the conspiracy.

'Involvere' is used in its strict sense of rolling upon, like 'involvitur aris,' A. XII 292. Olympus is heaved up the sides of Ossa. Pal. originally had 'invertere.'

283. The threefold attempt seems to be Virg.'s invention.

284. 'Septima post decimam,' the seventeenth, as is evident from Hes. Works 805, where the seventeenth follows the fifth immediately, though the work which he assigns to it is not the same as here. Of the works which Virg. assigns to the seventeenth, planting is referred by Hes. to the thirteenth, taming cattle to the fourteenth, weaving to the twelfth.

'Ponere,' 'plant in order,' II 273, E 1 74. 'Felix ponere:' see v. 213, E. v 2.

285. 'Prensos domitare,' perhaps for 'prendere et domitare:' πρῆθνευ ἐπὶ χεῖρα τῆθεις, Hes. v. 797. Taking in hand is the first step towards breaking in. Comp. III 206, 7.

'Licia telae addere,' to add the leashes to the warp, to weave. Tibull. I vi 78, 'Firmaque conductis adnectit licia telis.'

286. 'Fugae' seems to refer to fugitive slaves. Virg. however, as Heyne remarks, is speaking not in their interest, but in that of the husbandman, who is warned to be on his guard that day, while on the other hand he need not watch against thieves. In Hesiod the ninth day is merely mentioned as good for work of any sort. 'Contraria furtis:' 'avibus contraria cunctis,' Lucr. VI 741.

287-296. 'Some work is fittest for night or early morning, mowing for instance; and long winter evenings may be well spent by the husbandman in cutting torches, by his wife in weaving, or boiling and skimming.'

287. ['Adeo' is taken by Serv. and the



aut cum sole novo terras inrorat Eous.  
 nocte leves melius stipulae, nocte arida prata  
 tondentur; noctes lentus non deficit umor. 290  
 et quidam seros hiberni ad luminis ignis  
 pervigilat, ferroque faces inspiciat acuto;  
 interea longum cantu solata laborem  
 arguto coniunx percurrit pectine telas, 294

Berne scholia to mean 'valde,' but it may well have its original sense of 'besides.'—H. N. This sense appears confined to the comic poets, unless we assume it in 'tuque adeo,' *Enn.*, G. I 24, etc.] As in vv. 259 foll., *Virg.*'s thought seems to be that no part of the husbandman's time is unemployed, and that every work should be done at its right time.

'Gelida nocte' is doubtless contrasted with 'medio aestu,' at the same time that it indicates the cool dew as that which makes work easier.

'Melius se dedere:' the general sense is that many operations are performed better at certain times. *Virg.* expresses the notion of performance by 'se dedere,' to indicate the dependence of the husbandman upon nature. Thus the use of 'se dare' here is parallel rather to the instances where it is equivalent to 'occurrere' than to those where it denotes compliance with the will of another. [“Se dedere,” nostro obsequuntur labori.” *Serv.*—H. N.]

288. Wakef. supposes *Virg.* to have imitated *Lucr.* v 281, 'aetherius sol Inrigat adsidue caelum candore recenti.' But the primary reference of 'inrorat' evidently is to literal dew, and it seems hardly worth while to suppose a secondary one to the sprinkling of the earth with sunlight. *Heyne comp.* III 305, 'extremoque inrorat Aquarius anno.' For 'aut' *Rom.* has 'vel.'

289. 'Stipulae:' v 85. The cutting of the stubble took place in August, within a month after the reaping. 'Leves' and 'arida' seem both to be emphatic, as suggesting what the husbandman has to obviate. 'Arida prata,' opposed to those which could be irrigated. *Voss.*

290. 'Lentus' expresses the effect of the moisture on the grass rather than the nature of the moisture itself.

291. 'Quidam,' like 'est qui,' *Hor. Ep.* II ii 182, *Pers.* I 76, as if *Virg.* knew but did not choose to name the man.

'Luminis' is generally taken of lamp or

torch-light. *Keightley* refers it to fire-light, comparing II 432, A. VII 13, where however there is the same doubt. It would be possible also to refer it to the late dawn of a winter sun ('lumine quarto,' A. VI 356), so that the sense should be 'one man sits through a long winter's night.' *Mr. Blackburn*, accepting this view, comp. *Hor. Od.* III viii 14, 'vigiles lucernas Perfer in lucem.' A. VIII 411 'famulas ad lumina longo Exercet penso' is open to all three interpretations.

292. 'Inspiciat,' makes into the form of an ear of corn, the end of the wood being cut into a point and split into various parts. *Forb. comp. Sen. Med.* III, 'Multifidam iam tempus erat succedere pinum.' This is probably the same as 'incide faces,' E. VIII 29, though a distinction has been attempted between them by *Ulitiu* on *Grattius' Cyngetica*, v. 484, who supposes 'incidere' to refer to the cutting of pieces of wood to be bound together into brands.

293. 'Solatus' might be taken strictly, as if *Virg.*, though meaning that singing and weaving went on together, chose to take a point from which the former might be regarded as past, the latter as beginning or continuing. But such an explanation would not apply to A. v 708, 'Isque his Aenean solatus vocibus inquit,' so that we must say that the past participle is used with a present force (v. 206 note). The domestic picture has the effect, which doubtless was one of the objects of the composition of the *Georgics*, of placing the life of a small country proprietor in an attractive light.

294. A. VII 14 shows the 'pectine' goes with 'arguto.' 'Pectine,' *κερκίς*, 'the comb, the teeth of which were inserted between the threads of the warp, and thus made by a forcible impulse to drive the threads of the woof close together. . . . Among us the office of the comb is executed with greater ease and effect by the reed, lay, or batten.' *Dict. A.*

aut dulcis musti Volcano decoquit umorem 295  
 et foliis undam trepidi despumat aheni.  
 at rubicunda Ceres medio succiditur aestu,  
 et medio tostas aestu terit area fruges.  
 nudus ara, sere nudus; hiemps ignava colono.  
 frigoribus parto agricolae plerumque fruuntur, 300  
 mutuaque inter se laeti convivia curant;  
 invitat genialis hiemps curasque resolvit:

295. 'Must' was boiled down to 'carenum' (Pallad.), 'defrutum' (IV 269), or 'sapa,' on a night when there was no moon. 'Volcanus,' as Cerda remarks, is used elsewhere of a large fire, such as would be required for boiling 'must' (Col. XII 19; G. IV 269, 'igni multo').

This hypermeter seems a fair instance of a metrical anomaly introduced for descriptive effect. See v. 482; II 69.

296. 'Foliis,' vine leaves; wood was apt to give a smoky taste to the liquor.

'Undam aheni' like 'undantis aheni,' A. VII 263. Col. XII 20 says that the vessel should be of lead, as brass was liable to rust in boiling.

For 'trepid' Pal. originally gave 'tepidi,' which could scarcely be used of boiling liquid. Med. Rom. have 'trepidis.'

['Aeni' Med., Pal., Gud., but Gell. II 3 says that the best MSS. in his time read 'aheni.'—H. N.]

297-310. 'Summer is the time for reaping and threshing. Winter is the husbandman's season for festivity; but he still has work, stripping acorns and berries, snaring and killing game.'

297. 'Rubicunda Ceres,' v. 96. Col. II 21 says that corn should be reaped 'cum rubicundum colorem traxerunt.'

'Medio aestu' would most naturally mean midday, as in III 331, IV 401. In that case however we must suppose a strange piece of ignorance on Virg.'s part, midday being precisely the time which the reaper would avoid, though it is the time for threshing. Comp. Theocr. x 49:

Σίτον ἀλωῶντας φεύγειν τὸ μεσαμβρινὸν ὕπνον.

Ἐκ καλάμας ἄχρον τελέθει τμήδοςδε μάλαστα.

Ἀρχεσθαι δ' ἀμῶντας ἰγειρομένω κορυθαλλῶ, Καὶ λήγειν εὐδοντος ἑλινύσαι δὲ τὸ καῦμα.

'Aestu' then had better be taken of summer as the hot season, as 'frigoribus

mediis,' E. x 65, means midwinter. Wagn. objects that the information in that case would be so obvious as to be needless. But Virg. is speaking of the operations proper to the various seasons (as the next lines show) as well as of the times when they should be performed, and 'hiberni,' v. 291, prepares us for the mention of summer. Wagn.'s own view, that 'medio aestu' means generally a summer's day as contrasted with a winter's night, without special reference to noon, makes 'medio' a worse than useless epithet.

'Succiditur' seems not to specify any thing about the manner of cutting, merely implying that the thing is severed from below. 'Flos succisus aratro,' A. IX 435.

298. 'Tostas' not with 'aestu.'

299. 'Ploughing and sowing both belong to the warm months,'—spring and autumn.

'Nudus,' without the upper garment, as Cincinnatus was found ploughing by the messenger from the Senate, Livy III 26. Here and in the following lines Virg. imitates Hes. Works 493 foll.; the precept is from Hes. Works 391, γυμνὸν σπείρειν, γυμνὸν δὲ βουρσείν. Serv. has a story, mentioned also by Suetonius, that some one, apparently in Virg.'s lifetime, hearing the first part of the line repeated, completed it with the words 'habebis frigore febrem.'

'Colono' seems to be intended strictly with reference to the labours of cultivation, as other works for winter follow, v. 305. So perhaps 'agricolae.'

300. With the use of 'parto' comp. 'parcere parto,' A. VIII 317.

"Plerumque" dicit, quia dicturus est aliqua, quae rusticus etiam hieme possit efficere,' Serv.

302. 'Winter is the entertainer, calling out man's happier self, and unbinding his load of care.' So December is called by



ceu pressae cum iam portum tetigere carinae,  
 puppibus et laeti nautae imposuere coronas.  
 sed tamen et quernas glandes tum stringere tempus  
 et lauri bacas oleamque cruentaque myrta ; 306  
 tum gruibus pedicas et retia ponere cervis,  
 auritusque sequi lepores ; tum figere dammas,  
 stuppea torquentem Balaeris verbera fundae,  
 cum nix alta iacet, glaciem cum flumina trudunt. 310  
 Quid tempestates autumnii et sidera dicam,

Ov. F. III 58, 'geniis acceptus.' The 'genius' seems to be an impersonation and half-deification of the happy and impulsive part of man; an offering to it would imply that the day was to be spent in enjoyment. Hor. Od. III xvii 14, Ep. II i 144, A. P. 209. We have here another domestic picture: see on v. 291 above. [The line is quoted by Nonius 321 s.v. 'invitare.'—H. N.]

['Invitat: 'enlivens, as in early Latin.—H. N., Contrib. to Latin Lex.]

303. 'Winter is to them what port is to the sailor, the jovial end of a weary time.' 'Pressae,' heavy laden: virtually equivalent to Heinsius' conjecture 'fessae,' and doubtless intended to convey the notion that the ship feels the relief. Heyne. Tibull. I iii 40, 'Presserat externa navita merce ratem.'

304. A. IV 418. Comp. Prop. IV xxiv 15, 'Ecce coronatae portum tetigere carinae,' probably an imitation.

305. 'Glandes stringere,' E. x 20 note. 'Stringere' like 'stringunt frondes,' E. IX 61 note, where Cato is quoted, using it of gathering the olive.

'Quernas' because 'glands' was used of other fruits than acorns. 'Glandis appellatione omnis fructus continetur, ut Iavolenus ait,' Gaius, Dig. L xvi 236.

306. Myrtle berries were used for mixing with wine, which was called 'myrteum' or 'myrtites,' and used medicinally for pains in the stomach. (Cato CXXV (CXXVI), Col. XII 38.)

'Cruenta,' from their juice. Voss thinks the red wild myrtle is spoken of as distinguished from the black or white: but the agricultural writers do not countenance this. Forb.

307. Cerda comp. Hor. Epod. II 35, 'Pavidumque leporem et advenam laqueo gruem Iucunda captat praemia.' Cranes were a delicacy of the table: but the hus-

bandman might naturally snare them in self-defence: see v. 120.

308. The epithet 'auritus' is said by Macrobius, Sat. VI 5, to be taken from Afranius, who in one of his prologues introduces Priapus saying, 'Nam quod volgo praedicant Aurito me parente natum, non ita est.' [Paul. (Fest. p. 8 M.) 'Auritus a magnis auribus dicitur, ut sunt asinorum et leporum; alias ab audiendi facultate.' It is possible that the passage in Macrobius comes directly or indirectly from Verrius Flaccus.—H. N.] The word itself merely means 'having ears,' the length of the ears being an inference from the application of the epithet, just as in Soph. Aj. 140, πτηνῆς πελείας, the notion of fluttering is inferred from the strict meaning 'winged.'

'Figere,' E. II 29. Here the word must mean to hit with a bullet, not with an arrow.

309. 'The sling . . . was made of . . . hair, hemp, or leather (Veget. De Re Mil. III 14. . . "habena," A. VI 579).' The celebrity of the natives of the Balearic isles as slingers is said to have arisen from the circumstance that when they were children their mothers obliged them to obtain their food by striking it with a sling (Veget. I 16). Dict. A. 'funda.' Rom. has 'torquentes.'

['Verbera,' thongs, perhaps derived from 'verro.'—H. N.]

310. 'Glaciem . . . trudunt' apparently describes the process of freezing, the rivers driving down the ice in masses, which get joined together, so that the whole surface becomes frozen. [Forb. now agrees with this explanation; he formerly took the words to mean 'when the rivers roll down the ice to the sea.' He compares the use of 'trudo' G. II 31, 335.—H. N.]

311-334. 'Autumn and spring have their special perils. Just when harvest is beginning, a hurricane will tear up the

atque, ubi iam breviorque dies et mollior aestas,  
 quae vigilanda viris? vel cum ruit imbriferum ver,  
 spicea iam campis cum messis inhorruit, et cum  
 frumenta in viridi stipula lactentia turgent? 315  
 saepe ego, cum flavis messorum induceret arvis  
 agricola et fragili iam stringeret hordea culmo,  
 omnia ventorum concurrere proelia vidi,  
 quae gravidam late segetem ab radicibus imis  
 sublimem expulsam eruerent; ita turbine nigro 320  
 ferret hiemps culmumque levem stipulasque volantis.

corn from the ground, or a thunderstorm will burst on the field in all its horrors.'

311. 'Tempestates' seems fixed by 'sidera' to mean 'weather' rather than 'storms.' The latter notion is not expressed, but left to be inferred. The stars on which the autumn storms were supposed to depend were Arcturus, the Centaur, the Kids, and the Crown. Cerda comp. Il. xvi 385, ἡμαρ' ὀπωρινῶν ὄρε λαβρότατον χεῖρ ἕδωρ Ζεὺς.

312. 'Mollior,' less oppressive. 'Quas et mollis hiemps et frigida temperat aestas,' Stat. S. III v 83.

313. 'Vigilare aliquid' is to bestow wakeful care on a thing. 'Vigilataque proelia dele,' Juv. vii 27; Ovid, etc.

'Ruit imbriferum,' comes down in showers, Wagn., like 'nox umida caelo Praecipitat,' A. II 8. [For the rhythm comp. A. II 250.—H. N.]

314. 'Mensis inhorruit': ὄρε φρίσσουσιν ἄρουραι, Il. xxiii 599. The erect and bristling appearance of the field is intended, as Forb. remarks, not its agitation by the wind. For 'et cum' Pal. originally had 'etiam,' i.e. apparently 'et iam.'

315. Serv. says that Varro in his books 'rerum divinarum' speaks of a god Lactans, who made the ears of corn milky. Serv. read 'lactantia' here.

316. Med. originally had 'duceret.'

317. The husbandman brings the reaper with him into the field, and is beginning himself to lop the ears. 'Stringeret,' as in v. 305, 'fragili culmo' being a descriptive ablative (Serv.).

318. 'Omnia ventorum proelia' for 'proelia omnium ventorum.' 'I have seen all the armies of the winds meet in shock of battle.' The winds are supposed to be blowing from all quarters at once, as in A. I 85 (note), II 416.

Comp. Daniel vii 2, 'The four winds of heaven strove upon the great sea.' Lucr. v 1230 talks of 'ventorum paces' (Cerda). Rom. has 'consurgere.'

319. 'Late' with 'eruerent.' 'Ab radicibus imis,' Lucr. I 352.

320. 'Sublimem:' the old reading 'sublime' is found in none of Ribbeck's MSS. but one cursive. Virg. probably imitated Accius, Medea fr. I, 'sublime ventis expulsum rapi Saxum aut procellis.'

'Expulsam eruerent' = 'eruerent et expellerent,' as 'digesta feratur,' II 167, = 'feratur et digeratur.' ['Eruerent' perhaps 'were intending to' or 'were such as to.'—H. N.]

'Ita—volantes' has greatly puzzled Martyn and others, who suppose Virg. to compare the hurricane that roots up the corn ('gravidam segetem') and an ordinary gust which whirls about stubble ('culmumque levem stipulasque volantes'), 'ita' being i.q. 'tam facili negotio.' But the 'culmus' and 'stipula' must be the straw of the 'seges' spoken of in the context; and the change in the point of view, by which the same thing is described in one line as heavy and the next as light, is natural enough, both representations being equally true. [Or 'levem' and 'volantes' might be tertiary predicates.] It would seem best then to take 'ita' to such an extent, 'so furiously,' comparing Lucr. I 275, 286, 'ita perfurit acri Cum fremitu, saevitque minaci murmure ventus . . . ita magno turbidus imbrī Molibus incurrit validis cum viribus annis: Dat sonitu magno stragem.' Heyne objects that 'ferret' ought to be 'ferebat:' but the verb seems to have been attracted into the subj. by 'eruerent' (comp. however A. vii 808 for potential subj.). The construction would be assisted if (with Wagn.)



saepe etiam immensum caelo venit agmen aquarum,  
 et foedam glomerant tempestatem imbris atris  
 collectae ex alto nubes; ruit arduus aether,  
 et pluvia ingenti sata laeta boumque labores 325  
 diluit; implentur fossae et cava flumina crescunt  
 cum sonitu fervetque fretis spirantibus aequor.  
 ipse Pater media nimborum in nocte corusca  
 fulmina molitur dextra; quo maxuma motu 329

we made 'ita' a particle of transition, 'eruerent et sublimem eicerent atque ita, i.e. erutam, ferrent;' but the effect of the two sentences, thus connected, would be cumbrous.

322-334. The first part of the following description seems modelled on Lucr. VI 253 foll., the latter part on II. XVI 384 foll.

322. [The words 'saepe etiam . . . nubes' describe the brewing of the storm: its descent begins with 'ruit.' 'Agmen' indicates the march of the rain-clouds ('aerarum') across the sky: compare Lucr. VI 100 'denso agmine nubes.' 'Caelo' may be dat. 'the clouds come on to the sky' (Keightley) or abl. (see v. 5). Con. was inclined to understand 'agmen' of the rain descending from heaven, comparing Lucr. VI 257 'picis e caelo demissum flumen,' but this interpretation makes v. 323 a case of ὑστερον πρότερον, as he admits. The order of the clauses suggests the view taken above.]

323. So Lucr. I. c. 'trahit atram Fulminibus gravidam tempestatem atque procellis,' and IV 169, 'Tempestatem perquam subito fit turbida foede Undique' (which from another part of the passage it is evident that Virg. had in his mind), Livy XXV 7, 'tempestatem foedae fuere.' These passages show that 'tempestatem' here is merely weather, 'foedam' having the sense of ugly or grim, [murky.—H. N.]  
 From this line to II 139 there is a lacuna in Pal.

324. 'Ex alto' might be taken 'from the deep,' which would doubtless be the truer view of the phenomenon. But it seems more probable that Virg. meant to represent clouds as mustered from on high, 'collectae,' like 'glomerant,' keeping up the military associations already introduced by 'agmen.' [Serv. and Gaudentius in the Berne scholia take 'ex alto' as = 'ex septentrione.'—H. N.] Comp. v. 443.

'Ruit aether:' 'aether descendit' II 325, 'caeli ruina' A. I 129, an image explained by Lucr. VI 291, 'Omnis uti videatur in imbrem vertier aether.'

325. 'Sata laeta boumque labores,' A. II 306, a translation of ἔργα βοῶν, Hes. Works 46. Homer in the parallel passage has ἔργ' ἀνθρώπων. Virg., as Ursinus remarks, seems to have imitated Apoll. R. IV 1282, ἡί τιν' ὄμβρον ἄσπερον, ὅσπε βοῶν κατὰ μύρια ἐκλύσεν ἔργα.

326. 'Fossae,' v. 372, otherwise called 'colliciae' or 'colliquiae.'

'Cava:' 'During the summer months in Italy there is little or no water in the beds of most of the rivers, so that their channels may justly be called 'hollow,' for they resemble a road running between two high banks.' Keightley.

327. 'Fervet . . . aequor:' Lucr. VI 427, 'freta circum Fervescunt graviter spirantibus incita flabris;' A. X 291, 'Qua vada non spirant,' the violent heaving of the waves against the shore being compared to human breathing. 'The sea glows again through every panting inlet.' [Or 'freta' may = 'waters' merely: in tumult of heaving waters.—H. N.] Rom. has 'spumantibus.'

328. 'Usque adeo taetra nimborum nocte coorta Independent atrae Formidinis ora superne. Cum commoliri tempestatem fulmina coepat,' Lucr. VI 253.

'Ipse,' as in A. V 249, XII 725, etc., expresses not only dignity (v. 121), but personal exertion (A. II 321, etc.).

'Corusca' with 'dextra' = 'coruscante.' So Sen. Hipp. 156, 'Vibrans corusca fulmen Aetnaeum manu,' an imitation which shows how he understood Virg.

329. 'Molitur:' 'validam in vitis molire bipennem,' IV 331.

'Quo motu,' referring to the sense rather than the words of the preceding sentence. So 'carmine quo,' IV 348;

terra tremit, fugere ferae et mortalia corda 330  
 per gentis humilis stravit pavor; ille flagranti  
 aut Athon aut Rhodopen aut alta Ceraunia telo  
 deicit; ingeminant austri et densissimus imber;  
 nunc nemora ingenti vento, nunc litora plangunt.  
 hoc metuens, caeli menses et sidera serva, 335  
 frigida Saturni sese quo stella receptet,

'quo gemitu,' A. II 73. Forb. comp. Sall. J. 114, 'Per idem tempus adversum Gallos male pugnatum: quo metu Italia omnis contremuerat.' 'Ea signa dedit,' A. II 171, is an instance of the same principle; see Kritz on Sall. J. 54, 'ea formidine.'

'Maxuma,' a perpetual epithet, γαῖα πελώρη in Hes. Theog. 173, etc., but acquiring force here from 'tremit.'

330. 'Fugere' of instantaneous flight, see I 49 note. The two perfects connected by 'et' apparently describe simultaneous actions, the asyndeton in the other clauses successive effects. Comp. Orpheus, Hymn XVIII 13, "Ὀν καὶ γαῖα πίφρικε θάλασσά τε παμφανόωσα, καὶ θήρης πτήσουσιν, δταν κτύπος οὐραῖς ἐσίλθῃ," and Hes. Works 511, etc., where the effect on the various beasts is drawn out.

331. 'Humilis' qualifies 'stravit.' Virg. may have thought of Lucr. v 1218.

332. Theocr. VII 77, ἢ Ἄθω ἢ Ῥοδόπαν ἢ Καύκασον ἰσχατόωντα.

'Athon:' so Serv., the MSS., and Val. Fl. I 664 imitating this line. Servius, A. XII 701, and Priscian, VI xiii 70, lay down a precept that the last syllable of the nom. is to be made short. The early edd. introduced 'Atho' from Theocr., [and so more recently Deuticke.]

'Alta Ceraunia,' a half-translation of Ἀκροκαιράνια, which Hor. Od. I iii 20 uses untranslated. Lucr. VI 640 adduces the fact of lightning striking a mountain as an argument against its supernatural origin.

'Telo:' so Aesch. uses βέλος of the thunderbolt, P. V. 358, etc.

333. 'Deicit,' of lightning, A. VI 581, Lucr. V 1125. 'Telo deicis,' A. XI 665. It is apparently intended that one of the peaks is overthrown, though 'deicit Athon telo' may only mean 'deicit telum in Athon.' ['Deiecit,' i.e. 'deicit,' Med. and Rom.—H. N.]

'Ingeminant:' the rain and wind increase after a thunderclap. 'Quo de con-

cussu (comp. "quo motu," above) sequitur gravis imber et aber,' Lucr. VI 289.

334. 'Plangunt,' intransitively, 'wail.' [Ovid Met. III 505; Lucr. IX 68, etc.; Neue-Wagener, Formenlehre III 77.] The reflective 'planguntur' would be more usual. But the common use of 'plango' with an accusative of the person lamented may prepare us for finding it used without any expressed object. Jahn makes 'austri' and 'imber' the nominative, which seems less forcible and appropriate. 'Plangit,' the reading of Rom. and Serv. (who also mentions 'plangunt'), would be awkward, whether the nominative were sought in 'imber' or in 'Iupiter.' 'Doubly loud howls the south wind, doubly thick gathers the cloud of rain, and under the blast's mighty stroke forest and shore by turns wail in agony.'

335-350. 'The precautions to be observed are attention to times and seasons and observance of the rural deities. Especially Ceres is to be worshipped duly in the spring of each year, with offerings of milk, wine, and honey, and the ceremony of leading a victim round the young corn with a rustic procession.'

335. A virtual repetition of vv. 204 foll. 'Sidera' is not here to be restricted to the signs of the Zodiac, as the next two lines are evidently intended to give instances of the things to be observed. 'Caeli menses,' like 'caeli hora' III 327, 'caeli tempore' IV 100.

336. Saturn and Mercury are chosen as the two extremes, and the husbandman is told to observe their course in the sky. Saturn in Capricorn, according to Serv., was supposed to cause heavy rains, especially in Italy. [Forb. comp. Pliny II 106.—H. N.]

'Frigida' from its distance from the sun. 'Recepto' is used nearly in the sense of 'recipio.' In Pers. VI 8, 'multa litus se valle receptat,' it may be intended to mark the numerous bends of the bay.



quos ignis caeli Cyllenius erret in orbis.  
 in primis venerare deos, atque annua magnae  
 sacra refer Cereri laetis operatus in herbis,  
 extremae sub casum hiemis, iam vere sereno. 340  
 tum pingues agni, et tum mollissima vina;  
 tum somni dulces densaeque in montibus umbrae.  
 cuncta tibi Cererem pubes agrestis adoret,  
 cui tu lacte favos et miti dilue Baccho, 341

337. 'Caeli:' so Rom. etc., Serv., Seneca. That 'caeli orbis' (A. VIII 97) could be used for a planet's orbit no less than for the sun's, appears from II 477 'caeli vias,' Lucr. v 648 'qui minus illa queant per magnos aetheris orbis Aestibus inter se diversis sidera ferri.' Med. and Probus have 'caelo,' and so Ribbeck and others: it is slightly supported by Catull. LXII 20 'Hespere, qui caelo fertur crudelior ignis?'

'Ignis Cyllenius,' Mercury, called by the Greeks  $\delta$   $\sigma\tau\alpha\lambda\beta\omega\nu$ . 'Ignis' is doubtless contrasted with 'frigida' in v. 336.

338. Ceres is distinguished from the other gods to show that she in particular is to be worshipped.

'Magnae,' an ordinary epithet of the gods, applied to Jupiter, Apollo, Juno, Pales, etc.

'Annua sacra' are the Ambarvalia, mentioned before, E. v 70 (note), and described at length Tibull. II 1.

339. 'Refer' might express recurrence; see v. 249. But here it seems to denote the payment of a due, as A. v 605.

'Operatus,' sacrificing, like 'facio' (E. III 77),  $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$ . 'Tunc operata Deo pubes discumbet in herba,' Tibull. II v 95. For the present force of the part. see vv. 206, 293.

Med. originally had 'orbis,' which was altered first into 'herbis,' then into 'arbis,' i.e. 'arvis,' the reading of some inferior copies.

340. The language is not to be pressed, as the Ambarvalia did not take place till the end of April. 'Casum,' end, contains a sense of 'cadere,' which is generally expressed by 'occidere.' Rom. and Gud. corr. have 'casu.'

341.  $\tau\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$   $\mu\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\rho\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$   $\tau'$   $\alpha\lambda\gamma\epsilon\varsigma$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\omicron\lambda\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , Hes. Works 585, speaking of summer. 'Pingues' doubtless refers to fatness either for sacrifice or for eating, as the mention of wine shows.

'Mollissima:' so 'molli mero,' Hor. Od. I vii 19, 'molle Calenum,' Juv. I 69, 'mellow,' Greek  $\mu\alpha\lambda\alpha\kappa\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  as opposed to  $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\eta\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  ('durum Bacchi saporem,' IV 102).

342. The second clause explains the first. Hesiod l. c. wishes for a seat under the shadow of a rock.

343. ['Tibi:' the dat. resembles those in E. VII 7, 9, x 33; G. II 298; A. VI 343, etc. Landgraf classes these as cases where the dat. stands for a possessive pronoun, 'tui' etc. But here 'tibi' might be a dat. of the person interested, Roby II 50.]

344. Libations of honey, milk, and wine are to be made to Ceres. Macrob. Sat. III II, explaining this passage, says that the mixture was called 'mulsum.' He also comp. IV 102, and explains 'miti' here of the wine as corrected by the honey; but this is needless after 'mollissima,' preceding.

It is not clear why Virg. directs this particular offering. Cato CXXXIV directs that before harvest wine be offered to Ceres with the entrails of the sacrifice, but he says nothing of other liquids. Milk, wine, and honey formed part of the Greek offerings to the dead (Aesch. Pers. 611, Odys. XI 27); and the Greek Demeter was connected with the lower world (Müller's Diss. on the Eumenides, §§ 80 foll.). Daphnis at the Ambarvalia is to have milk and oil (the latter being part of the funeral libations, and occasionally offered to Demeter, Müller, § 89), and also wine (E. v 67 foll.). Theocr. v 53 foll. makes milk and oil offered to the nymphs, milk and honey to Pan; and Macrob. l. c. says that on December 21 'mulsum' was offered to the Panes.

Serv. mentions an interpretation which coupled 'Baccho' with 'cui;' but 'miti' is strongly against this, though Bacchus and Ceres are invoked together at the

terque novas circum felix eat hostia fruges, 345  
 omnis quam chorus et socii comitentur ovantes,  
 et Cererem clamore vocent in tecta; neque ante  
 falcem maturis quisquam supponat aristis,  
 quam Cereri torta redimitus tempora quercu  
 det motus incompósitos et carmina dicat. 350

Atque haec ut certis possemus noscere signis,  
 aestusque pluviasque et agentis frigora ventos,  
 ipse Pater statuit quid menstrua Luna moneret;  
 quo signo caderent austri; quid saepe videntes ?

beginning of Tibullus' description (II i 3), and associated, perhaps in connexion with the Ambarvalia, by Virg. himself, E. v 79.

345. 'Tunc vitula innumeros lustrabat caesa iuencos: Nunc agna exigui est hostia parva soli. Agna cadet vobis, quam circum rustica pubes Clamet: Io messis et bona vina date,' Tibull. I i 21 foll., from which it appears that the victim varied according to the circumstances of the worshipper. Cato CXXXIV speaks of a sow. In the 'Suovetaurilia' the sacrifices were carried three times round the assembled multitude, and so in the lustration of the fleet.

'Felix' is 'auspicious,' not, as Serv. thinks, 'fruitful,' there being no instance quoted where it is applied in that sense to an animal.

346. 'Chorus et s.:' 'chorus socio-rum.'

347. So Hor. Od. I xxx 3, 'vocantis Ture te multo Glycerae decoram Transfer in aedem,' though the goddess is invited there to a chapel, not to a house.

'Neque ante.' This may be either an additional warning to the husbandman to celebrate the Ambarvalia, as an indispensable preliminary to the harvest, or an injunction to perform a second set of rites in summer time (Cato CXXXIV). The language favours the latter, as otherwise, taken strictly, it would seem to imply that the Ambarvalia might be celebrated any time before the harvest. Still it would have the awkwardness of an apparent afterthought, the mention of the second festival being almost entirely overshadowed by the first. Comp. however Tibull. II i 21, where harvest rejoicings are briefly alluded to in the middle of the description of the Ambarvalia. The ob-

servances here specified, dancing and singing, are too common to be fixed to either festival. Comp. E. v 73, 74, Tibull. II i 51 foll., Hor. Od. III xviii 15.

349. 'Quercu,' in memory of man's first food. Serv.

350. 'Det motus:' 'haud indecoros motus more Tusco dabant,' Livy VII 2, speaking of the origin of dramatic entertainments.

'Incompósitos:' 'incomposito pede,' Hor. S. I x I, of rough verses.

351-392. 'Besides, Jupiter has given the husbandman prognostics. Wind is foretold by noises on the sea, in the mountains, in the woods, by the habits of birds, by shooting stars, by down on the water. Rain is preceded by thunder and lightning, by the descent of cranes, cattle snuffing the air, swallows flying low, frogs croaking, ants carrying out their eggs, and other such signs.

351. 'Possemus' Med. (first reading) Rom., etc.; 'possimus' (Gud., Med. late corr.) was the old reading. 'Moneret' supports 'possemus.'

'Haec' is 'aestus, pluvias, agentis frigora ventos.'

'Noscere' Med. corr.; 'discere' Med. Rom. [and so Ribbeck, Conington].

352. 'Agentis frigora ventos:' 'frigora' is the important word, contrasted with 'aestus' and 'pluvias.' Ovid M. I 56 imitates, 'facientis frigora ventos.'

353. There is a slight similarity in these lines to Aratus, Diosemeia 10-13. 'Menstrua:' in her monthly course.

354. 'What should betoken the fall of the wind.' 'Signum,' σημα.

'Saepe videntes' is explained by vv. 365 foll. to mean observation of a thing frequently repeated on the same occasion,



agricolae propius stabulis armenta tenerent. 355  
 continuo, ventis surgentibus, aut freta ponti  
 incipiunt agitata tumescere et aridus altis  
 montibus audiri fragor, aut resonantia longe  
 litora misceri et nemorum increbrescere murmur.  
 iam sibi tum curvis male temperat unda carinis, 360  
 cum medio celeres revolant ex aequore mergi  
 clamoremque ferunt ad litora cumque marinae  
 in sicco ludunt fulicae notasque paludis

and thus proved not to be accidental, and not observation of the same thing on different occasions, which seems to be its force in v. 451. Natural observation is grounded by Virg. on divine warning.

356. ['Continuo,' immediately, in quick succession, as I 169, IV 254. The context might suggest in these passages a sense like that of *ἀρίτια*, 'to begin with' or 'for example,' but there seems no clear instance of this sense belonging to 'continuo.']

The important words are 'ventis surgentibus.' Those that follow are prognostics of wind, almost all copied from Arat. Dios. 177-200. Many of them in turn are reproduced by Lucan v 551-567. [With the whole passage vv. 356-392 comp. Pliny XVIII 359-365, who differs, however, from Virg. in details.—H. N.]

357. Connect 'agitata tumescere.' ['Altis montibus,' probably abl. of place where (v. 6 note), but possibly of place whence. There is the same uncertainty in v. 374: see Roby 1173.]

358. 'Aridus' [of a harsh sound of breaking and tearing, Lucr. VI 119; Varro Manius 10 'tonat aridum'; Ter. Maurus 332 K of the letter R.—H. N.] So Kingsley talks of 'thunder harsh and dry.' In Greek *καρφαλέον, αἶον, ξηρόν* are used of sounds (Hom. II. XIII 409, 444, etc.). Rom. has 'arduus.'

'Resonantia longe:' *μακρόν ἐπ' αἰγιαλοὶ βοῶντες Ἄκται τ' εἰνάλοιο, ὅπότε εἰδίοι ἰχθήσασαι Γίγονται*, Arat. I. c. Virg. has passed over *εἰδίοι*.

359. 'Misceri' is explained by 'resonantia,' which acts instead of an abl. like 'murmure' A. I 124, 'tumultu' A. II 486. For the sound of the woods as a sign of wind, comp. A. x 97 foll.

360. 'Curvis' Med., Gud., 'a curvis' Rom. and two of Ribbeck's cursives, supported by Arusianus p. 264 L. Euphony

favours the omission of 'a,' which is likely to have been added by a transcriber as giving the commoner construction.

['Curvis carinis:' 'carina' is the lower part of the ship's hull, not merely the keel but the 'shell' of which the curving planks form the hull. Hence the epithets 'curvae' here, 'panda' II 445 (= the open hull); Nettleship, Contr. to Latin Lex. p. 404. See Wölfflin's Archiv i 331, iii 124 for other explanations.]

'Sibi temperat' should be taken probably as one word = 'parcit,' and 'curvis carinis' as dat. There seems to be no conclusive instance of 'temperare' followed by the abl. without a preposition.

'Male:' scarcely.

361. There is some difficulty in identifying 'mergi' and 'fulicae.' 'Mergi' are commonly supposed to be cormorants, but their flying from the sea before a storm leads Keightley to identify them with sea-gulls, though he admits that this does not suit Ovid's description (M. XI 794) of the 'mergus' as long-necked. 'Fulicae,' Keightley thinks, are cormorants, not coots, as Pliny XI 122 speaks of them as crested. On the other hand Cic. de Div. I 8, translating Aratus, gives 'fulix' for *ἰρωδιός*, the heron. The confusion is further increased by the want of correspondence between Virg. and Aratus. What Virg. says of the 'mergus' is said by Aratus of the heron: what Virg. says of the 'fulicae' is said by Aratus of the *αἰθυαί*, which appear from Pliny X 91 to have been the Greek equivalent to 'mergi.' [Pliny XVIII 362 speaks of 'mergi, gaviae, maria aut stagna fugientes' as one of the signs of wind.—H. N.]

362. 'Marinae' is opp. to 'in sicco.' Lucan (v 553) agrees with Aratus, 'Aut siccum quod mergus amat.'

I.

P

deserit atque altam supra volat ardea nubem.  
 saepe etiam stellas, vento inpendente, videbis 365  
 praecipites caelo labi, noctisque per umbram  
 flammaram longos a tergo albescere tractus;  
 saepe levem paleam et frondes volitare caducas,  
 aut summa nantis in aqua colludere plumas.  
 at Boreae de parte trucis cum fulminat, et cum 370  
 Eurique Zephyrique tonat domus: omnia plenis  
 rura natant fossis atque omnis navita ponto  
 umida vela legit. numquam imprudentibus imber  
 obfuit: aut illum surgentem vallibus imis  
 aëriae fugere grues, aut bucula caelum 375  
 suspiciens patulis captavit naribus auras,

364. Keightley says that Virg. is more accurate here than Aratus, who makes the heron fly from the sea. Aratus however had been preceded by Theophrastus (*De Sign. Vent.* p. 420), ἰρωδὸς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πετόμενος καὶ βοῶν πνεύματος σημεῖόν ἐστι.

365. 'Vento inpendente:' emphatic, like 'ventis surgentibus.' Arat. l. c. says that the wind comes from the same quarter as the shooting stars. In *Geopon.* I II, on the contrary, the wind is said to come from the quarter towards which the stars shoot. [Seneca N. Q. XII II, 'argumentum tempestatis nautae putant cum multae transvolant stellae.'—H. N.]

367. 'Flammaram:' τοὶ δ' ὄπιθεν ῥυμοὶ ὑπολευκαίνονται, Arat. l. c. But the words are from Lucr. II 206 foll., 'Nocurnasque faces caeli sublime volantis Nonne vides longos flammaram ducere tractus? . . . Non cadere in terram stellas et sidera cernis?' (Macrob. Sat. VI 1).

369. Arat. 189 makes thistle-down playing on the water a sign of wind. 'Colludere:' they stick together and drive the same way.

370. These are the signs of rain, also taken with few variations from Arat. 201.

'Boreae:' the meaning is, when there are thunders and lightnings from all parts of the sky, three winds being put for all, as Arat. l. c. shows.

371. 'Domus,' as if each wind had a home in the quarter of heaven from which it blows, a different conception, as Voss remarks, from the cave of Aeolus in A. I. Comp. IV 298 note.

372. 'Plenis fossis:' comp. 'implentur fossae,' v. 326.

373. 'Imprudentibus' = 'ex improviso,' unwarned. Med. originally had 'prudentibus,' which Schrader preferred.

374, 375. 'Obfuit' in a bad sense. Rain has never been known to take men by surprise: there have always been these and these prognostics. The perfects 'fugere,' etc., are used to suit 'obfuit.'

'Vallibus imis,' abl. loci, 'in the valleys,' with 'fugere;' comp. Tac. H. III 85, 'si diem latebra vitavisset' (though 'latebra' there may be abl. instrum.). For the fact of cranes descending before rain see Aristotle, *Hist. A.* IX 10.

375. 'Aeriae,' high in air, describing the usual mode of the crane's flight. Hom. II. III 7 calls cranes ἤϊρα, but the epithet there means 'early in the morning.' [In Apoll. Rhod. etc., however, it means 'high in air,' so that the misunderstanding of Homer is older than Virg.]

'Bucula:' the whole passage to v. 387 is closely imitated from Varro Atacinus (quoted by Serv.), who himself translated Aratus:

'tum liceat pelagi . volucres tardaeque  
 paludis  
 cernere inexplcto studio certare lavandi  
 et velut insolitum pennis infundere  
 rorem:

aut arguta lacus circum volitavit hirundo,  
 et bos suspiciens caelum (mirabile visu)  
 naribus aerium patulis decerpit odorem,  
 nec tenuis formica cavis non evehit ova.



aut arguta lacus circumvolitavit hirundo,  
 et veterem in limo ranae cecinere querellam.  
 saepius et tectis penetralibus extulit ova  
 angustum formica terens iter, et bibit ingens 380  
 arcus, et e pastu decedens agmine magno  
 corvorum increpuit densis exercitus alis.  
 iam varias pelagi volucres, et quae Asia circum  
 dulcibus in stagnis rimantur prata Caystri,  
 certatim largos umeris infundere rores, 385  
 nunc caput obiectare fretis, nunc currere in undas,  
 et studio in cassum videas gestire lavandi.

377. 'The swallow is always observed to fly low before rain, because the flies and other insects on which she feeds keep at that time near the surface of the ground and the water.' Keightley.

'Arguta,' not a perpetual epithet, but denoting that she twitters as she flies.

378. 'Vetus querella' has no reference to legend or fable, as Serv. supposes. Keightley quotes the schol. on Hor. Epod. II 26, who says that the ancients used 'querella' of the note of all animals but man. [Lucr. II 358, Virg. A. VIII 215 use the word of cattle, possibly with the notion of complaint.]

379. 'Saepius' denotes repetition (v. 354), which agrees with 'terens.' Whether it is to be extended to 'bibit' and 'increpuit' is not clear.

'Tectis penetralibus,' like 'adytis penetralibus,' A. II 297, and 'caeli penetralia templa,' Lucr. I 1105. Keightley remarks that on the contrary the ant is observed to carry in her eggs at the approach of rain. [Pliny XVIII 364 enumerates among his prognostics 'formicae concursantes aut ova progerentes.'—H. N.]

380. It has been supposed from *κολλησ δὲ ἄρως*, Arat. 224, that 'terens angustum iter' means 'boring a narrow passage.' But 'tectis penetralibus' is the translation of *κολλησ δὲ ἄρως*, and 'angustum iter' is to be interpreted like 'calle angusto,' A. IV 405, 'terens' ('terere viam') being explained by 'saepius.'

381. 'Arcus:' Aratus has *διδύμη Ἴρις*. Plaut. Curc. I ii 41, 'Ecce autem bibit arcus! pluet, Credo, hercle hodie.' The rainbow was supposed to draw up moisture from the sea, rivers, etc., with its horns, and to discharge it in rain. Hence Tibull. I iv 44 and Stat. Theb. IX 405 talk

of 'imbrifer arcus.' Seneca N. Q. I 6, who refers to Virg., says that a rainbow in the south brings heavy rain, in the west slight showers and dew, in the east fair weather. Virg. of course can only mean that the appearance of the rainbow is a sign of rain, drawing up the water being assumed to be its constant function.

382. 'Densis alis' looks like a mis-translation of *τιναξαμένοι πτέρω πυκνά* in Arat. 237. It here means however 'with crowded wings.'

383. Arat. 210 foll.

'Variae' Med., Rom., Gud. originally, and so Ribbeck; 'varias' Gud. corr. Serv. mentions both, but emphatically prefers 'varias.' Virg.'s love of variety might have led him to change the construction (comp. vv. 199 foll., A. II 775, notes); but the acc. is neater, and is supported by the passage from Varro.

'Variae volucres' is common in Lucr. [meaning the different species (Munro I 589), as here.] 'Circum' adverbial. ['Atque' (adque) for 'et quae' Med. and Rom., and so Probus.—H. N.]

384. 'Rimantur Asia prata:' search, try in every chink; 'rimaturque epulis,' A. VI 599.

'Asia prata:' Il. II 461, *Ἀσίῳ ἐν λειμῶνι Καῖστρον ἄμφι ῥέεθρα*. 'Caystri' with 'stagnis.' The whole clause 'quae—Caystri' is a literary amplification of Aratus' epithet *λυμναῖαι*.

385. 'Rores' implies that they make it into spray.

386. Med. corr., Rom., Gud. have 'undam.'

387. 'In cassum,' wantonly or without object; nearly the same notion as Aratus' *ἀπληστον*, Varro's 'inexpleto studio.'

tum cornix plena pluviam vocat improba voce  
et sola in sicca secum spatiatur harena.

ne nocturna quidem carpentes pensa puellae 390  
nescivere hiemem, testa cum ardente viderent  
scintillare oleum et putris condescere fungos.

Nec minus ex imbri soles et aperta serena  
prospicere et certis poteris cognoscere signis:  
nam neque tum stellis acies obtunsa videtur 395  
nec fratris radiis obnoxia surgere Luna  
tenuia nec lanæ per caelum vellera ferri;  
non tepidum ad solem pinnas in litore pandunt  
dilectæ Thetidi alcyones, non ore solutos 399

388. 'Improba:' comp. 'improbus anser,' v. 119. If it means 'ceaselessly' here, it should be taken with 'vocat,' but we may render 'like an ill spirit.' So Ladewig, 'die Hexe,' the witch, which may be illustrated by Hor. S. II v 84, 'anus improba.'

'Pluviam vocat:' Lucr. v 1084 foll., 'cornicum ut saecula vetusta Corvorumque greges, ubi aquam dicuntur et imbris Poscere, et interdum ventos aurasque vocare.' [Pliny XVIII 363 'cum terrestres volucres contra aquam clangores dabunt perfundentesque sese, sed maxime cornix . . . ardea (not cornix) in mediis harenis tristis.'—H. N.]

389. 'Spatiat' expresses the pace of the 'stately raven.' The alliteration, as in the previous verse, gives the effect of monotony.

The margins of Med. and Gud. insert a line here, 'At (or 'aut') caput obiectat querulum venientibus undis,' which is doubtless manufactured from v. 386.

390. The stress is on 'nocturna;' not even those who are shut up in doors at night are without prognostic. 'Nisi erile mavis Carpere pensum,' Hor. Od. III xxvii 64.

391, 392. From Arat. 302, 307. Aratus makes the sputtering a prognostic of bad weather generally, and the fungi a prognostic of snow. Virg. however agrees exactly with Aristoph. Wasps 262, *ἐπεισι γούν τοῖσιν λύχνους οὐροὶ μύκητες*. Φιλίει δ', *ὅταν τοῦτ' ᾖ, ποιεῖν νετὸν μάλιστα*. 'Testa,' the earthen lamp. [Pliny XVIII 358 describes similar phenomena.—H. N.]

393-423. 'When the rain is over, you

can tell whether the weather is going to be fine, by such marks as these: the moon and stars are bright, the sky free from fleecy clouds, kingfishers leave off sunning themselves, and so forth.'

393. 'Ex imbri,' after the shower you will know whether it is going to be fine or to rain again, as Wagn. remarks. Rom. has 'eximbres,' which Martyn adopted; but the word has no authority.

'Soles,' fine days. Ov. Trist. v viii 31, 'Si numeres anno soles et nubila toto, Invenies nitidum saepius isse diem.'

395. Virg. begins by negating certain phenomena, which would have been more naturally mentioned among the signs of rain. Arat. 281, *Ἦμος δ' ἀστέρουθεν καθαρὸν φάος ἀμβλύνηται*. [Gellius VI xvii 8 quotes this line 'Nam neque tunc astris acies obtunsa videri.'—H. N.]

396. 'Obnoxia,' beholden to. 'And the moon is bright as though she shone with her own light.' 'Non rastris, hominum non ulli obnoxia curae,' II 438. Wagn. interprets it 'not reddened by the sunset:' Heyne (Excursus on the passage) supposes the meaning to be that the moon does not rise, regarding 'fratris radiis obnoxia' as a perpetual epithet.

397. Arat. 206, 207. Lucr. VI 504 compares rain-clouds to 'pendentia vellera lanæ,' referring principally to their power of imbibing moisture. [Pliny XVIII 356 'si nubes ut vellera lanæ spargentur.'—H. N.]

'Tenuia,' trisyllable, as Lucr. III 383, 'tenuia fila,' and elsewhere.

398. 'Tepidum ad solem,' the afternoon or evening sun.

399. 'Dilectæ Thetidi,' possibly be-



immundi meminere sues iactare maniplos. 400  
 at nebulae magis ima petunt campoque recumbunt,  
 solis et occasum servans de culmine summo  
 nequiquam seros exercet noctua cantus.  
 apparet liquido sublimis in aere Nisus,  
 et pro purpureo poenas dat Scylla capillo; 405  
 quacumque illa levem fugiens secat aethera pinnis,  
 ecce inimicus, atrox, magno stridore per auras  
 insequitur Nisus; qua se fert Nisus ad auras,  
 illa levem fugiens raptim secat aethera pinnis.  
 tum liquidas corvi presso ter gutture voces 410  
 aut quater ingeminant, et saepe cubilibus altis,  
 nescio qua praeter solitum dulcedine laeti,  
 inter se in foliis strepitant; iuvat imbribus actis

cause the lovers were changed into Halcyons by Thetis: but it is simpler to say 'loved by her as sea-birds.' Comp. Theocr. vii 59. Serv. mentions a strange reading 'soluto,' 'i.e. nimium patenti.' ['Alcyones:'] Thomson's Greek Birds, p. 28.]

400. 'Meminere:' comp. 'meminere fugai, Lucr.' IV 713, and the Homeric use of *μνησθαι*.

'Iactare solutos maniplos,' to toss them so as to loosen them; toss them to pieces. Keightley says the swine carry straw in their mouths to make beds for themselves. [Pliny xviii 364 mentions as a sign of bad weather 'turpes porci alienos sibi manipulos faeni lacerantes.'—H. N.]

401. 'Nebulae,' the clouds on the mountains. Comp. Arat. 256-258.

['Campo' abl. of place, v. 6 note, Roby 1173. Others explain as local dat. and class with it 'terrae defigitur' II 290, 'solo sternere' A. XI 485.]

403. The night-owl is a sign of fine weather, Arat. 267. 'Nequiquam,' like 'incassum'—prolonged objectless effort.

404. 'Liquido,' clear after the storms. For the story see the Ciris (where vv. 538-551 are reproduced) and Ov. M. VIII 1 foll.

407. It is best to take 'inimicus, atrox' as two epithets. Comp. 'Acer, anhelanti similis,' A. v 254.

408. Keightley explains 'qua se fert Nisus ad auras' of the greater bird having missed his pounce, and thus being obliged to soar into the air in order to make a

second, while the smaller escapes as fast as it can.

409. 'Raptim:' the primitive meaning is by a snatch or by snatches; hence eagerly, hastily, quickly. Comp. that sense of 'rapidus' in which it seems to have the meaning of 'rapio' (E. II 10 note).

410. 'Liquidas,' soft, opposed to 'raucas.' 'Presso gutture' apparently opposed to 'plena voce.' The whole passage is loosely rendered from Arat. 271-277. Aratus appears to distinguish accurately between the *ρημαῖος κόραξ* that cries *δισσάκις* and *πλειότεροι δ' ἀγελήδων*. Comp. Lucr. v 1083 foll.

411. 'Cubilibus altis' seems a loose version of *ἐπὶν κοίτοις μέδωνται*.

412. 'Nescio qua,' etc.: *χαίρειν κέ τις ὄσσαιτο*. The Virgilian version is characteristic.

413. 'Imbribus actis' may either be 'when the rain is spent,' like 'tempus actum' (Burm.), or 'when the rain is driven away' (Heyne), but not 'when the rain has descended' (Wund., who conp. II 334). The sentence can hardly have any other meaning than that the rooks are glad to revisit their young when the showers are over, though Keightley objects that they have been driven home already by the shower, and accordingly understands 'revisere,' to review, examine the state in which they are in after the storm. Serv. asserts on the authority of Pliny that rooks are apt to forget their young and not go near them.

progeniem parvam dulcisque revisere nidos ;  
haut, equidem credo, quia sit divinitus illis 415  
ingenium aut rerum fato prudentia maior ;  
verum, ubi tempestas et caeli mobilis umor  
mutavere vias et Iuppiter uvidus austris  
denset, erant quae rara modo, et, quae densa, relaxat,  
vertuntur species animorum, et pectora motus 420  
nunc alios, alios, dum nubila ventus agebat,  
conciipiunt: hinc ille avium concentus in agris  
et laetae pecudes et ovantes gutture corvi.  
Si vero solem ad rapidum lunasque sequentis  
ordine respicies, numquam te crastina fallet 425  
hora neque insidiis noctis capiere serena.  
luna, revertentes cum primum colligit ignis,

415, 416. An allusion to Pythagorean, Platonist, and Stoic spiritualism, which Virg. here rejects in favour of the Epicurean and Lucretian materialism. In IV 219 etc. he mentions the 'anima mundi' view without disapprobation.

'Sit : ' here as elsewhere the subj. is used of a reason not accepted as true by the speaker : Madv. § 357 b.

'Divinitus' is distinguished from 'fato,' as Virg. is apparently alluding to the language of different philosophies. 'Not, if I may judge, that Heaven has given them any spark of wit like ours, or Fate any deeper insight into things.' 'Rerum prudentia' go together. 'Maior,' 'more than usual'—more, for instance, than men have.

It seems better to follow Reiske in pointing 'Haut, equidem credo' than to keep the common punctuation 'Haut equidem credo.' 'Equidem credo' is thrown in modestly. 'Iuvat—nidos' will then be a kind of parenthesis, giving the reason for the joy of the birds, which is the main subject of the sentence. Ov. M. xv 359 however has 'Haut equidem credo.'

417. Lucr. v 1083, 'Et partim mutant cum tempestatibus una Raucisonos cantus.'

418. 'Mutavere vias' is explained by 'mobilis,' the weather and the atmospheric moisture being supposed to shift. 'Commutare viam' occurs Lucr. II 130. There is no occasion to follow Ribbeck in reading 'vices,' the conjecture of Catrou and Markland, found also in some late MSS.

'Iuppiter uvidus austris' denotes the

condition of the atmosphere before the change. Connect 'uvidus austris,' not, as Keightley, 'austris denset.' 'Umidus auster,' v. 462. Rom. and Gud. have 'umidus' here.

419. For 'denset' see on v. 248.

420. 'Species,' phases, a materialistic word. 'Motus,' also materialistic.

421. 'Alios, dum nubila ventus agebat' is to be construed parenthetically. The change from low to high spirits being the point, the second 'alios' is logically 'quam.' Comp. 'Nunquam aliud natura, aliud sapientia dicit' (Juv. XIV 321); 'alium fecisti me, alius ad te veneram' (Plaut. Trin. I ii 124).

422. For 'hinc' Med. a m. p. has 'hic.' Perhaps we may render 'There lies the secret of the birds' rural chorus, and the ecstasy of the cattle, and the rooks' triumphal paean.'

424-437. 'You may get prognostics too from observing the sun and moon. Obscurity in a new moon is a sign of rain : redness, of wind ; if she is clear on her fourth day, there will be fine weather to the end of the month.'

424. 'Rapidum : ' whirling.

'Sequentes,' following each other. 'Lunas' might mean either the daily or the monthly moons, but, looking to 'primum' and 'ortu quarto,' it probably means the daily.

426. Cerda comp. A. v 851, 'Caeli toties deceptus fraude sereni.'

427. These lunar prognostics are selected from Arat. 46 foll., where the subject is



si nigrum obscuro comprehenderit aera cornu,  
 maxumus agricolis pelagoque parabitur imber ;  
 at si virgineum suffuderit ore ruborem, 430  
 ventus erit ; vento semper rubet aurea Phoebe.  
 sin ortu quarto, namque is certissimus auctor,  
 pura neque obtunsis per caelum cornibus ibit,  
 totus et ille dies, et qui nascentur ab illo  
 exactum ad mensem, pluvia ventisque carebunt, 435  
 votaue servati solvent in litore nautae  
 Glauco et Panopeae et Inoo Melicertae.  
 sol quoque et exoriens et cum se condet in undas

treated much more elaborately. Virg. has seized the three main points, dulness as a sign of rain, redness of wind, brightness of fair weather, and expressed them in language borrowed from various parts of his original. Aratus has expressed them himself yet more concisely, vv. 70 foll. :

Πάντη γὰρ καθαρή κε μάλ' εὐδία τεκμήριο,  
 Πάντα δ' κρευθομένη δοκίειν ἀνέμοιο κελύ-  
 θους,

\*Ἄλλοθι δ' ἄλλο μelaiνομένη δοκίειν ὑετοῖο.

'Colligere' seems to imply the recalling of things scattered and their formation into a mass. 'Revertentes,' returning to her.' 'Sparsosque recolligit ignis,' Lucan 1 157, of the lightning. The metaphor is perhaps from a general rallying his forces. If this seem too great a strain on the language, we may construe 'colligit' simply 'gathers,' and 'revertentes' 'reappearing,' 'What time the mighty moon was gathering light,' Tennyson.

428. 'Aera,' the air seen between the horns of the crescent moon. But the words need only mean 'if the air is dark and the crescent dull.' [The Berne scholia quote from Nigidius Figulus De Ventis lib. iv 'Si summum corniculum maculas nigras habuerit, in primis mensis partibus imbres fore; at si in imo cornu, serenitatem debemus scire.' See also Pliny XVIII 347 foll., and Varro quoted there.—H. N.]

429. 'Agricolis pelagoque,' a poetical variety for 'agris pelagoque' or 'agricolis nautisque.'

430. 'Ore' may be abl. of place [v. 6 above, Roby 1173]. But the phrase is simply an inversion of 'suffuderit os rubore,' and here, as elsewhere (see A. 1 381), Virg., in seeking for variety, seems to have had more than one possible con-

struction in his mind. It seems scarcely Virgilian to suppose 'ore' to be an old form of the dative.

431. 'Vento' might be taken either as an abl. instrum. (see v. 44), or as an abl. of circumstance (comp. 'ut in tectoriis videmus Austro,' Cic. de Div. 11 27). It might be objected to the latter that the redness is a prognostic of coming wind, although we might perhaps say, 'when there is wind about.'

432. 'Is,' 'ortus quartus.' Aratus dwells on the third and fourth as the critical days, and connects his prognostics with them. Virg. first gives the unfavourable prognostics without reference to days, and then connects the favourable prognostics with one of the critical days.

'Auctor,' authority; A. v 17, 'non si mihi Iuppiter auctor Spondeat.'

433. Virg. takes his general distinctions from Aratus, 'pura' answering to καθαρή, 'obtunsis cornibus' to παχιων και ἀμβλεισι κεραιαις, and 'rubet' to κρευθήσθαι.

434. Arat. 73 foll. seems to say that the signs of the third and fourth days will only hold good for half the month.

436. 'Servati,' that have come safe to port; not, *preserved* from peril as if there had been a storm. Comp. σώζεσθαι.

'In litore,' A. v 236. Rom. has 'ad litora.'

437. Taken almost verbally, according to Gell. XIII 26 (= Macrob. Sat. v 17) from a line of Parthenius,—Γλαύκῳ και Νηρεῖ (Νηρηΐ?) και Ἴνώφῳ (Gell. gives εἰναλίῳ) Μελικέρτῳ. The peculiarity is that the last syllable of 'Glaucō' is left open in the thesis, a licence not indulged in by Virg. elsewhere.

438-460. 'For the sun's prognostics, a spotted or hollow disc at rising is a sign

signa dabit; solem certissima signa secuntur,  
 et quae mane refert et quae surgentibus astris. 440  
 ille ubi nascentem maculis variaverit ortum  
 conditus in nubem medioque refugerit orbe,  
 suspecti tibi sint imbres; namque urget ab alto  
 arboribusque satisque Notus pecorique sinister.  
 aut ubi sub lucem densa inter nubila sese 445  
 diversi rumpent radii, aut ubi pallida surget  
 Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile,  
 heu, male tum mitis defendet pampinus uvas:  
 tam multa in tectis crepitans salit horrida grando.  
 hoc etiam, emenso cum iam decedit Olympto, 450

of rain: a cloudy or pale sunrise of hail. At sunset, dark grey spots denote rain, fiery red wind, a mixture of the two rain and wind. But a clear rising and setting betoken clear weather.'

The first part of the passage is closely imitated from Arat. 87 foll.

439. 'Secuntur,' attend. Med. and two of Ribbeck's cursives read 'sequentur.'

440. 'Refert,' probably of recurrence: see on v. 249. 'Surgentibus astris,' at sunset. [Med. has 'austis.'—H. N.]

441. Virg. has here mixed two, and, unless 'que' in the next line is to be taken for 've,' three signs which are separate in Aratus. 'Nascentem,' etc., is a translation of *ποικίλλοιτο νέον βάλλοντος ἀρούρας πέλεκος*, and 'medioque refugerit orbe' of *κοίλος ἐιδόμενος περιέλλη*, which is translated by Avienus 'medioque recedens orbe.'

442. 'Condo' is naturally constructed here, as in v. 438, as a verb of motion, as it means strictly not 'to hide,' but 'to throw together' (comp. 'conigiō,' 'contorqueo').

'Medioque refugerit orbe:' either (1) recedes from the middle of his disc to the circumference, or (2) retires in respect of the middle of his disc. Lucan, v. 544, has a similar line, speaking of sunset: 'Orbe quoque exhaustus medio languensque recessit.' As in the case of the moon, Virg. has picked out salient points from Aratus' lengthy enumeration. [Consentius p. 398 K quotes the line with 'refulserit.'—H. N.]

443. 'Urget' without a case, A. x 433. There is the same doubt about 'ab alto' here as about 'ex alto,' v. 324. The

sense 'from the deep' is truer to nature; 'from on high' perhaps more like Virg.

445. Aratus couples this prognostic with the concavity of the disc as portending either wind or rain. Lucan, v. 542, speaking of sunset, says, 'Noton altera Phoebi, Altera pars Borean diducta luce vocabat.' ['Si medius erit inanis, pluviam significabit.' Pliny xviii 346.—H. N.]

'Sese diversi rumpent' is *σχιζόμενα*. 'Sese rumpent' = 'erumpent,' as in A. xi 549, 'tantus se nubibus imber Ruperat.' ['Sub lucem,' at daybreak, A. vi 255, etc.—H. N.]

446. The only thing answering to this in Aratus is v. 115-119; where however though the phenomenon is the same, its significance is totally opposite. [Pliny xviii 343 'si in exortu spargentur (radii) partim ad austrum, partim ad aquilonem, pura circa eum serenitas sit licet, pluviam tamen ventosque significabunt.' 'Rumpunt' Rom.—H. N.]

['Diversi: scattered far apart, iv 367.] 447. Imitated from Il. xi 1, Od. v 1, and repeated A. iv 585, ix 460.

448. ['Defendit' Gud. originally. 'Mitis,' ripe.—H. N.]

449. Comp. *φοῖσσοντας ὄμβρους*, Pind. Pyth. iv 81. The radical notion of 'horridus' seems to be that of erect points.

450. If 'hoc' refers to what goes before, it may mean either generally the sun's significance, or specially the particular fact just noted, that being taken as a type of the others, which are supposed to be yet more significant in the evening than in the morning. Aratus, v. 158, says, 'Ἐσπερίοις καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπίτρεπε σήμασι τοῖσις;' (the last three words are other-



profuerit meminisse magis ; nam saepe videmus 451  
 ipsius in voltu varios errare colores :  
 caeruleus pluuiam denuntiat, igneus Euros ;  
 sin maculae incipient rutilo inmischerier igni,  
 omnia tum pariter vento nimbisque videbis 455  
 fervere. non illa quisquam me nocte per altum  
 ire neque a terra moneat convellere funem.  
 at si, cum referetque diem condetque relatum,  
 lucidus orbis erit, frustra terreberet nimbis,  
 et claro silvas cernes Aquilone moveri. 460  
 denique, quid vesper serus vehat, unde serenas

wise read ἀληθία τεκμήρια,) Ἐσπερόθεν γὰρ ὁμῶς σημαίνεται ἑμμενές αἰεὶ. This points to the latter of the two interpretations suggested, 'hoc' being σημασι τοῦτοις. But it is possible that Virg. may refer to what follows, and that 'nam' v. 451 has the force of 'nempe' (see II 398), explaining rather than justifying the words preceding it.

Gud. and two other of Ribbeck's cursives have 'decadet,' which Heyne retained.

451. Comp. Arat. 102-107. After 'nam' understand 'tum' at evening.

452. 'Errare,' ἐπιτρέχει.

453. 'Caeruleus' (note on v. 236), μελανεὶ. 'Igneus,' ἔρενθος.

454. A translation of εἰ γε μὴν ἀμφοτέρων ἀμυδὸς κεχρωσμένος εἶη. 'Maculae' must therefore relate to 'caeruleus,' and 'igni' to 'igneus.'

['Incipient' Med. corr. ; 'incipiunt' Med., Rom., Gud.—H. N.]

456. 'Fervere' : Virg. also uses 'effervo,' 'strido,' and 'fulgo.' 'Non' is for 'ne' ; see III 140, A. XII 78 note.

457. Ribbeck reads 'moveat' from Med. a. m. p., it is difficult to see why.

'Convellere funem,' cast loose the rope fastening the ship to the shore.

458. Arat. 126 foll. Aratus says that if the sun sets without cloud but there are red clouds above, then there is no danger of rain next morning or at night. Virg. omits half the prognostic, and extends the rest to the morning.

459. 'Frustra terreberet nimbis' appears at first sight to mean 'you need not be frightened by clouds, if there are any,' implying that there are likely to be some. But the words seem to be a rhetorical

translation of Arat. l. c. οὐ σε μάλα χρὴ Ἀἴριον οὐδ' ἐπὶ νυκτὶ περιτρομέειν ὑετοῖο.

460. 'Claro' marks that the fear of 'nimbi' is vain.

461-491. 'In short, the sun is your great prognosticator of weather; and not of weather alone. He gives signs of sudden and secret commotions, as lately when he darkened himself in grief for the death of Caesar, though in truth that was a time for other portents in earth, sea, and sky—dogs howling, owls hooting, volcanic eruptions, and many more—all prelude to a second battle of Roman against Roman, fought in the same country as the first, and leaving relics to be turned up in distant days by the husbandman.'

461. 'Vehat' : Med. (first reading) and Rom. have 'ferat.' But 'nescis quid vesper serus vehat' was a Roman proverb, and formed the title of one of Varro's Menippean Satires. Gell. XIII 11, Macrob. Sat. I 7. 'The secrets which evening carries on his wing.'

'Unde serenas Ventus agat nubes' seems to be explained by the previous line. The sun gives prognostics of fair winds producing fair weather. 'Serenas agat nubes' is either 'agat nubes ita ut serenum sit caelum,' or, as Mr. Blackburn thinks, brings clouds prognosticating fine weather. [Nonius p. 175 in a note on 'seresco' says that Virg. here is using 'serenas' 'docte' in the sense of 'siccās,' and quotes 'arida nubila' from G. III 197. This note occurs in a shorter form in the Berne scholia. There seems no reason against taking 'serenas' as = dry, rainless.—H. N.] Probably Virg. is loosely summing up the minute directions in Arat. 880-889.

ventus agat nubes, quid cogitet umidus Auster,  
 sol tibi signa dabit. solem quis dicere falsum  
 audeat? ille etiam caecos instare tumultus  
 saepe monet fraudemque et operta tumescere bella.  
 ille etiam extincto miseratus Caesare Romam, 466  
 cum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine textit,  
 impiaque aeternam timuerunt saecula noctem.  
 tempore quamquam illo tellus quoque et aequora ponti  
 obscenaeque canes importunaeque volucres 470  
 signa dabant. quotiens Cyclopus effervere in agros

462. 'Cogitet': Heyne comp. Hor. Od. I xxviii 25, 'quodcumque minabitur Eurus.' Forb. comp. Id. Od. IV xiv 25, 'Aufidus—Diluvium meditatatur agris.'

'The hidden purpose of the rainy South.'

463. Manil. II 134, 'Quod fortuna ratum faciat, quis dicere falsum Audeat?'

464. 'Tumultus,' a sudden alarm of war, generally in Italy or Cisalpine Gaul. So A. VI 858, 'magno turbante tumultu.'

465. 'Fraudem,' unseen danger or treachery, as is shown by 'caecos tumultus' and 'operta bella.'

466. 'Ille etiam' is parallel to 'ille etiam' v. 464, being in fact only a stronger form of the copulative. 'Miseratus' need merely mean 'showed his sympathy with Rome's loss,' though it might also imply that the sun sent a friendly warning of the evils that were yet to come.

467. [Compare Ovid M. xv 789, 'caeruleus et vultum ferrugine Lucifer atra Sparsus erat.' Tibull. II v 75, Lucan I 522. Serv. and most commentators say that the sun was eclipsed in the April or November after Caesar's death, but some astronomical calculations made for me show that no solar eclipse was visible in Italy in B.C. 44, and the same conclusion is reached by G. Hofmann in a tract on ancient eclipses (Triest, 1884). Pliny II 98, Dio XLV 17, and Plutarch Caes. XVII speak of a paleness of the sun in that year, and it is probable that the sun's light was then affected by sunspots or abnormal meteorological conditions or volcanic dust (v. 471). Keightley compares the phenomena of 1783, when Calabria was devastated by earthquakes and eruptions and the atmosphere of all Europe obscured.]

'Ferrugo,' properly dark blue, [or dark violet (Munro Lucr. IV 761), hence generally 'dark' as here. See Nonius p. 549

'ferri similem esse volunt, vere autem est caeruleus'; Plaut. Miles IV iv 43 'is colos thalassicus'; Servius on A. IX 582 'vicinus purpurae subnigrae'; Ovid (above) and Virg. A. VI 303, 410 couple it with 'caeruleus.' Virg. uses it of hyacinth blooms (G. IV 183), Charon's boat (A. VI 303), purple (IX 582, XI 772). It seems to have no connexion with iron rust.]

468. 'Impia,' unnatural. — H. N.; 'saecula,' race, like 'mortalia saecula' in Lucr.

469. 'Quamquam:' though, if we are to speak of the sun's significance to the world as well as to the husbandman, it was not the sun alone. 'Tellus,' by earthquakes, vv. 475, 479: *σεισμός μέγας γενόμενος*, Dio I. c.

470. 'Obscena,' Med., 'obsceni,' the other MSS. The fem. seems usual; 'Visaeque canes ululare per umbram,' A. VI 257.

['Obscena' ill-omened, A. XII 876; etc. Mr. Nettleship, Contrib. to Latin Lex., connects the word with 'obscus' (cf. 'alienus,' 'alius'), 'obscurus,' 'opacus,' etc., in the sense of dark, unfit for light.] 'Importunae' [restless, homeless. The word is derived from 'portus,' a home; hence (1) its meaning here, A. XII 864 (unquiet), XI 305 'bellum importunum' (ceaseless), (2) wild, cruel, as often in Cic. Liv.—Nettleship, Contr. to Latin Lex. Others take the primary sense to be 'not offering harbour' (*ἀξένορος*), i.e. dangerous or cruel: hence, here, 'inauspicious,' as Con. took it, virtually synonymous with 'obscaenae.']

471. 'Signa:' rooks picked out an inscription in the temple of Castor, a pack of dogs howled at the door of the chief pontiff, Dio I. c. 'Tristia mille locis Stygius dedit omina bubo,' Ov. I. c.



vidimus undantem ruptis fornacibus Aetnam,  
 flammarumque globos liquefactaque volvere saxa!  
 armorum sonitum toto Germania caelo  
 audiit; insolitis tremuerunt motibus Alpes. 475  
 vox quoque per lucos volgo exaudita silentis,  
 ingens, et simulacra modis pallentia miris  
 visa sub obscurum noctis; pecudesque locutae,  
 infandum! sistunt amnes terraeque dehiscunt  
 et maestum inlacrimat templis ebur aeraque sudant.  
 proluit insano contorquens vertice silvas 481

Serv. says night-birds appeared by day; so Lucan l. c. 'dirasque diem foedasse volucres.' So Shakespeare, *Jul. C.* I 3, 'And yesterday the bird of night did sit, Even at noonday, upon the market-place, Hooting and shrieking.'

'Dabant' seems to imply that these portents occurred before Caesar's death, as warnings of the crime and harbingers of the calamity, which is the meaning of *Ov. l. c.* Virg. however may mean that they were signs of the anger of the gods at the parricide, and prognostics of civil war as a punishment. Dio describes the portents as following Caesar's death, and speaks as if they were regarded by some as omens of the subversion of the republic. *Cic. Phil. IV* 4 makes another use of them. *Hor. Od. I* 2 treats the prodigies in the same spirit as Virg., apparently regarding them as penalties from heaven for the civil wars. The phenomena were doubtless spread over a considerable period.

472, 473. 'Undantem' refers to the lava. 'Fornacibus' is suggested by 'Cyclosum.' 'Volvere' is the lava stream. 'Liquefacta saxa:' comp. *A.* III 576. With the language comp. *Lucr. VI* 680-693. Serv. quotes from Livy a statement that before the death of Caesar there was an eruption of Aetna so tremendous as to be felt even at Rhegium.

474. 'The noise of battle hurtles in the air,' *Shaksp. Jul. C.* II 2. Comp. *A.* VIII 526 foll., *Ov. M.* XV 783, 'Arma ferunt nigras inter crepitantia nubes, Terribilisque tubas auditaeque cornua caelo Praemonuisse nefas.'

475. The belief of the ancients that earthquakes took place in the Alps from time to time (*Pliny II* 194), is confirmed by modern experience, though Heyne suggests that avalanches may have been

mistaken for them. *Lucan l. c.* has 'veteremque iugis nuntantibus Alpes Discussere nivem.' 'Montibus,' *Med.*, *Rom. corr.*

476. 'Eodem anno M. Caedicius de plebe nuntiavit tribunis se in Nova via, ubi nunc sacellum est (sc. Aii Locutii), supra aedem Vestae vocem noctis silentio audisse clariorem humana, quae magistratibus dici iuberet Gallos adventare,' *Livy V* 32; comp. *Juv. XI* III. So the voice, μεταβαίνωμεν ἐντεῦθεν, from the Temple just before the taking of Jerusalem, *Josephus, Bell. Iud. VI* III 3; *Tac. H. V* 13. 'Lucus' shows that the voice was divine. So *Ov. l. c.* has 'sanctis lucis.'

477. 'Simulacra modis pallentia miris,' *Lucr. I* 123 [quoted in the Berne scholia, and imitated again by *Virg. IV* 309; *A. I* 354, *VI* 738, x 822.]

478. 'Pecudesque locutae:' the old portent 'locutus bos.' 'Infandum' calls attention to its unnatural horror.

479. 'Sistunt,' intransitive. The cause of 'sistunt' is given in 'terrae dehiscunt,' the earthquake. The same portent seems pointed to by *Horace*, 'Vidimus fluvium Tiberim retortis Litore Etrusco violenter undis,' *Od. I* II 13.

'Terra' generally means the whole expanse of the earth; here it implies that there were numerous earthquakes.

480. 'Templis,' abl. of place (v. 5).

'Ebur' and 'aera' are ivory and bronze statues, the material being put for the object. So 'ebur' for an ivory pipe, *II* 193; 'spirantia aera,' *A. VI* 848. *Ov. M. XV* 792, 'Mille locis lacrimavit ebur.' 'Inlacrimat' seems to mean 'weeps over Caesar.'

481. *Dio l. c.* says ὁ τε Ἡρῶδανός ἐπι πολλὸ τῆς πέριξ γῆς πελαγίσις ἐξαίφνης ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ πανπληθεῖς ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ ὄψεως ἐγκατέλιπε. [*Acron on Hor. Od. IV* 67 quotes a variant 'proruit.'—*H. N.*]

fluviorum rex Eridanus, camposque per omnis  
 cum stabulis armenta tulit. nec tempore eodem  
 tristibus aut extis fibrae apparere minaces  
 aut puteis manare cruor cessavit, et altae 485  
 per noctem resonare lupis ululantibus urbes.  
 non alias caelo ceciderunt plura sereno  
 fulgura, nec diri totiens arsere cometae.  
 ergo inter sese paribus concurrere telis  
 Romanas acies iterum videre Philippi; 490

482. The notion of overflowing is expressed here metrically by a crasis, as in v. 295 by a hypermeter.

'Campos—tulit,' repeated (with the substitution of 'trahit') A. II 499.

484. 'No respite was there in those fearful days to the threatening filaments that overcast the sullen entrails, or to the blood that welled from springs in the ground, or to the howling of wolves by night, echoing through our steep-built towns.' 'Fibrae,' according to Varro, L. v 79, [Fest. p. 90 M.] and Serv. on v. 120, A. VI 599, X 176, are the extremities of the liver. Cels. IV 11 says that the lungs are divided into two 'fibrae,' the liver into four. What the point to be observed with regard to them was does not appear. Cic. de Div. I 10 says 'quid fissum in extis, quid fibra valeat, accipio,' which would almost seem as if the mere existence of a 'fibra' was a phenomenon: but he may merely mean what good or evil can be prognosticated from the state of the 'fibra.' Ovid's language here is parallel to Cicero's: 'magnosque instare tumultus Fibra monet, caesumque caput reperitur in extis.' Inauspicious appearances during sacrifice happened to Caesar himself, Suet. Jul. 81. Dio I. c. speaks of a bull leaping up after sacrifice.

485. 'To run from wells,' as if there were springs of blood. Ov. I. c. speaks of bloody rain.

486. 'Resonare' depends on 'cessaverunt.' 'Altae' seems to point to the position of the Italian cities on hills, II 156. Wolves entering Rome are several times mentioned in Livy as portents.

'Ululare' of wolves, A. VII 18, of dogs A. VI 257.

487. 'Sereno:' thunder in a clear sky converted Horace. 'Namque Diespiter Igni corusco nubila dividens Plerumque

per purum tonantis Egit equos volucrumque currum,' Od. I xxxiv 5. Dio I. c. speaks of lightning striking the temple of Victory, but not of a clear sky. A correction in Gud. has 'sinistro,' [a reading which is mentioned in the Berne scholia, and may be right, 'sereno' being a gloss.—H. N.]

488. 'Totiens arsere cometae:' Voss suggests that they were meteors. Dio says λαμπράς ἀπ' ἀνίσχοντος ἡλίου πρὸς δυσμὰς δὲδραμε, καὶ τὴν ἀστέρα κωνὸς ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ὤφθη.

489. 'Ergo:' the murder of Caesar led to a retribution on Rome, which was foreshadowed by all these portents.

'Paribus:' they were Romans on both sides. 'Pares aquilas et pila minantia pilis,' Lucan I 7.

490, 491. We need not suppose that Virg. actually founded the sites of the battles of Pharsalia and Philippi, as 'iterum' may go with 'concurrere,' the sense being 'the issue of all was a second civil war.' But in the next line he dwells on the fact that both were fought in the north of Greece with something less than geographical accuracy, extending Emathia, which was a name of Paconia, and afterwards of Macedonia, so as to cover Thessaly. Later writers were still less strict, probably, as Merivale (Hist. Rom. III 214, ed. 1) suggested, mistaking Virg., whom they imitated. Ov. M. xv 824, 'Emathiaque iterum madefient caede Philippi,' may mean no more than Virg. does. But Manil. I 906, Lucan I 680 etc., Juv. VIII 242 distinctly confuse the sites. [Serv. and one of the notes in the Berne scholia say: 'Philippi civitas Thessaliae in qua primo Caesar et Pompeius, postea Augustus et Brutus dimicaverunt.' Another note in the Berne scholia is more accurate.—H. N.]



nec fuit indignum superis, bis sanguine nostro 471  
 Emathiam et latos Haemi pinguescere campos.  
 scilicet et tempus veniet, cum finibus illis  
 agricola, incurvo terram molitus aratro,  
 exesa inveniet scabra robigine pila, 495  
 aut gravibus rastris galeas pulsabit inanis,  
 grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulchris.  
 di patrii, Indigetes, et Romule Vestaque mater,  
 quae Tuscum Tiberim et Romana Palatia servas, 473

491. 'Nor did it seem too cruel in the eyes of the gods.' Comp. 'Cui pulchrum fuit in medios dormire dies,' Hor. Ep. 1 ii 30, and for the absolute use of 'indignum' with the ethical dative, 'Sat fuit indignum, Caesar, mundoque tibique,' Lucan x 102. [Markland conj. 'superi' for 'superis,' which is favoured by the remark of Servius and the Berne scholia, 'quasi exclamatio est ad deos.'—H. N.]

492. 'Pinguescere : ' Hor. Od. 11 i 29. Plutarch, Marius 21, says that Archilochus spoke of the plains as fattened by human bodies—perhaps the earliest that did so. Aesch. Theb. 587, τήνδε πτανῶ χθόνα, is sometimes taken to mean this.

493. 'Yes, and the time will come when in those borders the husbandman, as with his crooked plough he upheaves the mass of earth, will find, devoured by a scurf of rust, Roman javelins, or strike his heavy rake on empty helmets, and gaze astounded on the gigantic bones that start from their broken sepulchres.' 'Agricola' is probably meant to recall the reader to the real subject of the poem. In any case it is an unconscious testimony to the arts of husbandry as more permanent than those of war.

494. Lucr. v 932, 'Nec robustus erat curvi moderator aratri Quisquam, nec scibat ferro molirier arva.' 'Molitus' perhaps suggests that the relics of Pharsalia would be buried deep by age.

495. 'Pila' is emphatic; it was the characteristic Roman weapon. So Lucan 1 7, cited on v. 489.

'Scabra robigine,' Catull. LXVIII 151.

496. 'Inanis' is emphatic, as the hollowness would affect the sound, at the same time that it reminds us that the heads which wore the helmets have long since mouldered away.

497. 'Grandia' refers to the notion that

mankind degenerated. Juv. xv 69, 'Nam genus hoc vivo iam decrescebat Homero; Terra malos homines nunc educat atque pusillos' [and Mayor's note].

'Effossis,' broken into by plough or harrow.

498-514. 'We have a Caesar yet: spare him to us, ye gods, though ye may well call him away from a world like ours, where right and wrong are inverted, husbandry gives way to arms, war rages from east to west, cities of the same land are arrayed against each other, and humanity is whirled on like a charioteer in a race mastered by his horses.'

498. [Compare the similar invocations in Ovid Met. xv 861, Livy VIII 9, and] Hor. Od. 1 2.

'Indigetes:' [this word, as used by Virgil, Ovid, Livy, and others, seems to denote national or indigenous deities, even including national heroes like Romulus (A. XII 794), but the exact sense was apparently unknown even in Virgil's time. The Roman scholars gave various accounts, e.g. that it applied to all gods alike, that it denoted Lares, Penates, and other gods whose special names were unknown (so prob. Verrius Flaccus; comp. Lucan 1 556): Serv. says 'proprie sunt dii ex hominibus facti, abusive omnes generaliter.' Modern scholars differ equally: Mr. Nettleship derives the word from 'in-dic-' i.e. one proclaimed as god, and suggests that originally it included all the gods of Italian towns, but was later reserved for the oldest (Contrib. to Latin Lex. p. 483). See also Roscher's Lex. Mythol. and Marindin in Class. Dict.]

499. 'Tuscum Tiberim:' probably the old connexion of Etruria with Rome was in Virg.'s mind here, as it obviously was in the Aeneid.

'Romana Palatia:' the Palatine was the hill of Romulus and his city.

hunc saltem everso iuvenem succurrere saeclo 500  
 ne prohibete! satis iam pridem sanguine nostro  
 Laomedontae luimus periuria Troiae;  
 iam pridem nobis caeli te regia, Caesar,  
 invidet, atque hominum queritur curare triumphos;  
 quippe ubi fas versum atque nefas: tot bella per orbem,  
 tam multae scelerum facies; non ullus aratro 506  
 dignus honos; squalent abductis arva colonis,  
 et curvae rigidum falces conflantur in ensem.  
 hinc movet Euphrates, illinc Germania bellum; 509

500. 'Hunc saltem:' as the gods had snatched away Caesar. 'Saeculum' answers exactly to 'the age.'

['Iuvenem:' he was only nineteen when he began his career in 44 B.C., as he observes himself, *Mon. Ancy.* 1, and his youth is emphasized by Cicero ('*adolescens vel puer potius,*' etc.) and Virgil *E.* 1 43, writing not long after. Later writers continue the idea, as Virgil here, Horace *Od.* 1 ii 41 (probably B.C. 29): a hieroglyphic inscr. at Philae, dated B.C. 29, calls him 'the beautiful youth,' and his youthful head appears on his coins after 27 B.C. Contrast Shakespeare's 'peevish school-boy.')

502. Hor. (*Od.* 111 iii 21) indulges in the same affectation of antiquarian superstition, a spirit to which it must be allowed that the Aeneid itself ministers. [But Hor., as Mommsen has shown, concealed a political meaning under the antiquarianism of *Od.* 111 3; Virgil's allusion here to Troy seems purely learned and literary.] The line itself is nearly repeated *A.* 1V 541.

504. This was written probably before Octavian had enjoyed his triple triumph in B.C. 29, though he had had more than one ovation. But Virg. speaks to him, as Forb. remarks, as if to live on earth were synonymous with to triumph. Yet there is something strange in the expression 'human triumphs,' unless we suppose the poet to intend some still more extravagant compliment. Perhaps the feeling may be that the human victor was all but a god ('*Res gerere et captos ostendere civibus hostis Attingit solium Iovis et caelestia temptat,*' Hor. *Ep.* 1 xvii 33), but that Caesar might rise higher. Hor. treads closely in the steps of Virg. 'Hic magnos potius triumphos, Hic ames dici pater atque princeps' (*Od.* 1 ii 49).

505. 'Ubi' = 'apud quos,' sc. 'hominines.'

'Quippe' assigns the reason why heaven grudges Caesar to so thankless a sphere.

'Versum,' inverted, not overturned. *Comp. Hor. Epod.* v 87, 88. 'Venena magnum fas nefasque non valent Convertere humanam vicem,' [*Ov. M.* vi 585, 'fasque nefasque confusura ruit.'—H. N.]

506. 'Aratro' is probably dative. 'The plough has none of its due honour.' 'Honus erit huic quoque pomo,' *E.* 11 53. But it might possibly be the abl. 'The plough is thought worthy of no honour.'

The language is like *A.* VII 635, 'Vomeris huc et falcis honos, huc omnis aratri Cessit amor.' Here and in the two following lines the subject of the Georgics is kept before the eye.

507. 'Squalent,' [grow hard and rough for want of ploughing.] 'Abductis,' taken away to serve as soldiers. Keightley.

508. 'Curvae' and 'rigidum' seem to be opposed, and 'rigidum' to refer to the straight Roman sword.

['Formantur' for 'conflantur' Nonius p. 380, and Servius on *A.* XII 304, both in a note on the word 'rigidus.'—H. N.]

509. [It is doubtful if this refers to any particular wars. The Parthian frontier was continuously quiet from 40 to 31; in the West, Agrippa crossed the Rhine in 38, and Carrinas repulsed the Suebi at an unknown date between (probably) 37 and 30 (*Dio* LI 21). Most edd. suppose Virg. here to allude to 38: Mr. Nettleship preferred 32, to which date he conjecturally assigned the success of Carrinas, and Ribbeck (*Prol.* p. 16) took a similar view. But the events of the year, a Parthian foray and (if we admit it) the victory of Carrinas were unimportant. The wording of the line resembles *E.* 1 62, and the meaning



vicinae ruptis inter se legibus urbes  
 arma ferunt; saevit toto Mars impius orbe;  
 ut cum carceribus sese effudere quadrigae,  
 addunt in spatio, et frustra retinacula tendens  
 fertur equis auriga, neque audit currus habenas. 514

probably is (as Serv. says) 'undique bellum movetur.' Vv. 510-511 might refer to Antony, who began to arm against Octavian in 32, but the language is vague. If the lines were meant to refer to definite events of about 32, we should have expected Dacia (II 497) rather than Germania.]

510. 'Vicinae urbes:' [Dio L 6 clearly implies that some Italian cities, esp. those in which veterans of Antony were settled, gave trouble to Octavian: such a city was Bononia.—H. N. The words, however, need be no more than the antithesis of the preceding line.] 'Ruptis inter se legibus,' breaking the laws which bound them together. 'Legibus,' the laws of civil society. Forb. comp. A. VIII 540, 'Poscant acies et foedera rumpant.'

511. 'Impius' is emphatic; most of the wars of the time were connected directly or indirectly with the civil conflict.

512. 'Carceribus:' the 'carceres' were stalls at the end of the circus, with gates of open woodwork, which were opened simultaneously to allow the chariots to start.

513. ['Addunt in spatio:' so Med.

(omitting 'in'), Gud., the Berne scholia, the Bamberg and Munich MSS. of Quintilian VIII iii 78, the Vaticanus of Serv., and Sil. XVI 373 (imitating this line) 'Iamque fere medium evecti certamine campum In spatio addebant.' The Berne scholia explain thus: 'propria vox circi, equi enim cursus spatium addere dicuntur' (H. N.). Rom. has 'addunt spatia;' Med. late corr. and most MSS. of Serv. 'addunt in spatia,' and so Ribbeck, Conington, and most edd. since Burmann, who explain it as = 'addunt (se) in spatia,' throw themselves on the course, or 'addunt (gradum)' or 'addunt (spatia) in spatia.' The ellipse, which must be assumed with either reading ('spatio' or 'spatia'), seems unparalleled.]

514. 'Fertur equis,' like *ἄστομοι πῶλοι βίᾳ φέρονσιν*, Soph. El. 725. Comp. A. I 476. For 'audit' comp. Hor. Ep. I xv 13, 'equi frenato est auris in ore;' and for 'currus (= equus) audit,' Pind. Pyth. II 21, *ἄρματα πεισιχάλινα*, and below III 91. Serv. suggests that the charioteer hurried on by the furious horses is Octavian, who cannot bridle the evils of the age; but this hardly agrees with v. 500.

## LIBER SECUNDUS.

THE subject of this book is the culture of trees, especially of the vine, but there is no great regularity in the mode of treatment. Virgil opens with an enumeration of the different ways of propagating trees, natural and artificial, so as to indicate the magnitude of the theme; then he shows how art can improve upon nature, and recurs to the manifoldness of his subject, dwelling especially on the innumerable varieties of vines. Without much relevancy he talks of trees indigenous to different countries, and is thence drawn into an eulogy (vv. 136-176) of Italy, which he does not fit with any practical application. The question of the aptitudes of various soils (vv. 177 foll.) is treated more widely than the subject of the book requires, embracing the choice of corn and pasture land as well as of ground for planting trees. For the next 160 lines (vv. 259-420) the poet seems to be thinking exclusively of the vine or of trees planted in the 'arbustum' as its supporters. He does not distinguish between the different modes of rearing the vine, but appears to assume that the 'arbustum' will be adopted. He speaks of the vine and its supporters almost indifferently, as objects more or less of the same culture, so that, while keeping the former prominently before him, he feels himself at liberty to use general language, or even to confine his language to the latter, as metrical convenience or poetical variety may suggest; a manner of speaking which renders this part of the book peculiarly difficult, at least to an unprofessional commentator. The olive, which was put forward prominently in the programme of the book, is disposed of in a very few lines (vv. 420-425), as requiring hardly any culture. The other fruit-trees (vv. 426-457) are dismissed even more briefly, and the remaining trees receive a very hasty recommendation to the cultivator, backed with an assurance that they are even more useful to man than the vine. In the celebrated digression (vv. 458 foll.) which concludes the book, the laborious aspect of a country life, elsewhere so prominent, is kept out of sight, and we hear only of ease, enjoyment, and plenty. Its interest as bearing on the tastes of the poet himself has been noticed in the general Introduction to the Georgics.

The beauties of this book have always been admired, and deservedly so. They are most conspicuous in the digressions; but the more strictly didactic part contains innumerable felicities of expression, though it may be doubted whether in general they do not obscure the practical meaning as much as they illustrate it—whether in fact they do not constitute the strongest condemnation of that school of poetry of which they are so illustrious an example. [The debt of Virgil to Lucretius is perhaps even greater in this book than in the other Georgics: examples are quoted by Mr. Munro on *Lucr.* I 78, III 449.]

As in the case of Book I, we can say nothing of the date. Vv. 171, 172 seem to have been written just after Actium; but the passage to which they belong is precisely one which may have been introduced after the bulk of the poem was composed. [Vv. 497 foll., 505 foll., may allude to the events of 33-32 B.C.—H. N.]



HACTENUS arborum cultus et sidera caeli;  
 nunc te, Bacche, canam, nec non silvestria tecum  
 virgulta et prolem tarde crescentis olivae.  
 huc, pater o Lenaeae; tuis hic omnia plena  
 muneribus, tibi pampineo gravidus autumnno 5  
 floret ager, spumat plenis vindemia labris;  
 huc, pater o Lenaeae, veni, nudataque musto  
 tingue novo mecum dereptis crura coturnis.  
 Principio arboribus varia est natura creandis. 9

1-8. 'Thus far of tillage and seasons: now of the vine, the trees of the plantation, and the olive. May the patron of the vine assist me, helping the poet as he helps the vine-dresser.'

1. 'Arborum cultus' is the general subject of Book 1; 'sidera caeli' refers to vv. 204-258, and perhaps to the prognostics which occupy the latter part of that book.

'Hactenus,' sc. 'cecini.' Comp. Aesch. Cho. 143, ἡμῖν μὲν εὐχὰς τάσδε, τοῖς δ' ἐναντίους λέγω, κτλ.

Rom. is wanting from this line to v. 215, and till v. 138 Med. is the only extant first-class MS. (except Ver. 92-117).

2. 'Virgulta:' Voss and Wagn. rightly observe that the forest-trees are introduced principally as forming the supporters of the vine, so that there may be a special propriety in 'tecum.' ['Virgulta pro infelicibus arboribus posuit, quibus in Italia vites cohaerent.' Berne schol. and Serv.—H. N.] 'Virgulta,' a number of twigs, hence applied to bushes and low or young trees, which here seem to be taken as the type of such trees as the husbandman cultivates.

'Silvestria' seems to be used vaguely.

3. Hesiod, as reported by Pliny xv 3, said that the 'sator' (perhaps the sower) of an olive never saw its fruit. Theophr. De Caus. Plant. i 9 called the olive *δυσ-αυξήσις* contrasting it with the vine. Hence Varro i 41 recommends that it should not be raised from seed (see below, vv. 56 foll.).

4. 'Huc' may be elliptical, like *δεῦρο*: but 'veni,' v. 7, smooths over the ellipse, which is at least unusual.

'Pater:' 'Omnem deum necesse est inter sollemnis ritus patrem nuncupari; quod Lucilius in deorum concilio inridet (Sat. i 9, Müller): Nemo ut sit nostrum, quin aut pater optumum' divum, Aut Neptunum' pater, Liber, Saturnum' pater, Mars,

Ianu', Quirinu' pater, siet ac dicatur ad unum,' Lactant. iv 3. Compare the equally general application of *ἄναξ* to the gods of Greece. Virg., while showing his ritual learning and giving the invocation an air of pontifical solemnity, doubtless thought of Bacchus as patron of men and giver of increase to the fruits of the earth.

'Tuis hic omnia plena:' Virg. fancies himself surrounded by the gifts of autumn, of which he is going to sing. To conceive of him as meaning that he actually writes in autumn would be less natural. A modern poet (Keats at the opening of Endymion is an instance) might introduce such a personal specification.

5. 'Tibi' seems to express the acknowledgment of nature to its author and sustainer; see i 14 and v. 15 below.

'Autumno' may be temporal or constructed with 'gravidus' in the sense of the fruits of autumn, like *δπώρα*.

8. 'Mecum:' comp. 'Ignarosque viae mecum miseratus agrestis,' i 41, and 'una,' v. 39 below.

Med. has 'direptis;' see i 269.

'Coturnis:' Vell. P. ii 82, of Antonius, 'Cum redimitus hedera coronaque velatus aurea et thyrsus tenens coturnisque succinctus curru velut Liber pater vectus esset Alexandriae.' Bacchus was represented with hunting buskins, which would naturally form part of his fawn-skin dress. Virg., professing to write with a view to practice, identifies the poet with the husbandman, and invokes Bacchus at the opening of his subject, as if the aid he required were in the vine-dresser's occupation.

9-34. 'Trees are propagated in various ways, some natural, some artificial.'

9. 'Varia est natura' includes all the modes by which trees are generated, down to v. 34. Of these modes there are two

I.

Q

namque aliae, nullis hominum cogentibus, ipsae 10  
 sponte sua veniunt camposque et flumina late  
 curva tenent, ut molle siler, lentaeque genetae,  
 populus et glauca canentia fronde salicta;  
 pars autem posito surgunt de semine, ut altae  
 castaneae, nemorumque Iovi quae maxima frondet 15  
 aesculus, atque habitae Grais oracula quercus.  
 pullulat ab radice aliis densissima silva,  
 ut cerasis ulmisque; etiam Parnasia laurus  
 parva sub ingenti matris se subicit umbra.  
 hos natura modos primum dedit; his genus omne 20  
 silvarum fruticumque viret nemorumque sacrorum.

divisions. The first division (vv. 10-21), generation without the help of man, is subdivided into spontaneous generation (vv. 10-13), generation by seed (vv. 14-16), and generation by suckers (vv. 17-19). 'Nullis hominum cogentibus' really specifies the first division, though it nominally belongs only to its first subdivision.

'Arboribus creandis,' like 'habendo pecori,' I 3. 'The law of the production of trees is various.'

'Natura : ' note on v. 20.

10. Virg. is supposed by Heyne and others to refer here to production by invisible as distinguished from visible seeds, agreeably to a distinction made by Varro I 40. But from v. 49 it seems as if he believed in strictly spontaneous generation.

11. 'Ipsae' and 'sponte sua,' in spite of a subtle distinction attempted by Voss, are a tautology. 'Veniunt,' I 54.

12. 'Curva' calls attention to the bends of the river, and shows that the trees grow along its side. The scanty notices of the 'siler' do not enable us to identify it: it is conjectured to be the osier. See Keightley, *Flora Virg.* [and Bubani, p. 105, who enumerates various identifications but accepts none.]

13. 'Salicta' is for 'salices.'

14. 'Posito de semine,' deposited casually, dropping from trees. The words themselves, like 'seminibus iactis,' v. 57, might refer to any kind of sowing, but in each case they are determined by the context. At the same time, as Virg. says nothing in the rest of this passage about sowing by the hand, we may suppose that he regarded it as virtually men-

tioned in the mention of dropped seed, and not worth particularizing separately, being the lowest form of human co-operation with nature.

15. 'Nemorum' is probably partitive, 'maxima nemorum' being equivalent to 'maxima arborum nemorensium.' See v. 534 below.

['Nemorum': Isid. xviii vii 6, 'sunt nemora arbores maiores; ' Stat. Silv. v i 49, 'vitem Ulmus amat miscetque nemus; ' Lucan III 395, 'procumbunt nemora.'—H. N.]

'Iovi,' like 'tibi,' v. 5.

16. 'Quercus,' Dodona. The oracles were drawn either from the murmuring of the foliage or from the notes of the pigeons (É. IX 13).

17. 'Pullulat ab radice,' etc. : propagation by natural suckers, called 'pulli' by Cato LI, 'pulluli' by Pliny xvii 65.

19. 'Se subicit,' É. x 74.

20. 'Primum,' before man had tried experiments.

'Natura' seems used strictly, opposed to 'usus,' not generally, as in v. 9 where it means the natural principle of growth, whether assisted by cultivation or not. Or we may lay stress on 'dedit,' and contrast what is asked or extorted from nature with what she gives unsolicited. Lucr. (v 1361 foll.) speaks similarly, though in less detail, of sowing and planting as suggested by nature.

'His,' by these modes. 'To these they owe their verdure.'

21. ['Silvarum,' bushes, I 76 note.] 'Fruticum,' shrubs, trees without trunks. 'Nemorumque sacrorum' denotes merely a poetical division.



Sunt alii, quos ipse via sibi repperit usus.  
 hic plantas tenero abscindens de corpore matrum  
 deposuit sulcis; hic stirpes obruit arvo, 25  
 quadrifidasque sudes et acuto robore vallos;  
 silvarumque aliae pressos propaginis arcus  
 expectant et viva sua plantaria terra;  
 nil radices egent aliae, summumque putator  
 haut dubitat terrae referens mandare cacumen.  
 quin et caudicibus sectis, mirabile dictu; 30

22-34. Artificial modes—suckers, sets, layers, cuttings, pieces of the cleft wood, and engrafting. Comp. Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* II 1; Pliny XVII 65.

The reading of the line is disputed. Med., the one first-class MS. available, had originally 'alie quos ipse via,' corrected early into 'aliae quas' and 'alii quos.' 'Alii quos ipse via' is given by most cursives [and the Berne scholia, and must have been read by Serv.—H. N.]. Scaliger conj. 'aliae quas ipse vias,' which Ribbeck accepts, but this is more trivial in expression. 'Alii:' i.e. 'modi.'

'Via' may mean either the method by which things are found out, or the course of experience in which they are found out. The former meaning is borne out by Cic. Brutus XII, 'Nam antea neminem solitum via nec arte sed accurate tamen et de scripto plerosque dicere;' the latter agrees with Lucr. V 1452 foll. which Virg. probably imitated, 'Usus et impigrae simul experientia mentis Paulatim docuit pedetemptim progredientis' (comp. Manil. I 62). Perhaps it is most in unison with Virg.'s manner to suppose that he intended both.

'Usus,' practical experience. The word is often used in connexions which suggest the notion of want, I 133, E. II 72; Lucr. IV 852, V 1452, VI 9; but it is clear from the context in these cases, especially in Lucr. IV 822-857, that the original notion is still prominent. In passages like Cic. Tusc. IV 2, it may be rendered 'occasion,' as in the common 'usu venit,' [which perhaps originally meant 'come as matter of experience:'] Reid on De Sen. 7].

'Ipse usus,' experience alone, without the example of nature.

23. 'Plantas,' suckers. 'Tenero' expresses the violence done to the tree by the artificial separation, thus contrasting it with natural propagation by suckers, vv.

17-19; we might say, 'from the bleeding stem.'

24. 'Hic altius deponit validiores cum radicibus plantas,' is Serv.'s paraphrase of 'hic stirpes obruit arvo.' 'Stirpes' may, however, be used merely for 'stipites,' and in this case 'stirpes,' 'sudes,' and 'vallos' may denote the same thing differently treated. [Col. III 51, *depositae stirpes valido solo.*—H. N.]

'Quadrifidas' implies that the bottom is cut across to form a root, 'acuto robore' that it is brought to a single point.

26. 'Some forest-trees wait to receive the arch of the depressed layer, and slips which partake of their life, and spring from their soil.' 'Silvarum' for 'arborum:' see v. 15. 'Arcus,' the bow which the depressed layers form. ['Propago,' Col. Arb. VII 2.—H. N.]

27. 'Viva,' unseparated from the parent stem. 'Sua,' with which they themselves grow.

'Plantaria' seems to be from 'plantare' ('exiguus laetum plantaribus horti,' Juv. XIII 123), though it may possibly be from 'plantarium,' which might stand in poetry for 'plantae.'

28. 'Putator,' gardener, so called here because he has lopped the shoot from the tree.

29. 'Referens,' restoring it to its native earth. 'Summum cacumen,' a cutting from the very top of the tree. Palladius III 25 (§ 28), '[Morus] serenda est taleis vel cacuminibus.'

30. Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* II 2, enumerating the ways in which trees may be propagated, concludes with τοῦ ἐξόλου κατακόπεντος εἰς μικρά. I do not know that he anywhere details the process, nor is it clear how he distinguishes it from two other modes of propagation, ἀπὸ τοῦ στελέχους and ἀπὸ τοῦ πρέμνου, which he mentions along with it. There is the

truditur e sicco radix oleagina ligno; 31  
 et saepe alterius ramos impune videmus  
 vertere in alterius, mutatamque insita mala  
 ferre pirum, et prunis lapidosa rubescere corna.

Quare agite o, proprios generatim discite cultus, 35  
 agricolae, fructusque feros mollite colendo,  
 neu segnes iaceant terrae. iuvat Ismara Baccho  
 conserere, atque olea magnum vestire Taburnum.  
 tuque ades, inceptumque una decurre laborem, 37

same doubt how Virg. means to distinguish the process described here and that touched on vv. 24, 45; and, again, which of them is intended by 'truncis,' v. 63, and 'solido de robore,' v. 64. Confining ourselves to the present passage and vv. 24, 25, we may say that here the pieces are smaller, and have no root, natural or artificial. This agrees with the account given by Cerda, who professes to have derived it from practical men in his own country, Spain. 'Secant agricolae scinduntque in partes plures caudicem olivae cui amputata radix, cui amputati rami: ita consectum infodiunt, ac inde format se radix, et mox arbor, quod poeta stupet, quia vere mirum.' Even he however does not explain whether the wood is cleft, as Serv. would lead us to think, or simply cut. The passage from Pliny xvii 58 (referred to on v. 22) fails us here, as, in that part of the enumeration which seems to apply to this method, the text is uncertain.

31. 'Radix oleagina' is mentioned as a specimen of the several kinds of trees which are grown in this manner; the myrtle is instanced by Serv. as one of them. Comp. A. III 21, 46, the prodigy of the bleeding myrtle. 'Pliny (xvi 230) tells us that olive wood wrought and made into hinges for doors has been known to sprout when left some time without being moved.' Keightley.

'Sicco ligno' is a further description of 'caudicibus sectis.'

32. 'Impune,' without damage to the quality of either tree. We might render 'by harmless magic.'

34. 'Pirum' is the subject of 'ferre.' 'Prunis': the stony cornels look red on the plum-tree. The red cornel berries were and are still eaten in Italy, but only as poor fare (Ovid. M. VIII 665; A. III 649, 'victum infelicem bacas lapidosaque

corna,' where see Henry). Hence it is strange to find cornel grafted on to plum, and some edd. translate 'stony cornel trees are red with plums.' But the epithet 'lpidosa' shows that 'corna' (the fruit) is put literally, not for 'cornos' (the tree), and 'rubescere' would not suit the change from the red cornel fruit to the plum.

35-46. 'Listen to me then, husbandmen, bend to the work, and learn to subdue this part of nature also; and you, Maecenas, join me in coasting along this spreading main.'

35. Having opened out the subject in its manifoldness, he seizes that as an opportunity for bespeaking his readers' and patron's attention. For this and following lines comp. Lucr. v 1367, 'Inde aliam atque aliam culturam dulcis agelli Temptabant, fructusque feros mansuescere terram Cernebant indulgendo blandeque colendo.'

'Generatim,' after the kinds of trees; a Lucretian word.

37. 'Neu segnes iaceant terrae:' comp. I 124, where the feeling is the same.

'Iuvat:' Virg. is exhorting to exertion, and accordingly stimulates enthusiasm by pointing to two great triumphs of industry, Mount Ismarus, planted with vines, Mount Taburnus, with olives. Comp. v. 260, 'magnos scrobibus concidere montis,' and note on I 63. Thus 'conserere,' 'magnum,' 'vestire,' are emphatic, and 'iuvat' has its full sense, expressing a delightful occupation, not as Keightley and Bothe think, a mere repayment of labour. 'What joy to plant Ismarus all over with the progeny of the wine-god, and clothe the mighty sides of Taburnus with a garment of olives!'

39. 'Decurre,' a naval metaphor; comp. A. v 212, 'pelago decurrit aperto,' where 'aperto' will illustrate 'patenti,' v. 41.



o decus, o famae merito pars maxima nostrae, 40  
 Maecenas, pelagoque volans da vela patenti.  
 non ego cuncta meis amplecti versibus opto,  
 non, mihi si linguae centum sint, oraque centum,  
 ferrea vox; ades et primi lege litoris oram;  
 in manibus terrae; non hic te carmine ficto 45  
 atque per ambages et longa exorsa tenebo.

Sponte sua quae se tollunt in luminis auras,  
 infecunda quidem, sed laeta et fortia surgunt;

Catull. LXIV 6, 'Ausi sunt vada salsa cita decurrere puppi.'

'Laborem' is a cognate accus. Comp. A. v 862, 'currit iter tutum.'

It is not easy to say whether (1) 'laborem' is to be understood of the whole subject of the Georgics, 'inceptum' referring to Book 1, or (2) 'inceptum decurre' regarded as equivalent to 'incipere et decurre,' or (3) 'inceptum' understood of the beginning already made in the present Book. [Serv. and the Berne scholia say that 'una decurre' was taken by some as referring to Maecenas' own literary efforts.—H. N.]

40. The words imply an acknowledgment to which 'merito' refers. Comp. Epictetus XV, ἀξίως θεῖοι τε ἦσαν καὶ ἀλέγοντο. So Prop. II i 74 calls Maecenas 'Et vitae et morti gloria iusta meae.'

41. 'Da vela,' set sail; 'pelago patenti,' on or over the open sea. The metaphorical reference of the epithet may be to the unbrokenness of the field (comp. v. 175) rather than to its extent; but, however understood, it clashes with the imagery of vv. 44, 45.

'Volans,' at full speed. So A I 156, 'curruque volans dat lora secundo.'

42. 'Cuncta,' the whole subject. Comp. v. 103. 'Opto' seems to be used here of undertaking boldly, as apparently A. VI 501, 'Quis tam crudelis optavit sumere poenas?' where see note.

43. Iliad II 488. Macrobian, Sat. VI 3, says that Hostius had already imitated that passage in a poem on the Histrian War, from which he quotes 'non si mihi linguae centum atque ora sient totidem vocesque liquatae.' 'Non,' sc. 'optem amplecti,' or 'amplectar.'

44. 'Primi litoris oram' = 'primam litoris oram.' Comp. A. I 541, 'prima—terra.'

45. 'In manibus terrae;' comp. Apoll. R. I 1113, τοῖσι δὲ Μακρυάδες σκοπιαί, καὶ πᾶσα περαιῆ Ἑλληνική ἐνὶ χερσὶν ἐαίς προῦφαινεῖ ἰδεῖσθαι, and with the language generally Prop. IV ix 35, "Non ego velifera tumidum mare findo carina:." Tuta sub exiguo flumine nostra mora est.'

'Carmine ficto,' feigned strains, i.e. romantic or mythical. 'Hic' almost seems to imply an intention of doing so one day. It is difficult otherwise to see the point of these lines, unless we suppose the poet to have one of his predecessors in his eye.

46. 'Ambages:' comp. Lucr. VI 1079, 'Nec tibi tam longis opus est ambagibus usquam.' The word denotes a long way round [hence, a long story, A. I 341, VI 29; later (often in Tac.) a riddling or ambiguous statement. Nettleship, Contr. to Latin Lex. p. 149].

'Exorsa' for 'exordia.' So 'exorsus' in Cic. Pro Lege Manil. IV.

47-60. 'Nature requires to be aided by art: trees of spontaneous growth are not fruit-bearing, but may be made so: natural suckers are dwarfed unless transplanted: trees springing up from seed grow slowly, and yield poor fruit.' In v. 47 Virg. returns to the threefold division of trees naturally produced, viz. those that are generated spontaneously, those from seed, and those from suckers, the order of the last two being here reversed. He shows that each of these kinds admits of improvement by cultivation.

47. ['Auras:' so Med. corr. and Serv. Med. (the only good MS. available) had originally 'oras.'—H. N. 'Luminis oras' occurs in Ennius twice; Lucr. I 23, V 212, 781; A. VII 660, and is preferred by Ribbeck and Con. and indeed by most editors.]

quippe solo natura subest. tamen haec quoque, si quis  
 inserat, aut scrobibus mandet mutata subactis, 50  
 exuerint silvestrem animum, cultuque frequenti  
 in quascumque voces artes haut tarda sequentur.  
 nec non et sterilis, quae stirpibus exit ab imis,  
 hoc faciet, vacuos si sit digesta per agros;  
 nunc altae frondes et rami matris opacant 55  
 crescentique adimunt fetus uruntque ferentem.  
 iam, quae seminibus iactis se sustulit arbos,  
 tarda venit, seris factura nepotibus umbram,  
 pomaque degenerant sucos oblita priores,  
 et turpis avibus praedam fert uva racemos. 60  
 Scilicet omnibus est labor impendendus, et omnes

49. 'Natura,' productive power. The words 'quippe—subest' refer only to 'laeta et fortia,' not to 'infecunda.' Comp. Quint. x ii 11, 'Namque iis quae in exemplum adsumimus subest natura et vera vis: contra omnis imitatio ficta est.' Comp. also Lucr. III 273, 'Nam penitus prorsum latet haec natura subest-que.' For Virg.'s doctrine see note on v. 10 above.

'Tamen' must relate to 'infecunda,' to which 'silvestrem animum' is clearly parallel; though the qualifying particle ought rather to belong to 'sed laeta et fortia,' as being the last assertion. 'Unfruitful as they are.'

50. 'Inserat,' engraft them with cuttings from other trees. 'Insero' has a double construction. Comp. 'Inseritur vero et fetu nucis arbutus horrida,' below v. 69.

'Mutata,' transplanted. That simple transplantation improves a tree is stated by Pallad. XII 7, and other rural writers.

'Subactis,' well prepared with the spade. Comp. Col. III 5, 'Locum subigere oportet bene: ubi erit subactus, areas facito,' [Cic. Sen. 51, 'gremio (telluris) mollito ac subacto,' ib. 59, etc. See I 125, IV 256.]

51. 'Exuerint—sequentur:' see IV 282.

52. 'Artes:' that which is alien to their nature and communicated by training. 'They will learn whatever lessons you choose to teach.'

Ribbeck reads 'voles' from Med., Gud. corr., but 'voces' (Serv.) suits 'sequentur' better.

53. 'Sterilis' is the general description, 'quae stirpibus exit ab imis' the characteristic. 'Stirpibus ab imis' = 'ab radice,' v. 17.

54. ['Faciat,' Med. originally and one of Ribbeck's cursives.—H. N.]

'Vacuos' contrasted with the wood where it is choked by the parent tree.

55. 'Nunc,' in its natural state. 'As it now is, the towering foliage and branches of its mother overshadow it, and rob it of its fruit as it grows up, and wither up the productive powers it exerts.'

57. Wagn. commences a new paragraph with 'iam, quae;' but it is unnecessary. This is the third kind of wild trees. This use of 'iam' nearly in the sense of 'praeterea' is common; comp. 'Iam varias pelagi volucres,' I 383, etc. [Gud. originally and some other cursives have 'nam.'—H. N.]

'Seminibus iactis' = 'posito semine,' v. 14. It does not relate to sowing by the hand.

58. 'Venit,' as v. 11. 'Seris nepotibus,' to unborn generations. Comp. v. 294 below, E. IX 50.

59. 'Poma,' all kinds of fruit (E. II 53).

60. 'Avibus,' because no men will pick them. That vines were raised at Rome from grape-seeds appears from Cic. Sen. 52, Pliny XVII 59 (Forb.).

['Uva,' the cluster; 'racemos,' berries, as v. 102, etc.—H. N.]

61-72. 'Artificial methods vary according to the kind of tree. With some trees truncheons suit best, with some layers, with



cogendae in sulcum ac multa mercede domandae.  
 set truncis oleae melius, propagine vites  
 respondent, solido Paphiae de robore myrtus ;  
 plantis et durae coryli nascuntur et ingens 65  
 fraxinus Herculeaeque arbos umbrosa coronae  
 Chaoniique patris glandes ; etiam ardua palma  
 nascitur, et casus abies visura marinos.  
 inseritur vero et fetu nucis arbutus horrida,  
 et steriles platani malos gessere valentis ; 70  
 castaneae fagus, ornusque incanuit albo

others sets, with others suckers : grafting again is practised on some trees, not on others.

61. 'Scilicet' explains : 'the fact is.'

62. 'Cogendae in sulcum,' drilled into trenches, on the analogy of 'cogere in ordinem,' giving the notion of training and discipline.

'Multa mercede,' at great cost of labour. Comp. Sen. de Tranq. xi, 'Magna quidem res tuas mercede colui.'

64. 'Respondent : 'votis respondet avari agricolae,' I 47 ; [often in Col., Cato ap. Plin. xviii 17.—H. N.] The word is sometimes, as here, used absolutely. Col. iii 2, 'Gemella vitis maior nisi praepingui solo non respondet.' This may possibly be derived from the use of the word in the case of debtors, as in Cic. Att. xvi 2, Sen. Ep. lxxxvii, 'respondere nominibus.'

'Truncis' and 'propagine' are ablatives of the instrument. Five of the six methods (v. 22-34) are here mentioned ; the 'cacumen' (v. 29) is omitted. The instance of the olive in both cases seems to identify 'truncis' with 'caudicibus sectis,' v. 30 ; and if this is so, 'solido de robore' must answer to 'stirpes,' 'sudes,' 'vallos,' v. 24, 25, in spite of the testimony of Serv. as to the applicability of 'caudicibus sectis' to the myrtle, quoted on v. 31. But (see v. 30 note) it is not easy to decide.

65. 'Et durae : ' Serv. [and the Berne scholia] mention another reading, 'edurae,' which is found in some inferior MSS. ; [Serv. explains it as = 'non durae.'—H. N. Ribbeck reads 'ecdurae' as in IV 145. See Neue-Wagener, Formenl. II 873.]

66. Comp. 'Populus Alcidae gratisima,' E. VII 61. 'Coronae' seems to be

an attributive gen., like 'gratum litus amoeni secessus,' Juv. III 4, [or perhaps rather descriptive.]

67. 'Chaonii patris : ' so 'Lemnius pater,' A. VIII 454. 'Chaonii' = 'Dodonaei.'

68. 'Nascitur,' sc. 'plantis,' which we should have expected to be repeated, as the more important word ; but the repetition of the verb is meant to remind us of the rest of the expression of which it has formed a part. We may perhaps compare the half repetitions of words in Homer.

69. So Med., the best cursives, and Serv. ; Wagner, Forb. and Ribbeck prefer a late corr. in Med., 'nucis arbutus horrida fetu : ' comp. III 449 note. Wagn.'s view as to the inharmoniousness of hypermetric lines with dactylic endings does not seem of much weight without MS. authority. If the elision implied a synapheia, this might require the last syllable but one to be long by nature. The copyists, even of the better MSS., are apt to remove metrical anomalies (e.g. A. VI 33 ; VII 437). [Serv. and the Berne scholia mention with disapproval a reading 'horrens,' which is] also found in some extant copies.

'Fetu' is abl. 'Nucis,' i.e. the walnut. 'Horrida,' from the roughness of the stem (Heyne).

70. 'Sterilis,' opp. to 'pomifera.'

71. 'Fagus : ' so Priscian I 438 (Hertz), the Berne scholia and two MSS. ; it is probably (as the Berne schol. say) nom. sing. Med. and other MSS. have 'fagos,' and so Serv., who finds it very hard to explain. Wagner took 'fagus' as nom. pl. (cf. Culex v. 139, etc.), but that is unnecessary. It appears from Servius' note that the line caused much difficulty in his time.

'Ornus : ' Keightley says, 'It is very un-

flore piri, glandemque sues fregere sub ulmis.  
 Nec modus inserere atque oculos inponere simplex.  
 nam, qua se medio trudunt de cortice gemmae  
 et tenuis rumpunt tunicas, angustus in ipso 75  
 fit nodo sinus; huc aliena ex arbore germen  
 includunt, udoque docent inolescere libro.  
 aut rursus enodes trunci resecantur, et alte  
 finditur in solidum cuneis via, deinde feraces  
 plantae immittuntur: nec longum tempus, et ingens 80  
 exiit ad caelum ramis felicibus arbor  
 miraturque novas frondes et non sua poma.  
 Praeterea genus haut unum, nec fortibus ulmis,

certain what this tree is; the usual opinion is that it is the "sorbus aucuparia," our quicken or mountain ash. As this however is quite a different tree from the ash, and Columella (De Arb. XVI) calls the "ornus" a "fraxinus silvestris," distinguished from the other ashes by having broader leaves, botanists are now inclined to think it is the "fraxinus rotundifolia" of Lamarck, the manna tree, or tree that yields the manna, of Calabria.

The words 'incanuit albo flore' are to be taken with both clauses.

73-82. 'Grafting is distinct from inoculation: in the latter case you introduce a bud, in the former a slip.' [See Palladius 'de Insitione' and Col. Arb. 26.—H. N.]

73. 'Nec modus inserere:' see on I 213.

'Oculos inponere,' to inoculate or bud, *ἐνοφθαλμισμός*. In what follows inoculation is distinguished from engrafting. We must therefore take 'simplex' as = 'unus' (comp. v. 482; so 'duplex' frequently = 'duo'). 'The mode of grafting and inoculating is not one.' It is possible that Virg. may mention the two species first as constituting a genus, and afterwards as the varieties of the genus which they constitute, though this seems clumsy. Mr. Blackburn supposes Virg. to mean that there are more ways than one of grafting and budding, and then, after giving one way of budding, to pass on, without describing another, to grafting—a preference of literary variety to logical arrangement which would not be un-Virgilian. In the whole context Virg.'s object is to show the manifoldness of his subject. See above, vv. 63 foll., below, vv. 83 foll.

75. 'Tunicas,' that which is under the 'cortex.' Pliny XXIV 7, XVI 65.

76. 'Fit,' is made by the knife. 'Huc . . . includunt,' A. II 18.

77. 'And teach it to grow into the bark which gives it the sap of life.'

78. 'Rursus,' on the other hand. Comp. Hor. Ep. I ii 17, 'Rursus quid virtus et quid sapientia possit Utile proposuit nobis exemplar Ulixem,' etc. [The older form 'rursus' occurs thrice in Virg. (A. II 229, 232) and once in Hor. (Sat. II iii 268) for metrical reasons: see E. x 62.]

79. 'Feraces plantae,' slips from fruitful trees.

80. 'Et' = 'cum:' comp. A. III 9, 'Vix prima inceptat aestas, Et pater Anchises dare fatis vela iubebat;' [II 692, 'vix ea fatus erat, subitque fragore intonuit,' and often in Virg. and in writers after him. Con. calls it 'a remnant of primitive simplicity of expression,' and *καὶ τότε* is similarly used in Homer (e.g. Il. I 477, 494), but it seems not to occur in earlier Latin. For a similar use of 'atque' = 'even as,' see II 402.]

81. 'Exiit:' on the quantity of the final 'i' see p. 283. The perfect expresses instantaneousness; see I 49.

82. Serv. gives 'miratastque,' apparently as corr. for [some unmetrical reading which he does not quote. Med. had originally 'mirataeque' (according to Hoffmann), corr. to 'miratastque,' and much later to 'miraturque.' Gud. has 'mirata estque.']

83-108. 'There are varieties in each kind of tree, olive, apple, pear, and especially in the vine, the diversities of which are innumerable.'



nec salici lotoque neque Idaeis cyparissis ;  
 nec pingues unam in faciem nascuntur olivae, 85  
 orchades et radii et amara pausia baca  
 pomaque et Alcinoi silvae ; nec surculus idem  
 Crustumii Syriisque piris gravibusque volemis.  
 non eadem arboribus pendet vindemia nostris,  
 quam Methymnaeo carpit de palmite Lesbos ; 90  
 sunt Thasiae vites, sunt et Mareotides albae,

84. Fée, cited by Keightley, says there are five kinds of arborescent lotus, while the aquatic lotus contains three varieties, and the terrestrial and herbaceous (III 394) contains two. 'The lotus-tree grows on the north coast of Africa; it is described by Theophrastus and Polybius, and is a tree of moderate altitude, bearing small fruits, which are sweet, resembling the date in flavour.' Keightley.

85. 'Unam in faciem': comp. A. x 637, 'Tum dea nube cava tenuem sine viribus umbram In faciem Aeneae (visu mirabile monstrum) Dardaniis ornat telis.' In both passages 'in faciem' is adverbial.

86. Cato VI mentions eight kinds of olives, Col. v 8 ten, Macrob. Sat. III 20 (II 16) sixteen.

'Orchades' and 'radii' appear to be so named from their shape. The 'orchades' (more usually 'orchites') are oblong, the 'radii' are long like a weaver's shuttle. 'Pausia' requires to be gathered before it is ripe; hence 'amara baca.' Pliny (xv 13) says that the 'pausia' is gathered first, then the 'orchis,' then the 'radius;,' Columella says that the oil of the 'pausia' is excellent while it is green, but is spoiled by age.

87. 'Pomaque et Alcinoi silvae': 'que' is disjunctive, as III 121, 'Et patriam Epirum referat fortisque Mycenae.' 'Nor are apples, etc., of one sort any more than olives.' The orchards of Alcinoi (comp. Od. VII 112 foll.) are the same as the 'poma,' the apple forests of Alcinoi (unless we suppose them to convey a still more general designation: apples, and all Alcinoi's orchard trees).

'Surculus,' cutting: a poetic variety, intended to signify not that the pear must be planted by cuttings, but that it may be. The meaning of course is that the cuttings differ as belonging to different trees.

88. 'Crustumii': from Crustumium or Crustumium, at the confluence of the

Alia and Tiber. Serv. says they were partly red. 'Syriis:' Serv. and Pliny say they were black. Pliny (xv 53) says that the Crustumine were the best. The 'Syria,' according to Col. v 10, were also called 'Tarentina.' Syrian pears are mentioned by Juv. XI 73, and Martial v lxxviii 13.

'Volemis:' the 'volema' are named, without description, by Cato, and mentioned by Pliny merely as spoken of by Virg. Serv. derives them from 'vola,' 'hand-fillers,' but mentions another etymology from a Gaulish word meaning 'big.'

89. Here and in vv. 267, 278, 300, 'arbos' might mean either the vine or the tree which supported it, the 'silvestria virgulta' of v. 2, but the latter is the more probable. Pliny (xiv 9) and Ulpian (Dig. XLVII vii 3) include the vine among 'arbores.' On the other hand, Col. (III 1) distinctly excludes it; Cato (xxxii) contrasts 'arbores' and 'vites,' and the writers on agriculture generally, speaking of vineyards, use 'arbores' of the trees which supported the vines. 'Arbor' means the supporter in E. v 32, 'Vitis ut arboribus decori est, ut vitibus uvae,' and in v. 290 of this book it is distinguished from the vine. Altogether, there is no passage in Virg. where 'arbor' is clearly used for the vine, and therefore it is not easy to resist the argument in favour of the technical sense in a technical treatise.

90. Hor. Od. I xvii 21, 'Hic innocentis pocula Lesbii Duces.' 'Palmas' is the bearing wood of the vine. Col. v 6.

91. 'Thasiae vites:' Athenaeus (I 51) collects testimonies to the excellence of the Thasian, Lesbian, and Psithian wines among others. Pliny also speaks of an Egyptian wine called Thasian (xiv 74, 117).

'Mareotides:' comp. Hor. Od. I xxxvii

pinguibus hae terris habiles, levioribus illae;  
 et passo Psithia utilior, tenuisque Lageos,  
 temptatura pedes olim vincturaque linguam;  
 purpureae, preciaeque; et quo te carmine dicam, 95  
 Rhaetica? nec cellis ideo contende Falernis.  
 sunt et Aminneae vites, firmissima vina,  
 Tmolius adsurgit quibus et rex ipse Phanaeus;  
 argitisque minor, cui non certaverit ulla  
 aut tantum fluere aut totidem durare per annos. 100

14, 'Mentemque lymphatam Mareotico;' Strabo 77.

'Albae' is of course an epithet of 'Mareotides.' Comp. Col. x 347, 'Saepe suas sedes praecinxit vitibus albis.' The reference is probably to the pale green colour of the grape.

92-117. Here the Ver. fragment comes to the aid of Med.: see v. 1.

93. 'Passo,' sc. 'vino,' i.e. 'vino e passis uvis facto,' raisin-wine, made from dried grapes. Col. xii 39, 'Passum optimum sic fieri,' etc.; Stat. Silv. iv 938, 'Vel passum psithiis suis recoctum;' Pliny xiv 80, 'Psithium et melampsithium passi genera sunt;' G. iv 269. 'Psithia passos de vite racemos.' The word 'Psithia' is Greek, but seems to have no known meaning.

'Lageos,' λάγειος. 'Tenuis,' as an epithet of wine, is opposed to 'dulce' by Pliny xiv 80, and to 'pingue' and 'nigrum' (xxiii 39), where it is coupled with 'austerum;' so that it seems to mean a thin and light wine. [Serv. and the Berne schol. suggest that 'tenuis' may = 'penetrabilis,' 'searching.'—H. N.]

94. 'Olim' may either be 'some day,' after it has been made into wine, or 'soon,' after it has been drunk. Lucr. vi 1116 has 'Atthide temptantur gressus.' [The Berne scholia say that this line is taken from one of Calvus, 'lingua vino temptantur et pedes.'—H. N.]

95. 'Purpureae' are mentioned as a particular kind of grape by Col. iii 2. Of 'preciae,' which Serv. explains by 'praecoctae,' there were two kinds, distinguished by size: Col. iii 2, Pliny xiv 29.

96. 'Rhaetica:' this appears from Pliny xiv 67, to have been grown as far south as Verona. Suetonius (Aug. lxxvii) says that it was a favourite with Augustus. Seneca (Nat. Q. i 11) thinks Virg.'s language equally applicable to praise and censure;

but 'ideo' shows that it could only be understood as praise. [Serv. says that the 'uva Rhaetica' was highly praised by Cato in his 'Libri ad filium,' but much abused by Catullus, and that Virg.'s language is therefore intentionally ambiguous.—H. N.]

'Cellis:' in full 'cellis vinariis.'

97. 'Firmissima:' comp. Pliny xiv 21, 'Principatus datur Aminneis propter firmitatem senioque proficientem vini eius utique vitam.' Further on he speaks of wines as 'contra omne sidus firmissima.' Where the Aminnei lived is disputed: Macrob. Sat. iii xx 7 (ii xvi) [says 'fuerunt ubi nunc est Falernum:' others put them in Picenum. Philarg. quotes Aristotle for the statement that they were Thessalians: Varro (if we may trust the Berne scholia) said they were Pelasgi.—H. N.] Col. iii 9 speaks of the Aminnean vines as among the oldest.

98. 'Tmolius' is supported by Ribbeck's MSS., including fragm. Veron. 'Tmolus et' is the reading of Heyne, with some early editions and inferior MSS.

Pliny xiv 74 speaks of Tmolian wine as good not to drink alone, but to mix with other wines, to which it imparts sweetness and the flavour of age. The ellipse is *οἶνος*. Comp. v. 93, 'Lageos.'

'Adsurgit:' comp. 'Utque viro Phoebe chorus adsurrexerit omnis,' E. vi 66.

'Rex ipse Phanaeus' is a translation of Lucilius' *Χιός τε δυνάστης*, which Serv. quotes, Phanae being a promontory and port of Chios.

99. 'Argitisque minor:' there were an 'Argitis maior' and an 'Argitis minor.' The name is said to be derived from *ἀργός*, from the colour of the grape or wine. Col. iii 2.

100. 'Certaverit . . . fluere . . . durare:' comp. Stat. Silv. v iii 191, 'Non



non ego te, Dis et mensis accepta secundis, 101  
 transierim, Rhodia, et tumidis, Bumaste, racemis.  
 set neque, quam multae species nec, nomina quae sint,  
 est numerus; neque enim numero comprehendere refert;  
 quem qui scire velit, Libyci velit aequoris idem 105  
 discere quam multae Zephyro turbentur harenae,  
 aut, ubi navigiis violentior incidit Eurus,  
 nosse quot Ionii veniant ad litora fluctus.

Nec vero terrae ferre omnes omnia possunt.  
 fluminibus salices crassisque paludibus alni 110

tibi certasset iuvenilia fingere corda Nestor,' and see on I 213. 'Tantum fluere,' to yield so much juice: comp. below v. 190, and Col. III 2, 'Graeculae vites acinorum exiguitate minus fluunt.'

101. 'Dis et mensis accepta secundis:' drinking began after the first course, when it commenced by a libation (A. I 723, etc.); there is no need to refer 'Dis' to the temples. Comp. however Hor. Od. III xi 6, 'Divitum mensis et amica templis,' of the lyre.

102. The Rhodian vine is merely mentioned by Pliny and Columella. Rhodian wine occurs in the anecdote of Aristotle choosing his successor under pretence of choosing a wine, Gell. XIII 5. Athenaeus, XIV 68, quotes Lynceus as speaking of a peculiar species of Rhodian grape called *Ἰκπώνιος βότρυς*.

'Bumastus:' called by Varro and Macrobius 'bumamma.' Pliny XIV 15, 'Tument vero mammaram modo bumasti.' *Bov* means magnitude, as in *βούπαις*. Pliny (XIV 42) says there were two kinds, black and white.

103. Pliny (XIV 20) says that Democritus alone pretended to know all the varieties of vines even in his own country. To the same general effect Col. III 2, who quotes these lines. Cato had noticed fifty-eight, Pliny about eighty. The number has been indefinitely increased since; 1400 have been collected in the garden of the Luxembourg, and this number is supposed to be not more than half of those cultivated in France alone. Fée on Pliny XIV 44 foll. (Keightley.) For a sketch of ancient wines see Dict. Ant. II 969 and the references there.

104. ['Est numerus:' way of counting.—H. N.]

'Neque enim,' nor indeed [as A. II

100, 'nec requievit enim.' 'Enim' here simply emphasizes, as usually in early Latin, etc.: see note on v. 509 below, A. VI 317.]

105. 'Who should wish to know it, would wish also,' etc. 'Libyci aequoris' means the Libyan waste [so H. N.]. Comp. Catull. VII 3, quoted by Ursinus, 'Quam magnus numerus Libyssae harenae Laserpiciferis iacet Cyrenis, Oraclum Iovis inter aestuosi.' Comp. the oracle in Hdt. I 47, οἰδὰ τ' ἐγὼ ψάμμον τ' ἀριθμὸν καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης, and Pind. Pyth. IX 46 foll. [Con. originally wavered between 'desert' and 'sea.']

106. Med. [as Dr. Hoffmann kindly tells me], the Verona fragm., Gud., etc., read 'dicere,' which is plainly a mistake. 'Discere' is supported by Columella.

107. Connect 'violentior incidit.'

108. 'Ionii fluctus' = 'fluctus Ionii maris.' Virg. seems to have in his eye Theocr. XVI 30, ἄλλ' ἴσος γὰρ ὁ μόχθος ἐπ' ἄνι κύματα μετρεῖν, ὄσσ' ἀνεμος χέρσονδε μετὰ γλαυκᾶς ἀλός ὤθει.

109-135. 'Different soils are proper for different trees; so we find each country with trees of its own.'

109. The words are from Lucr. I 166, 'ferre omnes omnia possent,' where the fact that particular places produce particular things is urged to prove that nothing can come of nothing. The fact has been mentioned already, I 50-63 (see note on latter verse), where it is recognized as connected with the present condition of humanity, just as the opposite, 'omnis feret omnia tellus,' E. IV 39, is a characteristic of the golden age. Here we have the fact and nothing beyond. We may compare also E. VIII 63.

110. 'Fluminibus nascuntur:' [by the rivers.—H. N.]

nascuntur, steriles saxosis montibus orni; 111  
 litora myrtetis laetissima; denique apertos  
 Bacchus amat collis, aquilonem et frigora taxi.  
 aspice et extremis domitum cultoribus orbem,  
 Eoasque domos Arabum pictosque Gelonos: 115  
 divisae arboribus patriae. sola India nigrum  
 fert hebenum, solis est turea virga Sabaeis.  
 quid tibi odorato referam sudantia ligno  
 balsamaque et bacas semper frondentis acanthi?  
 quid nemora Aethiopum, molli canentia lana? 120  
 velleraque ut foliis depectant tenuia Seres?  
 aut quos Oceano propior gerit India lucos,

111. The 'ornus' is mentioned, v. 71, as one of the trees on which a fruit tree is engrafted, in conjunction with 'steriles platani.'

112. 'Amantis litora myrtos,' IV 124. See on E. VII 62. 'Apertos' suggests the idea of 'apricos,' to which 'aquilonem et frigora' is opposed. Virg. treats soil and climate together, as in I 51 foll.

114. 'Extremis domitum cultoribus orbem' = 'extremas orbis partes cultas.' 'Extremis cultoribus' is dative of the agent. The sentence is closely connected with what follows, the sense being, 'Look at foreign lands, go as far as you will, you will find each country has its tree.'

115. 'Pictosque Gelonos:' Hor. Od. II xx 19, 'ultimi Geloni.' ['Pictos' = 'stigmata habentes,' Serv. and the Berne scholia.—H. N.] Claud. in Rufin. I 313, 'Membraque qui ferro gaudet pinxisse Gelonus.'

116. 'Divisae arboribus patriae:' their countries are divided among trees, i.e. each tree has its allotted country.

'Sola India,' etc. : I 57. 'Sabaeis' in the next line seems to prevent our taking 'India' as a loose name for the whole East, including Aethiopia, and to require us to take it as India Proper, though ebony does not grow there alone.

117. 'Turea virga:' Pliny (XII 57), after stating that there is great doubt as to the nature of the tree, says 'Qui mea aetate legati ex Arabia venerunt, omnia incertiora fecerunt, quod iure miremur, virgis etiam turis ad nos commeantibus: quibus credi potest, matrem quoque tereti et enodi fructare trunco.'

119. For the transposition of 'que' in

the construction 'que et,' comp. Hor. Od. III iv 18, 'ut premerer sacra Lau-roque collataque myrto,' etc.

It is doubtful whether the balsam and acanthus are not meant to be distinguished as belonging to different countries, rather than connected as belonging to the same. The country of the balsam is by some thought to be Judaea, by others Arabia Felix. The acanthus is attributed both to Egypt and to Arabia; it is not a herb but a tree, the acacia. Bodaeus a Stapel, cited by Martyn, accounts for 'bacas' by saying that, though there are no berries, the flowers grow in little balls; Martyn himself understands it of the globules of gum, Keightley of the pods.

120. 'Lana:' called by Hdt. *είριον* ἀπὸ ζύλου, the product of the tree cotton, 'gossypium arboreum.' Pliny XIX 14, 'Superior pars Aegypti, in Arabiam vergens, gignit fruticem quem aliqui gossypion vocant, plures xylon, et ideo lina inde facta xylina.'

121. This was the belief long after Virg. Pliny VI 54, 'Seres, lanitio silvarum nobiles, perfusam aqua depectentes frondium canitiem.' Silkworms were not known in the Roman empire till the time of Justinian, though silk was imported largely. [Serv. says 'alii depectat legunt; quod si est, Seres possuit pro Ser, sicut trabses pro trabs.'—H. N.]

122. Here again Pliny supports Virg. 'Arbores quidem' (speaking of India, VII 21), 'tantae proceritatis traduntur ut sagittis superari nequeant.' Val. Fl. VI 76 foll. says the same of the forests of Syene. Virg. does not specify the trees, but simply discriminates them from others



extremi sinus orbis, ubi aera vincere summum 123  
 arboris haut ullae iactu potuere sagittae?  
 et gens illa quidem sumptis non tarda pharetris. 125  
 Media fert tristis sucos tardumque saporem  
 felicis mali, quo non praesentius ullum,  
 pocula si quando saevae infecere novercae  
 miscueruntque herbas et non innoxia verba, 127

by their height. India is said to have a greater variety of forest trees than any other country. Mr. Maclean says, "Oceano propior India" seems to mean the jungles of the Malabar coast, running to the depth of many miles at the foot of the Western Ghâts, and abounding in teak and jack trees of an enormous height. I have seen them sixty or eighty feet from the ground to the branches, and there are some higher still. Entire mainmasts are made of a single stem for large ships. The ancients got their pepper from this coast. The jungles in some parts run quite close to the sea.

'Oceano propior' is explained by 'extremi sinus orbis.' It seems to imply the Homeric notion of the ocean as a great stream, encircling the outside of the world. So Catull. LXIV 30, 'Oceanusque mari qui totum amplectitur orbem.' ['Propior' Med. 'Gerit,' is clothed in.—H. N.]

123. 'Sinus' here seems to mean a deep or remote recess, a nook. Comp. Hor. Epod. I 13, 'Vel Occidentis usque ad ultimum sinum,' [G. IV 420 = A. I 161.]

'Arboris aera summum vincere,' to overshoot the air at the top of the tree; an apparent confusion between the notion of shooting through the air at the top of the tree, and shooting over the tree. 'Aera summum arboris' has been imitated by Val. Fl. VI 261, 'Si quis avem summi deducat ab aere rami;' Juv. VI 99, 'Tum sentina gravis, tum summus vertitur aer.' Hom., Od. XII 83, estimates the height of the mouth of Charybdis by saying that a strong man could not send an arrow up to the top; Aesch. applies the same image metaphorically Supp. 473, and probably Cho. 1033.

125. 'Non tarda' = 'impigra.' For the Indian archers Keightley refers to Hdt. VII 65. Heyne and others have suspected the genuineness of this verse, but without cause.

126. 'Tristis, etc.:' the bitter juice and lingering flavour of the benignant

citron, the 'Medicum malum': 'felicis' means blessed as an antidote.

127. 'Praesens,' close at hand, and hence prompt, efficacious, sovereign. Comp. A. XII 152, 'si quid praesentius audes,' and see Forc.

129. This line is repeated III 283, and on that account has been suspected by Heyne, Ribbeck, and others. In Med. it appears only in the margin, but it has been added by a very early corr., and it is recognized by Serv. [and the Berne scholia]. There are many instances [see Albrecht in Hermes XVI] in which Virg. wholly or partially repeats in a later poem a line which has appeared in an earlier, and many where the same line is repeated in different parts of the Aeneid, a practice which was doubtless adopted deliberately from Homer. But there is apparently no instance of the recurrence of an entire line in different parts of the Georgics, except the epic repetition in IV 550 foll. (note on v. 551), and only one instance (I 494 = II 513) of a partial repetition, though Lucretius, whom Virg. might have been expected to follow, repeats whole passages. On the other hand, copyists sometimes introduced lines which they remembered to have seen elsewhere; see IV 338. Still, the external evidence against the line is far from strong; there is nothing inappropriate in the sense, poisons and incantations being frequently connected, and it seems decidedly best to retain it. It will then serve as an epexegesis of 'infecere.'

'Miscuerunt' [Munro Lucr. I 406.]

With 'miscuerunt verba' comp. the last line of the obscure epigram attributed to Virg., 'In C. Annium Cimbrum Rhetorem' (Catalepton II 4), 'Ita omnia ista verba miscuit fratri,' where the point seems to be that Cimber, a suspected fratricide, and also an affected speaker or writer, mixed his strange jargon with the draught with which he poisoned his brother.

auxilium venit ac membris agit atra venena. 130  
 ipsa ingens arbos faciemque simillima lauro;  
 et, si non alium late iactaret odorem,  
 laurus erat; folia haut ullis labentia ventis;  
 flos ad prima tenax; animas et olentia Medi  
 ora foment illo et senibus medicantur anhelis. 135  
 Sed neque Medorum silvae, ditissima terra,  
 nec pulcher Ganges atque auro turbidus Hermus  
 laudibus Italiae certent, non Bactra, neque Indi,  
 totaque turiferis Panchaia pinguis harenis.  
 haec loca non tauri spirantes naribus ignem 140

130. As in I 129, 'ater' seems to contain the double notion of black and deadly. In the former sense it is to be explained either with reference to the colour of the poison itself 'nigri cum lacte veneni,' A. iv 514, or to the colour produced by it on the body, 'nigros efferre maritos,' Juv. I 72.

['Membris,' from the limbs.—H. N.]

133. 'Erat:' so Ovid. Am. I vi 34, 'solus eram, si non saevus addeset amor.' The indic. is thus rhetorically used for subj. to show how near the thing was to happening, [both in early Latin and still more often in writers from Cic. to Pliny. Compare A. II 54, IV 17, 603, XI 112, Dräger II p. 726, Holtze II p. 108.]

'Labentia:' for instances of the present participle used as a finite verb Wagn. comp. III 505, A. VII 787.

134. 'Ad prima,' in the highest degree; comp. Hdt. VI 13, *ἐς τὰ πρῶτα*. 'Aprime' is more usual.

135. 'Foveo' means generally to cherish, either physically or morally. Here it denotes a medical application, *θεραπεύειν*. See IV 230.

136-176. 'For the excellence of its peculiar products no country can rival Italy. It has not the mythical glories of a savage antiquity. But it has more useful characteristics,—corn, wine, oil, flocks, herds and horses, and a benignant climate; it is free from the noxious animals and herbs that abound elsewhere. Its cities and rivers, its seas and lakes, its harbours and breakwaters, its mines, its races of men, its heroes, are all its own. I glory in it as my country, and raise in its honour this rural strain, at once old and new.'

This celebrated burst of patriotism appears to be Virgil's own. A eulogy on

the agricultural capabilities of Italy occurs near the beginning of Varro's *De Re Rustica* [published not long before the *Georgics* were written, and Pliny ends his *Natural Hist.* with another. It has even been suggested that Virgil here imitates a lost passage in Varro, which (on this view) partly survives in Pliny III 40: *Hermes XXVII 387*. An elegy of Prop. (IV xxii) seems a direct imitation of Virgil, and the same, Mr. Nettleship thinks, may be the case with Pliny III 40.]

136. 'Silvae,' probably the citron groves of v. 126, nom. in apposition to 'terra': comp. 'Alcinoi silvae,' v. 87, 'Aminnae vites firmissima vina,' v. 97. Some edd. follow Reiske in joining 'silvae ditissima,' comp. Manil. IV 752, 'molles Arabes, silvarum ditia regna,' Med. corr. has 'regna' here for 'terra.'

137. 'Auro turbidus,' whose mud or sand is gold. Heyne calls it an oxymoron.

138. 'Bactra,' mentioned merely as a great Eastern power.

[Pal. resumes here till IV 461.]

139. 'Panchaia,' the happy island of Euhemerus, is here put for Arabia, near which his fancy placed it. 'Que' is disjunctive. 'Pinguis' appears to refer to the frankincense rather than to the general fertility of the soil.

140. 'Here is a land where no bullocks breathing fire from their nostrils have ploughed the soil, where no enormous dragon's teeth were ever sown, where no human harvest started up bristling with helms and crowded lances. But teeming corn and the wine-god's Massic juice have made it their own; its tenants are olives and luxuriant herds of cattle.' Lucr. v 29, 'Et Diomedis equi spirantes naribus ignem.'



invertere satis inmanis dentibus hydri, 141  
 nec galeis densisque virum seges horruit hastis;  
 sed gravidæ fruges et Bacchi Massicus umor  
 implevere; tenent oleæ armentaque laeta.  
 hinc bellator equus campo sese arduus infert; 145  
 hinc albi, Clitumne, greges et maxima taurus  
 victima, sæpe tuo perfusi flumine sacro,  
 Romanos ad templa deum duxere triumphos.  
 hic ver adsidium atque alienis mensibus aestas;  
 bis gravidæ pecudes, bis pomis utilis arbor. 150

141. It is difficult to say whether 'satis dentibus' is abl. abs., by a kind of ὑστέρον ποότερον, or dat., as Voss, Jacobs, and Wagn. explain it. If the latter, it should be taken i. q. 'propter sationem dentium' (Madv. § 426), not with Wagn., 'for the teeth sown in the fable by Jason.'

142. 'Seges' is connected with 'virum.'

143. 'Gravidæ:' I 319, 'gravidam segetem.' 'Bacchi Massicus umor:' comp. 'lacteus umor,' Lucr. I 258.

144. Perhaps an imitation of the rhythm of Lucr. V 202, 'Possedere, tenent rupes, vastaque paludes.'

'Laeta,' prolific. [For the juxtaposition of 'armenta' and 'oleæ,' comp. v. 222.—H. N.] Varro, Festus, and others derive the name 'Italia' from its oxen, ἰταλοί (vituli), and Gell. XI 1 calls it 'armentosissima.'

145. 'From this land comes the warhorse that prances proudly over the field of battle.' Comp. A. III 537, where four white horses are the first object seen in Italy, and are interpreted as an omen of both war and peace.

146. Serv. quotes Pliny as saying that the water of the Clitumnus made the animals that drank of it white; Pliny however (II 230) does not specify the Clitumnus, but speaks of the water in the 'ager Faliscus,' to which strictly speaking the Clitumnus does not belong. Virg. speaks of the whiteness as coming from bathing in the stream. Juv. XII 13 confines himself to the fattening effect of the pastures of Clitumnus.

147. 'Tuo perfusi flumine sacro:' comp. 'Teque, pater Tiberine, tuo cum flumine sancto,' Enn. A. I fr. 37; G. II 219; A. VIII 72; 'suo cum gurgite flavo,' A. IX 816; 'Hunc tu, Diva, tuo recubantem corpore sancto Circumfusa super,'

Lucr. I 38, etc. This use of possessive pronoun and epithet together belongs to the earlier Latin poetry. [Exx. from Ennius and Lucr. are quoted by Munro Lucr. IV 394: possibly it is copied from Greek.]

['Perfundi' is the ordinary word for to bathe.—H. N.]

'Sacro:' Pliny the younger (Ep. VIII 8), speaking of the sources of the Clitumnus, says, 'Adiacet templum priscum et religiosum. Stat Clitumnus ipse, amictus ornatusque praetexta. Praesens numen atque etiam fatidicum indicant sortes. Sparsa sunt circa sacella complura totidemque Dei.'

148. The white bulls did not lead the way in the procession, but they came earlier than the triumphal car.

['Ad:' Pal. and originally Med. have 'at.'—H. N.]

149. 'Here is ceaseless spring, and summer in months where summer is strange; twice the cattle give increase, twice the tree yields its service of fruit.' 'Ver' and 'aestas' are used loosely. The meaning is that there is verdure all the year, and warmth in the winter. Lucr. I 180, 'Quod si de nilo fierent, subito exorerentur Incerto spatio atque alienis partibus anni.' Virg. may have had the expression of Lucr. in mind when he said that Italy really enjoyed that which Lucr. gives as a derangement of nature.

150. It is not quite clear whether 'pomis' is dat. or abl. If dat., it must = 'pomis creandis.' The abl. is supported by Ovid. M. III 212, 'Et pedibus Pterelas et naribus utilis Agre.'

Keightley refers to Varro I 7, where the apple-trees at Consentia in the Bruttian territory are said to bear twice, as the probable origin of Virg.'s statement.

at rabidae tigres absunt et saeva leonum 157  
 semina, nec miseros fallunt aconita legentis,  
 nec rapit inmensos orbis per humum, neque tanto  
 squameus in spiram tractu se colligit anguis.  
 adde tot egregias urbes operumque laborem, 155  
 tot congesta manu praeruptis oppida saxis,  
 fluminaque antiquos subterlabentia muros.  
 an mare, quod supra, memorem, quodque adluit infra?  
 anne lacus tantos, te, Lari maxime, teque,  
 fluctibus et fremitu adsurgens, Benace, marino? 160  
 an memorem portus Lucrinoque addita claustra  
 atque indignatum magnis stridoribus aequor,

151. 'Saeva leonum semina' (brood or race) is an imitation of 'triste leonum Seminum,' Lucr. III 741.

152. There is aconite in Italy, according to Dioscorides IV 78; Virg.'s statement, therefore, is not accurate. It is vain to attempt to save his credit, as Serv. and others have done, by laying stress on 'fallunt,' for the context clearly requires an assertion of freedom from poisonous herbs.

'Legentis' is subst.: comp. I 193, [272, III 147 (where the singular is unusual); so 'balantes' (II 72 note, Lucr. VI 1131), 'volantes,' 'amantes,' etc. Dräger Hist. Syntax i p. 49].

153. 'Tanto tractu,' 'that vast train,' which he has elsewhere. Virg. appears to be thinking exclusively of the huger serpents.

155-157. 'Think, too, of all those noble cities and trophies of human toil, towns piled by man's hand on precipitous rocks, and rivers that flow beneath time-honoured walls.' [Towns are characteristic of Italian civilization: it is not clear whether Virgil had special towns in mind. V. 156 suits many Central Italian cities; Byron perhaps took v. 157 of the Cisalpine towns; Con. referred v. 155 to Etruria.]

'Operumque laborem' recurs A. I 455. [Literally, it is 'the laboriousness of human achievements.']

156. 'Praeruptis saxis congesta' is a specific description of the position of many Italian towns.

'Manu' here implies labour, as elsewhere violence (III 22), or care (III 395), the general notion being personal exertion. Hence its frequent use with 'ipse.'

157. The mention of seas and lakes immediately following shows that Serv. is right in supposing here a special reference to the usefulness of the rivers. 'Antiquos,' however, appears to be chiefly pictorial.

158. An amplification of 'mare superum' and 'inferum.'

159, 160. 'Lari,' Lago di Como. 'Benace,' Lago di Garda. 'Adsurgens,' etc., 'heaving with the swell and the roar of ocean.' Comp. Val. Fl. III 476, 'intortis adsurgens arduus undis,' and A. I 539, 'subito adsurgens fluctu nimbosus Orion.'

161-164. [Avernus was a lake near Cumae situate in a volcanic crater and renowned in legend (A. VI 237). Between it and the coast lay Lucrinus, a lagoon separated from the sea by a sandbank or perhaps an ancient dam (ὁ φασιν Ἡρακλῆα διαχῶσαι, Strabo). In 37 B.C. Agrippa united the two lakes by a canal, strengthened the dam ('addita claustra'), provided an exit and thus made a double harbour, the 'Iulius portus.' The work was part of operations against Sex. Pompeius: the harbour was soon abandoned in favour of Misenum. Avernus is still distinguishable, but the coast was wholly altered by an eruption in 1538. See Beloch's Campanien, 168; Gardthausen's Augustus ii 138; Merivale iii 247, ed. I.]

['Addita,' like A. v 817 'addere frena feris,' III 336 'iugis hanc addidit arcem,' = 'imponere.']

162. 'Indignatum,' chafing at the barrier. Philarg. refers the words to a particular storm which occurred during the work.



Iulia qua ponto longe sonat unda refuso  
 Tyrrhenusque fretis immittitur aestus Avernis?  
 haec eadem argenti rivos aerisque metalla 165  
 ostendit venis, atque auro plurima fluxit.  
 haec genus acre virum, Marsos, pubemque Sabellam  
 adsuetumque malo Ligurem Volcosque verutos  
 extulit, haec Decios, Marios, magnosque Camillos,  
 Scipiadas duros bello, et te, maxime Caesar, 170  
 qui nunc extremis Asiae iam victor in oris

163. 'Refuso,' beaten back. 'Iulia unda' = 'unda Iulii portus,' which resounds with the noise of the sea beating against its outer barrier.

164. 'And the Tyrrhenian billows come foaming up into the [stormy waters.—H. N.] of Avernus.' The sea is supposed to enter through the channel mentioned on v. 161, mix with the waters of the Lucrine, and thence flow into Avernus, the more inland lake. It is possible, too, that 'fretis,' which is properly applied to the sea, may be used proleptically of Avernus as the receptacle of sea-water. In any case a contrast seems intended between 'Tyrrhenus' and 'Avernis,' the effect of the work being to mingle two distant waters.

165. Lucr. v 1255, 'Manabat venis ferventibus in loca terrae Concava conveniens argenti rivos et auri.' These lines, however, refer to the actual liquefaction of the metals by a conflagration.

'Rivos' and 'fluxit' denote not streams but streamlike threads. 'Auro plurima fluxit' has, however, been supposed to mean the gold found in the Po, which is mentioned by Pliny xxxiii 66. [Traces of the Cisalpine gold-workings still remain, Corpus Inscr. Lat. v p. 715] Pliny also (xxxiii 78) speaks of Italy as abounding in metals, if the senate had not forbidden the working of the mines; and so at the end of his Natural History (in the passage mentioned on vv. 136-176) he says 'Metallis auri, argenti, aeris, ferri, quamdiu libuit exercere, nullis cessit.'

'Venis,' in its veins.

The perfects 'ostendit' and 'fluxit' might possibly point to the discontinuance of working the mines, though they need only mean 'it has been known to display,' etc.

167. 'Genus acre virum' refers to all

that follows. 'Marsos:' Appian, B. C. I 46, *Οὐτε κατὰ Μάρσων οὔτε ἀνευ Μάρσων γενίσθαι θρίαμβον.* 'Pubem Sabellam:' the name Sabellian was a general one, including various tribes supposed to have issued from the Sabines, Marsians, and Pelignians as well as Samnites and Lucanians.

168. 'Malo,' hardship. 'Verutos:' 'with rude spears;' comp. A. VII 665, 'veruque Sabello.' The weapon, properly called 'verutum,' was a short dart used by the light infantry of the Roman army, and originally borrowed from the Sabines.

169. These heroes saved Rome, the Decii from the Latins, Marius from the Cimbri, Camillus from the Gauls, the Scipios from Carthage. So Octavian saves her from enemies in the East.

170. The form 'Scipiades' had been already used by Lucilius, and Lucretius calls Memmius 'Memmiades' for metrical reasons. The combination of the Roman family name with the Homeric patronymic produces a hybrid effect, especially as there is nothing in the family name itself to distinguish son from father. See Munro Lucr. I 26, III 1034. As Virg. is using the plural, we might expect him to have talked of the 'gens Iulia' instead of individualizing Octavian; but the love of variety and the desire to pay a higher compliment doubtless led him to express himself as he has done.

171, 172. [After Actium, Octavian spent more than a year (30-29) in restoring order in Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor: 'extremis oris' and 'Indum' are natural exaggerations of this work. 'Indum' may have been suggested, like 'Gangaridum,' III 26, by the conquest of Egypt, which opened direct communication with India: Mommsen, Mon. Ancyr. p. 133.]

I.

R.

inbellem avertis Romanis arcibus Indum.  
 salve, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus,  
 magna virum; tibi res antiquae laudis et artis  
 ingredior, sanctos ausus recludere fontis, 175  
 Ascraeumque cano Romana per oppida carmen.

Nunc locus arborum ingeniis, quae robora cuique,  
 quis color, et quae sit rebus natura ferendis.  
 difficiles primum terrae collesque maligni,  
 tenuis ubi argilla et dumosis calculus arvis, 180  
 Palladia gaudent silva vivacis olivae.

172. 'Inbellem' is a mere epithet of national contempt, oddly used here.

'Romanis arcibus' = Rome. A. IV 234 'Ascanione pater Romanas invidet arces?' x 12 'cum fera Karthago Romanis arcibus olim Exitium immittet,' 'arces' being probably the seven hills (v. 535 below).

173. 'Hail to thee, land of Saturn, mighty mother of noble fruits and noble men! For thee I essay the theme of the glory and the skill of olden days: for thee I adventure to break the seal of those hallowed springs, and sing the song of Ascræ through the towns of Rome.' 'Saturnia' gives the idea of mythical greatness. See Ævander's speech, A. VIII 314 foll.

174. 'Res antiquae laudis,' things which have been from antiquity the subject-matter of praise and art.

'Laudis:' comp. the opening of Cato, De Re Rust.: 'Virum bonum cum laudabant [maiores nostri], ita laudabant, bonum agricolam bonumque colonum. Amplissime laudari existimabatur qui ita laudabatur.' Possibly the words may refer to 'Saturnia tellus' and the mythical glories of agriculture under Saturn.

'Artis,' the art of agriculture. Comp. I 122, 'primusque per artem Movit agros.' Ribbeck adopts 'artem' from Pal., but it seems decidedly inferior.

'Tibi,' not 'ingredior,' is emphatic. He has already entered on the subject.

175. 'Sanctos ausus recludere fontis' is from the Lucretian 'iuvat integros accedere fontis Atque haurire' (I 927); but Virg. introduces a religious notion. He is the first that has been thought worthy to unseal the holy spring. Comp. below, v. 476, and Prop. IV i 3, 'Primus ego ingredior puro de fonte sacerdos Itala per Graios orgia ferre choros.'

176. 'Ascraeum,' etc.: 'I am a Roman

Hesiod.' Comp. III 11 note. In E. VI 70 Hesiod is called 'Ascraeus senex.' Comp. 'Syracosio versu,' ib. I, for Theocritean.

177-183. 'Now for the genius of the different soils. A hilly soil of marl and gravel is the soil for the olive.'

177. 'Robora' = 'vires.' Comp. I 86, 'Sive inde occultas vires et pabula terrae Pinguis concipiunt.' The subjoined clauses are constructed as if 'dicendis' or some such word had been expressed with 'ingeniis.'

178. 'Quis color,' what is its distinguishing colour. See below, vv. 203-255. Pal. originally had 'qui.' 'Natura:' comp. 'Quippe solo natura subest,' v. 49. 'Productive power.' 'Rebus ferendis:' comp. v. 9 above.

179. 'Difficiles,' opp. to 'facilis,' below, v. 223; 'malignus,' opp. to 'benignus.' Comp. A. VI 270, 'lunae sub luce maligna,' and Hor. Ep. II i 209, 'laudare maligne.' Comp. also Pliny, Ep. II 17, 'Quarum arborum illa vel maxime ferax est terra, malignior ceteris.' Both 'difficilis' and 'malignus' are metaphorical, as we might say 'churlish' and 'niggard.'

180. 'Tenuis,' lean, hungry. 'Argilla:' Col. III 11 speaks of 'creta qua utuntur figuli quamque nonnulli argillam vocant' as being in itself unfavourable to production. There are three signs of a 'terra difficilis et maligna'—'argilla,' 'dumi,' and 'calculus.' Cato's precept (VI) is 'Qui ager frigidior et macrior erit, ibi oleam Licinianam seri oportet.'

181. As the olive is slow of growth (v. 3 note), so it is long-lived; see Pliny XVI 239. 'Silva' seems to have no particular force, a sort of ornamental variety for 'arbores.' [Med. has 'gaudet.—H. N.]



indicio est tractu surgens oleaster eodem  
 plurimus et strati bacis silvestribus agri.  
 at quae pinguis humus dulcique uligine laeta,  
 quique frequens herbis et fertilis ubere campus— 185  
 qualem saepe cava montis convalle solemus  
 desplicere; huc summis liquuntur rupibus amnes,  
 felicemque trahunt limum—quique editus austro,  
 et filicem curvis invisam pascit aratris:  
 hic tibi praevalidas olim multoque fluentis 190  
 sufficiet Baccho vitis, hic fertilis uvae,  
 hic laticis, qualem pateris libamus et auro,

182. The presence of the wild olive shows that the soil is good for the cultivated olive. The 'oleaster,' as Martyn remarked, is not to be confounded with the plant cultivated in our gardens under that name, which is properly called 'elaegnus.'

183. With the picture comp. E. VII 54. 'Silvestribus' here is used strictly, opp. to 'felicibus.'

184-194. 'A rich and moist slope, with a southern aspect, is the soil for vines.'

184. 'Dulci uligine:' Col. II 9 says, 'solet autem salsam nonnunquam et amarum uliginem vomere terra, quae quamvis matura iam sata, manante noxio umore, corrumpit.' In XI 3, § 37, he says that 'dulcis uligo' is best secured by planting near a spring.

185. 'Frequens herbis:' comp. Ov. Her. XVI 54, 'locus piceis ilicibusque frequens;' Tac. A. IV 65, 'quod talis silvae frequens fecundusque esset.' 'Ubere' seems to be merely a metaphor from the breast as the source of nourishment.

186, 187. 'Such as we often see at the bottom (or on the side) of a mountain hollow.' Heyne [and Ribbeck], following Heins., read 'displicere' from Gud. etc. See A. I 224.

187. 'Huc' is used where in a regularly constructed sentence we should expect 'quo.' The sentence gives the reason for the moisture of land so placed.

'Liquuntur' is constructed like 'fluunt,' as in Stat. Theb. V 618, 'in vulnera liquitur imber,' comp. by Forb. ['Liquuntur' Pal.—H. N.]

188. 'Felicem limum' forms a contrast to 'tenuis argilla.'

'Quique editus austro' is to be coupled with 'quique frequens herbis,' not ex-

plained with Heyne, 'aut qualem eum campum videmus, qui editus austro.'

'Editus austro,' rising to the south. 'Editus' is not = 'expositus,' but has its natural signification; 'austro' (dat.) nearly = 'ad austrum.' Comp. for the expression 'caelo educere,' A. II 186; for the sense Col. III 1, 'optimum est solum nec campestre nec praeceps, sinile tamen edito campo,' and III 2, 'vinum . . . iucundius adferunt collina quae magis exuberant aquiloni prona, sed sunt generosiora sub austro.' In the latter passage 'aquiloni prona' also illustrates the construction of 'editus austro.' Authorities were divided as to the best aspect for a vineyard; see v. 298.

189. 'Filicem,' the female fern or brake (Martyn). Some early editors read 'silicem,' which would agree with Col. III 11. But 'filicem' is the reading of the MSS., is supported by Pliny XVII 29, and suits 'pascit' better.

190. 'Fluentis:' comp. above, v. 100.

191. 'Fertilis uvae' like 'Fertilis frugum pecorisque,' Hor. Carm. Saec. 29, etc., 'fertilis,' like 'ferax,' being the verbal of 'fero.'

192. 'Pateris et auro.' There seems no objection to explaining this and similar expressions (if it can be called explanation) by what is termed Hendiadys, so long as we bear in mind that such figures are not rules which poets followed, but helps devised by grammarians for classifying varieties of language. The word Hendiadys, indeed, amounts merely to a statement of the fact that two words are used to express one thing. We might have had either 'pateris' or 'auro' separately; the poet chooses to use both. Such redun-

inflavit cum pinguis ebur Tyrrhenus ad aras,  
 lancibus et pandis fumantia reddimus exta.  
 sin armenta magis studium vitulosque tueri, 195  
 aut fetus ovium aut urentis culta capellas,

dance of expression is common enough in poetry, e.g. in this passage 'hic fertilis uvae, Hic laticis, qualem,' etc., are only two ways of saying that the soil bears good vines. Early poets are prone to it from simplicity, later poets from a love of ornament. The feeling which prompts its use in the particular case must vary with circumstances; no single rationale, such as that which supposes the second noun in the hendiadys to be expegetical (Bryce on A. 1 2), will cover the instances. The relation between the two nouns may be sometimes described as that of attribute and subject, sometimes as that of a whole and its part, etc. But no general rule can be laid down, except that the two nouns, while representing the same thing, seem commonly to represent distinct aspects of it, so as not to run into simple tautology. Hence they may usually be combined in translation, being resolved into a noun with epithet, or a noun with another in the genitive, as here, 'golden bowls,' or 'bowls of gold.'

The best wines were naturally those that were used in libations. Comp. v. 101 above, E. v 71.

193. 'Pinguis Tyrrhenus:' comp. Catull. xxxix 11, 'Aut parvus Umber aut obesus Etruscus,' [and Ellis' note. Etruscan sculptures represent short fat figures, no doubt characteristic of the race. The proverbial expl. is given by Serv., 'Victimarium scilicet carnibus.')

'Ebur,' an ivory pipe: comp. I 480, 'maestum inlacrimat templis ebur,' and the use of 'auro' above. Pliny XVI 172 speaks of 'sacrificae tibiae Tuscorum,' which however were made of boxwood. Prop. v vi 8 has a sacrificial pipe of ivory, though it is Phrygian. Perhaps a pipe strengthened with ivory rings is meant. [Fluteplayers, like actors, came to Rome from Etruria, or were thought by the Romans to have done so: see Festus p. 309, Varro L. L. VII 35, on 'subulo'—itself probably a Latin word—and Müller's Etrusker (ed. Deccke) ii 202.]

194. 'Pandis,' either curved, deep, or bowed beneath the weight of the entrails. 'Pandos autumnii pondere ramos,' Ov. M.

xiv 660; 'rotundas Curvet aper lances,' Hor. Sat. II iv 40. On the other hand 'cavas lances' occurs in Martial XI xxxi 19. Comp. v. 445. Med. a. m. pr. gives 'patulis' [perhaps a gloss, for Serv. and the Berne scholia give 'patulus' as an alternative explanation of 'pandus.' See Fest. p. 220 M. 'Pandana porta dicta est Romae, quia semper pateret; pandiculari dicuntur qui toto corpore oscitantes extenduntur, eo quod pandi fiunt.'—H. N.]

'Fumantia,' reeking. Serv. however speaks of the entrails as boiled before being offered.

'Reddere' is said by Serv. to be the technical word for laying the entrails on the altar. Stat. Theb. IV 466, 'Seminces fibras et adhuc spirantia reddit viscera;' Tac. H. IV 53, 'Lustrata suovetaurilibus area et super caespitem redditis extis.'

195-202. 'For grazing choose a country like the lawns of Tarentum and the plain of Mantua.'

195. 'Tueri:' comp. Col. VI 3, 'tueri armentum paleis,' in which and other passages 'tueri' seems to have the meaning of 'sustentare.' A more general sense however is recommended by the parallel use, III 305. For 'studium tueri' see I 21, 213.

'Armenta' includes horses and oxen.

'Vitulos' probably has special reference to the breeding.

196. ['Fetus ovium:' Pal. has 'ovium fetum,' and so Ribbeck, Con.; Nonius and Med. have 'ovium fetus.'—H. N. 'Fetus ovium' is found only in the later and inferior MSS.]

The goat was held, either by its bite, or by something poisonous in its saliva, to kill crops and trees, especially vines and olives. Comp. Varro I ii 17 foll., whence it appears that 'coloni' were sometimes forbidden in the terms of their lease to keep goats 'in agro surculario,' where vines, olives, or other trees were planted. See also vv. 378 foll.

'Urentis,' causing to wither: comp. I 77. 'Culta' = 'sata.'



saltus et saturi petito longinqua Tarenti,  
 et qualem infelix amisit Mantua campum,  
 pascentem niveos herboso flumine cycnos:  
 non liquidi gregibus fontes, non gramina derunt, 200  
 et, quantum longis carpent armenta diebus,  
 exigua tantum gelidus ros nocte reponet.  
 nigra fere et presso pinguis sub vomere terra,  
 et cui putre solum,—namque hoc imitatur arando—  
 optima frumentis; non ullo ex aequore cernes 205  
 plura domum tardis decedere plaustra iuvenicis;  
 aut unde iratus silvam devexit arator

197. 'Saturi:' ['aut fecundi aut quod est iuxta oppidum Saturum' (Serv.). For the sense 'rich' comp. Pers. I 71 'rus saturum; Seneca N. Q. v 9 'locos ob umidam caeli naturam saturos; Col. x 43 'satur autumnus:' this explanation is adopted by Con., H. N., and Wölfflin's Archiv v 35. It is, however, strange that Virgil should couple 'saturi' with 'Tarenti' if he did not mean to refer to the place, which was well known, Strabo p. 279, Hor. Sat. I vi 59, etc. Possibly he took the adj. and the place-name both to denote fertility.] Med. a. m. pr. has 'satyri.'

'Longinqua Tarenti:' see note on IV 159. 'Longinqua' would have more force, if we could suppose Virg. at the time of writing to have been at Mantua.

198. 'The plain which Mantua lost' in the assignment of lands (E. I and IX).

199. E. IX 27-29, 'Vare, tuum nomen, superet modo Mantua nobis, Mantua vae miseræ nimium vicina Cremonae, Cantantes sublime ferent ad sidera cycni.' 'Herboso flumine,' the Mincius. Comp. E. VII 12, A. x 205.

200. ['Derunt,' Pal., Med. a. m. p., and one of Ribbeck's cursives: comp. v. 233. So 'desse' for 'deesse' Lucr. I 43, on which Lachmann quotes Velius Longus p. 2227 P. in support of the spelling with one c. 'Desunt,' the reading of Gud., is a mere mistake for 'derunt.'—H. N. Comp. E. VII 7.]

201, 202. 'Nay, all that your herds can devour on a summer's day will be replaced by the cold fresh dew of one short night.' This of course is an exaggeration. But Varro I vii 10 quotes a statement that in the plains of Rosea a pole left lying on the ground one day was overgrown by the next.

'Reponet:' Plaut. Pers. I i 37, 'Ut

mihī des nummos. . . . Quos continuo tibi reponam hoc triduo.' Med. and two or three inferior MSS. have 'reponit.'

203-225. 'For corn-crops a dark, rich, crumbling soil is best, or ground lately cleared of trees. Gravelly soils yield but scantily; tufa and marl are infested by snakes. But a grassy soil which imbibes and exudes moisture readily will be good for everything, vines, olives, pasture, corn.'

203. 'Nigra,' called 'pulla' by Cato CL I and Col. II 10, § 18, etc. 'This is the colour of the land in Campania, and indicates the presence of decayed animal and vegetable matter' (Keightley).

'Presso,' etc., which shows itself fat when the ploughshare is driven into it. 'Depresso arato,' I 44. 'Fere' goes with 'optima frumentis.'

204. It may seem hard to see how the same soil can be both 'pinguis' and 'putris;' Mr. Blackburn however remarks that this may be the case with what is technically termed a free (as opposed to a stiff) loam, which has a certain amount of unctuousness when pressed, yet is friable. 'Namque hoc imitatur arando:' Col. (v iv 2) quotes this line as meaning that the natural character of the soil actually saves the manual labour of artificially loosening the earth ('pastinatio'). [Comp. also Col. II ii 5.—H. N.]

Med. originally had 'imitatur,' probably introduced by some one who thought the form passive.

206. 'Tardis,' from the load they are drawing. 'Tardis iuvenicis' might perhaps be taken as an abl. of the agent, construing 'decedere' as a neuter passive, but it is better to take it as a modal abl.

207. The meaning is that ground lately cleared is another kind of soil

et nemora evertit multos ignava per annos,  
 antiquasque domos avium cum stirpibus imis  
 eruit; illae altum nidis petiere relictis; 210  
 at rudis enituit impulso vomere campus.  
 nam ieiuna quidem clivosi glarea ruris  
 vix humilis apibus casias roremque ministrat;  
 et tofus scaber, et nigris exesa chelydri  
 creta negant alios aequae serpentibus agros 215  
 dulcem ferre cibum et curvas praebere latebras.  
 quae tenuem exhalat nebulam fumosque volucris,

which is good for corn. 'Aut' then refers grammatically either to the sentence 'nigra fere,' etc., or to 'non ullo ex aequore,' etc., the sense being the same in either case. In the first case we supply 'optima frumentis,' in the second 'quam ex illo aequore, unde,' etc. Pliny (xvii 25 foll.) denies the universal truth of this and most of the following signs.

'Iratas,' at the wood cumbering the ground, a thought developed by 'ignava.' 'Devexit,' carted away.

208. 'Unde' governs 'devexit' only; 'evertit' and 'eruit' are in material, but not in formal connexion with the previous clause. Comp. A. iv 263, 'dives quae munera Dido Fecerat et tenui telas discreverat auro : ' [see Munro *Lucr.* i 720.]

209. 'Frondiferasque domos avium,' *Lucr.* i 18.

210. 'Petiere:' the tense does not denote rapidity (like 'fugere ferae,' i 330), but is determined by that of the preceding verbs.

211. Pliny (xvii 37) uses the words 'illa post vomerem nitescens,' and quotes *Il.* xviii 547 for an actual shining appearance of the earth after the plough, though he mistakes that passage, the point of which is the supernatural appearance of blackness in gold, not the natural appearance of brightness in the earth. But it is safer to refer 'enituit' to the trim appearance of the newly reclaimed land, or perhaps of the rising crops, a sense supported by Accius inc. fr. xviii, 'Probae etsi in segetem sunt deteriore datae Fruges, tamen ipsae suapte natura enitent,' and by i 153 above, 'nitentia culta.'

'Enituit' [the quantity of the *i* may be due to caesura; but see *Excursus* to v. 81].

'At' is *ὁ δὲ*, as 'illae' is *αἱ μέν*. The birds fly; the field on which they lived so long brightens under cultivation.

212. He gives the reason why he recommends ground such as he has been mentioning—because soil of a contrary character is far less productive.

213. 'Casias:' see E. ii 49. 'Roem,' rosemary, as in Pliny xxiv 101. He mentions bees, as part of a husbandman's care, anticipating Book iv.

214. 'Tofus,' volcanic sandstone, 'tufa.' Pliny xvii 29 and Col. iii 11 say that soil where 'tufa' is found is not necessarily bad.

'Chelydri,' venomous snakes of amphibious nature, mentioned in *Lucan* ix 711, where they are described as 'tracti via fumante chelydri.' The name water-tortoise (*χέλυς ὑδωρ*) referred to the hardness of the skin.

215. 'Creta' is generally rendered chalk; but Col. in a passage referred to on v. 180 identifies it with 'argilla, qua utuntur figuli.' For the notion that it was eaten by certain creatures Keightley refers to *Front.* in *Geop.* vii 12.

The old commentators put a stop after 'creta,' connected 'tofus' and 'creta,' like 'glarea,' with 'ministrat,' and understood 'negant' 'men deny,' or as *Serv.* [and the *Berne scholia*] give it specifically, 'negant: Nicander et Solinus, qui de his rebus scripserunt.' *Virg.* means that the presence of tufa and marl is a sign that snakes haunt the place.

216. [*Rom.* resumes here *till G.* iv 36.]

'Dulcem' is to be taken strictly; *ἔστι γὰρ γλυκεία*, *Geop.* l. c. 'Aequae' goes with 'ferre' and 'praebere.' 'Curvas' relates to the shape of the snake [or of the lair, i.e. snug.—*H. N.*].

217. 'Fumos' is the same as 'nebu-



et bibit umorem et, cum volt, ex se ipsa remittit,  
 quaeque suo semper viridi se gramine vestit,  
 nec scabie et salsa laedit robigine ferrum, 220  
 illa tibi laetis intexet vitibus ulmos,  
 illa ferax oleo est, illam experiere colendo  
 et facilem pecori et patientem vomeris unci.  
 talem dives arat Capua et vicina Vesaevo  
 ora iugo et vacuis Clanius non aequus Acerris. 225  
 Nunç quo quamque modo possis cognoscere, dicam.  
 rara sit an supra morem si densa requires,

lam,' steam which rises in a thin cloud. 'Volucris' = 'tenuis,' as 'lentus' or 'tardus' applied to vapour (A. v 682) = 'spissus.' Virg. may have thought of Lucr. v 463, 'Exhalantque lacus nebulam fluviique perennes: Ipsa quoque interdum tellus fumare videtur.'

218. 'Ex se ipsa remittit' may refer to exhalations, like the preceding verse, or to exudations.

219. ['Viridi:' so MSS., Ribbeck, H. N.; one inferior MS. has 'viridis,' and so Con. (comp. A. i 314). For 'viridi suo' comp. v. 147 note.]

220. 'Scabies' is the effect of 'robigo' on the surface of iron; 'scabra robigine,' i 495. ['Aut' Med. corr.—H. N.]

'Salsa:' the saltness which would rust iron would be unfavourable to produce: see vv. 237 foll. It is opposed to 'dulci uligine laeta,' v. 184. Pliny xvii 27 says 'ferro omnis [terra] robiginem obducit.'

221. The emphatic words are 'laetis vitibus.' In prose it would be 'illa feret laetas vites quae ulmis intexantur.' Pal., Gud., etc., have 'intexit.'

222. ['Oleo:' so Pal., Rom. and most other MSS., Nonius p. 500, Arusianus, Ribbeck, H. N.; Med. and two cursives have 'oleae' and so Con.]

223. 'Facilem pecori,' well-natured to cattle. 'Facilis' seems a metaphor from personal character, and nearly = 'commodus,' which is joined with 'patients' in Hor. A. P. 257. See iv 272, 'facilis quaerentibus herba.'

224. ['Dives,' because of the rich soil, Serv.] 'Vesaeus' is an adjective; where a substantive, it is 'Vesaeus mons.'

225. Gellius (vi 20) [quotes from a commentary a story also repeated by Philarg. here] that Virg. first wrote 'Nola

iugo,' and changed it because the people of Nola would not allow him to bring water to his land. We can scarcely argue in support of 'Nola' from the topographical character of the passage, because that is satisfied by 'Vesaevo.'

'Vacuis,' not 'unpeopled' through inundations, as Serv. takes it, but 'thinly peopled,' like 'vacuis Cumis,' Juv. iii 2; 'vacuis Ulubris,' Id. x 102.

'Non aequus,' because it overflowed Acerrae. 'Clanius' is of course put for the country through which it runs, like 'Hydaspes,' iv 212.

226-258. 'To tell close soil from loose, sink a pit, throw the earth in again, stamp it down, and see whether it exceeds or falls short. To tell bitter soil, put some in a basket, mix it with fresh water, and taste what trickles through. To tell rich soil, handle it and see whether it crumbles or sticks to the fingers. Moist soil shows itself by the luxuriance of its herbage. Heavy and light soils tell their own tale. Black and other colours speak to the eyes. Cold soils are hard to detect, except by the presence of firs, yews, and ivy.'

In the preceding account of the soils Virg. has to a certain extent anticipated the question how to ascertain them (e.g. vv. 180, 185, 212 foll.), while in the present paragraph he has still something to add about the aptitudes of each (vv. 228, 229, 239, 240, etc.); but the awkwardness of this want of arrangement can hardly be said to be felt in poetry. [Comp. generally Varro R. R. i ix.—H. N.]

226. For 'quo quamque' Rom. reads 'quocumque,' which Jahn adopts, understanding an acc. from the context. [Rom. also has 'posses' for 'possis.'—H. N.]

227. 'Supra morem' is not to be pressed,

altera frumentis quoniam favet, altera Baccho,  
 densa magis Cereri, rarissima quaeque Lyaeo:  
 ante locum capies oculis, alteque iubebis 230  
 in solido puteum demitti, omnemque repones  
 rursus humum, et pedibus summas aequabis harenas.  
 si derunt, rarum pecorique et vitibus almis  
 aptius uber erit; sin in sua posse negabunt  
 ire loca et scrobibus superabit terra repletis, 235  
 spissus ager; glaebas cunctantis crassaque terga  
 expecta, et validis terram proscinde juvencis.  
 salsa autem tellus et quae perhibetur amara—

as if it meant excessively. The meaning evidently is whether the earth in question is looser or stiffer than the average. ['Morem' = 'modum,' as A. v 694, VII 377, VIII 635.—H. N., Contrib. to Latin Lex. p. 526.]

'Requires' Med. originally and Pal., and so Wagn., who rightly remarks that it agrees with 'capiēs,' 'iubebis,' etc.; 'requiras' Med. corr., Rom.

'Si' goes with 'requires.' It might conceivably go with 'sit,' in the sense of 'an,' like 'quaesisse si incolumis Lycortas evasisset,' Livy XXXIX 50; but this would leave 'requires' very bare. The confusion of the order must be set down as poetical, as in Hor. S. I v 72, 'Paene macros arsit dum turdos versat in igni.'

Serv. [and the Berne scholia] say of these lines, 'Illi autem versus incomparabiles sunt: tantam habent sine aliqua perissologia repetitionem.'

229. 'Magis' seems to belong to 'densa.' This answers best to 'rarissima quaeque.'

230. 'Ante locum capies oculis' is explained by 'in solido,' which gives the reason for the choice.

231. 'In solido,' where the experiment may be fairly tried, which it could not be if the ground was hollow.

232. 'Pedibus,' etc. = 'recalcabis,' Col. II 2.

234. 'Uber' is a laudatory synonym for 'solum.'

235. 'Scrobibus': 'scrobes' is here used as a synonym for 'puteus'; rather loosely, for 'scrobes' as a general rule were excavations longer than they were broad, such as a trench for vines, or a grave. Col. v 5 allows, as an exception,

the 'scrobs' for vines to be as broad as it is long. 'Scrobibus' is plural for singular.

'Superabit' = 'supererit.' The word, as used intrans., seems first to mean 'to be superior;' then 'to be in excess;' lastly 'to remain over,' without the notion of excess, as E. IX 27, 'superet modo Mantua nobis.' Possibly there may be here the further notion of elevation in the soil, which would fall under the first of the meanings given, as in Stat. Theb. IV 458, 'Quamquam infossus humo, superat tamen agger in auras.' In v. 314 below the third meaning seems to be intended; in v. 330 the first or second. See also III 63, A. I 537, II 311.

Pliny throws doubt on the practicability of this test (XVII 27), 'Scrobes quidem regesta in eos nulla complet, ut densa atque rara ad hunc modum deprehendi possit.'

236, 237. The epithets 'cunctantis,' 'crassa,' 'validis,' are emphatic. 'Prepare yourself for resistance in the clods, stiffness in the ridges, and let the oxen be strong with which you break up the ground.'

'Expecta': 'exerce' was read originally in one of Ribbeck's cursives, and is supported by Rom. 'Proscinde,' I 97.

238. Pliny XVII 29 gives a more favourable view of this kind of soil: 'Salsae terrae multo melius creduntur, tutiora a vitibus innascentium animalium.'

'Perhibetur' seems to denote that 'amara' is a common epithet of soils. Diophanes in Geopon v 7, recommending a similar test of soil, speaks of τῆν γῆν οὖσαν πικρὰν ἢ ἀλμυρὰν.



frugibus infelix ea, nec mansuescit arando,  
 nec Baccho genus, aut pomis sua nomina servat— 240  
 tale dabit specimen : tu spisso vimine qualos,  
 colaque prelorum fumosis deripe tectis ;  
 huc ager ille malus dulcesque a fontibus undae  
 ad plenum calcentur ; aqua eluctabitur omnis  
 scilicet, et grandes ibunt per vimina guttae ; 245  
 at sapor indicium faciet manifestus, et ora  
 tristia temptantum sensu torquebit amaror.

239. I have preferred (with Jahn and Keightley) Wakef.'s punctuation: that commonly adopted [e.g. by Ribbeck and Thilo] makes the parenthesis begin after 'infelix.' The metrical harshness introduced by Wakef.'s punctuation is not unpleasing as a variety, and is compensated by improvement in the sense; 'ea' thus becomes subject of a bona fide parenthesis, giving the reason why a salt soil is to be avoided, not of a parenthesis which is a mere expansion of what has been said before. In any case 'frugibus' seems used generally of the fruits of the earth, as v. 173. not specially of corn.

'Infelix' = 'infecunda.' 'Frugibus' is dat. Sall. Jug. xvii, 'ager frugum fertilis, bonus pecori, arbori infecundus.' Had it been 'felix' instead of 'infelix,' we might properly have taken 'frugibus' as abl.

'Arando' = 'aratione:' see E. viii 71. With 'mansuescit arando' comp. Lucr. v 1368, 'fructusque feros mansuescere terram Cernebant indulgendo blandeque colendo.'

240. 'Genus' is best illustrated by the adj. 'generosus.' In such a soil the vine degenerates. So we apply the words 'race,' 'racy,' to wine.

'Nomina,' name, for character. This and 'genus' are metaphors from nobility. Cato xxv, 'Sicque facito studeat bene percoctum siccumque legere, ne vinum nomen perdat.' 'The grape is not kept true to its race, nor the apple to its name.'

241. 'Specimen,' proof, in which sense it occurs Lucr. iv 209, 'Hoc etiam in primis specimen verum esse videtur, Quam celeri motu rerum simulacra ferantur.'

'Qualos' appear to be the same as 'cola.' They were made 'spisso vimine' that they might strain the wine from the grapes. ['Quallos' Pal. and Rom., and so Ribbeck; 'qualos' Med.—H. N.]

242. Comp. i 175 note.

243. 'Ager:' the whole 'ager' is virtually the subject of the experiment.

'Malus:' he assumes the bitterness, which he calls malignity (comp. 'scele-ratum frigus,' v. 256), of the soil, both in making the experiment and in its result; a prose writer would have expressed himself hypothetically.

'Dulces' is emphatic.

244. 'Huc ad plenum calcentur' = 'huc ad plenum ingerantur et calcentur.'

'Calcere' seems to be used technically of other kinds of pressure than treading. Cato (cxvii) says of olives 'in oculam calcato.'

'Ad plenum' is undoubtedly a phrase (Hor. Od. i xvii 15, etc.), but that is no reason for giving it, as Forb. suggests, the vague sense 'copiously,' instead of taking it 'to the full [of the strainer],' till the strainer is full. 'Eluctabitur,' ooze out.

245. 'Scilicet' denotes the consequence of the process, 'You will see.'

246. Virg. is expressing himself poetically, not with logical precision. He marks the progress of the narrative by 'at,' distinguishing the water from the taste of the water, and, as it were, following the fortunes of both, though the meaning is only 'as the water oozes out, the taste will show you.' Comp. vv. 211, 212.

'Manifestus' seems plainly to go with 'faciet,' not with the following clause, whichever reading be adopted in 247.

'The taste will clearly betray the truth.' 'Indicium facere,' play the tell-tale. 'Id anus mihi indicium fecit,' Ter. Adelph. iv iv 7.

247. ['Amaror' Med. (late corr.), Serv.; 'amaro' Med., Pal., Rom., mentioned by Serv. Hyginus (in Gell. i 21) says that he found in a text which 'ex domo fuisset atque familia Vergilii,' the reading 'torquebat amaror,' and he comp. Lucr. iv

pinguis item quae sit tellus, hoc denique pacto  
 discimus: haut umquam manibus iactata fatiscit,  
 sed picis in morem ad digitos lentescit habendo. 250  
 umida maiores herbas alit, ipsaque iusto  
 laetior. a, nimium ne sit mihi fertilis illa,  
 nec se praevalidam primis ostendat aristis!  
 quae gravis est, ipso tacitam se pondere prodit,  
 quaeque levis. promptum est oculis praediscere nigram,  
 et quis cui color. at sceleratum exquirere frigus 256  
 difficile est: piceae tantum taxique nocentes

224 (as does Serv.).—H. N. 'Amaror' is accepted by most edd. since Heyne, incl. Ribbeck: Con. preferred 'amaro' on internal evidence, thinking 'amaror,' similar in sense to 'sapor,' to be needless and ungraceful.]

'Tristia' is proleptic. 'Will warp the mouths of the triers into disgust by the sense.' [Comp. Palladius I v 3.—H. N.]

248. 'Denique' belongs to 'hoc pacto,' and means 'to be brief.' The remaining instances are despatched concisely.

249. 'Fatiscit,' cracks in pieces, I 180.

For 'iactata' Wakef. conjectured 'tractata,' which the poet seems purposely to have rejected in favour of a more poetical word. There is the same liveliness in the Lucretian 'iacere indu manus.' 'Manibus tractata' occurs Lucr. IV 230, within a few lines of 'amaror;' it is conceivable that the whole passage may have been in Virg.'s mind at the time of writing.

250. 'Ad digitos' is explained by the notion of 'adhaeret' contained in 'lentescit.'

'Habendo' [has not the same subject as the sentence; see Munro Lucr. I 312, E. VIII 71, G. III 454, Roby part II p. lxi]. The test is mentioned by Col. II 2, § 18, with a slight variety.

251. 'Majores,' higher than usual. 'Ipsa,' in itself, as distinguished from the particular luxuriance of the grass.

253. ['Neu' Med. corr.—H. N.]

'Primis aristis,' when the ears first appear, just before earing. Over-luxuriance before earing is adverse to productiveness, as is observed by Mr. Blackburn, who adds, 'On my remarking once to a country squire, what excellent corn crops his land ought to produce, he said that, from its richness, the corn was apt to go to straw instead of ear.'

254. 'Tacitam' is for 'tacite,' perhaps meant to be opposed to 'indicium faciet.' 'Without farther experiment.'

['Prodet' Med.—H. N.]

255. 'Oculis' may be constructed as dat. with 'promptum' or as abl. with 'praediscere.' With the former interpretation comp. Ov. M. XIII 10, 'Sed nec mihi dicere promptum, Nec facere est isti.'

'Praediscere,' either to learn before you cultivate the field, or to learn at once, before experiment or investigation, opp. to 'exquirere.' [Rom. has 'praedicere.'—H. N.]

256. 'Cui' is taken by Heyne as = 'cuicumque,' and by Wagn. and Forb. as = 'cuique.' Both are unnecessary. It is a double question, as Ladewig takes it. Misunderstanding of the construction led at an early period to corruptions of the text. Serv. mentions two readings, 'quisquis,' which he declares to be right, and 'quis cuique,' which it was sought to make metrical by omitting 'at' or by changing 'color' into 'colos,' as if the final 's' could be elided. The oldest MSS. are similarly divided; Med. has 'quis cuique,' Pal. and a late corr. in Med. 'quisquis,' Rom. 'quis cui cive;' one of Ribbeck's cursives gives 'quis cui' from a corr. Ribbeck accepts 'quisquis.'

'Sceleratum:' Pliny XXIV 117, 'Adversantur serpentium sceleratissimis haemorrhoidi et presteri.' The word is however probably half playful, and may be compared with Hor. S. II iii 71, 'Effugiet tamen haec sceleratus vincula Proteus,' and Plaut. Pseud. III ii 28, 'Senapis scelera . . . oculi ut extillit facit,' but the text here is doubtful.

257. Comp. above v. 113, 'Aquilonem et frigora taxi.' Pliny XVII 33, 'Terram



interdum aut hederæ pandunt vestigia nigræ.

His animadversis, terram multo ante memento  
 excoquere et magnos scrobibus concidere montis, 260  
 ante supinatas aquiloni ostendere glaebas,  
 quam laetum infodias vitis genus. optima putri  
 arva solo : id venti curant gelidæque pruinae  
 et labefacta movens robustus iugera fossor.  
 at, si quos haut ulla viros vigilantia fugit, 265  
 ante locum similem exquirunt ubi prima paretur

amaram probaverim ; demonstrant eam atræ degeneresque herbae, frigidam autem retorride nata.' Professor Ramsay (Dict. Ant. 'agricultura') says that the ancients used to estimate untried ground not only by the qualities which could be detected by sight and touch, but also from the character of the trees, shrubs, and herbage growing upon it spontaneously, a test of more practical value than any of the others enumerated here (177-258).

258. Pliny XVI 144 foll. after Theophrastus, divides ivy into 'candida,' 'nigra,' and 'helix.' The 'hedera alba' is an emblem of beauty, E. VII 38.

'Pandunt vestigia,' reveal the traces of the cold. Wakef.'s interpretation, 'extend their roots,' is far from probable.

259-272. 'Having ascertained the soil you want, let it be well trenched and thoroughly exposed to sun and air before you plant. The object is to make the soil crumbling. A careful gardener will make his nursery-ground like his vineyard, and transplant his trees into precisely the same position which they have occupied hitherto.'

259. 'His animadversis' = 'agri qualitate deprehensa,' Serv.

260. Lucr. VI 962, 'terram sol excoquit et facit are.' 'Scrobibus : ' see v. 235.

'Concidere : ' Justin II 1, 'Concisam fossis Aegyptum.' Rom. has 'circumdare.'

'Magnos montes' (imitated from Lucr. I 201, 'magnos manibus divellere montes') is a strong and perhaps exaggerated expression, as if the husbandman was to dig up ('concidere') whole mountains. The lesson to be enforced is that of hard work : see v. 37 note. There is the same feeling in 'excoquere,' indicated not merely by the preposition, but by the attribution of the process not to the sun but to the husbandmen. With this word, and with

the next line, comp. I 65, 66, a passage animated by the same enthusiasm.

261. The repetition of 'ante' is emphatic ; no labour is to be spared, no vigilance omitted.

'Supinatas,' upturned. 'Aquiloni ostendere : ' Varro I 24, 'Ager soli ostentus.' Hesiod Works 611, Δείξαι δ' ἠελίῳ (βότρυς).

263. 'Id' = 'ut putri solo sint.' The connexion is 'The great object is to have a crumbling soil ; that is the work of wind, frost, and hard spade labour.' Virg. recurs to the precepts he had just given vv. 259-261, and shows the reason for them. The passage then is parallel to v. 204, 'Et cui putre solum, namque hoc imitatur arando,' which Philarg. compares.

With the mention of the wind comp. I 44, 'Zephyro putris se glaeba resolvit,' though here perhaps Virg. is thinking of sharper winds.

264. The process of stirring the ground called 'pastinatio.' 'Robustus,' as in E. IV 41, paints vigorous exertion.

'Labefacta,' loosened. Seneca, N. Q. IV 5, 'Nix tenera et labefacta ; ' Lucr. I 492, 'Tum labefactatus rigor auri solvitur aestu.' It would be also possible to interpret 'labefacta movens' 'movens et labefaciens : ' see below, v. 267.

265. Med. has 'ac,' which Ribbeck adopts. 'Si quos haut ulla viros vigilantia fugit' is a poetical variety for 'si quos prae vigilantia nihil fugit.'

266. 'Ante' is best explained by 'ante' above, vv. 259, 261. Wishing to impress on the husbandman the necessity of thorough work, he has mentioned various indispensable preliminaries to planting the vine. He now adds one which, he says, a perfect workman will adopt, that of providing the same kind of ground for the nursery and for the vineyard.

arboribus seges et quo mox digesta feratur,  
mutatam ignorent subito ne semina matrem.  
quin etiam caeli regionem in cortice signant,  
ut, quo quaeque modo steterit, qua parte calores 270

'Locum similem' then will be in apposition alternately with each of the two clauses that follow, 'ubi . . . seges,' and 'quo . . . feratur,' 'a like spot for the nursery, and a like spot for the vineyard.' Or we might explain the construction differently, by saying that the poet used 'similem' with a view to only one of the two spots, the vineyard, which was to be like the nursery, or the nursery, which was to be like the future vineyard; and that then, in explaining the comparison, he expressed himself as if he had said, 'Exquirunt duos locos, alterum alteri similem, scilicet, ubi etc., et quo' etc. For this change of view compare I 421, and Aesch. Prom. 555, τὸ διαμφίδιον δὲ μοι μέλος προσίπτα τὸδ' ἐκεῖνό θ', ὅτε κτλ. 'Ubi paretur' and 'quo feratur' depend equally on 'exquirunt'; each alike is to be the object of the husbandman's search.

267. Keightley supposes 'similem' to mean 'a soil like that in which the parent vine stands,' explaining vv. 269 foll. similarly of transplanting into, not from, the nursery; but this seems far less likely. The 'seminarium' for vines is described by Col. Arb. 1.

'Arboribus seges:' the vine-crop for its supporters. The commentators, supposing Virg. to be speaking of the nursery for vines in connexion with the vineyard (which in the note on v. 266 I have assumed to be the case), universally understand 'arboribus' of the vines. But such a use of the word is unlikely both in itself (see v. 89 note) and still more in the present context, for in vv. 289, 290 'vitis' and 'arbos' are expressly distinguished. We might evade the difficulty by supposing the reference here to be not to vines at all, but simply to their supporters, which had a 'seminarium' of their own, from which they were transplanted into the 'arbus-tum,' as appears from Pliny XVII 69, 78, Col. v 6, who apply precepts like these of Virg. to their case. We should then conclude that Virg. being anxious, as elsewhere, to combine brevity with variety, had passed from the vines to their supporters, leaving the treatment of the former to be inferred, as it were, a fortiori. This explanation might be certainly con-

firmed by Col. l. c., whose language is founded on Virg.'s: 'Ne aliter arbores constituamus quam quemadmodum in seminario steterint: plurimum enim refert ut eam partem caeli spectent cui ab tenero consueverunt.' But such a transition would create an inexcusable ambiguity. I would suggest then that the sense of 'ubi prima paretur arboribus seges' is, 'where at first ('prima' = 'primum,' opposed to 'mox') the vine-crop may be got ready for its supporters,' in other words, may be prepared for afterwards standing in the 'arbus-tum,' a description of a nursery for vines, in which the poet may have been thinking of a maiden being trained for a husband. This would further avoid the necessity of changing the sense of 'seges' in the two clauses, and referring it in the first to the soil of the nursery, in the second to its contents.

'Digesta feratur' = 'digeratur et feratur,' or rather 'feratur et digeratur.' Comp. v. 318, 'Concretam radicem adfigere terrae.' [Pal. originally had 'feratur.'—H. N.]

268. 'That the sudden change may not make the plants feel strangely to their mother.' 'Subito' goes with 'mutatam.' 'Semina' are the young vines; see below, v. 354, 'Seminibus positis.' The application of the word to young trees is common in the agricultural writers, and is embodied in the word 'seminarium.'

'Matrem' is the earth. Comp. A. XI 71, 'Non iam mater alit tellus virisque ministrat.' Pliny XVII 69 ingeniously distinguishes the 'seminarium' and the vineyard as 'nutrix' and 'mater.'

270. Pliny XVII 83 says that, as Cato has made no mention of this practice, it is probably valueless; and adds that some intentionally changed the position of vines and figs when transplanted.

If we take the construction to be 'restituant modum quo quae steterit,' etc., we shall not have to suppose a change of construction at 'quae terga obverterit,' which is necessary if we follow the commentators in understanding 'arbores' as the object of 'restituant.' The manner of the repetition also seems to indicate that the several clauses are objects of the verb



austrinos tulerit, quae terga obverterit axi, 271  
 restituant: adeo in teneris consuescere multum est.  
 collibus an plano melius sit ponere vitem,  
 quaere prius. si pinguis agros metabere campi,  
 densa sere; in denso non segnior ubere Bacchus; 275  
 sin tumulis adclive solum collesque supinos,  
 indulge ordinibus, nec setius omnis in unguem

The words of Col. quoted on v. 267 might be pleaded for the ordinary view, but he follows Virg. so closely that his use of language cannot be considered independent.

'Qua parte calores austrinos tulerit,' 'the part on which it bore the brunt of the southern heat.' [Med. originally had 'steterint' and 'tulerint.'—H. N.]

271. 'Axi,' the north pole. Comp. III 351, 'Quaque redit medium Rhodope porrecta sub axem.' 'Quae terga,' that side which, as a back, it turned to the cold wind of the north.

272. 'Adeo in teneris consuescere multum est,' 'so powerful are habits formed in tender age.' The connexion requires this rather than 'so powerful is habit in the case of things of tender age.' The poet is speaking of habits formed in the nursery, and in their effects extending to the 'arbutum.' 'In teneris' then has the force of 'in teneris annis,' though we need not suppose an ellipse.

The line is quoted by Quint. I 3 with 'a teneris,' habits which have lasted from infancy.

273-287. 'Plant your vines closely on the plain; on slopes more widely, yet still in regular lines and at equal distances, so as to present the appearance of a legion, and that not merely for appearance, but to give each plant as much growing room as its neighbours.'

273. Some vines were better suited for the hill, some for the plain. See Col. III 1, § 5.

274. 'Prius:' another preliminary, which ought in strictness to have preceded that mentioned in the last paragraph, 'terram multo ante memento,' etc. 'Campi' is the same as 'plano' and the emphatic word. 'If you measure out, or set apart for a vineyard, fields in a rich plain.' 'Pinguis,' opp. to the light soil of the hills. With the language comp. the oracle in Hdt. I 66, *καὶ καλὸν πεδίων σχοίνῃ διαμετρήσασθαι*.

There seems to have been another reading, 'agri—campos,' supported by Gud. and partly by Pal.

275. It would be harsh to take 'densa' as strictly adverbial. It is rather an adjective agreeing with an indefinite substantive.

'Non segnior ubere,' not less prolific. Comp. 'segnes terrae,' v. 37, 'segnis carduus,' I 151, and for 'segnis' with abl. A. VII 383 (note). 'In denso' = 'in loco denso consito:' comp. 'in sicco.' 'In denso ubere' could scarcely mean anything but a close or stiff soil, and such is really the sense of 'densus' in Ov. M. II 576, 'densumque relinquo Litus, et in molli nequiquam lassor harena,' expressing the crowding of the parts of the soil, not, as Wund., followed by Forb., explains it, the crowding of things upon it. 'Uber' is specially used of the fruitfulness of the vine; Col. IV 27, 'ut ubere suo gravatam vitem levet;' Claud. B. G. 504, 'palmitis uber Etrusci.' 'Not less prolific than when planted wide, because in the rich plain there is abundance of nutriment.'

276. 'Supinos,' gently sloping, so as to present a broad surface, which seems to be the general notion of the word as applied not only to hills but to plains and the sea. See Bentl. on Hor. Epod. I 29.

277, 278. 'Indulge,' give your rows room, set them wide.

'Nec setius:' the order of words is probably 'nec setius (quam si densa seras) omnis secto limite via, arboribus positus, quadret in unguem,' i.e. still (as much as when planting close) let each avenue with drawn line, as you plant your trees, tally exactly, = plant so that the line of each avenue exactly tallies with the rest. Nothing more than regularity is prescribed in the two lines so understood: it is the simile of the legion in vv. 279, 280 which shows [or, at least, is usually held to show] that the 'quincuncialis ordo' is intended.

arboribus positis secto via limite quadret.  
 ut saepe ingenti bello cum longa cohortes  
 explicuit legio et campo stetit agmen aperto 280  
 derectaeque acies ac late fluctuat omnis  
 aere renidenti tellus, necdum horrida miscent  
 proelia, sed dubius mediis Mars errat in armis:  
 omnia sint paribus numeris dimensa viarum; 281

278. 'Secto via limite' = 'via secta': no distinction seems intended between 'via' and 'limes.' Comp. I 238 and A. II 697, where 'via' and 'limes' occur in the same context without visible contrast. Martyn and Donaldson, however, take the words in their precise senses, making 'limes' the transverse path which cuts the 'via.' The constr. must then be 'omnis via, secto limite (= 'cum limes sectus fuerit,' abl. abs.), quadret (cum eo limite).' The abl. abs. in place of some other constr. may be comp. with Juv. I 70, 'viro miscet sitiente rubetam,' but it is extremely awkward after 'arb. positus.'

'Arboribus': so far as the precept of regularity is concerned, 'arboribus' could mean equally the vines or their supporters. But the young vines could hardly be comp. to the cohorts of a legion, and 'arb.' naturally means the trees (see v. 89 note).

279. There is no ground for taking 'saepe' after 'cum,' with Wagn. A I 148 merely shows that Virg. might have so expressed himself.

'Ingens,' a perpetual epithet, cf. A. I 267, 'bellum ingenseret Italia,' VII 80, etc. 'Cohortes.' [The comparison is general: troops and trees are arranged in regular order. Most editors, including Conington, suppose that Virgil has a special simile in view: they hold that he is comparing the system of planting trees 'in quincuncem' (Varro R. R. I vii 2; Cic. de Sen. 59; Col. III xiii 4, etc.) with the manipular system of the older Roman army, when the maniples are said to have been arranged thus:

Hastati	□	□	□	□
Principes	□	□	□	□
Triarii	□	□	□	□

But (1) the exact nature of the manipular system is disputed, and (2) it had certainly vanished before Virgil's time. Moreover, (3) no ancient writer compares the quincuncial order of tree planting to the manipular order of battle, and (4) the

sign which is usual for the 'quincunx' does not resemble what is usually assumed to be the manipular order. It seems, therefore, improbable that Virgil had in mind anything more than a general similarity between the lines of trees and troops, and this view best suits his diction; 'quadret' (v. 278), 'paribus numeris' (v. 284) certainly do not suit an arrangement like that figured above.]

280. 'Agmen' is the column in order of march, which deploys into 'acies' or line of battle.

281. 'Derigere aciem' is a common military phrase. Livy xxxi 27, 'Coniectisque in medium sarcinis aciem derexisset,' ['derigere' meaning properly to make straight.—H. N., Contr. to Latin Lex. p. 432. Cic. de Sen. 59 has 'derectos (arborum) in quincuncem ordines.']

282. 'Renidenti': this verb means properly to smile, and is thence to glitter, like γελᾶν: Il. XX 362, γέλασσε δὲ πᾶσα περὶ χθῶν Χαλκοῦ ὑπὸ στεροπῆς. Coupled with 'fluctuat,' it may be intended to remind us of the Aeschylean ἀνήριθμον γέλασμα. 'Aere renidenti tellus': 'aere renidescit tellus,' Lucr. II 326. The whole passage appears to be a study after the splendid picture drawn in that and the surrounding lines rather than a natural and appropriate illustration of the vineyard.

'Necdum,' while the regularity of their order is undisturbed. 'The grim mêlée of the fight has not yet begun.' ['Nedum' Verona fragm. for 'necdum.'—H. N.]

283. 'Dubius,' generally in suspense. Mars is not yet called into action, and therefore is said to hover between the armies.

'Mediis in armis' = ἐν μεταίχμιον, the space between two armies. Possibly the image before Virg.'s mind was that of two Roman armies facing in civil war.

284. It seems best to make this the apodosis of the simile, though Virg. occasionally introduces a simile without a



non animum modo uti pascat prospectus inanem, 285  
sed quia non aliter vires dabit omnibus aequas  
terra, neque viarum in vacuum poterunt se extendere rami.

Forsitan et scrobibus quae sint fastigia quaeras.  
ausim vel tenui vitem committere sulco.  
altior ac penitus terrae defigitur arbos,

290

regularly expressed apodosis; and in the present passage it matters nothing, so far as sense is concerned, whether we take one from the preceding or following lines.

'Viarum' may be taken with 'omnia' or with 'paribus numeris;' the order of the words points to the latter.

'Paribus numeris viarum' probably = 'pares et numerosae viae,' equal and regular avenues. Comp. 'numeroso horto,' Col. x 6. If the order is that of the 'quincunx' all the avenues cannot be equal, but the corresponding ones may. Varro I vii 2, 'Si sata sunt in quincuncem propter ordines atque intervalla modica.' Quint. VIII 3, § 9, 'Quid enim illo quincunx speciosius, qui, in quamcunque partem spectaveris, rectus est? Sed protinus in id quoque prodest, ut terrae sucum aequaliter trahant.' Pliny XVII 78, 'In disponendis arboribus arbustisque ac vineis quincuncialis ordinum ratio vulgata et necessaria, non perflatu modo utilis, verum et aspectu grata, quoquo modo intueare in ordinem se porrigente versu.'

['Demensa' Med. originally.—H. N.]

285. 'Inanem' seems to be transferred from 'prospectus' to 'animus.' Comp. 'animum pictura pascit inani,' A. I 463. We may then take 'inanem' closely with 'pascat,' as Mr. Blackburn suggests, feed unsubstantially, i.e. without a view to utility, not unlike 'pinguis pascere oves' E. VI 4.

287. 'Because otherwise the boughs will have no empty space wherein to spread themselves.' Ribbeck reads 'poterunt extendere' (Rom. Pal.); but 'se' is found in Med., Ver. fragm., and Gud.

288-297. 'The trench for the vine may be shallow; that for its supporter must be deeper.'

288. 'Fastigium' is used of the slope of a trench, Caesar, B. G. VII 73, 'Ante hos obliquis ordinibus in quincuncem dispositis scrobes trium in altitudinem pedum fodiebantur, paullatim angustiore ad infimum fastigio;' 'fastigium' is used of a slope opposed to a perpendicular, ib. IV 17. Virg. evidently intends us to think of

depth, which would depend on the length and inclination of the slope. [Non. p. 302, 463, Serv., Philarg., and the Berne scholia take it simply as = 'depth.'—H. N.] In Varro I xiv 2, fossa ita idonea si . . . fastigium habet ut [aqua?] exeat e fundo, it appears to mean the fall of a drain: Id. ib. xx 5, 'agricolae hoc spectandum quo fastigio sit fundus,' it seems to be for the level of the ground. It would be easy to classify these meanings and connect them with those which contain the parallel notion of height; but we seem not to have the starting-point of a plausible etymology. ['Forsitam' Rom.—H. N.]

289. 'Sulcus' is clearly distinguished from 'scrobs' in the agricultural writers; from Pallad. II 10, Pliny XVII 139, and Col. Arb. IV, it would appear that the 'sulcus' is characterized by length. Virg., however, obviously intends no such distinction. As to the exact depth of the 'scrobes' or 'sulci' writers seem to vary: Pliny XVII 80 foll., C. J. I V 1, v 6, etc. Much depended, as Col. VII 13 remarks, on the particular soil. It would seem however (Col. v 5 and v 6) that vines were planted less deeply in an 'arbustum' than in another vineyard, though the language of these passages is scarcely consistent with Id. Arb. XVI.

290. 'Arbos' here is evidently distinguished from the vine. The old view was, that Virg. meant merely to contrast the vine with other trees generally; but Heyne rightly regards it as a contrast between the vine and its supporter. Comp. notes on vv. 2, 89, 267, 278.

'Terrae defigitur:' 'defigere aliquem cruci' is quoted from Varro ap. Non. [Compare v. 306, E. VIII 101 note, G. IV 115: in A. XII 130, 'defigunt tellure hastas' seems the better reading.] The construction is 'arbos altior defigitur ac penitus terrae defigitur.'

It appears from the passages just cited from Col. and Pliny, that other trees were never planted at so slight a depth as the vine sometimes was, but the difference is not so great as this passage would denote.

aesculus in primis, quae, quantum vertice ad auras 227  
 aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit.  
 ergo non hiemes illam, non flabra neque imbres  
 convellunt; immota manet, multosque nepotes,  
 multa virum volvens durando saecula vincit; 295  
 tum fortis late ramos et bracchia tendens  
 huc illuc, media ipsa ingentem sustinet umbram.  
 Neve tibi ad solem vergant vineta cadentem;  
 neve inter vites corylum sere; neve flagella  
 summa pete, aut summa defringe ex arbore plantas; 299

291. 'Aesculus:' Pliny XVII 201 says 'Transpadana Italia . . . quercu arbustat agros,' i.e. plants them in 'arbusta' to support the vine. Part of the following description, which appears simply ornamental, is repeated by Virg. of the 'quercus' A. IV 445 foll.

292. ['Radice' Med. Pal.—H. N.]

293. Wagn. needlessly explains 'imbres' of torrents swollen by rain.

294. 'Multos nepotes,' many successive generations. Comp. v. 58. The Verona fragm., Gud., and other MSS., and Nonius p. 525, read 'multosque per annos,' an interpolation, as Wagn. conjectures, derived from IV 208.

295. Lucr. I 202, 'Multaque vivendo vitalia vincere saecula;' III 948, 'Omnia si pergas vivendo vincere saecula.'

'Volvens,' rolling, and so going through. Comp. 'tot volvere casus,' A. I 9; a parallel use of 'condere' has been noticed E. IX 52. The notion implied in 'volvens' would be more naturally coupled with 'saecula,' as in 'volvenda dies,' A. IX 6, but such inversions are not rare. 'Many are the posterities, many the generations of men that it rolls along, and lives down victoriously, while stretching out its sinewy branching arms on all sides, it supports with its central bulk the vast weight of their shade.'

296. 'Tum' appears to indicate a point in a description, not necessarily a point of time, and generally the last point, so as to be nearly = 'denique.' Comp. E. II 49, A. I 164, IV 250, VI 577, VII 76. It seems hardly necessary with Heyne to divide the poetical picture logically, and say, that the depth of the roots is the cause, first, of the firmness (v. 293) and long life (vv. 294, 295) of the tree; secondly, of its power to bear the weight

of its boughs (vv. 296, 297). Ribbeck adopts 'pandens' [a variant mentioned in the Berne scholia.] from Gud.

298. 'A vineyard should not face west: a hazel should not be planted to support the vine: cuttings should not be taken from the top, either of the vine or of its supporter: a blunt knife should not be applied to the young plant: a wild olive should not be used as a supporter, as it is apt to catch fire, and the whole plantation may be burnt down.' Virg. despatches in a few lines a number of miscellaneous precepts, ending with an ornamental description.

The precept 'Neve tibi ad solem' is noticed by Col. (III 12), and Pliny (XVII 19), with an intimation that it was not generally received. Their own view, as well as that of Palladius (VI 6), is that the aspect of a vineyard should vary with the climate.

299. Pliny (XVII 240) says of the vine 'odit et corylum.'

'Flagellum:' the tender shoot at the end of the branches of the vine. Varro I xxxi 3, 'Quam vocant minorem flagellum, maiorem et iam unde uvae nascuntur palmarum.' Catull. LXII 52, 'vitis . . . Iamiam contingit summum radice flagellum.' 'Summa flagella' does not mean the end of the shoot, but the shoot at the top of the vine. For the precept that cuttings are not to be made from the topmost shoots, comp. Col. III 10. Pliny XVII 105 recommends the contrary. ['Corylum' Rom.—H. N.]

300. 'Defringe' is used by Varro (I xl 4), who opposes it to 'deplantare,' the latter being the less violent mode of separation. The word here is not to be pressed; it is not the manner of removing the branch, but the part from which the



tantus amor terrae; neu ferro laede retunso 301  
 semina; neve oleae silvestris inserte truncos:  
 nam saepe incautis pastoribus excidit ignis,  
 qui, furtim pingui primum sub cortice tectus,  
 robora comprehendit, frondesque elapsus in altas 305  
 ingentem caelo sonitum dedit; inde secutus  
 per ramos victor perque alta cacumina regnat,  
 et totum involvit flammis nemus, et ruit atram  
 ad caelum picea crassus caligine nubem,  
 praesertim si tempestas a vertice silvis 310  
 incubuit, glomeratque ferens incendia ventus.  
 hoc ubi, non a stirpe valent caesaeque reverti

branch is removed, that forms the point of the precept. 'Arbore,' the tree which supports the vine.

'Plantas,' cuttings for the 'seminarium' (see note on v. 267). Pliny XVII 105 refers to this passage, which he seems to understand of trees in general, while he supposes Virg. to be speaking of cuttings for grafting.

301. 'Tantus amor terrae:' so great is their love for the earth that when they are far from it they are less vigorous.

'Ferro retunso:' comp. Col. IV 24.

302. 'Semina,' the young vines or trees; see v. 268.

'Oleae' Pal. Rom. Serv. Wagner conjectured 'olea' [which, according to Hoffmann, is the reading of Med.] and, giving 'inserte' the technical sense of grafting, understood the caution to be against grafting the olive on the 'oleaster.' This view is apparently supported by Palladius (v 2), who gives directions for grafting olive on oleaster without this bad result from a fire. But this involves an extremely awkward insertion of an isolated precept about the olive in the midst of precepts about the vine, which are continued down to v. 420, where there is a distinct transition to the olive; nor does Columella seem to be aware of any danger to the olive from the oleaster (v 9). It seems better then to retain 'oleae' and understand 'inserte' of planting in the 'arbustum,' as in Col. v 7, 'Arboribus rumpotinis si frumentum non inseritur.' 'Inserte' thus = 'intersere,' v. 299. It appears from Pliny XVII 200 that the olive, if not too leafy, was frequently used as a supporter, though Theophr. Caus. Plant. III 15 condemns it

as drawing too much nourishment from the vine. There was an inducement to plant the 'oleaster' and 'corylus' among other trees, as affording foliage for the food of cattle, Col. v 9. Hence perhaps the present caution.

304. The tree is called *πικνὸν καὶ λιπαρὸν*, Theophr. H. P. v 10, and is said to be good for burning.

305. ['Elabsus' Pal. Rom.—H. N.]

306. ['Caelo:' local dat., esp. common with 'caelo' (A. v 451, etc.), 'terrae,' 'humo' etc. E. VIII 101 note.] 'Secutus,' running along the wood.

Comp. A. VIII 432, 'flammisque sequacibus iras.' The word, as Maclean remarks on Pers. Prol. 5, is used where, strictly speaking, there is no notion of following a lead; but the image seems always to be that of following, whether or no there is actually any thing to follow.

307. 'Dominates victoriously among the branches and the summits that tower so high.'

308. 'Nemus,' the 'arbustum.' 'Ruit' of an impulse from below: see I 105.

311. 'Glomerat,' masses, and so makes fiercer. 'Ferens ventus,' a fair wind, *φορὸς* or *ἐπιφορὸς ἀνεμὸς*: 'fieret vento mora ne qua ferenti,' A. III 473; 'Expectet facilemque fugam ventosque ferentis,' A. IV 430. So our sailors speak of 'a carrying wind'

312. 'Hoc ubi: subaudis "contigerit," Serv., but no parallel has been adduced. Wakef. connects 'hoc' with v. 314, taking 'ubi' with 'valent' and 'possunt,' 'thus, when the vines are irreparably injured, you have only the wild olive left.' There are several passages in Lucr. where

possunt atque ima similes revirescere terra; 313  
infelix superat foliis oleaster amaris.

Nec tibi tam prudens quisquam persuadeat auctor  
tellurem Borea rigidam spirante movere. 316  
rura gelu tunc claudit hiemps, nec semine iacto  
concretam patitur radicem adfigere terrae.  
optuma vinetis satio, cum vere rubenti 317

'hoc' may be used similarly, with 'ubi' following, e.g. IV 360, 'Hoc, ubi suffugit sensum simul angulus omnis, Fit quasi ut ad tornum saxorum structa tuamur; [Munro on III 531, IV 553: see v. 425 below.] The authority for this punctuation as compared with the other makes it plausible; but it does not seem well suited to express the sense required. Virg. would hardly say 'the wild olive survives in cases where the vines cannot recover,' as his meaning evidently is that the vines never recover.

'Non a stirpe valent' is a condensed expression for 'stirpe valent et a stirpe repullulant; their stock no more shows life. 'Que' is disjunctive. 'Valent,' sc. 'vites.' 'Caesae,' when the burnt stock has been cut (to make it grow again).

313. 'Ima terra,' from the earth at their roots.

314. 'Infelix,' barren. 'Superat' = 'solus superest:' see v. 235. We might say 'is left master of the field.'

'Foliis amaris' seems to be an implied opposition to the 'dulces uvae' that have been lost. The bitterness would not hinder their being good for fodder; comp. 'salices carpētis amaras,' E. I 79.

315-345. 'Do not plant vines in winter, but in spring or towards the end of autumn. In spring all nature is procreant and prolific, and the weather favours infant growth. In spring the world itself was created. Were there no spring, young life would perish between the two extremes of cold and heat.'

315. 'Nec,' etc. = 'nec quisquam tam prudens habeatur ut tibi persuadeat.' 'Let no adviser have such credit for foresight as to persuade you.' [For 'persuadeat auctor,' Pal. has an extraordinary error, 'persuadit acantho.'—H. N.]

316. Virg. is dissuading the vine-grower from planting in winter, when there are north winds and frost. Comp. I 299.

'Movere' Med. restored by Wagner.

Pal., Rom. and Nonius p. 380 have 'moveri' (so Heyne and Ribbeck on rhythmic grounds); it would mean, let no one persuade you of the fact that the earth should be stirred.

'Movere,' in order to make 'scrobes.' The passages quoted by the commentators from Cato, Pliny, Columella, etc., have reference rather to the weather than to the season, though one may be taken as implying the other.

317. ['Tunc' Med., Rom. etc. and H. N. Ribbeck and Con. read 'tum,' the latter urging that Virg. would not use 'tunc' before a consonant. Others distinguish 'tunc' from 'tum' as the more emphatic, but it does not appear that there is any such distinction in principle between the two forms. Here euphony supports 'tunc.']

'Semine iacto,' a phrase properly relating to the sowing of corn (I 104) or other seed, is used of the planting of trees. Comp. vv. 268, 302.

318. 'Concretum' might be taken as 'concretam gelu,' the epithet which would naturally belong to 'terrae' being joined with 'radicem.' But it is better to take it as = 'ita ut concreseat,' sc. 'terrae.' Comp. Claudian, 6 Cons. Hon. 77, 'Hinc tibi concreta radice tenacius haesit.' [Ribbeck adopts 'concretum,' the first reading of Med., and takes 'concretum terrae' together as = 'the congealed state of the soil.'—H. N.]

'Adfigere:' 'id cuius semen est,' understood from what precedes, is the subject, or perhaps 'semen' itself, the young shoot.

319. 'Rubenti,' with flowers. 'Ante novis rubeant quam prata coloribus,' IV 306. Col. III 14 says that vines should be planted in spring or autumn, according to the climate and the character of the soil, the time in the former case being from the middle of Feb. to the vernal equinox, in the latter from the middle of Oct. to Dec. 1.



candida venit avis longis invisā colubris, 320  
 prima vel autumnī sub frigora, cum rapidus Sol  
 nondum hiemem contingit equis, iam praeterit aestas.  
 ver adeo frondi nemorum, ver utile silvis,  
 vere tument terrae et genitalia semina poscunt.  
 tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbribus Aether 325  
 coniugis in gremium laetae descendit, et omnis  
 magnus alit, magno commixtus corpore, fetus.  
 avia tum resonant avibus virgulta canoris,  
 et Venerem certis repetunt armenta diebus;  
 parturit almus ager, Zephyrique tepentibus auris 330  
 laxant arva sinus; superat tener omnibus umor;  
 inque novos soles audent se germina tuto

320. 'Avis,' i.e. 'ciconia,' the stork. Juv. XIV 74, 'Serpente ciconia pullos Nutrit.' Isid. Origines XII 7, 'Ciconiae veris nuntiae, societatis comites, serpentium hostes.' It seems to be mentioned only ornamentally, as harbinger of spring.

321. 'Prima autumnī frigora:' the first cold days of autumn, i.e. the latter part of the season. See above v. 319. 'Rapidus' is a perpetual epithet of the sun, to be understood like 'rapido aestu' (E. II 10), etc.: see I 92.

323. 'Adeo' can only be rendered in English by laying a stress on 'ver' (EIV II). 'Nemorum' and 'silvis' probably both mean the trees in the 'arbustum.' 'Fron-di' may be specified on account of its use as food for cattle. [Med. has traces of a reading 'frondi est.'—H. N.]

324. 'Tument:' Theophr. C. P. III 3, ὄργα δὲ [ἢ γῆ] θραν ἐνικμος ἦ καὶ θερμὴ καὶ τὰ τοῦ αἰῆρος ἔχῃ ἕμμετρα, τότε γὰρ εὐδιαχυτός τε καὶ εὐβλαστής καὶ ὁλῶς εὐτρεπής ἐστι. The language of the following passage is metaphorical, and borrowed from physical generation.

325. Comp. Eur. fr. inc. DCCCXC 9, 10, ἐρᾷ δ' ὁ σεμνὸς οὐρανὸς πληρούμενος "Ὀμβρον πεσῖν ἐς γαῖαν Ἀφροδίτης ἕπο: Aesch. Danaides, fr. XLIII. Some identify 'Aether' and 'Tellus' with Jupiter and Juno, and Virg. may have thought of the description Iliad XIV 346 foll.; but the passage contains rather a poetic-physical than a theological view of the subject, and is evidently suggested by Lucr. I 250, 'percutit imbres ubi eos pater Aether In gremium matris Terrae praecipitavit,'

Id. II 992, 'Omnibus ille idem (caelum) pater est unde alma liquentis Umoris guttas mater quum terra recepit' (see Munro). Comp. also E. VII 60.

326. 'Gremium' [as in Lucr. I 250, Cic. de Sen. 51 'gremio (terrae) mollito ac subacto']. 'Laetae,' fruitful, G. I 1, etc.

327. 'Alit fetus' departs the figure of the marriage of heaven and earth to the common and natural idea of the fertilizing effect of showers.

'Magnus . . . magno:' Virg., like Ovid, is fond of such combinations, e.g. I 190, 'Magnaque cum magno veniet tritura calore.' Perhaps he learnt them from Lucretius, e.g. I 741, 'Et graviter magni magno cadere ibi casu.' But μίγας μεγαλωστί is as old as Homer.

328. Lucr. I 10 foll. 'Avia virgulta' = 'virgulta in aviis silvis.'

330-331. Comp. 'Zephyro putris se glaeba resolvit,' I 44. Here, owing to the long metaphor which has preceded, 'sinus,' which is also metaphorical, is substituted for 'glaebam.' [For 'Zephyri' Med. has 'Zephyris.'—H. N.]

Pal., Rom., Gud. and two other of Ribbeck's cursives have 'tremtentibus,' which [is mentioned in schol. Bern. but] cannot be right.

'Superat,' abounds. Comp. Lucr. v 806, 'Multus enim calor atque umor superabat in arvis,' and see v. 235. 'Tener umor,' Lucr. I 809.

332. ['Germina' Celsus ap. Philarg., and so Ribbeck, H. N., and most edd. Pal. has 'gramine;' Med. Rom. 'gramina,' doubtfully accepted by Con., who

credere; nec metuit surgentis pampinus austros  
aut actum caelo magnis aquilonibus imbrem,  
sed trudit gemmas et frondes explicat omnis. 335  
non alios prima crescentis origine mundi  
inluxisse dies aliumve habuisse tenorem  
crediderim: ver illud erat, ver magnus agebat  
orbis, et hibernis parcebant flatibus Euri:  
cum primae lucem pecudes hausere, virumque 340  
terrea progenies duris caput extulit arvis,  
immissaeque ferae silvis et sidera caelo.  
nec res hunc tenerae possent perferre laborem,

cp. Hor. Od. iv vii 1.] 'Credunt se in novos soles' is probably a condensation of 'credunt se solibus' and 'trudunt se in soles,' possibly with a further reference to the expression 'in dies.' 'Soles' are the suns of each day; they are 'novi,' because they are the beginning of the warm season. Virg. probably had in mind Lucr. v 780 foll. 'As new suns dawn, the herbage ventures to encounter them with safety. The young vine-branch has no fear that the south wind will get up, or that the mighty north will send a burst of rain, but puts out its buds, and unfolds all its leaves.'

336. 'Crescentis' = 'nascentis,' which Bentley on Manil. II 428 wished to read. This and the following lines mean that the world was born in spring; not that the first ages of the world were perpetual spring. ['Alias' Pal.—H. N.]

338. 'Ver illud erat:' comp. A. III 173, 'Nec sopor illud erat.' It was springtide that the great globe was keeping. 'Cerdea comp. Catull. LXVIII 16, 'Iucundum cum aetas florida ver ageret.'

339. 'Hibernis,' etc.: there was no sign of winter. 'Parcebant flatibus,' like the common phrase 'parcere alicui,' spared them, that is, forbore to put them forth. [Med. has 'hiberni.'—H. N.]

340. 'Haurio' is used for drinking through the eyes and ears as well as through the mouth, A. iv 359, x 899. But light and air are not unfrequently confounded, pure ether being supposed to be liquid flame.

341. ['Terrea:' Med. corr., Philargyrius, Serv. probably, Lactant. Inst. II 10, and so Ribbeck and H. N., with Bentley on Hor. Epod. II 18 and Munro. 'Terrea' means born of, or made of earth: for 'duris' comp. Lucr. v 925, 'genus

humanum multo fuit illud in arvis Durius, ut decuit, tellus quod dura creasset,' but the epithet (which has puzzled commentators) may be meant to continue the idea of spring, when the fields cease to be frost-bound. Med. and most MSS., the Bernescholia, Anthol. Lat. xvii 229 (p. 57 Riese) and the Lemma in Serv. give 'ferrea,' which was accepted by Con. Bentley very naturally objects that no poet on earth would have made the iron age the first.]

342. The stars are looked on as living inhabitants of heaven, as the men of earth, and the beasts of the woods; Ov. M. I 73,

'Neu regio foret ulla suis animantibus orba,  
Astra tenent caeleste solum formaeque  
deorum,

Cesserunt nitidis habitandae piscibus  
undae,

Terra feras cepit, volucres agitabilis aer.'

See also G. iv 227 (note).

343. This verse, with the two following, refers to the beneficence of spring generally.

'Res tenerae' are the young plants, buds, etc., not like 'ipse tener mundi concreverit orbis' in E. vi 34. Comp. Lucr. I 179, 'et vivida tellus Tuto res teneras effert in luminis oras.'

'Hunc laborem,' all the trials to which plants are exposed. So the word is applied to things inanimate I 79, 150, and below, v. 372. Comp. Lucr. v 1213, 'quoad moenia mundi Solliciti motus hunc possint ferre laborem.' ['Possint' Med.—H. N.]

'Sufferre,' the first reading of Med., is perhaps not improbable, as the less common word; but it would be hazardous to



si non tanta quies iret frigusque caloremque  
inter, et exciperet caeli indulgentia terras. 345

Quod superest, quaecumque premes virgulta per agros,  
sparge fimo pingui et multa memor occule terra,  
aut lapidem bibulum aut squalentis infode conchas;

substitute it for the reading of nearly all other copies [and Serv.].

344. 'Tanta quies' is explained by 'hunc laborem'—'so great a respite.' 'Caloremque': [so the best MSS., Serv., Nonius, etc. Pal. has 'calorque,' which Philargyrius explains as neuter, quoting Plaut. Merc. v ii 19, 'nec calor nec frigus metuo.'—H. N. Nonius p. 200 quotes the same passage in proof of 'calor' neuter, and the form is accepted by Götz: here, however, as Con. observes, it is merely a grammarian's expedient to get rid of the hypermeter, for which see v. 69 above.]

345. 'Excipere' in its most general sense seems to imply receiving from or after some one or something; Lucr. v 829 'ex alioque alius status excipere omnia debet,' which Virg. may have had in his mind. 'Excipere hospitio' denotes that the guest is received after a journey, Hor. S. I v 1; 'excipere infantem' is said of the nurse who receives a new-born child from its mother, Juv. VII 195. Here the milder skies receive the earth after the severer weather. The poet may be thinking of the earth as annually born into a state of infancy in spring (Voss). In any case vv. 343-5 seem to refer to the general effect of spring on the earth, resuming the subject from v. 335, not, as Mr. Munro thinks, to the time of the creation. Virg. doubtless had Lucr. v 818 foll. before him; but, as often, he has taken the thought and given it a new application.

['Indulgentia': Lucr. I 805 'tempestas indulget tempore fausto.'—H. N.]

346-353. 'Young sets should be manured and well covered up with earth, and have porous stones or shells buried with them, that water and air may get to them better. It is well, too, to place a large stone or piece of earthenware by them, to shield them from rain and heat.'

346. 'Quod superest,' a Lucretian transition [Munro on I 50], which occurs several times in Virg. also. Here it indicates a return from the praises of spring to matters more properly didactic.

'Preme,' plant. There seems to be no

sufficient authority for saying that 'premere' must mean propagating by layers, though no doubt the word might appropriately be so used, as in v. 26. It cannot mean propagation by layers in IV 131, 'Lilia, verbenasque premens vescumque papaver.' Here then, as there, we may interpret it 'to plant,' the notion being that of burying in the earth, as in Hor. Epod. I 33, 'terra preman.'

'Virgulta': Theophr. C. P. III v 7, from whom Virg. took this precept, applies it to trees in general. It is, therefore, probably not to be taken here of the vines alone, but also of the trees in the 'arbutum,' like 'silvestria virgulta,' v. 2, in spite of Col. III 15, who quotes this passage with reference to vines. 'Quaecumque' too is perhaps against our supposing that the vine alone is meant.

347. 'Memor occule' = 'memento oculere.' Virg. has here borrowed from Theophr. l. c., who lays down a number of different rules with different objects, and adapted to different soils. From these Virg. has selected indiscriminately. Thus, the stones in Theophr. answer different purposes, being used to collect the water about the roots or to draw it off, according to the temperature of the soil. Nothing is said in Theophr. about the porousness of the stones, and the word which seems to answer to 'bibulum,' ποτιμός, occurs as an epithet of ἄμμος, sand. The 'conchae' are not mentioned, unless we suppose this to be a mistranslation of δοτρακόν. The δοτρακόν in Theophr. is used to keep together the earth which is laid round the root of the shoot. The word would be naturally translated by 'testa,' but the use to which the 'testa' is here put, v. 351, does not correspond; and mention is made by Theophr. of a practice of burying a κέραμος full of water by the side of the root. Col. l. c. supposes Virg. to mean that stones were to be placed about the root to keep off heat and cold; though he himself recommends the practice as preventing the roots of one tree from becoming entangled with those of another.

348. 'Aut': Keightley remarks that the alternative is singular. But it seems to

inter enim labentur aquae, tenuisque subibit  
halitus atque animos tollent sata; iamque reperti, 350  
qui saxo super atque ingentis pondere testae  
urgerent; hoc effusos munimen ad imbres,  
hoc ubi hiulca siti findit canis aestifer arva.

Seminibus positis, superest diducere terram  
saepius ad capita, et duros iactare bidentis, 355

come from Theophr. l. c., who mentions stones, not the 'lapis bibulus,' as performing something of the same office as manure.

'Lapis bibulus' is 'lapis harenarius,' sandstone, according to Serv. ['Sibulum' Pal. for 'bibulum.'—H. N.]

'Squalentis,' rough. Comp. IV 13 and Lucr. II 422-425, where 'squalor' is the opposite of 'laevor.' Rough shells would leave interstices for the water.

349. 'Tenuis halitus:' comp. 'tenuis pluviae' I 92.

350. 'Halitus,' probably from the evaporation of the water.

'Animos tollent:' 'Postquam filiolum peperit, animos sustulit,' Plaut. Truc. II viii 10. In A. IX 127 it is used of raising the spirits of another.

'Iamque,' and before now. 'Iam' = ἤδη. 'Vidi iam iuvenem, premeret cum senior aetas, Maerentem stultos praeteriisse dies,' Tibull. I iv 33. 'Reperti,' like 'quid dicam,' I 104, etc., a merely rhetorical climax.

351. 'Super' goes with 'urgerent.' It can hardly be meant that the stone or potsherd is to be laid on the plant, which would thus be crushed; we must suppose that they are intended to overhang it. Theophr. means them to be put at the side. Mr. Long says, 'The "testa" will prevent the earth from being washed away, a necessary precaution when the vines are on a slope: and it also prevents the ground round the roots from being parched and made hard.' [Mr. Marindin compares Xen. Oeconom. XIX 14.]

'Atque' is disjunctive.

'Ingentis:' Med. a. m. pr. and Nonius p. 418 give 'ingenti.'

352. 'Hoc . . . hoc' is a repetition, not a distinction. 'Ad,' πρός, with a view to, and in the case of things to be avoided, against.

353. 'Hiulca siti:' proleptic. 'When the sultry dog-star splits the thirsty jaws of the soil,' Catull. LXVIII 62, 'Cum gra-

vis exustos aestus hiulcat agros.' ['Scindit' Pal. for 'findit.' 'Aestiper' Pal. (aestus-pario) and so Ribbeck.—H. N.]

354-361. 'When the sets are planted, dig and plough the ground thoroughly, and make poles and rods to assist the vines in climbing.'

354. 'Seminibus positis:' he seems now to be speaking exclusively of the vines.

'Diducere:' Rom.; 'deducere' Med. 'Diducere,' to break, seems alone suited to the sense. 'Diducit scopulos et montem rumpit aceto,' Juv. X 153. The question was one of orthography to the copyists. Mr. Blackburn however prefers 'deducere,' supposing the precept to be that the earth is to be constantly hoed up to the stems, the rains washing it away and exposing the roots. For the precept see Col. IV 3, § 2, Arb. 13.

355. 'Caput' is clearly used for the root of the tree, a sense which it has repeatedly in Cato, e. g. c. 33, 'capita vitium per sementim ablaqueato; . . . circum capita addito stercus; . . . circum capita sarrito.' Comp. Aristot. de Long. et Brev. Vitae VI 7, τὸ γὰρ ἄνω τοῦ φυτοῦ καὶ κεφαλὴ ῥίζα ἴσθι. He has before used κεφαλοβαρῆ of trees with heavy roots. In Col. III 10, etc., and Cic. de Sen. 15 [see Reid's note], 'caput' bears a totally different sense, the upper branches of the vine. So the word has opposite senses as applied to rivers: see on IV 319.

'Bidens' is a two-pronged hoe, with a head weighing about ten pounds, and used more like a pickaxe than a hoe, whence 'iactare' (Keightley). The weight is denoted by 'valido consueta bidenti Ingemere,' Lucr. V 208. [Tibull. II iii 6.]

'Duros,' massive; but used in this connexion the word denotes that the task is severe and the work done thoroughly, like the epithets in vv. 237, 264. Col. III 13 mentions digging and ploughing as alternatives, the distance between the rows being regulated according to the employment of one or the other, from



aut presso exercere solum sub vomere, et ipsa 387  
 flectere luctantes inter vineta iuencos ;  
 tum levis calamos et rasae hastilia virgae  
 fraxineasque aptare sudes, furcasque valentis,  
 viribus eniti quarum et contemnere ventos 360  
 adulescant, summasque sequi tabulata per ulmos.

Ac dum prima novis adolescit frondibus aetas,  
 parcendum teneris, et, dum se laetus ad auras  
 palmes agit laxis per purum immissus habenis, 364

five to seven feet where there is digging, from seven to ten where there is ploughing.

356. Med. originally had 'submoveret ipsa.'

357. 'Flectere,' i.e. to plough across as well as up and down the lines of vines; 'Transversis adversisque sulcis,' Col. l. c. This was made possible by the regular intersecting avenues. Comp. vv. 277 foll. notes. In that case, according to Col., ten feet every way were left in planting; but he adds that this only answers where the soil is unusually productive.

'Vineta' is used in its proper sense, the plural being natural in a precept,— 'Up and down your vineyards.'

'Luctantis,' like 'saepius,' 'duros,' 'presso,' denotes the pains to be bestowed.

358. This would almost correspond to the training of espalier vines ('pedatio,' 'iugatio'), described by Col. IV 12, etc. But it is clear from v. 361 that the 'arbusta' are still referred to. The 'calami' seem to be the 'harundines' of Varro I 8, which were used for the 'iuga,' or cross pieces, the 'rasae hastilia virgae,' spear-like wands made of peeled rods, the 'hastilia de vepribus' of Columella. Pal. has 'rassa' ('rasa').

359. The 'sudes' and 'furcae,' as Mr. Blackburn says, are probably the upright pieces, which are forked at the top, the other being inserted in them horizontally.

'Valentis' is the reading of Med., Rom., and others. The Verona fragm. has 'bicornis' (accepted by Heyne), which, as Wagn. remarks, is a mistaken repetition from I 264.

360. 'Quarum viribus,' abl. instrum., like 'quarum auxilio.' 'Eniti,' climb. Comp. v. 427, 'ad sidera raptim Vi propria nituntur.'

361. 'Tabulata,' stories, the successive branches of the elm to which the vines

were trained, intermediate boughs being removed. They were to be at least three feet apart, and were not to be in the same perpendicular line, lest the cluster hanging from the 'tabulatum' above should be injured by that below. Col. v 6, II.

362-370. 'When the vine is quite young, leave it alone. When it begins to shoot out its branches, pluck off the superfluous leaves with the hand. When it has come to its strength, then, but not till then, use the knife.'

362. The pruning of the vine, 'putatio' or 'pampinatio.' There are three periods, 1, when you must leave the young vine entirely alone, 2, when you may pluck off the leaves but not use the knife, 3, when you may use the knife. 'Novis frondibus' is probably the ablative. Comp. Lucr. III 449, 'Inde ubi robustis adolevit viribus aetas.'

363. 'Parcendum teneris:' the same precept is given by Theophr. (C. P. III 9) and Cato (xxxiii), but Col. (IV 11) condemns it. With the structure of the passage Forb. comp. A. VII 354 foll.

'Laetus' seems to qualify 'agit,' as if it had been 'laetum.' Comp. A. I 314, 439, II 388. 'While the vine-branch is pushing its way exultingly into the sky, launched into the void in full career.'

364. 'Agit,' used of growing upwards, as of growing downwards in the phrase 'radices agere.' Comp. vv. 291, 292.

'Laxis,' etc. : comp. Lucr. v 786, 'Arboribusque datum est variis exinde per auras Crescendi magnum immissis certamen habenis.'

'Per purum' occurs Hor. Od. I xxxiv 7, for a cloudless sky, like 'pura sub nocte,' E. IX 44. Used in this sense here, the word would be an unmeaning piece of picturesque. If we make it any thing more than a synonym for 'aether,' we must refer to the freedom of the empty

ipsa acie nondum falcis temptanda, sed uncis      365  
 carpendae manibus frondes interque legendae :  
 inde ubi iam validis amplexae stirpibus ulmos  
 exierint, tunc stringe comas, tunc bracchia tonde ;  
 ante reformidant ferrum ; tum denique dura  
 exerce imperia, et ramos compesce fluentes.      370

Textendae saepes etiam et pecus omne tenendum,  
 praecipue dum frons tenera imprudensque laborum ;  
 cui super indignas hiemes solemque potentem

sky, like 'pura terra' a cleared soil, 'purus locus' ground not built on. Virg. has already stated it to be an object that the branches should expatiate, v. 287, 'in vacuum poterunt se extendere rami.' Comp. 'aera per vacuum,' III 109 note.

'Immissus,' launched freely into the air. The word is evidently taken from 'immissis habenis' in Lucr., which is itself represented by 'laxis,' according to Virg.'s habit of hinting at one mode of expression while actually using another. [Compare Varro I xxxi 3 'vitis immittitur ad uvae parietas ;' Cic. Sen. 53 'samentorum inmissio.' Reid explains in all passages of letting loose the reins ; Keil says 'inmitti dicuntur quae non deciduntur sed ut crescant relinquuntur.']

365. 'Ipsa,' sc. 'vitis,' as distinguished from the leaves. For the ellipse, comp. 'quaeque,' v. 270.

'Acie' : Med., Rom., Verona fragm. corr., Gud. ; Pal. and Med. corr. have 'acies.' The origin of the variant, which is older than Serv., is obvious. 'Temptanda' may perhaps imply a dangerous experiment.

366. 'Interlegendae,' picked out.

367. Med. late corr. and some other MSS. (none of Ribbeck's) have 'viribus' for 'stirpibus.'

368. 'Exierint,' shot up. Comp. v. 81, 'Exiit ad caelum.' Med. and Rom. have 'tunc' twice in this verse, and Rom. 'tunc' in the next : see v. 317 above.

369. 'Tum denique' here = 'tum deum' : 'denique' answering to 'ante' here as to 'antea' in Cic. ad. Fam. IX 14, 'Tantum accessit ad eum amorem, ut mihi nunc denique amare videar, antea dilexisse.'

370. 'Then is the time to set up a strong government, and keep down the luxuriance of the boughs.' With the metaphor in 'imperia,' comp. I 99. There is much

the same feeling in Shakspeare, Richard II, Act III Sc. 4,

'Go thou, and like an executioner,  
 Cut off the heads of too fast growing  
 sprays,

That look too lofty in our commonwealth :  
 All must be equal in our government.'

For 'fluentes' Rom. has 'valentis.'

371-397. 'Cattle should be kept from the vines when young. Buffaloes and roes are worse enemies than scorching heat or killing cold. Hence the goat has been from time immemorial sacrificed to Bacchus, both in Attica, at the Dionysia, and in our Italian vintage rejoicings.'

371. Serv. mentions that some put a comma before 'etiam,' some after it. Med. a m. pr. omitted 'et.'

'Tenendum,' here not 'shut in,' but 'shut out.' Comp. the double meaning of *εἰργεν* and 'arcere.' Rom. and another MS. have 'tendum,' which has a different sense : see on v. 195. Some MSS. (none of Ribbeck's) add 'est,' which was the reading before Heins.

372. ['Praeterea' Nonius p. 486, for 'praecipue.' 'Frons :' Serv. quotes a 'vera et antiqua lectio, fronds ;' cp. Nonius p. 114, 486.—H. N.]

'Laborum,' trials. Comp. v. 343 above.

373. 'Super,' besides, not more than. The comparison comes in v. 376.

'Indignas turris' from Ennius in the sense of 'magnas.' If this is true, which without the context it may be unsafe to assume on the authority of Serv., the idea must be that of immoderateness, already noticed in the case of 'improbus.' It may here however be very well explained with reference to the tenderness of the young vine, and rendered 'cruel.'

'Hiemes' (plural) may mean either winters or winter weather, just as 'soles'



silvestres uri adsidue capraeque sequaces  
 inludunt, pascuntur oves avidaeque iuvencae. 375  
 frigora nec tantum cana concreta pruina,  
 aut gravis incumbens scopulis arentibus aestas,  
 quantum illi nocuere greges, durique venenum  
 dentis et admorso signata in stirpe cicatrix.  
 non aliam ob culpam Baccho caper omnibus aris 380  
 caeditur et veteres ineunt proscaenia ludi,  
 praemiaque ingeniis pagos et compita circum

may mean either summers or sunny days. There is the same doubt in Hor. Od. III i 32.

'Solemque potentem:' comp. I 92, 'rapidae potentia solis.' We may render 'oppressive' or 'tyrannous.'

374. 'Uri:' the 'urus' was properly a wild animal mentioned by Caesar (B. G. VI 28) and Pliny (VIII 38) as a native of the Hercynian forest in Germany. Here and III 532 the name is applied to the buffaloes of Italy.

'Caprae' Pal., Verona fragm., Gud., and Rom. (which has 'caprae'). 'Caprae' Med., which Wagn. prefers, partly from a mistaken notion of its superior authority. He comp. E. II 64, 'Florentem cytisum sequitur lasciva capella.' But it seems more like Virg. to keep the goat, the arch-offender, to the last (v. 380), and then to indicate his crime rather than mention it plainly, at the same time that the description of his punishment and the attendant circumstances keeps him prominently before the reader's mind. See notes on III 237, E. VI 29. For the fondness of roes for vines, comp. Hor. S. II iv 43, 'Vinea summittit capreas non semper edulis.'

'Sequaces' means persecuting, at the same time that it seems to give a picture of the deer climbing even the rocks after the vine.

375. 'Inludunt,' disport themselves with it. 'Pascuntur,' etc.: the commentators repeat 'quam' from 'cui.' But the passage is probably parallel to vv. 207, 208 (note); the only difference is the absence of the conjunction here.

376. Comp. Lucr. III 20, 'nix acri concreta pruina.' Virg. in borrowing the expression has awkwardly changed 'nix' into 'frigora,' which can hardly be said to be congealed by frost. 'No cold that hoar frost ever congealed, no summer that ever smote heavily on the parching rocks, has been so fatal to it as the herds, and the

venom of their sharp tooth, and the wound impressed on the stem that they have gnawed to the quick.'

377. 'Scopulis:' the vineyards on the terraced rocks. So v. 522, 'Mitis in apricis coquitur vindemia saxis.'

378. 'Illi' seems to be dative after 'nocuere,' not nom. with 'greges.'

'Venenum dentis:' comp. v. 196, 'urentis culta capellas.'

379. 'Admorsu' Serv. and Gud. Variants are 'admorsum' (Pal.), 'admorsu' (Rom.), 'amorso' (Med.), 'amorsu' (Med. corr.): Ribbeck reads 'ad morsum.' There can be no question that 'admorsu' is right, the termination (as Heyne suggests) having probably been altered by copyists who found a difficulty in the gender.

'Stirps,' as used by Virg., is masc. in its literal, fem. in its transferred sense. [See Fest. p. 313, and Non. p. 226, who show that the ancient writers were not so strict.—H. N.]

380. For the custom, see Varro, R. R. I 2, and Ovid's translation of the well-known lines of Evenus, F. I 353. The reason assigned is probably fictitious, as appears from the fact that the goat, though it gnawed the olive, was especially forbidden to be offered to Pallas.

'Omnibus aris,' as we should say, universally.

381. 'Et' couples it clause with the verbal only, not with the adverbial part of the clause preceding.

'Proscaenia,' προσκήνιον, is the same as λογείον, or stage; σκηνή being the scene.

382. Heyne, to carry 'non aliam ob culpam' through the sentence and preserve the continuity, takes 'praemia' to be in apposition to 'caprum' understood. This is too artificial: the words 'veteres ineunt proscaenia ludi' intervene, and a digression is inevitable at v. 385. At the

Thesidae posuere, atque inter pocula laeti  
 mollibus in pratis unctos saluere per utres.  
 nec non Ausonii, Troia gens missa, coloni 385  
 versibus incomptis ludunt risuque soluto,  
 oraque corticibus sumunt horrenda cavatis,  
 et te, Bacche, vocant per carmina laeta, tibi que  
 oscilla ex alta suspendunt mollia pinu.  
 hinc omnis largo pubescit vinea fetu, 390

same time we may say that in 'praemia,' as in 'utres,' the goat is alluded to, though it is neither expressed nor understood grammatically.

'Ingeniis' Rom., schol. Bern.; Med., Pal., Gud. have 'ingentis;' Serv. and Philarg. mention both. Earlier edd. read 'ingentes' with 'Thesidae;' Ribbeck conj. 'in gentis.' 'Ingenia' may mean 'genius' or 'men of genius' or 'works of genius;' it is perhaps impossible to distinguish which of three equally applicable senses was meant by Virg. here.

'Pagos et compita,' the scene of the Paganalia and Compitalia, appears to be the Roman equivalent of *κατ' ἀγρούς*. Comp. Hor. Ep. i i 49, 'Quis circum pagos et circum compita pugnax Magna coronari contemnat Olympia?' But it would be hazardous to presume that Virg. accurately distinguished the various Dionysiac festivals. 'Caper' seems to point to *τραγωδία*, and 'pagos' to the common derivation of *κωμωδία* from *κώμη*. It is possible, too, that the poet may confuse the two ancient accounts of the origin of *τραγωδία*, that from the sacrifice of the goat and that from the custom of giving the goat as a prize.

383. 'Thesidae:' the Athenians are called *Θησεΐδαι* by Soph. Oed. Col. 1067, and *Θήσεως τόκοι* by Aesch. Eum. 462. Comp. also Eum. 1026. 'Inter pocula laeti,' in their drunken jollity. We need not press 'inter' so as to mean in the intervals of drinking. Persius has 'inter pocula' i 30, 'inter vina' iii 100. 'In poculis' occurs Cic. de Sen. 14.

384. 'Unctos saluere per utres,' the *ἀσκληασμός*, or game of dancing on the oiled skin of the he-goat which had been sacrificed. ['Saliere' Med. corr. and Rom. —H. N.]

385. This and the following lines appear to refer to the 'Fescennina licentia' (Hor. Ep. ii i 140) after the vintage, and not to the Liberalia at Rome on the 13th of

March, for which see Ov. F. iii 713 foll.; but it is not easy to speak positively.

'Troia gens missa' is a foreshadowing of the Aeneid. It also intimates here that the Italian festivities were not borrowed from Greece. With the construction comp. 'Curibus parvis et paupere terra missus,' A. vi 811.

386. 'Versibus incomptis,' perhaps the 'horridus ille Saturnius numerus' of Horace, Ep. ii i 157, which (was the) national metre of Italy before the introduction of the metres of Greece.

387. 'Corticibus cavatis' abl. of the material. The bark, being naturally curved, forms a hollow when stripped from the tree. 'Os' for the mask, like *πρόσωπον*.

388. 'Per carmina laeta' may be either 'in the course of glad hymns,' or 'invoke you by glad hymns.'

389. 'Oscilla' were small figures or masks of Bacchus or other appropriate deity, which were hung on trees that they might turn with the wind to spread fertility every way. See Dict. Ant. (ed. 3) 'oscillum,' where representations are given from ancient art [and the origin of the practice is discussed by Mr. Marindin].

'Mollia' [probably means made of wax (Ladewig) or of wool, the materials most used for 'oscilla.' Con. referred the word to the 'beautiful mild and propitious expression of the god's face,' but this expression cannot be detected on extant 'oscilla' (see Dict. Ant. l. c.), while the epithet can scarcely refer only to Bacchus, and there is the further objection that 'mollis' hardly = beautiful.]

390. 'Pubescit:' comp. Theocr. v 109, *Μή μιν λωβάσθητε τὰς ἀμπέλους ἐντὶ γὰρ ἄβαι*. This and the two following lines might seem to point to a festival before the vintage. But they more naturally mean that the honours paid to Bacchus in a thanksgiving festival ensure a large yield for the ensuing year.



complentur vallesque cavæ saltusque profundi, ? ?  
 et quocumque deus circum caput egit honestum.  
 ergo rite suum Baccho dicemus honorem  
 carminibus patriis lancesque et liba feremus,  
 et ductus cornu stabit sacer hircus ad aram, 395  
 pinguique in veribus torrebimus exta columnis.

Est etiam ille labor curandis vitibus alter,  
 cui numquam exhausti satis est : namque omne quodannis  
 terque quaterque solum scindendum, glaebaque versis ? ?

391. 'Complentur,' teem. Lucretius uses the word of the conception of women. There seems no sufficient reason to restrict the description in this line to vineyards, though such a restriction would accord with vv. 4 foll., which are somewhat parallel.

['Profundi,' deep. Munro compares Lucr. v 41 'per nemora ac magno montes silvasque profundas,' and adds that 'saltus' are the lawns and long defiles sloping from the hills to the plains. 'Silvae profundae' recurs A. VII 515; 'caelum profundum' in E. IV 51 seems different.]

392. 'Honestum,' comely. [See IV 232; A. x 133; XII 155; Varro R. R. II vi 2, etc.] The look of Bacchus fertilizes the country, as that of Jupiter (A. I 255) calms the sky.

393. 'Honorem,' a hymn, as A. I 49, 'aris imponit honorem,' a sacrifice.

394. 'Patriis,' to show that the Roman worship of Bacchus was time-honoured as well as the Greek : comp. v. 385, 'Troia gens missa.' It may also imply the use of the national metre (v. 386).

'Lances' probably for the 'exta,' as in v. 194. Others suppose a hendiadys, 'liba in lancibus.' 'Liba : 'Ov. F. III 761, 'Melle pater (Bacchus) fruitur : liboque infusa calenti Iure repertori candida mella damus.' This however is said of the Liberalia.

395. 'Ductus,' implying that the animal was led, not dragged, which was unlucky, and 'stabit' (comp. 'statuo,' 'constituo') are words appropriate to sacrifice. We need not suppose with many commentators that their use here necessarily denotes that the offering would be propitious. 'Sacer,' devoted.

396. 'Columnis : 'Serv. says that hazel spits were used because the hazel was injurious to the vine. Comp. v. 299.

397-419. 'The dressing of the vine

is an interminable labour: the ground has constantly to be broken up: when the leaves are shed, pruning begins: fastenings have to be provided. When pruning and tying up are over, you have still to use the hoe, and still (v. 419) live in dread of storms.'

397. 'Curandis,' dressing. The word is used by Cato, R. R. xxxiii, for all the operations subsequent to planting. 'Alter' must refer to what has just gone before, 'Texendae saepes etiam,' etc. With the first words of the line comp. III 425.

398. 'Exhausti' = 'exhaustionis' (Serv.): the participle is construed like a substantive. Comp. such usages as 'Prius quam incipias consulto; et ubi consuleris mature facto opus est,' Sall. Cat. I. In prose we might have had 'cuius numquam satis exhaustum est.' Here, apparently for the sake of poetic variation, the participle, instead of being predicate, is made genitive, while the labour is in a manner personified and made the exacting power. 'Which is never satisfied by exhaustion.' Comp. A. IX 356, 'Poenarum exhaustum satis est,' where however the resemblance is merely external.

'Namque' has here much of the force of 'nemp,' resembling, as Wund. remarks, the use of γάρ is such passages as Thuc. I 3, δηλοῖ δέ μοι καὶ τόδε . . . πρό γάρ κ.τ.λ., but it also justifies 'cui numquam exhausti satis est.' ['Exhaustis' Med. 'Quodannis' Pal., Rom., and so formerly Ribbeck.—H. N.]

399. It seems doubtful whether both these clauses are to be understood of the 'bidens,' of which the prongs are used to loosen the ground, the back, 'versis,' to break the clods so turned up, or whether a distinction is intended between ploughing and hoeing, the former of which processes is to be frequently repeated, the latter never intermitted. Supposing this

aeternum frangenda bidentibus; omne levandum 400  
 fronde nemus. redit agricolis labor actus in orbem,  
 atque in se sua per vestigia volvitur annus.  
 ac iam olim seras posuit cum vinea frondes  
 frigidus et silvis aquilo decussit honorem,  
 iam tum acer curas venientem extendit in annum 405  
 rusticus et curvo Saturni dente relictam  
 persequitur vitem attendens fingitque putando.  
 primus humum fodito, primus devecta cremato

distinction to be meant, Virg. will be speaking of the two kinds of vineyards, calculated respectively for ploughing and digging: see on v. 355.

'Scindere' is commonly used of the plough, I 50, III 160. Col. IV 4 says that the number of times the soil ought to be loosened cannot be defined—the more the better.

401. 'Nemus' like 'silvis,' v. 404, and perhaps 'umbra,' v. 410, seem to be used of the supporting trees in the 'arbustum,' as in v. 308 above. 'Labor actus' may be taken with Heyne and others of past labour, the same tasks recurring yearly; or 'actus' may be connected with 'in orbem,' moving in a ring. In vv. 516 foll. we have the other side of the picture, the constant succession of the fruits of the husbandman's toil.

402. 'Atque:' even as. The copulative is employed here in the place of a conjunction denoting a more special relation. This use is commonest where the relation intended is that of time [II 80 note]. Comp. the use of 'atque' in comparisons, and in such expressions as 'simul atque.'

'Volvitur:' Varius had said of the world 'sua se volventis in vestigia' (fab. inc. I, Ribbeck).

403. ['Olim cum' = 'illo tempore cum,' used by Plaut. Lucr. etc. Comp. e.g. Trin. II iv 122 'primum omnium, olim terra quom proscinditur, In quinto quoque sulco moriuntur boves;'] Lucr. VI 148; A. VIII 391, G. III 303; 'olim' is usually explained as having here its etymological meaning, 'then, (when).' Con., who hesitated about this line, objects that the phrase 'appears to be commonly used for indefinite, not for definite occurrences,' which is true, but the present passage is just what he means by an indefinite occurrence; comp. the passage from the Trin.]

404. This line is borrowed from Varro Atacinus, according to Serv. Horace has the same phrase, perhaps from the same source, Epod. XI 6, 'December silvis honorem decuit.'

405. Med. has 'extendet.'

406. 'Rusticus:' Rom. has 'agricola.'

'Curvo Saturni dente:' Saturn was regularly represented with a pruning-knife. Juv. XIII 39 (see Mayor's note) represents him as assuming it after his expulsion from his throne. 'Dens' is used of any curved implement (v. 423).

'Relictam' may be either 'stripped of its foliage' (for which however it is difficult to find an exact parallel), or, as Serv. takes it, the vine which he has left, in other words 'he returns to the vine.'

407. 'Persequitur' like 'insectabere' of exterminating weeds, I 155, 'insequitur' of following up sowing by levelling the soil, ib. 105. It is conceivable however that Virg. may have wished to imitate the Greek use of διατελεῖν with a participle.

'Fingit:' comp. A. VI 80, 'fingitque premedo,' moulds it to his will. The word is specially used of clay moulded by the potter. Comp. Pers. III 24, 'Nunc, nunc properandus et acri Fingendus sine fine rota,' and the word 'figulus.'

'Putando:' Col. (IV 4) includes under this term the 'ablaqueatio,' which consisted in laying open the roots and cutting away all suckers springing from them within a foot and a half of the surface. Cerda however understands 'attendens' here of 'ablaqueatio.'

408. Digging was constantly to go on, so that he that began first would do best: carting away and burning the branches is an occupation which suits no one time more than another, and the sooner it is done the better; the vine-poles, if allowed to remain out, would suffer from the



sarmenta et vallos primus sub tecta referto ;  
 postremus metito. bis vitibus ingruit umbra ; 410  
 bis segetem densis obducunt sentibus herbae ;  
 durus uterque labor : laudato ingentia rura,  
 exiguum colito. nec non etiam aspera rusci  
 vimina per silvam et ripis fluvialis harundo  
 caeditur incultique exercet cura salicti. 415  
 iam vinctae vites, iam falcem arbusta reponunt,

weather. Taubm. quotes Cato v, who lays down as a general rule 'Opera omnia mature conficias face : nam res rustica sic est : si unam rem sero feceris, opera omnia sero feceris.' On the other hand, the more thoroughly ripe the grapes, as Keightley says, the better the wine.

409. 'Sarmenta,' prunings of the vine. Festus p. 322 derives the word from an ancient verb 'sarpo,' to prune ; [and the der. is generally accepted.] In a secondary sense it is used simply for the branches of the vine. 'Devecta,' as in v. 207.

'Vallos,' the vine-poles. Varro, R. R. 1 8, 'Ibi dominus simul ac vidit occipitium vindemiatoris furcillas reducit hibernatum in tecta, ut sine sumptu earum opera altero anno uti possit.' It would seem at first sight that 'vallos' must refer to espalier vines. But comp. vv. 358-361, where 'sudes' is convertible with 'vallos.'

410. 'Metito,' of vines, like 'seges,' 'serere,' 'semina,' Heyne. Comp. iv 231, where 'messis' is used of collecting honey. 'Bis : ' in spring and autumn.

'Umbra' may refer to the shade of the elm or other supporting tree. Col. iv 27 however uses 'umbras compescere,' speaking of the foliage of the vine.

411. 'Segetem,' the vineyard, or the vines ; 'obducunt' favours the former.

'Herbae' must be used in a wide sense, as in Cic. De Div. 1 34, 'Herbae asperae et agrestes.' The weeding ('runcatio') appears to have taken place at the same time as the pruning. Pal. has 'inducunt.'

412. 'Uterque labor : ' not the double labour in spring and autumn, but the double labour of 'pampinatio' and 'runcatio.'

'Laudato . . . colito : ' the form of the expression is evidently taken from Hes. Works 643, Νῆ' ὀλίγην αἰνεῖν, μεγάλη δ' ἐνὶ φορτίᾳ θέσθαι, where it is not easy to see the point of the epigram. Here the point is obvious, the larger estate being

prima facie the best, and large estates being only too common in Italy (Pliny xviii 35). 'Laudato' does not itself mean 'reicito ; ' if it did, there would be no force in the antithesis. Still the same feeling is at the root of this use of the word and that of ἐπαυεῖν for to decline, the feeling, namely, which appears in our use of the word 'compliment.' The connexion here is that, as the work is exacting, a small estate is better than a large one. [Serv. says the same precept was given by Cato to his son.—H. N.] Col. 1 3, §§ 8 foll., after quoting these words of Virg., says, 'Quippe acutissimam gentem Poenos dixisse convenit, imbecilliozem agrum quam agricolam esse debere, quoniam, cum sit collictantium cum eo, si fundus praevaleat, adlidi dominum. Nec dubium quin minus reddat laxus ager non recte cultus, quam angustus eximie.' He speaks of the old Roman feeling against dividing conquered lands among a few, 'nec magis quia superbum videbatur tantum loci detinere, quam quia flagitiosum, quos hostis profugiendo desolasset agros, novo more civem Romanum supra vires patrimonii possidendodeserere ; ' and contrasts the modern practice, 'praepotentium, qui possident finis gentium, quos ne circumire equis quidem valent, sed proculcandos pecudibus, et vastandos ac populandos feris derelinquunt, aut occupatos nexu civium et ergastulis tenent.'

413. 'Rusci,' butchers' broom. Butchers' broom, reeds, and willows are to be cut for tying up the vine.

415. 'Salicti : ' comp. I 265, 'Aut Amerina parat lentae retinacula viti.' 'Inculti' would seem to show that the 'cura' can be only that of cutting them : but they also required pruning, Pliny xvii 142.

416. 'Reponunt' = 'reponi sinunt.' The language passes from precept to the liveliness of narrative. ['Victae' Pal. and originally Med.—H. N.]

iam canit effectos extremus vinitor antes :  
sollicitanda tamen tellus pulvisque movendus,  
et iam maturis metuendus Iuppiter uvis.

Contra non ulla est oleis cultura ; neque illae 420  
procurvam expectant falcem rastrosque tenaces,  
cum semel haeserunt arvis aurasque tulerunt {  
ipsa satis tellus, cum dente recluditur unco,  
sufficit umorem et gravidas cum vomere fruges } : 424

417. This is the reading of Med. (first readings), Rom., Pal., Gud., and Nonius p. 30, restored by Wagn. Heyne, with all the edd. after the Aldine, gives 'extremos effectus.' [Serv. reads 'effectus extremos,' and observes 'melius est effectus legere quam effectos, ut quidam legunt.'—H. N. Med. late corr. has also 'effectus.']

['Antes,' properly projections (from 'an-' before), here = 'extremi ordines.' The word is explained by Verrius Flaccus (Fest. p. 16 M.) as = 'extremi ordines vinearum,' the last or furthest rows of the vines; Serv. gives this explanation, as well as another, found also in Nonius p. 25 and Philarg. here, according to which 'antes' means the walls of the vineyard, or more properly the stones projecting at the corners of the walls. The Berne scholia mention all these views. Philarg. quotes from Cato De Re Militari 'pedites quattuor agminibus, equites duobus antibus duces,' in two lines.—H. N. See Contributions to Latin Lexicography, p. 226.]

'Effectos,' completed. So Quint. x 5 opposes 'materia effecta' to 'incohata.' The rows are said to be completed because the vine-dresser has been through all and done what is necessary for each. 'Extremus,' the last. Comp. v. 410, 'Postremus metito.' The vine-dresser sings like the 'frondator,' E. 1 56.

418. 'Tamen:' 'after all this work you will still have to stir the ground,' etc. The 'pulveratio' appears to have been a distinct process founded on the belief that dust was beneficial to vines. Palladius (III 7) says that the process requires repeating at the beginning of every month from March till October. Pliny (xvii 189) says, 'Fossione pulverem excitatum contra soles nebulasque prodesse.' Comp. also Col. Arb. 82. This notion may be referred to in the next line, as 'metuendus'

of course implies that precautions must be taken.

419. It may be doubted whether 'metuendus uvis' here, like 'apibus metuenda' IV 37, means 'an object of terror to the grapes,' or 'an object of terror [to the vine-dresser] for the grapes.'

[420-425. 'Olives on the contrary want no tending, when once fairly started. Plough the ground, and it will do all for them.'

420. 'Non ulla' is a rhetorical exaggeration. They do not need the same constant attention as the vine. Rom. and some others have 'non nulla,' an obvious error, though mentioned by Serv.

421. 'Tenacis,' tearing up the ground, like the 'bidens.'

422. 'Haeserunt arvis:' when they have once taken hold of the ground: i.e. after having been transplanted from the 'seminarium,' Heyne.

'Aurasque tulerunt:' so 'contemnere ventos,' v. 360. Comp. also vv. 332-335. The meaning here is, 'when they are strong enough to weather the breezes.'

423. 'Satis,' the dat. of 'sata,' put for olives, as for vines above, v. 350. There seems no ground for distinguishing 'dente unco' and 'vomere.' 'Dens' may stand for 'vomere,' as we have 'vomereis dentem,' I 262. Comp. 'dentale.'

424. 'Cum vomere:' 'cum' seems here to express close connexion not so much of time as of causation, a sense which may be illustrated by the opposite 'sine.' We might say, 'as sure as the ploughshare is put in the ground.' [So Urbanus ap. Serv. 'statim post arationem.'—H. N.] Voss and Ribbeck read 'quum vomere,' sc. 'recluditur,' making an antithesis between 'dente unco,' which they interpret 'bidente,' and 'vomere.' But this is very flat, and no opposition can be imagined between 'umorem' and 'gravidas fruges.' Col. (v 9, § 12) however recommends the



hoc pinguem et placitam Paci nutritor olivam. 425

Poma quoque, ut primum truncos sensere valentis  
 et vires habuere suas, ad sidera raptim  
 vi propria nituntur opisque haut indiga nostrae.  
 nec minus interea fetu nemus omne gravescit,  
 sanguineisque inculta rubent aviaria bacis: 430  
 tondentur cytisi, taedas silva alta ministrat,  
 pascunturque ignes nocturni et lumina fundunt:  
 et dubitant homines serere atque inpendere curam?

use of the plough and of the 'bidens.' In the same chapter he gives a precept (§ 15), 'Nam veteris proverbii meminisse convenit; eum, qui aret olivetum, rogare fructum; qui stercoret, exorare; qui caedat (putet) cogere.'

425. 'Hoc' is generally taken 'on this account,' like τῷ in Hom., a usage found in Lucr. and Hor. [See Munro on Lucr. III 531, IV 553, and v. 312 above.] I prefer understanding it with Benson and Martyn, 'by this,' sc. 'arando,' 'with this and this only,' 'this will be enough,' especially as 'pinguem et placitam Paci' seem to express the effect of 'nutritor' ('nutritur ut pinguis sit,' etc. E. VI 4 note). 'Do this, and rear the olive to the fatness which makes it Peace's darling.'

'Nutritor:' [the deponent form is quoted by Nonius, p. 478, from Lucilius: comp. Priscian VIII p. 798, P., Quintil. I iv 28. Med. and Pal. have 'nutritur,' a variant recognized by the Berne scholia.—H. N. Neue-Wagener Formenlehre II p. 67.]

426-428. 'Fruit trees too, when they have got their strength, take care of themselves.'

426. The metaphor seems to be from an adult man feeling his limbs strong under him. It is carried on through the rest of the sentence.

427. 'Raptim' = 'rapide.' See on I 409. With the sense comp. vv. 80 foll.

428. 'Que' couples the adverbial substantive with the adverbial adjective. Comp. A. VI 640, 'Largior hic campos aether et lumine vestit Purpureo.' 'Que' is omitted by Rom.

429-457. 'Forest trees, small as well as great, have their uses; men may well take heart and cultivate them. Nay, they are even worthier than the vine, which may be a curse as well as a blessing.'

429. 'Nec minus:' equally with the trees that have been named.

'Interea,' while man is occupied with other things; so in the next line 'in-culta' is emphatic. There seems to be no reference to the 'arbustum' in 'nemus,' as we might be tempted to suppose from vv. 308, 323, 401. The word appears to be used generally of the trees of the forest in their natural uncultivated state, as man is afterwards recommended to give them the benefit of culture.

'Fetu . . . gravescit:' Lucr. I 253, 'crescunt ipsae fetuque gravantur.'

430. 'Aviaria,' properly an artificial place for tame birds, here the woods. Comp. Lucr. I 18, 'Frondiverasque domos avium' for 'silvas.'

'Sanguineis:' such as the elder, E. x 27, etc.

431. 'Tondentur,' form food for cattle. 'Tondent dumeta iuveni,' I 15. For the fact comp. E. I 79.

'Taedas,' torches of pine-wood, so that 'alta' is appropriate.

432. 'Pascunturque ignes nocturni et lumina fundunt' is a poetical amplification of 'taedas ministrat.' It may be questioned whether 'ignes' means torchlights or fires. 'Nocturni' and 'lumina' may seem to point to the former; but the parallel, 'Urit odoratam nocturna in lumina cedrum,' A. VII 13, apparently refers to fires, as is shown by their original Od. v 59. At the same time the custom of kindling fires for the sake of light by night (II. IX 467 foll.) belongs rather to the heroic age than to Virg.'s day. Comp. I 291.

433. This line is wanting in Med., and is omitted by Ribbeck. Its meaning seems to be: when nature offers so much to the planter and cultivator, can man hesitate to plant and cultivate? Heyne justly says, 'Sententia versum absolvens facile excidere potuit. Versus per se est praeclarus.' With the structure comp. A. I 48, VI 807.

quid maiora sequar? salices humilesque genestae,  
aut illae pecori frondem aut pastoribus umbras 435  
sufficiunt, saepemque satis et pabula melli.  
et iuvat undantem buxo spectare Cytorum  
| Naryciaeque picis lucos, iuvat arva videre  
non rastris, hominum non ulli obnoxia curae.  
ipsae Caucasio steriles in vertice silvae, 440  
quas animosi Euri adsidue franguntque feruntque,  
dant alios aliae fetus, dant utile lignum  
navigiis pinos, domibus cedrumque cupressosque;  
hinc radios trivere rotis, hinc tympana plaustris 444

434. 'Quid maiora sequar:' Wagn. contends that the conjunctive in direct interrogations cannot refer to a thing which the speaker has already begun to do; in such cases (he says) the indicative is used, as A. II 101, 'Sed quid ego haec autem nequiquam ingrata revolvo?' If this be true, we must either understand by 'maiora' greater things than have been mentioned already, or suppose that 'sequar' denotes a more detailed enumeration than has been given in vv. 431, 432, 'maiora' being used in contradistinction to the smaller trees which follow.

435. 'Aut illae:' Serv. says that many in his time read 'tiliae.' For the pleonastic use of the pronoun comp. e.g. A. VI 593, Hor. Od. IV ix 51.

'Pastoribus umbras,' E. II 8 note. Med. originally and Pal. have 'umbram.'

436. 'Satis,' probably including plantations. 'Saepemque satis et pabula melli:' comp. E. I 53, 54, 'Hinc tibi quae semper vicino ab limite saepes Hyblaeis apibus florem depasta salicti.'

'Pabula melli' [for 'pabula apibus.'—H. N.].

437. Virg. continues to enumerate the uses of forest trees, but adopts a different mode of expression, as if he were not thinking of the products yielded by box or pitch trees, but of the mere pleasure of looking at them as they flourish in their most congenial spots, and reflecting that nature does all this unaided, so that art may help to do more.

Cerda quotes from Eustathius a saying *πύξον εἰς Κύρωρον ἡγάγεε*, one of the many equivalents of 'carrying coals to Newcastle.' Catull. IV 13, 'Cytorebuxifer.'

438. 'Naryciae,' Locrian, i.e. Bruttian. Narycus, Naryx, or Narycium, was a town

of Opuntian Locris, the mother country of the Italian Locri. Serv. compares A. III 399, 'Illic Narycii posuerunt moenia Locri.' Bruttian pitch is mentioned by Pliny XIV 127, and by a Schol. on this passage quoted by Heins. on Ov. Rem. 264.

'Picis,' i.e. 'piceae.' The tree is identified by Keightley with the *firs* from the description of Pliny XVI 40.

440. 'Caucasio in vertice' gives the picture of wildness. Strabo (XI p. 497) speaks of Caucasus as covered with woods. [Caucaseo' Pal. Gud., 'Caucasio' Med. Rom.—H. N.]

'Steriles' opp. to 'frugiferae.' Comp. v. 79.

441. 'The wildest woods in the region of storms.' 'Animosi Euri:' it is not easy to say how far this use of 'aninosus' is metaphorical. Comp. Ov. Amor. I vi 51, 'impulsa est animoso ianua vento;' Stat. Theb. IX 459, 'animosaque surgit Tempestas;' VII 87, 'pontumque iacentem Exanimis iam volvit hiemps.'

'Franguntque feruntque:' an analogous expression to 'agere et ferre.' For 'ferre' in the same sense without 'agere' comp. A. II 374, 'Alii rapiunt incensa feruntque Pergama.'

442. 'Fetus,' products. The word is probably antithetic to 'steriles.' Connect 'utile navigiis.' Vitruvius recommends the cedar and cypress for their durability, saying that the bitterness of their sap is antiseptic, II 9, VII 3.

443. [Rom. has 'pinus' and 'cupressos.'—H. N.]

444. 'Trivere' = 'tornavere.' Serv. comp. Pliny XXXVI 193, '[Vitrum] aliud flatu figuratur, aliud torno teritur;' [comp. also Lucr. IV 361.] The tense



agricolae, et pandas ratibus posuere carinas ; 445  
 viminibus salices fecundae, frondibus ulmi,  
 at myrtus validis hastilibus et bona bello  
 cornus ; Ituraeos taxi torquentur in arcus ;  
 nec tiliae leves aut torno rasile buxum  
 non formam accipiunt ferroque cavantur acuto ; 450  
 nec non et torrentem undam levis innatat alnus,  
 missa Pado ; nec non et apes examina condunt  
 corticibusque cavis vitiosaeque ilicis alvo.

gives something of an historical character to the passage, which consequently rises in poetical dignity. So in vv. 454 foll. the effects of the vine are spoken of in the past tense, and a tale of legendary antiquity glanced at.

'Tympana : ' wheels either of solid wood or boards shaped like a drum.

'Hinc' in both places refers to 'silvae' generally, not to different kinds of wood, 'from this tree—from that.'

445. ['Pandas' is rightly explained by Serv. as 'incurvas,' giving the shape of the hull ('carina'). The epithet is from Enn. A. 560, 'carbasus alta vocat pandam ductura carinam ;' cp. Ovid Am. I xi 24. See I 360 note ; Wölfflin's Archiv I 334 ; iii 124 ; Nettleship Contrib. to Latin Lex. p. 404.]

'Posuere,' ἔθηκαν. Virg. expresses himself as if the farmer built ships, meaning no more than that the trees which the farmer is encouraged to plant and cultivate are turned to that use.

446. 'Viminibus,' 'frondibus,' the abl., not the dat. Each are actual products of the trees, not things made from their products. So, in the next line, 'hastilibus' are not the actual spear-shafts, but the shoots as they grow on the tree. Comp. A. III 23, 'quo cornea summo Virgulta et densis hastilibus horrida myrtus.' 'Frondibus : ' comp. Cato VI, 'Ulmos serito . . . uti frondem ovibus et bubus habeas.'

[The punctuation adopted in the text is that of Med.] ; Serv. speaks of another, 'Viminibus salices, fecundae frondibus ulmi,' which Heyne and Ribbeck prefer ; but the present pointing is simpler, and not less rhythmical. Comp. I 453, 'Caeruleus pluviam denuntiat, igneus Eurus,' where the same doubt might be raised.

447. The construction is 'myrtus et bona bello cornus fecundae validis hastilibus.' So in I 58 the verb is carried on

from one part of a sentence to the other, though they are separated by 'at.' 'Bona bello' occurs at the end of a line in Lucilius [ap. Non. p. 462, who also quotes this verse of Virg.]

448. 'Ituraeos' is a literary epithet. See Cic. Phil. II 44, 'Cur homines omnium gentium maxime barbaros Ituraeos cum sagittis deducis in forum?' [and Bell. Afric. 20. A 'cohors Ituraeorum sagittariorum' appears among the 'auxilia' of the first century A.D.]

449. 'Tiliae leves : ' in I 173 it is 'Caeditur et tilia ante iugo levis.' 'Torno rasile' to be combined as one epithet, like 'bona bello.' The epithets seem proleptic.

450. 'Ferro acuto,' sc. 'torno,' Keightley.

451. 'Innatat' with an accus. as 'natat' III 259. 'Torrentem undam,' sc. 'Padi.' Pliny (III 117) says of the Po that it is 'agris quam navigiis torrentior.' 'Alnus,' I 136, note.

452. 'Missa : ' 'Sped down the Po.' The expression is appropriate to a swift river, such as Virg., rightly or wrongly (IV 373), supposed the Po to be. 'Pado,' abl., as in the common phrase, 'flumine subvehere,' [or dative, = 'in Padum.'—H. N.]

453. The context shows that Virg. is thinking of the availability of certain trees for artificial beehives. But he has chosen to speak as if he were referring to natural hives, doubtless intimating that nature suggested the thought to man. There is still a question whether he means 'the bees hive naturally in hollow trees [and thus suggest the formation of beehives],' or understands by 'condunt' 'are hived by the bee-master.' The latter is more likely, as two kinds of hives appear to be spoken of, those of bark (see IV 33) and those made from hollow trees, and of these only the second can well be natural. The

I.

T

quid memorandum aequae Baccheia dona tulerunt?  
 Bacchus et ad culpam causas dedit: ille furentis 455  
 Centauros leto domuit, Rhoetumque Pholumque,  
 et magno Hylaeum Lapithis cratere minantem.

O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint,  
 agricolas, quibus ipsa, procul discordibus armis,  
 fundit humo facilem victum iustissima tellus! 460

'ilex' and the 'suber' are classed together by Pliny, xvi 34, who says that the latter was called by some 'ilex femina,' and was generally used in default of the former. 'Corticibus' seems to point more particularly to the 'suber,' the bark of which was called 'cortex' *par excellence*, as in Greek *φελλός, φλοιός*. And so Col. ix 6 recommends bark, after Varro, for beehives, if the country is 'ferax suberis.' Construing 'corticibus' with 'ilicis,' we may suppose the 'ilex' to include the 'suber.' For beehives made from hollow trees, see Col. l. c.

'Alvo:' so all MSS., except Rom. 'alveo;' [the Berne scholia explain it as 'antro.' See IV 34 and Keil quoted there.] The word is used for 'alvare' by Varro III xvi 8 and Col. ix.

454. Virg. sets out to show that the wild trees have their merits as well as the vine, and at last is carried away into showing that they are better than the vine. 'Baccheia,' *Βακχία*.

[For 'aeque' Serv. mentions a variant 'et quae,' i.e. 'quid memorandum est quae Bacchi dona tulerunt.' This reading is not quoted by Ribbeck from any MS.—H. N.]

455. Comp. Od. xxi 295, *Οἶνος καὶ Κένταυρον, ἀγακλήτων Ἐθρυτιῶνα, Ἄασ' ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ μεγάλῳ Πειριθόοιο*.

'Furentis' seems to express the agency of Bacchus as well as 'domuit,' the drunken passions of the Centaurs having led them to give the provocation which was so fiercely resented.

456. 'Leto domuit:' comp. *κηρι δαμείς*. For the Centaurs and Lapithae see Ov. M. xii 210, where Rhoetus and Pholus are not killed but put to flight.

'Rhoetus' is said to be the usual spelling, at least in the MSS. of Latin authors, not 'Rhoecus,' if indeed Rhoecus is not the name of the giant as distinguished from the centaur. Bentley on Hor. Od. II xix 23 inclines to 'Rhoetus' as the name of both.

457. 'Cratere' keeps up the notion of a Bacchanalian fray. For the size of the 'crater' comp. A. ix 346, where another Rhoetus lurks behind one. The vivid image in this line may have been suggested by sculpture.

458-474. 'How happy the husbandman's life of ease and plenty! He has not power or luxury, but he has peace, simplicity and the charms of nature about him. He is one of a hardy race which still keep the traditions of ancient piety and justice.'

458. 'Fortunatos nimium,' like 'nimium felix,' A. iv 657. 'Happy beyond human happiness.'

459. 'Discordibus armis' can hardly refer specially to civil war, as Keightley thinks, because the sufferings of the Italian husbandmen from civil wars are elsewhere dwelt on by Virg. I 506 foll., E. I 67 foll. He is speaking generally, and his own words below, vv. 495 foll., 503 foll., furnish a comment on his meaning.

460. For 'fundit' we might expect 'fundat;' but the clause is not intended to give a reason for the farmer's happiness, but to describe him, 'quibus—tellus' being part of the subject of the sentence as well as 'agricolae.' Had 'agricolae' been omitted, this would have been evident at once: comp. vv. 490, 493 below. It seems right therefore to include the relative clause in the exclamation, by removing the (!) to the end of this line.

'Tellus' is personified, and 'humo' is 'from her soil.' 'Fundit' and 'facilem' both seem to mark plenty without trouble, husbandry being natural and assisted by nature, as contrasted with the pursuits of artificial life. The tone of the present passage is opposite to that which prevails generally in the Georgics, where the laborious side of the farmer's life is dwelt on.

'Iustissima,' not because she repays labour, but because she gives man all he really needs. Comp. Philem. 406 (Mei-



si non ingentem foribus domus alta superbis  
 mane salutantum totis vomit aedibus undam,  
 nec varios inhiant pulchra testudine postis  
 inlusasque auro vestes Ephyreiaque aera,  
 alba neque Assyrio fucatur lana veneno,  
 nec casia liquidi corrumpitur usus olivi:  
 at segura quies et nescia fallere vita,  
 dives opum variarum, at latis otia fundis,  
 speluncae vivique lacus, at frigida Tempe

451  
 = πρὸς Ἰσχυρὸν 2 (C. 2. 2. 2.)  
 111  
 465 TAPA 67, 2

neke), Δικαίωτον κτήμ' ἴσθιν ἀνθρώποις ἀγρός, Ὡν ἡ φύσις δέιται γὰρ ἐπιμελῶς φέρεται.  
 451. An imitation of Lucr. II 24-36, 'Si non aurea sunt iuvenum simulacra per aedes,' etc. Connect 'foribus domus alta superbis,' not 'vomit foribus.'

462. 'Mane:' these levees were held from six till eight in the morning. Catiline's associates intended to go to Cicero's levee, 'ea nocte paullo post,' Sall. Cat. XXVIII. So later, Martial IV viii 1, Juv. v 22.

'Totis vomit aedibus' 'pours from the whole palace' (not 'lets in over the whole palace'). This is more picturesquely and suits the metaphor better. The late word 'vomitoria,' denoting entrances to the seats in the amphitheatre from the surrounding gallery, is explained by Macrob. Sat. VI 4, because 'homines glomeratim ingredienti in sedilia se fundunt.'

463. 'Inhiant' is used of a man gloating over his property by Hor. S. I 1 71, and Sen. H. F. 167, the latter of whom clearly has an eye to this passage. It is possible however to refer 'inhiant' not to the owner but to others: 'nor do men gaze at their inlaid doorposts'—'nor have they inlaid doorposts for men to gaze on.' Connect 'varios pulchra testudine.'

464. 'Inlusas' (Med. corr., Servius), fancifully wrought. This use of the word appears unique, except for imitations in Prudentius and Avienus. 'Inclusas' (Med. originally, Pal., Rom., and the Berne scholia) is condemned by Servius, but was formerly read by Ribbeck: compare for it Lucr. IV 1126, A. XII 211.

465. 'Assyrio,' loosely for Phoenician or Tyrian: comp. E. IV 25.

Neither 'fucatur' nor 'veneno' necessarily expresses contempt. Comp. Hor. Ep. I x 27, 'Aquinatam potentia vellera fucum,' and Gaius, Dig. L xvi 236, 'qui venenum dicit adicere debet, malum an

bonum sit: nam et medicamenta venena sunt.' But here the tone of the passage and 'corrumpitur' show that both words are used in a disparaging sense, which may extend to 'inlusas' and 'inhiant,' and perhaps even to 'vomit.'

466. 'Casia,' not the Italian shrub of v. 213, E. II 49, but the bark of an eastern aromatic tree which grows to the height of twenty-five feet. Keightley.

'Usus olivi:' the oil in respect to its use. So Hor. Od. III i 42, 'Nec purpurarum sidere clarior Delinit usus.' Perhaps we may render 'Nor is their clear oil's service spoiled by the bark of casia.' [Serv. well says, 'oleum generalem usum habet, quod cum in unguentum fuerit corruptum, uni rei tantum aptum esse incipit.'—H. N.]

467. 'Nescia fallere:' it does not seem possible to separate the thought contained in these words from that of 'dives opum variarum.' But two interpretations are compatible with this connexion. We may render (1) 'free from chance and change' (comp. Hor. Epod. XVI 45, 'Germinat et nunquam fallentis termes olivae'), or (2) 'that needs no knavish arts,' because it gives every thing freely, a thought which would agree with 'Fundit humo facilem victum iustissima tellus' in v. 460.

Pal. and Rom. give 'vitam.'

468. 'Latis,' opposed to the confinement of the city; there is no allusion to 'latifundia.' 'The liberty of broad domains.' [Lucr. v 1389, 'per loca pastorum deserta atque otia dia.'—H. N.]

469. 'Vivi lacus,' 'natural,' opposed to artificial reservoirs. 'Tempe,' for any valley like Tempe. Cic. Att. IV 15, 'Reatini me ad sua τήμηνα duxerunt.'

'At': Med., Gud. originally, etc., have 'et,' which is adopted by Ribbeck, and is very plausible, 'speluncae—somnia' being then naturally taken as a development of 'latis otia fundis.'

mugitusque boum mollesque sub arbore somni 470  
 non absunt ; illic saltus ac lustra ferarum,  
 et patiens operum exiguoque adueta iuventus,  
 sacra deum, sanctique patres ; extrema per illos  
 iustitia excedens terris vestigia fecit.

Me vero primum dulces ante omnia Musae, 475  
 quarum sacra fero ingenti percussus amore,  
 accipiant caelique vias et sidera monstrent.

471. 'Lustra ferarum,' 'the haunts of game,' i.e. hunting. The phrase recurs A. III 647.

472. 'Exiguo' is the reading of Med., Pal., Rom., etc. Gud. has 'parvo,' which is supported by quotations in the grammarians, but seems to have come from A. IX 607, as Burm. remarks.

473. 'There is religion and there are reverend elders,' that is, 'there is reverence for age.'

'Extrema,' etc. : comp. Arat. Phaen. 127, 'Ὡς εἰπυῖος (Δίση) ὄρεων ἰπταμένοιο. Justice is there said to have fled to the mountains in the days of the silver race, and fled from earth altogether in the days of the brazen race.

475-489. 'My first wish is that the Muses would reveal to me the whole system of nature's laws, my second, should that be denied me, is to lead a country life : my heart leaps up at the thought already.'

475. We may take 'ante omnia' either with 'primum' or with 'dulces.' The first way most clearly brings out the sense of the whole passage, which is—'Above all things I would be the poet of philosophy—if I cannot be that, I would be the poet of the country.' Besides, there is no such authority for the use of 'ante omnia' intensively with an adjective, as to warrant us in choosing this collocation when the passage may be construed otherwise. See Hand, Tursell. I 388. Heyne connects 'accipiant me primum ante omnia,' 'take me as their first favourite,' which seems clearly wrong.

With 'dulces Musae' comp. Arat. Phaen. 16, χαίρουτε δὲ Μοῦσαι Μελίχαι μάλα πᾶσιν.

476. 'Sacra fero:' it is hard to say whether this phrase means 'to carry the sacred symbols in procession' like a *κατηφόρος* (Hor. S. I iii 11, and Orelli's note), or to 'sacrifice as a priest,' as ap-

parently in A. III 19, v 59, VI 810. Either would do equally well here ; the latter is perhaps recommended by Horace's 'Musarum sacerdos' (Od. III i 3), and Prop. IV i 3, 'Primus ego ingredior puro de fonte sacerdos Itala per Graios orgia ferre choros,' with which again we may comp. Virg.'s own 'sanctos ausus recludere fontis,' v. 175.

'Ingenti percussus amore : ' Lucr. I 923 foll., 'Percussit thyrso laudis spes magna meum cor, Et simul incussit suavem mi in pectus amorem Musarum.' Cerda refers to *μουσοπάρατος* in Cicero.

'Perculsus,' the reading before Heins., is found in Med. corr. and Gud.

477. Virg. probably had in his mind not only Lucr. and the Greek didactic poets, Xenophanes, Empedocles and Aratus, but also the legendary teachers of early Greece, Orpheus and Musaeus. His own notion of an ancient bard is that of a hierophant of nature, as shown in Iopas A. I 740, where he partly repeats the present passage. The conception belongs not to Augustan Rome, but to primitive Greece, where science was theological and imaginative, and verse the natural vehicle of knowledge and thought. It had, however, been partially realized by Lucr., whose example strongly influenced Virg., and whose subject is evidently shadowed out by the following lines, as the references will show, while he, his master, and their followers, are as evidently pointed at vv. 490-492 (see notes there and Introd.). Propertius (IV (III) v 23) sketches a similar employment for his old age, when he can no longer be the poet of love ; but his field is larger than Virgil's, including the mysteries of the world below, an addition perhaps suggested by Lucretius' third Book, as the whole passage seems to have been by Virg.'s aspiration here. Similar epitomes of the subjects of scientific study are



defectus solis varios lunaeque labores,  
 unde tremor terris, qua vi maria alta tumescant  
 obicibus ruptis, rursusque in se ipsa residunt, 480  
 quid tantum Oceano properent se tinguere soles  
 hiberni, vel quae tardis mora noctibus obstet.  
 sin, has ne possim naturae accedere partis,  
 frigidus obstiterit circum praecordia sanguis,  
 rura mihi et rigui placeant in vallibus amnes; 485  
 flumina amem silvasque inglorius. o, ubi campi.  
 Spercheusque, et virginibus bacchata Lacaenis

given by Hor. Ep. I xii 16 foll., Ov. M. xv 69 foll.

'Caelique vias et sidera,' 'the stars in their courses through heaven'—probably a hendiadys. In these words Virg. may have been thinking of Aratus, as in the following of Lucr.

478. Lucr. v 751, 'Solis item quoque defectus lunaeque latebras Pluribus e causis fieri tibi posse putandum est,' in which 'pluribus e causis' explains 'varios.' There is no difference between 'defectus' and 'labores,' as appears from the parallel passage A. I 740, 'errantem lunam solisque labores.' Comp. Prop. II xxiv 48, 'fraternis Luna laboret equis;' [Varro (quoted by Serv.) uses 'laborare' of a lunar eclipse.] Heyne, who quotes the lines of Lucr., observes, after giving the first verse, 'Vel hoc uno versu Vergiliani carminis quanta suavitas sit intelliges.'

479. 'Unde tremor terris:' Lucr. vi 577 foll.

'Qua vi,' through what force of nature.

'Maria alta tumescant' is taken, by [Servius, quoting Lucan I 412, and] most commentators, of the tides. But the words seem to denote something more irregular, such as the sudden rise of the sea at an earthquake (as described by Thuc. III 89), or storms, comp. Lucr. v 1002, Sil. xiv 348. [Earthquakes, producing earthquake waves, were and are not unfrequent on the shores of the Mediterranean, particularly near Naples, where Virg. wrote.]

481. ['Oceano' abl., G. I 246, A. XI 913, 'gurgite Phoebus Hiberno tinguat equos;' cf. G. III 359.]

482. 'Tardis noctibus' might mean slow in coming ('aestivis') or slow in

going ('hibernis'). It seems to be decided in favour of the latter by Lucr. v 699, 'Propterea noctes hiberno tempore longae Cessant.'

483. [The line is quoted by Plotius Sacerdos p. 445 K. as 'sin has non possim naturae acquirere partes.'—H. N.] For 'naturae partis' comp. Lucr. III 29, 'quod sic natura tua vi Tam manifesta patens ex omni parte resecta est.'

484. Comp. Empedocles (Stobaeus, Ecl. p. 1026), *αἷμα γὰρ ἀνθρώποις περικαρδίον ἔστι νόημα*, and see Plato, Phaedo p. 96 B; Cic. Tusc. I ix 19; Lucr. III 43. The Comm. Cruq. on Hor. A. P. 465 explains the epithet 'frigidus,' there given to Empedocles, by saying that, according to him, slowness of intellect was caused by the coldness of the blood about the heart, which is, at any rate, a natural inference from his doctrine. Virg. gives a philosophic reason for his possible inaptitude for philosophy. See also note on IV 7.

485. 'Rura—silvas,' 'amnes—flumina,' 'placeant—amem' correspond. His wish is, that he may be content with woods and waters, and have no thought besides.

486. 'O, ubi campi,' 'O where are they?' 'Would that I were there!' Comp. Hor. S. II vii 116, 'Unde mihi lapidem?' 'Campi' is the 'Larisae campus opimae,' Hor. Od. I vii 11.

487. I have given 'Spercheus' (Med. corr. and Pal.) on the analogy of 'Peneus' and 'Alpheus,' though it is not easy to say when Virg. is likely to have used 'us,' when 'os.' [Med. has originally 'Spercheos,' Rom. 'Sperchius.'—H. N.] 'Bacchata,' probably from Lucr. v 824, 'Omne quod in magnis bacchatur montibus passim.' Comp. A. III 125, 'Bacchatamque iugis Naxon.' In these two

Taygeta! ο, qui me gelidis convallibus Haemi  
 sistat, et ingenti ramorum protegat umbra!  
 felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas, 490  
 atque metus omnis et inexorabile fatum  
 subiecit pedibus strepitumque Acherontis avari §:  
 fortunatus et ille, deos qui novit agrestis,  
 Panaque Silvanumque senem Nymphasque sorores!  
 illum non populi fasces, non purpura regum 495  
 flexit et infidos agitans discordia fratres,

passages it has been proposed to take 'bacchatus' actively [so Nonius p. 78], the mountain or island itself being said to revel (comp. III 150, 'furit mugitibus aether,' and *φυλλομανεῖν* and similar words in Greek). But the use of a deponent participle passively is common enough, *βακχευθῆναι* appears to be similarly used, [and 'bacchare' itself does occur.]

488. 'Taygeta,' plural of *Τάγγερον*. The common Latin form is 'Taygetus.' [Pal. has 'Taugea,' which Ribbeck formerly adopted.—H. N.]

The ref. is to the temple of Bacchus in the range of Taygetus, to which only women were admitted (Paus. III 20).

'Convallibus,' Med., Pal., is the natural word for the glens of Haemus, and is now generally accepted. The older reading 'in vallibus' seems to have arisen from v. 485.

490-540. 'If the sage is blest, so is the countryman. Untempted by ambition, and removed from its crimes, its vanities, and its penalties, he moves in the round of yearly labour and plenty, with new fruits constantly pouring in, and ever and anon a day of rustic merry-making, following the example of the grand old times of Italian history and legend.'

490. [Munro on Lucr. I 78, III 449, argues that Virgil here means Lucretius, and this was Conington's view in his first ed. Afterwards he came to think that] Virg. is here sketching the Epicurean philosopher, whether master, scholar, or poet, just as in vv. 493, 494 he is identifying himself with all lovers of the country, whether poets or not. The expression 'rerum causae,' while accurately describing Lucr.'s philosophy, is not found in his poem, though Munro points to Lucr. III 1072, v 1185 as likely to have suggested the present line. The words

are copied by Ov. M. xv 68, who couples them with 'primordia mundi.'

491. 'Metus : ' Lucr. III 37, 'Et metus ille foras praecipit Acherontis agendus, Funditus humanam qui vitam turbat ab imo.'

'Inexorabile' may refer specially to the argument at the end of Lucr.'s third book. Rom. has 'ineluctabile,' probably a reminiscence of A. VIII 334. 'Fatum : ' death, as nature's fiat.

492. 'Subiecit pedibus : ' Lucr. I 79, 'Quare religio pedibus subiecta vicissim Obteritur.'

'Strepitumque Acherontis avari : ' in Lucr. III 14-30 the philosopher, looking down, sees Acheron vanish.

493. 'Fortunatus et ille : ' the calm, which was the great boon of philosophy, is given also, after its kind, to the lover of the country. 'Felix' and 'fortunatus' seem synonymous.

'Deos qui novit agrestis : ' throughout the Eclogues, particularly in E. v, vi, x, the country gods are represented as mixing with the human dwellers in the country.

495. 'Populi fasces : ' from Lucr. III 996. This passage again is somewhat similar to Lucr. III 59-86, who is speaking of the civil wars of his own time.

496. 'Fratres' is generally referred to one of the domestic contests for Eastern thrones, such as that between Phraates and Tiridates for the throne of Parthia; Hor. Od. I xxvi 3 foll., which somewhat resembles this passage. [So H. N., note on 505.] Lucr. however, l. c., has expressions (vv. 72, 73, 83-86) which speak distinctly of the disruption of families in the civil war. 'Civil feuds that make brothers swerve from brother's duty.'

'Non — non — et,' connecting three equally distinct subjects, occurs Prop. II i 21.



aut coniurato descendens Dacus ab Histro,  
 non res Romanae perituraque regna; neque ille  
 aut doluit miserans inopem aut invidit habenti.  
 quos rami fructus, quos ipsa volentia rura      500  
 sponte tulere sua, carpsit, nec ferrea iura  
 insanumque forum aut populi tabularia vidit.  
 sollicitant alii remis freta caeca, ruuntque  
 in ferrum, penetrant aulas et limina regum;      511

497. [About 50 B.C. Burebista organized the Dacians into a formidable though short-lived military state of a type common among savage tribes. About 46 he raided the whole Balkan peninsula, and Caesar planned a counter-campaign in 44. In 32 his successor Cotiso took Antony's side, and Rome feared a Dacian inroad: hence this line, *Hor. Sat. II vi 53* (B.C. 31) and *Od. II vi 13*, 'paene occupatam seditionibus Delevit urbem Dacus et Aethiops.' The danger lasted beyond Actium; even in 16 and 10 the Dacians crossed the frozen Danube. See *Mommsen Mon. Ancyr. p. 30.*]

'Coniurato Histro:' Philarg. [and Serv.] assert on authority of Aufidius Modestus that the Dacians pledged themselves in Danube water not to return home unless victorious: comp. *Claudian de Bell. Goth. 87*. But the words may well refer to the frozen Danube, thus in league with the Dacians.

'Descendens,' from their mountains: *Flor. II 28*, 'Daci montibus inhaerent.'

498. 'Not the great Roman state, and the death-throes of subject kingdoms.' [See v. 505 note: for 'regna' comp. *Cic. de Lege Agr. III 34*, *Milo 73*, 87, etc.]

499. In the country the distinctions of poverty and wealth, and the emotions of pity and envy which they cause, are alike unknown. The serenity produced by a rural life is still the uppermost thought. *Comp. Tibull. I i 77*, 'ego composito securus acervo Despiciam dites despiciamque famem.' Serv., seeing apparently that this explanation does not clear the earlier part of the verse from the charge of selfish indifference, suggests that the countryman does not pity poverty because he is philosopher enough to understand that it is not an evil but a blessing. Germanus thinks *Virg.* means to represent the countryman as free from the two emotions which pervert the sense of justice, which

he proves from Aristotle to know no distinction of persons. The feeling again is unlike the general tone of the *Georgics*. See v. 460.

500. Imitated from *Lucret. v 937, 938*.

501. 'Iura' [rules of law or decisions in the law courts: so often in good Latin (*Contr. to Latin Lex. p. 498*).—H. N.]

'Ferrea' [shameless or ruthless. For the first comp. *Licinius Crassus ap. Suet. Nero 4* 'os ferreum, cor plumbeum,' *Cic. Pis. 63*, *Catullus XLII 17*. In *Quint. (?) Decl. III x 8* 'ferrea iura fatorum' means the inexorable decrees of fate; so *Val. Max. v iii 2* 'durus et, ut ita dicam, ferreis sententiis.' Serv., *Philargy.* and the *Berne scholia* all take the word here as = 'dura' 'immutabilia.'—H. N.]

502. Rom. has 'insanumve.'

'Tabularia,' [i.e. records of all public business. Such records were kept in temples, esp. in the temple of Saturn in the Forum, and perhaps in the so-called 'Tabularium' above it on the Capitol slope (*Jordan, Topogr. der Stadt Rom. I ii 135*). *Virgil* may here be thinking of these two buildings, the latter of which must have dominated the Forum in his time, 'a silent background to the surging mob below.'—*Mackail, Class. Review, 1896, December.*]

503. 'Freta caeca,' like 'ruunt in ferrum' which follows, seems to denote headlong daring. *Comp. Soph. Terentus, fr. 533*, τὸ δ' ἐς αἰθριον αἰεὶ τυφλὸν ἔρπει. [Dark, i.e. stormy.—H. N.]

504. The choice of the words 'aulae' and 'limina' (*Hor. Epod. II 7*, 'Forumque vitat et superba civium Potentiorum limina; Pers. I 108, 'ne maiorum tibi forte Limina frigescant') seems to show that the poet speaks of the road to wealth and honour through the favour of the great, 'regum' used as in *Hor. Ep. I vii 37, xvii 43*. The other interpretation, 'sack the palaces of kings,' would create a prosaic tautology with what follows.

hic petit excidiis urbem miserosque Penates, 505  
 ut gemma bibat et Sarrano dormiat ostro;  
 condit opes alius defossoque incubat auro;  
 hic stupet attonitus Rostris; hunc plausus hiantem  
 per cuneos geminatus enim plebisque patrumque  
 corripuit; gaudent perfusi sanguine fratrum, 510  
 exilioque domos et dulcia limina mutant,  
 atque alio patriam quaerunt sub sole iacentem.  
 agricola incurvo terram dimovit aratro:  
 hinc anni labor, hinc patriam parvosque nepotes 514

505. 'Excidiis,' abl. : comp. 'bello,' 'armis,' 'saxis petere.'

'Urbem miserosque Penates,' 'one brings ruin to a city, and wretchedness to its homes.' It is difficult to say whether the reference is to the sack of foreign cities or to the entrances into Rome of conquerors in the civil wars. Professor Seeley has suggested to me that Virg. may be here glancing at Caesar, as in v. 507 at Crassus, and in vv. 508 foll. at Pompey and his admirers (comp. Lucan 1 133, 'plaususque sui gaudere theatri'). [The whole passage may however well apply to the year 33 B.C. 'Penetrant aulas et limina regum' may allude to intrigues with foreign courts such as Antony had been carrying on with Media, Armenia, and Egypt. 'Res Romanae perituraeque regna' are the fortunes of Rome and the falling Eastern despotisms opposed to her. 'Infidos agitans discordia fratres' may be meant either for Phraates the murderer of his brother, or for the Armenian princes Artaxias and Tigranes. The lines 'hic petit excidiis'—'ostro' might well be intended for Antony himself.—H. N.]

506. 'Gemma bibat:' Serv., whom some commentators follow, says 'poculo gemmeo, non gemmato.' But there seems no reason thus to restrict the word. 'Bibit e gemma' occurs Prop. IV v 4, 'gemma ministratur' Sen. Provid. 3 Virg., as Macrob. Sat. VII 1 says, has imitated a line of Varius, 'incubet ut Tyriis atque ex solido bibat auro.'

'Dormiat:' Med. am. pr. has 'indormiat' (which Heins. adopted) or 'indormitat.'

507. 'Defosso auro,' buried: Hor. S. 1 1 42, 'Quid iuvat immensum te argentipondus et auri Furtim defossa timidum deponere terra?' [The custom of burying hoards was very widespread throughout all antiquity and the middle ages. For exx. of

hoards buried in Virgil's time see Mommsen-Blacas, ii 142 foll.]

508. 'Hic,' the aspirant to eloquence, who is struck dumb with admiration of the successful speaker, and the applause which greets him. 'Hunc,' the aspirant ('hiantem') to political greatness, who is caught and carried away ('corripuit') by the applause in the theatre ('per cuneos') which rewarded popular statesmen. For the practice comp. Hor. Od. 1 xx 3, 11 xvii 26 [and many passages in Cicero's letters.—H. N.]

509. 'The plaudits of commons and nobles as they roll, aye, again and again, along the benches.' [In early Latin 'enim' is affirmative (indeed), not causal (for): so, for ex. always in Plautus and usually in Terence, Langen's Beiträge 262. The affirmative sense survives in Virg. here, v. 104, A. VI 317, VIII 84, X 874, possibly in Livy XXII xxv 3, and in the compound 'enimvero,' 'at enim,' and probably 'sed enim' (A. 1 19, 11 164, etc.), which is at least as old as Cato.]

510. 'Fratrum:' Lucr. III 70; [Catull. LXIV 398.—H. N.] Comp. note on v. 496. If proscriptions are alluded to, Virg. would refer to the Second Triumvirate, as Lucr. to Sulla and Marius.

511. 'Exilio,' place of exile. A. III 4, 'Diversa exilia et desertas quaerere terras.'

512. Hor. Od. II xvi 18, 'quid terras alio calentes Sole mutamus?' is probably an imitation of this, though Hor. is speaking of voluntary exile. The order in Pal. is 'quaerunt patriam.'

513. 'Dimovit:' while war, etc., is going on elsewhere, he has tilled his lands and expects the harvest. The same line has occurred, 1 494, with 'molitus' for 'dimovit.' Med. gives 'molitus' here.

514. The use of 'labor,' like *πόνος*, for the fruits of labour, is common, but seems



sustinet, hinc armenta boum meritosque iuencos. 515  
 nec requies, quin aut pomis exuberet annus  
 aut fetu pecorum aut Cerealis mergite culmi <sup>leaf</sup>  
 proventuque oneret sulcos atque horrea vincat.  
 venit hiemps, teritur Sicyonia baca trapetis,  
 glande sues laeti redeunt, dant arbuta silvae; 520  
 et varios ponit fetus autumnus, et alte  
 mitis in apicis coquitur vindemia saxis.  
 interea dulces pendent circum oscula nati,  
 casta pudicitiam servat domus, ubera vaccae 524

hardly applicable here, as it would require us to suppose that Virg. uses the word to designate those fruits as distinguished from the labour whence ('hinc') they come. It seems better to understand the words as meaning that the husbandman finds his annual employment as well as his livelihood in tillage. Ribbeck reads 'hic' for the first 'hinc,' from a conj. of Markland's, confirmed by a variant in Gud.

'Nepotes:' Med. has 'Penates,' which is approved by Heins. and Heyne (the latter of whom comp. IV 155), and adopted by Haupt and Ribbeck, but its deficiency in external authority seems fatal to it. The transcriber of Med. was liable to error from a recollection of parallel passages (see v. 513); the source of the mistake here may have been partly the sight of v. 505, partly a remembrance of A. VIII 543. Whether any reason beyond poetical variety makes Virg. talk of grandsons rather than sons of the countryman is not easy to say; he may have thought that there was some point in leading us to suppose him a man advanced in years, yet working on. Mr. Munro reminds us that a Roman might well see his son's children born by the time he was forty, and that they were as much under his 'patria potestas' as the son was if not emancipated.

'Patriam:' it is not clear whether this means his hamlet, or his country in the larger sense. The language would point to the latter, the sense to the former. If the latter is meant, the antithesis may be, as Wagn. thinks, between peaceful patriotism and the unscrupulous ambition just mentioned. Varro R. R. II 1 complains that the disuse of agriculture was making Rome dependent on foreign nations for corn. Not unlike is Juv. XIV 70, 71, 'patriae sitidoneus, utilis agris,' except that there the reference is more general. Dona-

tus ap. Serv. renders 'patriam,' 'villam.' 'Thence comes sustenance alike for his country and his infant grandsons at home, and for his herds of oxen and the bullocks that have served him so well.'

515. 'Meritos:' so III 525, of the dying bullock, 'Quid labor aut benefacta iuvant? quid vomere terras Invertisse gravis?'

516. 'Nec requies,' probably 'anno' rather than 'agricolae.' The expression is from Lucr. VI 1177.

519. The narrative style is continued with increased liveliness. 'Sicyonia baca,' the olive for which Sicyon was famous. Comp. Ovid Ibis 319, ex Ponto IV xv 10, Stat. Theb. IV 50. [Pal. has 'Sicunia,' Rom. 'Siquonia.'—H. N.]

520. 'Glande laeti' = 'saturi et nitidi.' Comp. 'armentaue laeta,' v. 144. 'See how fat the swine come off from their meal of acorns.' 'Glande' is the important word, as it is of the different fruits of different seasons that Virg. is speaking: the rest is ornamental, though quite in keeping with the picture of rural felicity and abundance.

521. 'Ponit fetus:' comp. Phaedrus II iv 3, 'Sus nemoricultrix fetum ad imam (arborem) posuerat,' a sense in which 'deponere' is also used. 'Or, for a change, autumn is dropping its various produce at his feet.' The willingness of nature is dwelt on, as in 'dant arbuta silvae.' See on v. 460.

522. Comp. note on v. 377.

523. 'Interea' divides the description of fruitfulness without from that of happiness within.

'Pendent circum oscula nati' is from Lucr. III 895, 'nec dulces occurrent oscula nati Praeripere.' In both these passages, as in A. I 256, XII 434, 'osculum' is used in its primary sense as the diminutive of 'os.'

524. 'Domus' = 'familia,' in this case

lactea demittunt, pinguesque in gramine laeto 525  
inter se adversis luctantur cornibus haedi.  
ipse dies agitat festos, fususque per herbam,  
ignis ubi in medio et socii cratera coronant,  
te, libans, Leneae, vocat, pecorisque magistris  
velocis iaculi certamina ponit in ulmo, 530  
corporaue agresti nudant praedura palaestrae.  
hanc olim veteres vitam coluere Sabini,  
hanc Remus et frater, sic fortis Etruria crevit  
scilicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma,  
septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces. 535

the wife. 'Servat,' keeps, in the sense of observing. 'His virtuous household keeps the traditions of purity.'

525. 'Lactea ubera demittunt' = 'ubera lacte demissa gerunt.' Perhaps vv. 524-526 may have been suggested by Lucr. I 257-261. 'Fat kids, on grass luxuriant as they, are engaging together, horn against horn.'

527. 'Agitare,' as in IV 154, A. X 237, is equivalent to 'agere.' The word is used absolutely by prose writers in the sense of 'degere,' Lexx. sub v.

'Dies festos:' keeping the old holidays would mark at once the leisure and the simplicity of country life. Most festivals in the old calendar were rural.

528. 'Ignis ubi in medio' must be a turf-built altar, not the 'focus' in the house, on account of 'fusus per herbam:' Tibull. II i 21 and Hor. Epod. II 65 are not strictly parallel. The description is quite general. For 'in medio' Med. a. m. pr. has 'ingenio,' whence Burm. conjectured 'genio.'

'Cratera coronant,' a mistranslation or alteration of Homer's *κητήρας ἐπισείψαντο πόσιω* (Iliad I 470, etc.), which means 'filled the bowls with wine,' whereas Virg. means 'wreath the bowl with flowers,' as appears from A. III 525, 'magnum cratera corona induit implevitque mero.'

529. 'Pecoris magistris:' comp. 'oviumque magistris,' E. II 33.

530. 'Iaculi certamina ponit in ulmo:' condensed for 'makes a match of darting at a mark set up in or scored on an elm.' Comp. A. v 66, 'Prima citae Teucris ponam certamina classis,' where it would be unnatural to make 'certamina' = 'praemia.' 'Certamen ponere,' like ἀγώνια τίθειναι.

531. 'Nudant:' there is a change of subject, as often in Virg.

'Praedura': Med. had 'perdura.'

'Palaestrae,' so Med. etc., [dat. of purpose.—H. N.]

532. 'Vitam coluere:' Lucr. has 'colere aevum,' v 1145, 1150. The Sabines are a type of hardy simplicity: comp. Hor. Epod. II 41, Od. III vi 39, A. IX 603, etc. So Livy I xviii 4 talks of 'disciplina tetrica ac tristi veterum Sabinorum.' The order in Pal. is 'vitam veteres.'

533. The mention of 'Etruria' has been thought to be a compliment to Maecenas. It is quite as likely to be an instance of Virg.'s feeling for antiquity.

534. 'Scilicet:' comp. I 282 note. Here, as in that passage, 'scilicet' is inserted rhetorically, to give importance to the words connected with it. Some edd. place the stop after 'crevit,' taking 'scilicet' with what follows. But comp. the position of 'scilicet' in the passage just referred to.

'Rerum pulcherrima:' such expressions as 'nemorum maxima' above v. 15, Hor. S. I ix 4 'dulcissime rerum,' and Ov. M. VIII 49 'pulcherrime rerum,' make us doubt whether the genitive here is a real partitive, and whether the agreement in gender of 'pulcherrima' with 'rerum' is not merely accidental. Comp. IV 441 'miracula rerum.'

535. This line seems an anticlimax here, and still more where it recurs in A. VI 783. For the importance which the Romans attached to the number of the hills, which they retained when by the expansion of the city the hills themselves were changed, see Niebuhr I 382 (Eng.



ante etiam sceptrum Dictaei regis, et ante 534  
 impia quam caesis gens est epulata iuencis,  
 aureus hanc vitam in terris Saturnus agebat :  
 necdum etiam audierant inflari classica, necdum  
 inpositos duris crepitare incudibus enses. 540

Sed nos immensum spatii confecimus aequor,  
 et iam tempus equum fumantia solvere colla.

Tr.). We must bear in mind how much the Romans thought of the grandeur of the city compared with that of the empire. [Compare the importance attached to an alteration of the 'pomerium.']

'Arces,' of the hills, v. 172.

536. 'Dictaei regis : ' Cicero (N. D. III 21) speaks of three Jupiters ; 'tertium Cretensem, Saturni filium, cuius in illa insula sepulchrum ostenditur.'

537. Comp. Aratus Phaen. 132,

Χαλκείη γενεή προτέρων δλωότεροι ἄνδρες,  
 Οἱ πρῶτοι κακέρργον ἐχαλκεύσαντο μά-  
 χαιραν  
 Εἰνοδίην, πρῶτοι δὲ βοῶν ἐπάσαντ' ἀρο-  
 τηρων.

Cerda quotes other instances of the supposed impiety of slaying the ox, the fellow-labourer of man.

538. 'Aureus,' king of the golden age. Comp. Theocr. XII 15, ἢ ῥα τότε ἦσαν Χρῆσται πάλαι ἄνδρες.

539. 'Etiam' connects 'necdum' with 'ante,' as the former 'etiam' connects 'ante' with what precedes.

'Audierant : ' this semi-impersonal use

of the third person plural, like the French 'on,' is common in the Aeneid : e.g. 1 638.

540. Med. originally had 'inpositis duos.'

541, 542. 'But I must end this long stage of my work.'

541. 'Spatiiis : ' the plural 'spatii,' as used by Virg., seems to denote sometimes the circles of a racecourse, and sometimes the passage of the racers round them. Comp. A. v 584, VII 380. We may therefore either (1) take 'spatiiis' in the former sense, and connect it with 'immensum,' as Heyne does, or (2) take it in the latter, and connect it with 'confecimus.' Heyne refers for a similar metaphor to Tryphiodorus 664, ἐγὼ δ' ἔπερ ἵππον ἰλάσσω Τύρματος ἀμφέλισσαν ἐπιψάουσαν αἰοδίην. In Lucr. VI 92 foll. the metaphor is from a foot-race.

542. 'Fumantia : ' 'equos . . . Fumantis sudore quatit,' A. XII 338. Rom., Pal., and some others have 'spumantia,' which might also represent the condition of a horse after a long journey. ['Equom' Pal.—H. N.]

EXCURSUS ON VERSE 81. (EXIT.)

LACHMANN on Lucr. III 1042 (pp. 206-210) maintains that the last syllable of 'iit' and its compounds and of 'petiit' is necessarily long, having been originally written, as inscriptions prove, with a diphthong. He quotes a number of passages where 'rediiit,' 'subiit' etc. are lengthened by Ovid, and removes various apparent exceptions in other authors by corrections more or less supported by MSS.

So far as the text of Virg. is concerned, his case appears a weak one. Here he would read 'exit,' which is found in no good MS., though Gud. and the MSS. of Nonius p. 308 have 'exilit,' the authority of the latter being weakened by the fact that in another place where that author quotes the line, p. 339, his MSS. have 'exit' or 'exiet.' In A. II 497 he would read 'exit,' from one of Ribbeck's cursives (marked 'c') and the MSS. of Nonius p. 296 : in A. v 274 'transit' from Rom. : in A. IX 418 'it' from all Ribbeck's MSS. except Pal. and perhaps Gud. (which Ribbeck quotes for both 'it' and 'iit'), and from the MSS. of Nonius p. 408, the Montalban

MS. of Virg. and the MSS. of Priscian in three places having a curious variety, 'volat : ' in A. x 785 'transit' from no authority, except that Med. originally had 'transiet : ' in A. x 817 'transit' from Rom., two of Ribbeck's cursives ('c' and 'm') and some other copies having 'transilit.' Thus the only passage where there is any preponderance of authority for the form of 'it' is A. IX 418, and there the only extant uncials are Med., Pal. and Rom., the two former of which may pair off with each other : in the other passages the weight, so far as it falls anywhere, falls almost wholly on Rom. Rom., it should be mentioned, is wanting in the two first cited passages, that before us (G. II 81) and A. II 497, in both of which it may probably have read 'exit,' though A. x 785 shows that the inference is not absolutely certain. But the fact is that Rom. almost invariably turns the perfect 'iit' into 'it,' not merely in compounds of 'eo' but in other verbs. Not only is 'audiit' in Rom. constantly written 'audit,' but in the two passages in Virg. where it occupies the fifth place in the verse, A. v 239, VII 516, the dactyl is made out by reading 'audit et.' In other passages 'it' is introduced in that MS. in disregard of metre, as in A. VIII 363, 'subit,' A. x 67, 'petit,' unless we suppose the scribe to have intended the words either to be pronounced 'subyit,' 'petyit,' or to be read as trisyllables, the second 'i' being omitted in writing, as it is in the best MSS. in such words as 'obicit,' 'subicit.' The case is the same with the double 'i' in the perfect infinitive, which Rom. almost always writes single. The same phenomena are occasionally observable in Med., Pal., and other MSS. cited in Ribbeck's apparatus criticus, but to a far less extent. On the other hand, instances are found where a transcriber has written the double 'i' for the single contrary to the metre. On the whole it seems that considerable confusion on the subject prevailed among the copyists, not only of Virg., but (as in the instances cited from Nonius) of other authors, but that there is no evidence that this confusion was due to any notion about the quantity of the final syllable of the perfect indicative of 'eo' and its compounds. The existence of 'ambiit' A. x 243 (which even Rom. does not alter) is an argument for supposing that Virg. did not recognize Lachmann's rule, for, though 'ambio' is not conjugated throughout like 'exeo' or 'transeo,' they must be at bottom the same, and 'exiet,' 'transiet,' following the analogy of 'ambiet,' are not absolutely unknown even to classical latinity. Wagner argues against Lachmann's doctrine in his *Lect. Verg.* pp. 316 foll., though his main reason, the inadmissibility of the rhythm produced by 'transit' in A. v 274, savours rather of the arbitrariness of the precept which he controverts : and I am glad to find that Mr. Munro (on *Lucr.* III 1042) is not dismayed by his great predecessor's dictum 'adeo grammatici nostri ea quae quivis puer Romanus sciebat neglegunt, nos autem senes ea operose quaerere cogimur quae nobis magistri nostri olim tradere debebant.'

[It is probable that in the earliest Latin the '-it' of the third person singular perfect indicative active was long in all verbs. In Plautus it is usually, if not invariably, long (see e.g. *Miles* 213, *Pseud.* 311, *Rudens* 199) and early inscriptions sometimes spell '-eit,'—though it must be admitted that 'ei' is sometimes short on such inscriptions and that the exx. of '-eit' are not very numerous. Traces of this original length exist in classical poetry perhaps in a few exx. like 'enituit' above (II 211), but chiefly in 'iit,' its compounds, and 'petiit,' all of which are seldom used with the last syllable short, and are in Ovid, though not elsewhere, regularly long.]



## LIBER TERTIUS.

THE care of the various animals bred by the farmer forms the subject of the Third Book. These are divided into two classes, distinguished as 'armenta,' horned cattle and horses, and 'pecudes,' the smaller cattle, sheep and goats, while a word is thrown in (vv. 404-413) about dogs. The former occupies the larger portion of the book, vv. 49-283: the poet however allows himself to digress in the last paragraph of the division, vv. 242 foll., speaking of the effect of sexual passion on the whole animal creation. Even in the earlier portion the subject is not very regularly treated. Virgil commences by saying (vv. 49 foll.) that a breeder of oxen or horses ought to attend particularly to the choice of dams. A description of a cow follows; but nothing is said of a mare. At last (vv. 72 foll.) he changes the subject to horses, but it is that he may talk, not of dams, but of sires. Thus instead of describing cow and mare, bull and stallion, he consults variety by describing the female of one class, the male of the other. In what follows he treats of both classes indifferently; but, true to his preference of poetical ornament to practical accuracy, he does not so much generalize as confuse, using language which is sometimes applicable to oxen, sometimes to horses. At last (vv. 146 foll.) he is led to speak more particularly of oxen, with respect to their early training; that over, he bestows a similar paragraph on horses. But this proportion is soon violated. Speaking of the effect of the sexual passion, he lavishes his powers of minute description on the bull, in the well-known picture of the fight between two bulls for the same heifer (vv. 219 foll.). Horses and mares are indeed mentioned, but not with the same prominence, the former being introduced cursorily in the digression on the sexual fury of the whole animal creation, the latter forming the conclusion of that digression. In the second part of his subject (vv. 284 foll.) Virgil is more systematic; but he digresses more. The mention of pasturing flocks in summer and winter leads to two celebrated descriptions (vv. 339 foll.) of a Libyan shepherd's summer and a Scythian shepherd's winter, in the latter of which special pastoral details are soon lost in a picture of the general features of the scene. And the narrative of the pestilence in Southern Italy, with which, in imitation of Lucretius, he has chosen to conclude the book, is essentially digressive; it follows the fortunes of other animals besides those which are subjects of the farmer's care, and in general is so conducted that the reader peruses it as an independent story, and does not feel the patent want of a peroration to close this part of the treatise.

The exordium of the book has a biographical interest, as containing the most definite sketch of the project, which Virgil doubtless stood pledged to execute, of a poem in honour of the exploits of Octavian—a plan, not of the *Aeneid*, but of that for which the *Aeneid* was accepted as a compensation.

TE quoque, magna Pales, et te memorande canemus  
pastor ab Amphryso, vos, silvae amnesque Lycaei.

1-48. 'My song shall now embrace the themes of cattle and pasturage. The old heroic legends have been worn threadbare: mine must be a different path to fame. One day I hope to raise a deathless monument to Caesar, a trophy of his

victories over East and West, and of mine over the bards of Greece. Meanwhile Maecenas bids me to the woods again.'

1. For Pales and Apollo, see E. v 35.

2. 'Pastor ab Amphryso': the pastoral character of Apollo appears in the common

cetera, quae vacuas tenuissent carmine mentes,  
 omnia iam vulgata : quis aut Eurysthea durum,  
 aut inlaudati nescit Busiridis aras ? 5  
 cui non dictus Hylas puer et Latonia Delos  
 Hippodameque umeroque Pelops insignis eburno,  
 acer equis ? temptanda via est, qua me quoque  
 possim  
 tollere humo victorque virum volitare per ora.  
 primus ego in patriam mecum, modo vita supersit, 10

legends as a mere episode: it appears however to have been a distinct aspect under which he was regarded by the earlier mythology.

'Ab' serves for local description. Comp. 'Turnus Herdonius ab Aricia,' Livy I 50, etc.

'Silvae amnesque Lycaei:' the abode of Pan, I 16, who is thus indirectly indicated as a third god invoked.

3. 'Carmine' Pal.; 'carmina' Med. Rom.; Serv. and Philarg. mention both. 'Carmine' seems less commonplace.

'Tenuissent,' potential, not conjunctive. 'All other themes which might have laid on idle minds the spell of poesy are hackneyed now.'

5. 'Inlaudati' is a litotes like 'inamabilis,' A. VI 438. [Some ancient critics objected to the word; one conjectured 'inplacati.' See Gell. II vi; Götz, Liber Gloss. p. 269.]

['Arces' Med. originally.—H. N.]

7. Virg. may have been thinking of Pind. Ol. I, which dwells equally on the ivory shoulder of Pelops and his victory in the chariot race.

8. 'Acer equis,' 'a keen charioteer,' as 'acerrimus armis' (A. IX 176), 'a gallant warrior.'

'Temptanda via est,' 'I must explore a path,' taking 'via' in its strict sense. Comp. Hor. Od. III ii 22, 'Virtus . . . negata temptat iter via,' probably an imitation of Virg., as the following words seem to show.

['Possem' Pal.—H. N.]

9. 'Victor' of intellectual triumph, perhaps from Lucr. I 75. The word prepares us for the image developed in the following lines.

'Virum volitare per ora:' Ennius Epigr. I, 'nemo me lacrimis decoret nec funera fletu Faxit: cur? volito vivus per ora virum.' The exact sense of the expression

is doubtful. (1) Usually 'per ora' means before or past the faces of men: so Sall. Jug. 31 'incedunt per ora vestra'; Hor. S. II i 64 'nitidus qua quisque per ora Cederet'; [Liv. II 38 'tractos per ora hominum'; IX 6 'tracti per hostium oculos'; Justin XIV v 6 'victor captivos in triumphum modum per ora civium trahit.'—H. N.] Thus our phrase would = fly in air in the sight of men, a sense which suits 'tollere humo' and the imagery of Hor. Od. II 20, Od. III ii 23. But (2) in Sil. III 135 'ire per ora Nomen in aeternum' the sense is clearly that of passing from mouth to mouth in talk, like 'in ore esse,' 'in ora venire' (Cic. etc.). So perhaps Virg. A. XII 234 'ille quidem ad superos, quorum se devovet aris Succedet fama vivusque per ora feretur.' On the whole, this may be one of the passages where Virg. shadows out more meanings than one, without discriminating them so sharply in his mind as a commentator: see A. II I note [and for the uses of 'os' Schmalz, Antibarbarus II 210.]

10-39. The allegory contained in these lines seems clearly to be drawn from a Roman triumph. The poet represents himself as returning from a campaign in Greece, and bringing the Muses captive from Helicon; in other words, if the old subjects of song are forestalled, he will be first to do for Rome what Hesiod and others have done for Greece. Then he will build a votive temple by his native river to his patron god, and celebrate before it games and shows, like Roman conquerors after their triumphs. The temple is to be adorned with the sculptured history of Augustus, as other temples were with the legends of their gods. Having secured his own fame as the rural poet of his country, he will pass to the grateful celebration of his patron's triumphs. It has been suggested that



Aonio rediens deducam vertice Musas,  
 primus Idumaeas referam tibi, Mantua, palmas,  
 et viridi in campo templum de marmore ponam  
 propter aquam, tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat  
 Mincius et tenera praetexit harundine ripas. 15  
 in medio mihi Caesar erit, templumque tenebit.  
 illi victor ego et Tyrio conspectus in ostro  
 centum quadriugos agitabo ad flumina currus;  
 cuncta mihi, Alpheum linquens lucosque Molorchii,  
 cursibus et crudo decernet Graecia caestu. 20

the passage is not purely metaphorical, but refers to a journey into Greece [made about this time, and not mentioned by Suetonius, but alluded to by Horace in the third ode of the first book.—H. N.]

10. 'Primus' etc. : from *Lucr.* I 117, where Ennius is spoken of.

'In patriam,' not Mantua, as *Serv.*, *Heyne* and others think, but Italy. *Virg.* has before claimed to be the earliest rural poet of Italy, II 175.

11. 'Aonio vertice : ' Helicon, as in *Lucr.* I. c., but perhaps with a reference to *Hesiod* (*Keightley*). 'Deducam,' lead in triumph. *Comp. Hor. Od.* I xxxvii 31, 'Privata deduci superbo Non humilis mulier triumpho.'

12. 'Idumaeas' would be otiose if applied only to 'palmas : ' it is worse than otiose, as drawing a contrast between 'palmas' and 'Mantua.' For 'Idumaeas palmas' *comp. Hor. Ep.* II ii 184, 'Herodis palmetis pinguibus,' *Lucan* III 216, *Stat. Silv.* vii 138.

'Referam' carries out the notion of victory. 'Unde refert nobis victor quid possit oriri, Quid nequeat,' *Lucr.* I 75.

'Palmas : ' [the conqueror at his triumph sometimes deposited a 'palma' in the temple of *Capitoline Jupiter*; hence the phrase 'triumphavit, palmam dedit,' used e.g. twenty-four times (between *B.C.* 43 and 26) on the *Tabula Triumph. Barb.* (*C. I. L.* I ed. 2 p. 76)]. Either the name 'palma' was given to the branch of bay which was carried by the victor in a triumph, or the palm itself was sometimes substituted for the bay, agreeably to the Greek custom adopted at Rome (*Livy* x 47), where the conqueror carried a palm branch. *Comp. Pausan.* viiii 48.

13. 'Templum : ' according to the cus-

tom of vowing temples to the gods in battle and dedicating them after victory : *Livy* I 11, 12 ; II 20, etc.

14. 'Propter aquam,' like the temple of *Zeus* by the *Alpheus*; a glance at the *Grecian games*, which he intends to emulate, though the main idea is that of a Roman triumph. 'Ingens : ' the *Mincio* spreads into a lake close to *Mantua*.

16. 'In medio,' in the shrine, which is to contain the image of *Caesar* as the presiding god. *Caesar* shall be the principal subject of a great poem.

17. 'Illi : ' *Rom.* etc. have 'illic,' for which *Ribbeck* once took 'illi' to be an archaism.

'Conspectus in ostro : ' *A.* VIII 588 ; *Hor. A. P.* 228. The ref. is either to the triumphal 'toga picta' or to the 'praetexta' worn by magistrates at the games. 'Conspectus' = 'conspicuous' as 'detestatus' = 'detestabilis,' etc.

18. 'Centum,' as in *A.* I 417, IV 199, VI 787. 'Agitabo,' will cause to be driven (by instituting games).

19. 'Lucus Molorchii,' the forest of *Nemea*, where *Molorchus* entertained *Hercules*. *Philarg.* seems to have read 'ludos.' For 'linquens' *Pal.* strangely has 'pubes,' possibly, as *Ribbeck* suggests, from I 343.

20. 'Crudo,' of raw hide. *Rom.* has 'duro,' which is *Serv.*'s interpretation of 'crudo.' His games will not be merely national, but will attract even *Greeks* from *Olympia* and *Nemea*. In other words, in his heroic poem, no less than in his *Georgics*, he will use and improve upon *Greek art*. *Comp. Hor. Ep.* II i 32, 'Venimus ad summum fortunae, pingimus atque Psallimus et luctamur Achivis doctus unctis.' ['Decernit' *Med. Pal. Rom.* —H. N.]

ipse, caput tonsae foliis ornatus olivae, 2/  
 dona feram. iam nunc sollemnis ducere pompas  
 ad delubra iuvat caesosque videre iuvencos,  
 vel scaena ut versis discedat frontibus, utque  
 purpurea intexti tollant aulaea Britanni. 25  
 in foribus pugnam ex auro solidoque elephanto  
 Gangaridum faciam victorisque arma Quirini,  
 atque hic undantem bello magnumque fluentem

21. 'Tonsae olivae:' probably the stripped leaves of olive woven into a wreath (Heyne). The reference seems to be to the sacrificial wreath of olive. Comp. A. v 774; VII 750; and especially VI 809, 'Quis procul ille autem ramis insignis olivae Sacra ferens?'

23. 'Iuvat' may refer either to the poet or to the fancied spectators of these shows. 'Feram' immediately preceding rather makes for the former; for the latter comp. A. II 27. But Virg. may well have intended to include both. 'The time is come: what joy to lead the solemn procession to the temple, and see the bullocks slaughtered!'

24. There shall be stage plays as well as sacrifices and games. Serv. says that Virg. refers to two kinds of 'scaenae,' 'versilis' and 'ductilis,' the one turning on a pivot and exhibiting different faces ('versis frontibus'), the other parting ('discedat') to disclose a new scene within. Schlegel, Dram. Lit. Lect. 4, reconciles the two by supposing that the side scenes were 'versiles' and the centre scene was 'ductilis.' In the Greek scene there were two rotatory prisms (περίακτροι) near the side entrances of the 'scaena,' which served for shifting the scene.

25-33. [The following list of conquests in Britain and various parts of the East may have been written, like II 173, while Octavian was restoring order in the East in 30-29. Compiled by an admirer of Octavian before his work was finished, it naturally contains poetical exaggerations and prophecies of conquests never actually effected. The absence of any definite mention of Antony is in keeping with the general absence of personal allusions in the Georgics: it is not due to any special 'reticence' of the Augustan poets with regard to the triumvir, who, indeed, is mentioned A. VIII 685, Prop. IV viii 56.]

25. The ancient curtain rose instead of falling. Ovid M. III 111-113 compares the rising of the warriors from the ground

where Cadmus had sown the serpent's teeth to the rise of the figures embroidered on a stage curtain. 'Tollant,' rise with it, and so appear to draw it up with them. ['Tollent' Pal.—H. N.]

'Britanni' [Octavian meditated an invasion of Britain in 34 (Dio XLIX 38) and in 27 (Dio LIII 22): hence this line; G. I 30; Hor. Epod. VII 7, etc. Mommsen Mon. Ancyr. p. 138.]

26. He recurs to the temple, which is to be ornamented with the exploits of its god. See note on v. 10.

'Foribus:' temples with their doors adorned with appropriate figures in gold and ivory are mentioned by Cic. Verr. Act. II iv 56, and Prop. III xxiii 11. Comp. A. I 454; VI 20. The combination of ivory and gold was common in ancient statuary, the ivory being employed to represent the flesh.

27. 'Gangaridae:' an Indian tribe near the Ganges, see v. 31 and II 173.

'Quirini' may be referred to Augustus, to whom it was proposed to give the title of Romulus or Quirinus. But, looking to the contrast with 'Gangaridum,' it is probably representative of the Roman nation.

28. ['Huic,' Pal. for 'hic.'—H. N.] 'Undantem bello,' surging, that is, with warlike feeling: the meaning is explained by 'magnum fluentem.' In the same way the defeated river is said 'ire mollior undis,' A. VIII 727, and 'minores volvere vertices,' Hor. Od. II ix 22. This is more natural than to understand it of fleets on the Nile, as it was not there that the struggle took place. The representation here is probably one of the river, such as those carried in triumphal processions, not, as A. VIII 711, of the river-god.

'Magnum' is not an adverbial neuter, but agrees with 'fluentem.' So 'saxosus sonans' IV 370: comp. A. III 70, and see VIII 559, Bentl. on Hor. S. I vii 28, and Dem. de Cor. p. 272 (§ 136) θρασυνομήνῃ καὶ πολλῶν ῥέοντι.



Nilum ac navali surgentis aere columnas.  
 addam urbes Asiae domitas pulsumque Niphaten 30  
 fidentemque fuga Parthum versisque sagittis,  
 et duo rapta manu diverso ex hoste tropaea  
 bisque triumphatas utroque ab litore gentis.  
 stabunt et Parii lapides, spirantia signa,  
 Assaraci proles demissaeque ab Iove gentis 35  
 nomina Trosque parens et Troiae Cynthus auctor.  
 invidia infelix Furias amnemque severum  
 Cocyti metuet tortosque Ixionis anguis 39

29. 'Navali surgentis aere columnas,' otherwise called 'columnae rostratae,' and found on the coins of Augustus; [see e.g. Cohen i p. 82. Serv. says 'Augustus victor totius Aegypti quam Caesar pro parte superaverat, multa de navali certamine sustulit rostra, quibus conflatis quattuor effecit columnas, quae postea in Capitolio sunt locatae, quas hodieque conspicimus.' The Senate in B.C. 30 ordered that some of these *rostra* should adorn the chapel of Julius Caesar.—H. N.]

30. 'Niphaten:' a mountain in Armenia, put (as the epithet, routed, shows) for the Armenian hill-men. 'Pulsum' might, however, be used of a river poetically feigned to be driven back to its source (see A. XI 405), and it was prob. from this line and the equally ambiguous 'rigidum Niphaten' of Hor. Od. II ix 20 that later poets and comm. called Niphates a river: see Iuv. VI 405; Lucan III 245; Sil. XIII 765; [Claudian 3 Cons. Hon. 71; Serv. here, etc.]

31-33. [Imitated by Prop. IV viii 53 (III ix), writing of the same events of B.C. 30-29: 'prosequar et currus utroque ab litore ovantes, Parthorum astutae tela remissa fugae.' 'Parthum,' like 'Gangaridum' v. 27, is an exaggeration, for Octavian did not touch Parthia in 30-29, and the standards lost by Crassus and Antony were not recovered till 20. It is not necessary to suppose (with Con. and others) that the line was added in 25 or 20. 'Utroque ab litore' is not clear. Mr. Nettleship referred to the Morini, conquered by Caesar and by Carrinas, and the Dalmatians, conquered by Vatinius in 45 and Octavian in 34. But (1) the wording of the line does not require four victories, and (2) the victories selected

are hardly such as we should expect here. Perhaps vv. 32, 33 mean only 'victories in East and West,' summing up the whole list of conquered lands from v. 25 onwards.]

33. 'Utroque ab litore' is to be taken with 'gentis.' 'Bis triumphatas,' once over each. Some take it, twice apiece: but this will not agree so well with 'duo tropaea.'

34. 'Stabunt,' on separate pedestals or on the pediment. When the deeds of Augustus are commemorated, the mythical glories of his ancestors are also to be introduced. For 'stare' of statues, comp. E. VII 32.

35. 'Assaracus,' son of Tros, from whom Aeneas and the Julian house were sprung.

36. 'Nomina,' the great names. Sil. XVII 492, 'Iamque ardore truci lustrans fortissima quaeque Nomina obit ferro.'

'Troiae Cynthus auctor:' comp. Hor. Od. III iii 65, 'Ter si resurgat murus aeneus Auctore Phoebos.' Apollo is perhaps introduced as the tutelar god and reputed father of Augustus (Keightley).

37. 'Invidia' probably refers to political malcontents, not to the rivals of the poet.

'Severum:' VI 374. Comp. Lucr. V 35, 'pelageque severa,' where 'sonora' seems needless.

38. 'Metuet,' that is, shall be represented as quailing at the tortures of the infernal regions, as inflicted, not on others, but on itself. [Pal. has 'metuens.'—H. N.]

'Tortosque Ixionis anguis' goes closely with the next line. Virg. is the only writer who connects Ixion's punishment with snakes, [but they sometimes appear

I.

U

immanemque rotam et non exsuperabile saxum.  
 interea Dryadum silvas saltusque sequamur 40  
 intactos, tua, Maecenas, haud mollia iussa.  
 te sine nil altum mens incohat: en age, segnīs  
 rumpe moras; vocat ingenti clamore Cithaeron  
 Taygetique canes domitrixque Epidaurus equorum,  
 et vox adsensu nemorum ingeminata remugit. 45  
 mox tamen ardentis accingar dicere pugnas  
 Caesaris, et nomen fama tot ferre per annos,  
 Tithoni prima quot abest ab origine Caesar.  
 Seu quis, Olympiacae miratus praemia palmae, 49

in art, e.g. on a vase painting from Cumae, Baumeister i p. 767. The copyist of Rom. was, however, sufficiently puzzled to substitute 'orbis' from IV 484.]

39. 'Non exsuperabile saxum' is probably on the analogy of 'exsuperare laborem.' Serv. however understands 'exsuperabile' actively, 'quod exsuperare non valet summum montis cacumen.' [The Berne scholia explain it as 'excussum,' 'shaken off his neck.'—H. N.] Gell. xvii 2 quotes from the Annals of Q. Claudius the expression 'operam fortem atque exsuperabilem.'

41. 'Intactos:' this attribute seems to be dwelt on for two reasons: (1) as denoting the untried nature of the subject (Lucr. I 927, 'integros fontis'), and (2) because it is of pasture-land that he now comes to speak. 'Pursue we the Dryads' woods and glades, virgin as they.'

'Iussa' may = 'pensa,' the thing or subject commanded, in apposition to 'saltus;' or it may be cognate accus. after 'sequamur,' 'saltus' being the ordinary accus. of the object. The union of the two in the same instance does not seem usual in Latin, but is frequent in Greek, e.g. Aesch. Ag. 1419, 1420, οὐ τοῦτον ἐκ γῆς τῆσδε χρῆν σ' ἀνδρηλατεῖν Μισσμάτων ἀποινα. It seems unnecessary to suppose that Maecenas actually urged him to undertake this part of the subject. No more need be meant than that it forms a necessary part of the work which Maecenas prompted.

42. 'En age' recurs in Sil. III 179 (Forc.). 'En accipe,' E. VI 69. These words are addressed to Maecenas, who is

called upon to plunge with the poet into the subject, as II 39.

43. 'Clamore,' the clamour of the hunt. 'Cithaeron' was supposed to abound in wild beasts, as the stories of Oedipus and Pentheus prove.

44. Spartan dogs are mentioned below, vv. 345, 405. ['Taugeti' Pal.—H. N.] 'Epidaurus' for Argolis, Ἄργος ἱππόβορον, though 'domitrix equorum' seems to be a translation of ἱππόδαμος.

46. 'Accingar' with the inf. is [like 'instant eruere' A. II 627, etc.; see Roby I 344]. The word is metaphorical, but perhaps used with a sense of its appropriateness in connexion with 'pugnas.' 'I will gird my loins to sing of the battle, as now for the chase.'

48. 'Tithonus' was not one of the mythical ancestors of Caesar; he belonged to another branch of the royal house of Troy; but this may be merely a poetical licence.

The promise here given, or rather repeated, was fulfilled in the composition of the Aeneid; but the manner of its performance was very different from any thing sketched here; indeed the method proposed was exactly reversed in practice, the mythical ancestors of Rome and the Julian family being made the central figures, and Augustus and his exploits only accessory.

49-59. 'In breeding horses or oxen, the great thing is to choose the mother well.' Then follow the points of a good breeding cow.

49. 'Miratus' has in effect the sense of desiring, as in Hor. Ep. I vi 18 (comp. v. 9). Comp. also 'stupet,' Hor. S. I iv 28, and 'inhiant,' II 463.



pascit equos, seu quis fortis ad aratra iuencos, 50  
 corpora praecipue matrum legat. optima torvae  
 forma bovis, cui turpe caput, cui plurima cervix,  
 et crurum tenuis a mento palearia pendent ;  
 tum longo nullus lateri modus ; omnia magna,  
 pes etiam, et camuris hirtae sub cornibus aures. 55  
 nec mihi displiceat maculis insignis et albo,  
 aut iuga detractans interdumque aspera cornu  
 et faciem tauro propior, quaeque ardua tota,  
 et gradiens ima verrit vestigia cauda. 59

50. It is hard to say whether 'ad aratra' should be taken with 'fortis' or 'pascit.' Instances of both are common, e.g. Prop. II x 3, 'Fortis ad proelia turmas,' and Ter. Andr. I i 30, 'alere canes ad venandum.' But 'fortis aratris' (v. 62) is decidedly in favour of the former. [Pal. has 'pascet.']

51. 'Corpora matrum : ' comp. A. VII 650, 'excepto Laurentis corpore Turni.' The requisites for a cow are given at length by Varro, II 5, and by Col. VI I and Pallad. IV II, who appear to have imitated Varro.

'Torvae,' grim-looking. Col. VI 20, 'Huic (sc. 'tauro') torva facies est.'

52. 'Turpe,' ugly, as in IV 395, 'turpis phocas.' See below on v. 247, and comp. αἰσχρός. The word seems to comprise several characteristics given by Varro (II v 7), 'latis frontibus'—'compressis malis'—'subsimi'—'apertis naribus.'

'Plurima cervix' denotes both thickness and length. Comp. Varro, l. c. 'cervicibus crassis et longis.'

53. 'Palearia,' dewlaps. Col. l. c. 'palearibus amplis et paene ad genua promissis.'

54. The 'oblongae et amplae' of Varro l. c. The more length a cow has, the greater room she will have for her calf to grow in.

55. 'Pes etiam : ' Varro l. c. says, 'pedibus non latis ; ' but Col. and Pallad., speaking of oxen, have 'magnis unguibus'—speaking of cows, 'ungulis brevibus' or 'modicis.' 'Pes etiam,' put thus emphatically, may be a special contradiction of the opposite view.

'Camuris,' curving inwards. [Fest. p. 43 M 'Camara et camuri boves a curvatione ex Graeco κάμηνη dicuntur,' Macrob. S. VI iv 23 'Camuris peregrinum verbum

est, id est in se redeuntibus. Et forte nos cameram hac ratione figuravimus.' So Serv. here. Philarg. says 'camuri boves sunt qui conversa introrsus cornua habent . . . patuli qui cornua diversa habent : ' comp. again Fest. p. 221.—H. N.] Pallad. IV II says, 'cornibus robustis ac sine curvaturae pravitae lunatis.'

'Hirtae aures : ' so Varro, l. c. 'pilosius auribus.'

56. The first reading of Med., 'tibi,' is plausible. Virg. however seems to express a wish about a thing depending on himself, as elsewhere (v. 435, II 252) about things depending on others.

'Maculis et albo' = 'albis maculis,' as 'pateris et auro' II 192 = 'pateris aureis,' though Mr. Blackburn supposes Virg. to mean white with dark spots. Varro, on the other hand, (II v 8) says, 'colore potissimum nigro, dein robeo, tertio helvo (i. q. gilvo), quarto albo.' Col. again (VI I), 'coloris robei vel fuscii.'

57. 'Detractans' Med., Gud., 'detractans' Pal., Rom.

'Interdumque aspera cornu' is to be closely connected with 'iuga detractans' as denoting the temper of the animal, and not, as in most editions, to be separated by a semicolon.

'Aspera cornu,' apt to butt angrily.

58. 'Faciem tauro propior,' probably = 'latis frontibus,' Varro II 5. The expression has been already specified by 'torvae.' ['Proprior' Med.—H. N.]

'Ardua tota : ' 'Vaccae quoque probantur altissimae formae longaeque,' Col. VI 21.

59. Comp. Varro l. c. 'Caudam profusam usque ad calces ut habeant.' 'Vestigia' may be [as the sense suggests] the footsteps or the feet, as in A. V 566, 'vestigia primi Alba pedis,' and Catull. LXIV 162.

aetas Lucinam iustosque pati hymenaeos 60  
 desinit ante decem, post quattuor incipit annos;  
 cetera nec feturae habilis nec fortis aratris.  
 interea, superat gregibus dum laeta iuventas,  
 solve mares; mitte in Venerem pecuaria primus,  
 atque aliam ex alia generando suffice prolem. 65  
 optima quaeque dies miseris mortalibus aevi  
 prima fugit; subeunt morbi tristicque senectus,  
 et labor et durae rapit inclementia mortis.  
 semper erunt, quarum mutari corpora malis:  
 semper enim refice, ac, ne post amissa requiras, 70  
 ante veni, et subolem armento sortire quodannis.  
 Nec non et pecori est idem delectus equino.  
 tu modo, quos in spem statues summittere gentis,

60-71. 'The age for breeding is between four and ten years. It is best to be early: if the first days are let slip, disease or death may intervene: such is the lot of mortality. Be attentive, and supply fresh breeders as the others fail.'

60. 'Aetas pati' apparently = 'aetas patiendi'; see I 73, 213.

'Iustos' may be regular and customary, as in 'iustum proelium,' 'iustus exercitus.' But it may also refer to time, the epithet being virtually transferred from 'aetas.' Comp. Varro II v 13, 'Non minores oportet inire bimas, ut trimae pariant; eo melius si quadrimae. Pleraque pariunt in decem annos, quaedam etiam in plures.'

62. 'Cetera,' sc. 'aetas.' Med. originally had 'aratris.'

63. 'Superat' = 'superest.' Wagn. explains it 'abunde est'; but v. 66 clearly points to the former meaning. Comp. II 235, etc.

Med. (first reading) has 'iuventas,' which was read before Heins.

64. 'Pecuaria:' properly the places where the 'pecora' are kept; here, as Pers. III 9, the animals themselves. [Philarg. remarks that 'aestiva' is used in a similar way v. 472 below.—H. N.]

'Primus:' comp. II 408, 'Primus humum fodito, primus devecta cremato Sarmata.'

65. Pal. has 'ex aliis.'

66. Another touch of the pessimism which Virg. probably caught from Lucr.;

comp. I 198. 'Miseris mortalibus' is from Lucr. v 944.

68. 'Labor,' suffering, as A. VI 277, where 'Letumque Labosque' are among the phantoms at the gates of Hell.

'Rapit,' hurries on, as A. IV 581, 'Idem omnes simul ardor habet, rapiuntque ruuntque.'

69. There will always be some that you will be glad to get rid of. 'Quarum corpora' is merely periphrastic, as above, v. 51. Med. gives 'mavis.' ['Mallis' Rom., 'malis' Ribbeck.—H. N.]

70. 'Enim' seems here to be added for emphasis. The words are to be connected with what follows.

'Amissa' probably = 'quae amiseris,' not 'amissa corpora.'

71. 'Subolem,' a supply of young ones. 'Sortire' = 'elige,' as in A. XII 919. ['Quodannis' Ribbeck, Pal. and Rom.—H. N.]

72-94. The choice of stallions.

72. [Con. read 'dilectus,' found in most good MSS. and accepted by Heins. and some later edd. 'Delectus' Ribbeck, Thilo and H. N.]

73. 'Summittere,' E. I 46 note. The antecedent is omitted, because 'quos' is equivalent to 'si quos;' Madv. § 321.

The prominence given to 'tu' may be expressed in translation, 'Mark me, and let those whom you mean to rear as the propagators of their line have even from their first youth the [advantage of your special pains.]'



praecipuum iam inde a teneris impende laborem.  
 continuo pecoris generosi pullus in arvis 75  
 altius ingreditur, et mollia crura reponit;  
 primus et ire viam et fluvios temptare minacis  
 audet et ignoto sese committere ponti,  
 nec vanos horret strepitus. illi ardua cervix,  
 argutumque caput, brevis alvus, obesaque terga, 80  
 luxuriatque toris animosum pectus. honesti  
 spadices glaucique, color deterrimus albis  
 et gilvo. tum, si qua sonum procul arma dedere,  
 stare loco nescit, micat auribus et tremit artus, 84

74. 'A teneris,' from foals, like 'a pueris,' from boyhood.

75. 'Continuo,' from the first: I 169, 356.

76. 'Altius ingreditur' seems to mean 'steps higher.' Varro (II 7) says, 'cruribus rectis et aequalibus.' Col. (VI 29), 'aequalibus atque altis rectisque cruribus.'

'Mollia crura reponit.' Serv. quotes from Ennius, who is speaking of cranes, 'Perque fabam repunt et mollia crura reponunt.' 'Mollia,' flexible: Lucr. IV 789, 980, 'mollia membra moventis.'

'Reponit:' the meaning is doubtful. Trapp hints that the 're' denotes alternation, a sense which we may perhaps parallel by ὀπλαῖς ἀμειβόμενοι, Pind. Pyth. IV 226. Keightley takes the 're' to mean frequency,—lays fast to the ground. But it is more probably to be explained as correlative to 'altius ingreditur.' 'See how high he steps in the pasture, and with what spring he brings down his legs.'

77-78. 'Primus,' etc.: he leads the herd over the ford and bridge. The same proof of a colt's courage is given by Col. VI 2, and Varro II 7. The bridges meant were probably wooden. Comp. Pliny VIII 169 (speaking of asses) 'nec pontes transeunt per raritatem eorum tralucantibus fluviiis.'

Pal. has 'minantis,' supported by Sen. Ep. 95, and Ribbeck adopts it.

Gud. and the first reading of Med. give 'ponto.'

80. 'Argutum:' this word seems, when applied to form, to mean 'clearly defined,' 'neat.' Comp. 'arguta solea,' Catull. LXVIII 72. 'Argutum caput' is probably the opposite to 'turpe caput.' Varro and Col. recommend a small head; and this smallness is implied in 'argutus,' as largeness is in 'turpis.'

'Obesus' is opposed to 'gracilis.'

81. 'Animosum,' spirited, because muscular. 'Honesti,' from the context, means 'good' rather than 'handsome.'

82. 'Spadices,' bay; as appears from Gell. II 26, who derives it from σπάδις, the Doric for a palm, and says that the colour is that of a not too ripe date. ['Nam poeniceus, quem tu Graece φοίνικα dixisti, noster est et rutilus et spadix.' So Serv. and the Berne scholia.—H. N.] A synonym for the word is 'badius' or 'baidius,' βαῖδιος, from βαίς, also a palm branch, whence the Italian 'baio,' our 'bay.'

'Glauci,' blue grey (Keightley). [Gell. II 26 says that Virg. might equally well have used 'caerulus.'—H. N.]

'Albis:' Keightley says this remark must be confined to stallions. The distinction taken between 'albus' and 'candidus,' as if the praise of white horses in the classics was confined to the latter, is overthrown by Hor. S. I vii 8, 'equis praecurreret albis.' Serv. mentions a strange notion [found in Philarg. and the Berne scholia, which here evidently depend on Philarg.] 'Multi ita legunt albis et gilvo, ut non album vel gilvum sed albogilvum vituperet; quod falsum est.'

83. 'Gilvo,' dun (Keightley). 'Si qua' for 'si forte,' like 'si quem' for 'sicubi,' A. I 181, and the common use of 'nullus' for 'non' (E. x 12).

84. 'Micat auribus,' he pricks up his ears. Comp. the phrase 'micare digitis.' The instrum. abl. 'auribus' denotes an action, whereas the accusative 'artus' denotes an affection, though the distinction does not hold universally. 'Tremit artus,' from Lucr. III 489.

collectumque premens volvit sub naribus ignem. 85  
 densa iuba, et dextro iactata recumbit in armo;  
 at duplex agitur per lumbos spina; cavatque  
 tellurem et solido graviter sonat ungula cornu.  
 talis Amyclaei domitus Pollucis habenis  
 Cyllarus, et, quorum Grai meminere poetae, 90  
 Martis equi biiuges, et magri currus Achilli:  
 talis et ipse iubam cervice effundit equina  
 coniugis adventu pernix Saturnus, et altum

85. ['Premens:'] Pal., Rom., Gud., supported by a quotation in Sen. Ep. 95, and so Ribbeck.—H. N. Con. read 'fremens' with Med.]

'Ignem,' the hot breath. The steam seems to have suggested the idea of smoke. Comp. the fable of the horses of Diomedes, 'spirantes naribus ignem' (Lucr. v 29). 'Volvere' is used of breath Lucr. vi 1227, 'vitalis aëris auras Volvere in ore.'

86. 'Iactata,' after being tossed up. Börringer, quoted by Schneider on Varro II 7, says that the ancients got up on the right side of the horse, and used the mane to mount with. Comp. Prop. v (IV) iv 38, 'Cui Tati dexteras collocat ipse iubas.'

87. 'Duplex spina' appears to be a hollow spine, opposed to 'extans.' Varro l. c., Col. vi 29.

88. Varro and Col. l. c. mention 'durae unguulae' as a good point. A hard and thick hoof would be especially requisite when horses were not shod with iron. Comp. the Homeric *κρατερώνυχες ἵπποι*. Rom. has 'quatit ungula,' from a recollection of A. viii 596.

89-94. 'Such was the steed that learnt to obey the rein of Amyclaeae Pollux, Cyllarus, and those of which Greek song has preserved the memory, the horses of Mars, and the pair of the mighty Achilles: ay, such was the great god Saturn himself, when quick as lightning he flung his mane over that horse's neck of his, as he heard his wife's step, and, as he ran, thrilled through the height and depth of Pelion with his clear sharp neigh.' These mythological allusions are obviously intended to ennoble the subject; but they tend to injure its genuine character. Propertius has carried the artifice to absurdity.

'Amyclaei,' v. 345.

90. Castor is generally the rider of Cyllarus, and Pollux a boxer. Suidas, however, s. v. *Κύλλαρος*, quotes Stesichorus

as saying that Cyllarus belonged to both. [The Berne scholia, which are here fuller than Serv. and Philarg., say 'Equos autem a Neptuno Iunoni datos Alcman lyricus dicit Cyllarum et Xanthum, quorum Polluci Cyllarum, Xanthum fratri eius concessum esse dictum est.'—H. N.]

91. 'Martis equi:' see II. xv 119. The notion of Serv. that *Δείμος* and *Φόβος* were the names of the horses rests on a mistranslation; they are the names of the attendants.

'Currus Achilli:' Xanthus and Balius, II. xvi 148. 'Currus' for 'equi:' comp. I 514.

'Achilli.' The orthography fluctuates between 'Achilli' or 'Achillei' (so Pal.) and 'Achillis.' I have followed Wagn., as a reference to A. I 30, II 476, seems to show that he is right in deciding the question in each case by euphony.

92. 'Iubam effundit,' in flight, as is shown by 'pernix' and 'fugiens.' ['Effundit' has overwhelming authority as against 'effudit,' which Forb., however, still retains. No doubt the perf. which follows, 'implevit,' is a difficulty in the way of reading 'effundit.' But see Conington on Persius IV 2, who quotes Hor. S. II iii 277, 'Marius cum praecipitat se, Cerritus fuit?'] The present resembles that in Pers. l. c. 'sorbitio tollit quem dira cicutae,' and is apparently intended to express the fact that the story or history continues to be well known. Comp. also A. VIII 294 'tu Cresia mactas Prodigia,' and IX 265 note.—H. N.]

93. 'Coniugis,' Rhea, or Ops, to hide from whom his amour with the nymph Philyra Saturn changed himself into a horse and the nymph into a mare. The idea is taken from Apoll. R. II 1234, where Saturn is described galloping off on being surprised with the nymph by Rhea.



Pelion hinnitu fugiens implevit acuto.

Hunc quoque, ubi aut morbo gravis aut iam segnior  
annis

95

deficit, abde domo, nec turpi ignosce senectae :  
frigidus in Venerem senior frustra que laborem  
ingratum trahit ; et, si quando ad proelia ventum est,  
ut quondam in stipulis magnus sine viribus ignis,  
in cassum furit. ergo animos aevumque notabis 100  
praecipue ; hinc alias artis prolemque parentum,  
et quis cuique dolor victo, quae gloria palmae.  
nonne vides, cum praecipiti certamine campum

95-122. 'The first thing is to see that they are young and vigorous, then to inquire into their peculiar qualities and antecedents, their successes and defeats, and how they have borne them ; for you have only to look at a race to see how thoroughly a spirited horse enters into the contest. Whether for driving or riding, I repeat, youth and vigour are what you have mainly to look to.'

95. 'Hunc quoque,' even this perfect horse.

96. ['Defecit,' i.e. 'deficit,' Med. originally, and so formerly Ribbeck.—H. N.]

'Abde domo' has been taken by Heyne and others to mean 'remove him from home, 'send him off.' It more probably means 'take him up,' 'leave him no longer out with the mares.' The Latin will bear either, 'domo' being in the former case ablative, in the latter probably dative, and equivalent to 'in domum.' [For the dat. compare A. II 553 'lateri abdidit ensem,' etc.] Nemesianus Cyneq. 141 has 'abdaturque domo' for 'be sent away from home,' but his authority is of less weight than the analogy of Hor.'s 'abditus agro,' Ep. I i 5, where, as Keightley remarks, the mention of the horse immediately after looks like a reference to the present passage. [Serv. says 'domo' is for 'in domo' and is equivalent to 'domi.']

There is some doubt about the meaning of 'nec turpi ignosce senectae.' Serv., who has been generally followed, proposes to take 'nec turpi' as 'et non turpi.' It seems better to take his other way, 'nec ignosce turpi senectae,' 'suffer him not to disgrace himself in his old age.'

'Turpis' seems to be equivalent to

ἀσχήμων. Ladewig comp. Sil. xv 651, 'turpi finem donate senectae.'

98. 'Ingratum,' fruitless. Comp. I 83, 'nec nulla interea est inaratae gratia terrae.' 'Proelia' of course is to be explained from the context.

99. 'Sine viribus,' because the straw is its only fuel. Med. originally and Gud. omit 'in ;' Rom. has 'stipula.'

100. The emphatic word is 'aevum.' You must first see that he is young and vigorous.

101. 'Hinc,' afterwards, that is, not till you have looked to the age. 'Artis,' qualities. [Pal. has 'partis.'—H. N.]

'Prolem parentum,' the breed of his sire and dam ; comp. Col. VII vi 7, 'Parit autem, si generosa est proles, duos.'

102. 'Cuique,' in each case, whenever you choose a horse to breed from. These lines may be taken in a different way, 'prolem parentum' being understood as the other offspring of his sire and dam, and 'cuique' as each member of this offspring, into whose racing qualities the breeder is to inquire. The words 'quis dolor, quae gloria' denote a two-fold inquiry ; what have been his victories and defeats, and what spirit has he shown in each. On the latter the poet proceeds to expatiate.

103-112. 'Nonne vides,' see I 56. The description is imitated from Il. xxiii 362-372. I would offer the following translation : 'Who has not watched the headlong speed of a race, the chariots swallowing the ground before them as they pour along in a torrent from their flood-gates, when the drivers' youthful hopes are at their height, and the bounding heart is drained by each eager pulsation? there are they

corripuere ruuntque effusi carcere currus,  
 cum spes arrectae iuvenum, exultantiaque haurit 105  
 corda pavor pulsans? illi instant verbere torto  
 et proni dant lora; volat vi fervidus axis;  
 iamque humiles, iamque elati sublime videntur  
 aera per vacuum ferri, atque adsurgere in auras;  
 nec mora, nec requies; at fulvae nimbus harenæ 110  
 tollitur; umescunt spumis flatuque sequentum:

with their ever ready lash circling in the air, bending forward to let the reins go: on flies the wheel, swift and hot as fire: now they ride low, now they seem to tower aloft, shooting through the void air and rising against the sky: no stint, no stay, while the yellow sand mounts up in a cloud, and each is sprinkled with the foam and breath of those behind him: that is what ambition can do; that is the measure of their zeal for success.'

104. 'Campum corripuere:' have started. 'Corripio' in this and similar expressions seems to express the sudden hold laid on that over which progress is made, the 'vorare viam' of Catullus.

'Effusi carcere:' see 1 512.

105. 'Spes arrectae,' a poetical variety for 'animi arrecti spe.' So A. v 138, which is a partial repetition of this passage, 'laudumque arrecta cupido.'

'Iuvenum,' the drivers, the word being of course chosen to bring out the enthusiasm of youthful hopes.

'Haurit' seems rightly explained by Heyne, 'exhausts the heart by stopping the breath.' Those who think this too recondite may compare with Serv. A. x 314, 'latus haurit apertum,' the notion in each case being that of rapidly devouring, so that here they may render, 'thrills through and through.' 'Pulsans,' as well as 'haurit,' may go with 'corda.' Virg. borrowed the expression from Il. xxiii 370, where however *πάρασι* is intrans.

106. 'Illi instant:' the apodosis seems to begin here. Strictly speaking, however, the words commence a new sentence, there being no grammatical connexion with 'nonne vides.' We have had a similar instance in 1 187-189, 'Contemplator item . . . si superant fetus.'

'Instant' seems to include the notion of 'insistent rotis' (v. 114) as well as that of keeping up the speed, and being always ready to put in the whip.

'Verbere torto' is best taken as the ablat. instrum. not as dat. for 'verberi.' Comp. A. viii 250, x 691, the latter of which passages proves the use of the ablat., as the dat. of the person occurs in the same sentence. 'Verbere' = 'flagello.' 'Torto,' 'circling,' not 'twisted.' Comp. 1 309, 'Stuppea torquentem Balearis verbera fundae,' where 'verb.' also = thongs.

107. The reins were passed round the body of the driver, so that he naturally leant forward when at full speed. 'Axis:' this was a very conspicuous part of the ancient chariot, because the car was so small and light. 'Vi' is to be taken with 'volat;' not, as Wakef. thought, with 'fervidus.'

108, 109. Homer (Il. xxiii 368 foll.) has  
 "Ἄρματα δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν χθονὶ πλινυτο πούλυ-  
 βοτείρη,  
 "Ἄλλοτε δ' αἰξάσκει μετήρορα τοὶ δ' ἰλαγῆρες  
 "Ἔστασαν ἐν εἰφροῖσι, πάτασσε δὲ θυμὸς  
 ἰκάστου.

so that Virg. refers to the bounding of the cars and the corresponding rising and sinking of the charioteers, not to any motion of the charioteers themselves.

109. The words 'sublime—auras' are a case of zeugma, being connected grammatically with both 'humiles' and 'elati,' though in sense with 'elati' only. 'Sublime' may be taken with either 'elati' or 'ferri.'

'Vacuum' has nearly the same meaning, denoting a certain height above the ground. Comp. Hor. Od. 1 iii 34, 'expertus vacuum Daedalus aëra,' Pind. Ol. 1 10, *κρήμας δι' αἰθέρος*: also A. v 515, xii 592. [Rom. has 'exsurgere.'—H. N.]

110. 'At' is continuative, not adversative.

111. Comp. Il. xxiii 380 and Soph. El. 718, which passages show that this of Virg.'s is literal, not rhetorical.



tantus amor laudum, tantae est victoria curae.  
 primus Erichthonius currus et quattuor ausus  
 iungere equos, rapidusque rotis insistere victor.  
 frena Pelethronii Lapithae gyrosque dedere      115  
 impositi dorso, atque equitem docuere sub armis  
 insultare solo, et gressus glomerare superbos.  
 aequus uterque labor; aequae iuvenemque magistri  
 exquirunt calidumque animis et cursibus acrem,

112. This connects the preceding description, rather inartificially, with v. 102, from which the poet digressed, forming as it were a sort of object-clause for 'nonne vides.' 'This will show you what ambition can do.' With the language comp. I 147.

113. Pliny VII 202 says the same, 'Bigas primum iunxit Phrygum natio, quadrigas Erichthonius.' Cic. N. D. III 23 says that the Arcadians attributed the four-horse car to a Minerva, daughter of Jupiter and Coryphe, whom they worshipped under the name of Coria. Erichthonius was turned into the constellation Auriga.

'Currus et quattuor iungere equos' = 'curri quattuor iungere equos:' 'he first thought of putting together the two, the car and the four horses,' as if they had before existed separately.

114. 'Insistere' refers to the practice of standing upright in the car, and is perhaps intended to be contrasted with 'rapidus' (comp. Hom. cited on vv. 108, 109).

'Victor' either of conquest in battle or a race, or merely of success in his invention. 'Erichthonius was the first who rose to the feat of coupling a car and four horses together, standing erect above the wheels that swept him on in triumph.'

115. 'Pelethronii,' from the Pelethronian wood on Mount Pelion.

'Gyros,' the ring for breaking horses in. Comp. Pseudo-Tibull. IV i 91, 'equum . . . Inque vicem modo directo contendere cursu, Seu libeat curvo brevis compellere gyro.' Hence the frequent use of 'gyrus' metaphorically for a narrow space, as Prop. IV iii 21, 'Cur tua praescriptos evecta est pagina gyros?' The Greek name was κύκλος; Pollux has *κυκλωτήρως ἰππασία* for riding in the ring. Virg., as Keightley thinks, instead of rationalizing the fable of the Centaurs, attributes the introduction of riding horses to their rivals the Lapithae.

'Dedere' seems better explained by regarding the inventor as the giver (comp. 'vestro munere' I 7) than by understanding 'dare' as 'edere.'

116, 117. 'Sub armis' = 'armatum.' 'Equitem.' [An old gloss preserved in Non. pp. 106, 295, Gell. XVII 5, Macrob. Sat. VI 9, Philarg., Serv. and the Berne scholia here] gave 'equitem' the sense of 'equum,' on the strength of a doubtful passage in Ennius (A. VII fr. 9), an anomaly which, if justified, would only produce a platitude. Here, as in Hor. Epod. XVI 12, 'Eques sonante verberabit ungula,' the rider is said to do what the horse does. So 'sub armis' points to the weight on the horse.

'Glomerare.' It is difficult to fix the exact meaning of 'glomerare.' From the epithet 'superbos' it seems to denote the gathering up of the legs in prancing or high action, not, as might otherwise be suggested, wheeling round in the ring. [Comp. Sil. III 336 'inconcusso glomerat vestigia dorso;' Plin. VIII 166 'mollis alterno crurum explicatu glomeratio.'—H. N.]

118, 119. In v. 102 it was said that, after the age, the racing qualities of the stallion should be looked to; this led to a digression on racing. We now return to the original point, that youth and vigour are indispensable ('iuvenem calidumque animis' answer to 'animos aevumque').

'Labor,' the difficulty of providing a good stallion (which is throughout the uppermost notion in the poet's mind), is the same in both cases, whether you wish to breed racers or chargers. Comp. II 412, 'Durus uterque labor;' where, as here, the meaning of 'labor' is implied rather than expressed by the immediate context. 'Aequae' with what follows explains 'aequus.' 'Calidum animis et cursibus acrem' are the signs of youth and undiminished vigour, and therefore

quamvis saepe fuga versos ille egerit hostis, 120  
 et patriam Epirum referat, fortisque Mycenae,  
 Neptuniquae ipsa deducat origine gentem.

His animadversis instant sub tempus, et omnis  
 impendunt curas denso distendere pingui,  
 quem legere ducem et pecori dixere maritum; 125  
 florentisque secant herbas, fluviosque ministrant  
 farraque, ne blando nequeat superesse labori,

it is in point to mention them in the case of a stallion, whereas it would be a truism in the case of a racer.

The whole passage may be paraphrased: 'It is equally difficult to breed chargers and racers, and in either case the breeder requires a young and fresh stallion, and must not take an old and worn out one, even though in the one case he may have been a capital charger (v. 120), or in the other may be of the highest racing breed of Greece.' But the brevity of Virg.'s language, and his tendency to substitute poetical ornament for regular logical sequence, render the passage obscure, and it is possible that Voss may be right in referring 'labor' to the training for driving and riding, the toil however being that of the horse-breaker, not of the horse. In that case the connexion will be, 'as the two objects are equally important, and equally difficult of attainment, it is of equal moment to attend to breeding for each.' To understand 'uterque labor' with Heyne of breeding and driving or riding seems out of the question: nor can Wagn. be right in referring 'aeque' to 'que—que,' 'aeque iuvenem ac calidum et acrem.'

120-122. These lines apparently refer to v. 102, reminding the reader that such considerations are to be attended to only in the second place. There is some carelessness in the use of 'ille' v. 120, which is introduced so as to leave it doubtful whether Virg. meant to say 'they look to the youth of a horse first, whatever may have been his past services,' or 'they look for a young horse, though the other candidate for their choice may have been distinguished in past times.' Probably there is a confusion between the two. A friend of Warton's, who observed this, wished to place the lines after v. 96, and so Ribbeck, following a recent tract by Tittler, [and Forb. in his last edition.—H. N.]

121, 122. 'Epirum,' comp. I 59. 'Mycenae' for *Ἀργὸς ἱπποβόρον*. Here, as elsewhere, 'que' stands where we might expect 've,' the various kinds of breeds being looked upon as following under one head.

'Neptuni:' see on I 12. For 'gentem' Rom. has 'nomen,' perhaps, as Wagn. suggests, from A. X 618.

123-137. 'After choosing a stallion, get him into good condition: mares, on the other hand, sometimes require to be kept thin by denial of food and severe exercise.'

123. 'His animadversis,' i.e. 'moribus et aetate deprehensis,' Serv. Pal. has 'animum adversis,' which Ribbeck adopts, as also in II 259, where the testimony of Pal. is less explicit.

124. 'Denso,' firm, as the flesh of a horse should be when in high condition. Pliny (XI 212) distinguishes 'pingue' from 'adepts.'

125. 'Pecori' is to be taken with 'ducem' and 'maritum.' Pal. has 'pecoris—magistrum,' perhaps from E. III 101.

126. 'Florentis' is not, as Wagn. thinks, an ornamental epithet, but indicates the kind of herbage spoken of, e.g. vetches ('ervum,' Col. VI 27) or clover.

'Florentis' is the reading of all Ribbeck's MSS. Others, with Serv., have 'pubentes,' which may have been introduced from A. IV 514; it does not seem especially appropriate here.

'Secant' and 'ministrant' imply that the stallion or bull is kept up. 'Fluvios' for 'aquas fluviales.' Comp. A. II 686, 'sanctos restinguere fontibus ignis.'

127. 'Superesse labori' is explained by Gell. I 22, who quotes this passage, 'supra laborem esse, neque opprimi a labore.' Thus we may comp. 'superesse dolori' Ov. M. XI 703.

['Nequeant' Pal., 'nequeans' Med. originally.—H. N.]



invalidique patrum referant ieiunia nati.  
 ipsa autem macie tenuant armenta volentes,  
 atque, ubi concubitus primos iam nota voluptas 130  
 sollicitat, frondesque negant et fontibus arcent.  
 saepe etiam cursu quatiunt et sole fatigant,  
 cum graviter tunsis gemit area frugibus, et cum  
 surgentem ad Zephyrum paleae iactantur inanes.  
 hoc faciunt, nimio ne luxu obtunsior usus 135  
 sit genitali arvo et sulcos oblimes inertis,  
 sed rapiat sitiens Venerem interiusque recondat.

Rursus cura patrum cadere, et succedere matrum  
 incipit. exactis gravidæ cum mensibus errant,  
 non illas gravibus quisquam iuga ducere plaustris, 140  
 non saltu superare viam sit passus et acri  
 carpere prata fuga fluviosque innare rapacis.  
 saltibus in vacuis pascunt et plena secundum

129. 'Ipsa armenta,' the herd itself as distinguished from its 'dux' and 'maritus'; that is, the mares.

132. 'Gallop and sweat them.'

133. Comp. I 298. Col. II 21 (22) mentions the west wind as the best for winnowing. It seems hard to disconnect 'sole fatigant' from 'cursu quatiunt,' and refer it to the cows, with Trapp and Keightley, as if the recommendation were to exercise them in threshing. On the other hand, mares are put to horse in spring, long before corn is cut and threshed, so that this description of hot weather as the time for cutting and threshing the corn must be considered as inappropriate. Mr. Blackburn however contends that corn, though cut in summer or autumn, may be threshed at any time, e.g. in the spring.

'Gemit' suggests the notion that the threshing-floor cries out under the 'tritura.'

138-156. 'After conception the dams require attention rather than the sires. They should be kept from work and violent exercise, and allowed to graze in the shade near water, and this in the morning and evening, rather than at midday, for fear of the gadfly.' Virg. seems gradually to be sliding from the subject of horses to that of oxen, v. 140 referring rather to cows, vv. 141, 142 to mares. The mention of the gadfly ap-

pears to make the final transition, and accordingly in the next paragraph we hear exclusively about calving.

138. No exact parallel for this use of 'cadere' is given. 'Cadere' and 'succedere' may possibly be a metaphor from the setting and rising of stars.

140. Varro (II vii 10) cautions his breeder against working his mares too much when they are near foaling. 'Non' for 'ne,' I 456.

'Plaustris' seems to be ablative, as if it had been 'iuga gravium plaustrorum,' not, as Keightley thinks, the dative.

141. It is hard to fix the exact sense of 'saltu superare viam'; it is probably to be coupled with what follows, and taken as clearing, i.e. leaping out of, the road, ['quod solet fieri cum pascunt pedibus impeditis,' say Serv. and the Berne scholia.—H. N.]

142. 'Fluviosque rapacis:' from Lucr. I 17; Virg. seems to have had his eye on the whole of that passage. 'Rapacis' is not without point, because the mares would have to struggle to avoid being carried away by the stream.

143. 'Pascunt:' a late corr. in Med., Gud. corr., and others give 'pascant,' which Heyne retained. Wakef. rightly denies the Latinity of the subj. here, as 'pascant' could hardly be understood except of the herds, and this use of 'pascere' for 'pasci' appears to rest only on

flumina, muscus ubi et viridissima gramine ripa,  
 speluncaeque tegant, et saxea procubet umbra. 145  
 est lucos Silari circa ilicibusque virentem  
 plurimus Alburnum volitans, cui nomen asilo  
 Romanum est, oestrum Grai vertere vocantes,  
 asper, acerba sonans, quo tota exterrita silvis  
 diffugiunt armenta; furit mugitibus aether 150  
 concussus silvaeque et sicci ripa Tanagri.  
 hoc quondam monstro horribilis exercuit iras  
 Inachiae Iuno pestem meditata iuvencae.  
 hunc quoque, nam mediis fervoribus acrior instat,  
 arcebis gravido pecori, armentaque pasces 155  
 sole recens orto aut noctem ducentibus astris.

Tibull. II v 25. The participle 'pascens' in such places as E. III 96 may be from the deponent.

'Vacuis,' where they will be undisturbed.

'Plena,' says Serv., that they may not have to stoop: rather, to scramble down the steep bank of a torrent. The whole picture is a contrast to that in the preceding line.

144. Where (there is) moss, and where the bank is greenest with grass; 'viridissima gramine' being the predicate. Med. a m. pr. has 'gramina ripae.'

145. Philarg. says that 'saxea umbra' and 'procubet' are used 'nove.' 'Procubo' only occurs again in Claudian, Cons. Prob. et Olyb. 119, and there in the sense of lying down.

The conjunctives depend on 'ubi.' [Med. had 'protegit' originally, corrected early into 'protegat' and 'procubet.'—H. N.]

147. 'Volitans:' the participle is used substantively. This usage is more common in the plural, as II 152, etc., except in the case of a fairly naturalized noun like 'amans.'

Besides 'asilus' the Romans called the gaffly 'tabanus,' Pliny XI 100. The Greeks had another name, *μύωψ*.

148. Strictly speaking, 'vertere vocantes' would imply that the Greeks translated the Roman name. But Virg. means no more than that they gave the thing a name in their own language. [Philarg. and the Berne scholia quote from Nigidius Figulus De Animalibus

'Asilus est musca varia tabanus, bubus maxime nocens. Hic apud Graecos prius myops vocabatur: postea magnitudine incommodi oestrum appellarunt.'—H. N.]

149. 'Asper, acerba tuens,' Lucr. v 34. Comp. A. IX 794. In what follows Virg. had his eye on Od. XXII 299 foll.

150. 'Furit mugitibus aether concussus' is like *δοτριναερος αιθης επιμαυρα*, Aesch. Theb. 155 (Wund.). 'The air is stunned and maddened with their bellowings, the air and the woodland and the banks of Tanager which runs dry in the sun.' [The Vatican fragm. has 'fugit' for 'furit.'—H. N.]

151. 'Sicci' adds a touch to the picture, heightening the misery of the cattle.

152. 'Monstro,' I 185. 'Exercuit iras' like 'viris exercet,' v. 229. In IV 453 the expression is varied, 'Non te nullius exercent numinis irae.'

154. 'Quoque' refers back to the other precautions already recommended in the case of the pregnant dams vv. 140 foll.

'Mediis fervoribus,' like 'aestibus mediis,' v. 331, of the noonday heat, as the context shows.

155. 'Arcebis pecori' like 'pecori defendite,' E. VII 47. The future is virtually an imperative; see E. x 31, G. I 167. A late corr. in Med. thrusts in 'que' after 'pecori' to support the verse, as elsewhere, e. g. II 144.

['Pascis' fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

156. The stars are said to usher in the night, because they are seen before the night has closed in.



Post partum cura in vitulos traducitur omnis ;  
 continuoque notas et nomina gentis inurunt,  
 et quos aut pecori malint summittere habendo  
 aut aris servare sacros aut scindere terram 160  
 et campum horrentem fractis invertere glaebis.  
 cetera pascuntur viridis armenta per herbas :  
 tu quos ad studium atque usum formabis agrestem,  
 iam vitulos hortare, viamque insiste domandi,  
 dum faciles animi iuvenum, dum mobilis aetas : 165  
 ac primum laxos tenui de vimine circlos  
 cervici subnecte ; dehinc, ubi libera colla  
 servitio adsuerint, ipsis e torquibus aptos

157-178. 'After calving, think mainly of the calves. Separate them according to the destination of each, and treat them with a view to it. Those which are not meant for labour may be left to graze ; those which are, should be trained early, practised to bear the yoke and draw vehicles. Before they are broken in, they will want corn as well as ordinary fodder. Young calves should have all their mothers' milk.'

157. 'Traducitur,' from the mothers, as before from the fathers.

158. 'Notas et nomina,' a hendiadys, recurring A. III 444. 'Nomina gentis' would naturally mean that the marks are intended to distinguish the breed ; but we may doubt with Keightley whether such was really the practice. Perhaps Virg. confounds the breed with the property of the breeder, meaning no more than that the cattle are branded that it may be known whose they are. For branding see I 263.

159. A verb must be supplied from 'inurunt,' with the sense of distinguishing or setting apart. We need not suppose that they were actually branded according to the purposes for which they were designed.

'Pecori habendo,' I 3.

160. The construction is changed, 'quos' being the object of 'servare,' the subject of 'scindere.' Varro (II 5) says of the finest cattle 'ad victimas faciunt atque ad deorum servant supplicia.'

161. 'Horrentem' doubtless expresses the rough appearance of the upturned ridges, elsewhere called 'terga,' just as it is applied to a hog's back, A. I 634.

162. Martyn appears right in referring this line, [the genuineness of which Ribbeck, Proleg. p. 51, suspects,] to what follows. Such cattle as were intended for breeding or for killing would be left to graze, as their only object would be to get fat : but those which were required for labour would have to be taken in hand. Heyne objects that the next line, in that case, would be more naturally introduced by an adverbative particle : see however A. IX 224-226. Perhaps it may be said that 'tu' here is quasi-adverbative, standing in illogical opposition to 'cetera.'

163. Here and in the two following lines he borrows language from the education of youth.

164. ['Iam' goes with 'vitulos.']

166. Similar precepts are given by Varro I 20 ; Col. VI 2. The gradations of training here specified seem to be (1) accustoming the calf's neck to a collar ; (2) teaching it to step together with another ; (3) teaching two to draw a light weight ; (4) a heavy one.

'Circlos' (Rom., Serv. and Nonius p. 340) occurs in Accius (tr. 100) : comp. 'vinclum,' etc. 'Circos:' Pal., Vat. fragm., Gud. margin, etc. Med. has 'criclos.'

167. 'Dehinc,' dissyllabic as A. v 722, Hor. A. P. 144, etc.

168. 'Torques' are the same as 'circuli ;' 'ipsis' virtually = 'isdem,' as Wagn. remarks. Perhaps there may be an implied prohibition of a custom which, as Col. VI 2 tells us, was justly reprobated by most writers on agriculture, of yoking bullocks together by the horns. [Mr. Nettleship (Contrib. to Latin Lex.

iunge pares, et coge gradum conferre iuencos;  
 atque illis iam saepe rotae ducantur inanes 170  
 per terram, et summo vestigia pulvere signent;  
 post valido nitens sub pondere faginus axis  
 instrepat, et iunctos temo trahat aereus orbis.  
 interea pubi indomitae non gramina tantum,  
 nec vescas salicum frondes ulvamque palustrem, 175  
 sed frumenta manu carpes sata; nec tibi fetae,  
 more patrum, nivea implebunt mulgaria vaccae,  
 sed tota in dulces consument ubera natos.

Sin ad bella magis studium turmasque ferocis,

p. 601) suggests doubtfully that 'torquis' may be 'yoke.' The other exx. of this sense are very late.]

'Aptus' = 'aptatus,' A. IV 482, etc.

169. The practice of teaching calves to step together may still be seen in the south of France (Keightley). 'Pares' may mean not only that two were to be yoked together, but that they were to be of equal strength, that being a point insisted on by Varro and Columella in the case of actual draught.

['Iuencis' Med. originally.]

170. 'Inanes rotae' may be either an empty cart, or, as Mr. Blackburn thinks, wheels without a body. Varro and Col. give the same direction, the latter recommending that they should begin with a branch of a tree, to which a weight should next be attached.

171. 'Vestigia,' the ruts of the wheels.

172. II. v 838, *μείγα δ' ἔβραχε φήγυος ἀξίων Βριθοσύνη.*

173. 'Iunctos,' to the pole, which was formerly plated with copper ('aereus'), afterwards with iron.

174. 'Interea:' calves were broken in when they were three years old. Virg. probably means now to speak of their treatment previously, though the want of precision in his language leaves his intention uncertain.

'Fetae,' v. 176, points to a still earlier stage, before the calves are weaned. Thus the order of time is exactly reversed.

'Gramina' either (1) means hay (or perhaps grass cut green), or (2) is to be understood as joined by zeugma to 'carpes,' the meaning being that, besides grazing, they are to have corn gathered for them.

175. ['Vescas,' small (so Verrius Flac-

cus, see p. 1v). The word is (1) sometimes active, nibbling, as Lucr. I 326 'vesco sale saxa peresa,' (2) sometimes passive, nibbled at, i.e. weak or small. For the latter sense compare IV 131, Afranius 'vescis imbecillus viribus,' Ovid F. III 446, etc., and 'vesculus,' explained by Paulus 'male curatus et gracilis.']

'Ulvam,' E. VIII 27. Féé (quoted by Keightley) distinguishes 'ulva palustris' from ordinary 'ulva,' making the former the 'festuca fluitans,' the latter the 'scirpus lacustris' of Linnaeus. Rom. has 'silvam.'

176. Serv. understands 'frumenta sata' of the 'farrago,' mentioned v. 205. But it evidently means growing corn. Varro's precept is (II 5) 'Semestribus vitulis obiciunt furfures triticeos, et farinam hordeaceam, et teneram herbam.' ['Set' Med., 'sed' fragm. Vat., Pal., and Rom. In v. 178 Med. and fragm. Vat. have 'set.'—H. N.]

177. The same advice is given by Varro II 2, Col. VII 4, the former intimating that different customs prevailed; see E. III 6. 'More patrum,' A. XI 186.

['Mulgaria:' so Philargyrius; Nonius p. 312; Isid. Orig. xx vi 7 'mulgarium, vas in quod mulgentur pecora: idem et mulctrum.' 'Mulctaria,' MSS.; the form occurs nowhere else. Serv. mentions both forms, and quotes 'mulgaria' from Valgius.—H. N.]

178. 'Consumit in natos,' Prop. v (IV) vi 55, 'pondus pharetrae consumit in arcus;' Auct. ad Herenn. I 3, 'Inventio in sex partis orationis consumitur.' Med. (first reading) and one of Ribbeck's cursives have 'consumant.'

179-208. 'Foals intended for chargers



aut Alpeha rotis praelabi flumina Pisae, 180  
 et Iovis in luco currus agitare volantis :  
 primus equi labor est, animos atque arma videre  
 bellantum lituosque pati tractuque gementem  
 ferre rotam et stabulo frenos audire sonantis ;  
 tum magis atque magis blandis gaudere magistri 185  
 laudibus et plausae sonitum cervicis amare.  
 atque haec iam primo depulsus ab ubere matris  
 audeat, inque vicem det mollibus ora capistris  
 invalidus etiamque tremens, etiam inscius aevi.

or racers should be accustomed from the first to the sights and sounds of their future life. When their third year is past they may be practised in the ring, and afterwards put to full speed. When broken, they should be fed well : before, they are apt to be restiff.

179. 'Studium ad bella,' go together. This seems the only natural construction, and is supported by the context, 'praelabi' and 'agitare' both referring to the breeder's aim for himself. Virg., as Wund. remarks, doubtless thought of such phrases as 'studium conferre ad aliquid.' 'Studere in aliquid' is also found. Heyne understood 'formare' from v. 163, but Wund. justly complains of the unauthorized ellipse.

180. Virg., writing from the inspiration of his Greek models, talks of the Olympic chariot races rather than of those of the circus.

181. 'Iovis in luco,' the Altis, where the race-course was. Πρόκειται δ' ἄλσος ἀγρολαίων ἐν ᾧ τὸ στάδιον, Strabo VII 353. Vat. has 'volentis.'

182. 'Primus equi labor,' the first part of a horse's training.

183. 'Gementem' is emphatic; it is the noise of the wheels that a foal is to be taught to bear.

184. Varro II vii 12, 'eademque causa ibi frenos suspendendum, ut eculi consuescant et videre eorum faciem et e motu audire crepitus.' The sound is not merely the jingling of bridles, but of bells which were frequently attached to them.

185. 'Tum' seems to come under 'primus labor,' not to be distinguished from it. 'Blandis,' caressing, as v. 496, E. IV 23.

'Magistri' might refer specially to the

trainer (comp. Hor. Ep. I ii 64) as distinct from the breeder, v. 118; but there is hardly evidence that Virg. meant to discriminate them.

186. 'Manibusque lacessunt Pectora plausa cavis,' A. XII 85, Gr. ποπύζειν.

187. Philarg., followed by Wakef., makes 'primo' adverbial, but it is evidently an epithet of 'ubere,' though the sense intended is that of 'primum.'

188. 'Audeat : ' Med. originally, Pal., fragm. Vat. 'Audiat' (Med. corr., Rom.) was the vulgate before Heinsius. Ladewig needlessly conj. 'gaudeat.' The sense is that natural timidity should be overcome and courage developed.

'Inque vicem : ' these experiments on his courage are to alternate with wearing the halter (Wagn.). So Trapp, 'now and then.'

'Capistra' were made of osiers, whence 'mollibus.'

189. 'Etiam' = 'adhuc,' A. VI 485; perhaps A. II 291 [and often in Latin before Virgil]. Heins. read 'et iam,' from a mistake in Charis. p. 239, where the line is quoted. Med. has 'iam iamque' as a late correction for 'etiamque,' and originally had 'atque' for the second 'etiam.' [Bentley conj. 'et iamque' and 'et iam.']

'Inscius aevi' might be taken as = 'inscii aevi' (which seems to be Martyn's view, 'of tender years'), like 'integer aevi' A. II 638, IX 255, 'aevi maturus' v 73. But 'venturi inscius aevi,' A. VIII 627, is in favour of making 'aevi' the objective gen. A question still remains whether the sense is 'unconscious of his powers' (Heyne), or 'ignorant of life,' which would agree equally well with the context. Virg. may have contemplated both senses.

at tribus exactis ubi quarta acceperit aestas, 190  
 carpere mox gyrum incipiat gradibusque sonare  
 compositis, sinuetque alterna volumina crurum,  
 sitque laboranti similis; tum cursibus auras,  
 tum vocet, ac per aperta volans, ceu liber habenis,  
 aequora vix summa vestigia ponat harena; 195  
 qualis Hyperboreis Aquilo cum densus ab oris  
 incubuit, Scythiaequae hiemes atque arida differt

190. Varro II vii and Col. VI 29 prescribe that a horse should be broken in for racing when he has completed his third year.

'Aestas,' the reading of all the best MSS. (except Med. and fragm. Aug.), was restored by Heins. for 'aetas,' the use of which for 'annus' is doubtful. See A. I 267, 756, etc.

['Acceperit:' so Med. corr., Pal., Rom., Vat. fragm., accepted by Wagner and Ribbeck. Med. originally had 'accesserit,' and so Con.; it would mean the same, but has less authority. The Berne scholia mention both.—H. N.]

191. 'Gyrum:' v. 115. 'Carpere gyrum,' like 'carpere campum.' The horse is to be taught his paces. 'Sonare' is not merely ornamental, as the ring of the hoof was esteemed a mark of its soundness. Germ. quotes Xenophon de Re Equestri c. 1, *καὶ τῷ ψόφῳ δὲ φησι Σίμων δῆλους εἶναι τοὺς ἐπιοῦδας, καλῶς λέγων. ὡσπερ γὰρ κύμβαλον ψοφεὶ πρὸς τῷ δαπέδῳ ἢ κοίλῃ ὀπλή.*

192. 'Sinuet' etc. addresses the eye as 'sonare' the ear. [Bending his supple legs alternately.—H. N.]

193. 'Laboranti similis:' he is not to follow his own bent, but to be trained. So Hor. Od. II iii 11, 'obliquo laborat Lympha fugax trepidare rivo,' the stream being forced to bend, like the horse here in the ring. 'Anhelanti similis' A. v 234; 'indignanti similem similemque miant,' VIII 649.

'Cursibus,' prob. instrumental abl. like A. XII 84, 'anteirent cursibus auras.' It might conceivably be dat. = 'ad cursus vocet.'

194. 'Tum vocet' (so most MSS.), challenge, a sense usually expressed by 'provocet': comp. A. XI 442, 'solum Aeneas vocat, et vocet oro.' Pal. has 'provocet' [and so Ribbeck. Vahlen (Ind. Lect. Berl. 1882) retains 'vocet' in the sense of 'call upon, invoke.']

'Ceu liber habenis,' as if he were simply following his own will, contrasted with 'laboranti similis.' Keightley thinks there is a reference to the weight of the rider.

195. 'Vestigia' may be understood either strictly, or as put for 'pedes.' See E. VI 58.

196-201. Virg.'s similes, like those of Hom., when they extend to any length, are generally not constructed with much rhetorical or grammatical regularity. The description passes from the main point of the comparison into collateral details, which are strung together as co-ordinate sentences by particles of transition. Here the verb of which 'qualis' is the subject has to be supplied from the previous context, and the description then proceeds as if it were independent. Even v. 201 is not intended as a grammatical apodosis, though designed to recall the reader to the real object of the simile. Comp. A. I 148 foll., where the structure is very similar to that of the present passage.

'Hyperboreis:' the fabled Hyperboreans inhabited an Elysium beyond the northern cold (Pind. P. x 47; Pliny IV 89). But here and elsewhere the epithet signifies the most northerly countries then known. Strabo I, C. 62, notes the two notions attached to the word, treating one as poetical, the other as matter of fact.

'Densus' with 'incubuit;' 'strong, with all his force as it were condensed and concentrated' (Keightley).

197. 'The wind scatters the clouds, and drives them before it.' 'Venti vis . . . nubila differt,' Lucr. I 272.

'Arida' because it is a clear, sharp blast without rain (Wagn.). Comp. Sen. N. Q. III 28, 'fluere adsiduos imbres et non esse modum pluviis, suppressis Aquilonibus et flatu siccare;' Lucan IV 50, 'Pigro bruma gelu siccisque Aquilonibus haerens Aethere constricto pluvias in nube tenebat.'



nubila ; tum segetes altae campique natantes  
 lenibus horrescunt flabris, summaeque sonorem  
 dant silvae longique urgent ad litora fluctus ; 200  
 ille volat, simul arva fuga, simul aequora verrens.  
 hic vel ad Elei metas et maxima campi  
 sudabit spatia et spumas aget ore cruentas,  
 Belgica vel molli melius feret esseda collo.  
 tum demum crassa magnum farragine corpus 205  
 crescere iam domitis sinito : namque ante domandum

198. 'Tum' may be either correlative to 'cum,' v. 196, or a particle of transition, as apparently in other similes (e.g. A. XI 724 ; XII 591). The parallel of A. I 148, 151, favours the former ; there however the sentence introduced by 'tum' constitutes the point of the comparison, which is not here the case. It is safest to say that here 'tum' does not mean definitely either 'at that moment,' or 'next,' but denotes generally that the action which follows belongs to the same time as that which precedes.

'Campi natantes' is from Lucr. v 488 ; VI 267, [405, 1142 ; like 'campi liquentes,' A. VI 724, it = the sea ; comp. 'campi caerulei' in Plautus]. Virg. may have had in view two similes of Homer II. II 144 fol.

199. 'Lenibus flabris,' the beginning of the gale. 'Tarde primum clementi flamine pulsae (undae) Procedunt,' Catull. LXIV 273, referred to by Keightley. 'Sonor' is Lucretian.

200. 'Resonantia longe Litora misceri, et nemorum increbrescere murmur' is a prognostic of wind I 358. 'Longi fluctus,' long waves, denotes the force of the winds. Heyne wrongly renders it, 'qui longe, e longinquo, veniunt.' ['Urgent' Rom. —H. N.]

201. Comp. IV 174, 'Illi inter sese magna vi brachia tollunt In numerum, versantque tenaci forcipe ferrum ;' A. I 153, 'Ille regit dictis animos et pectora mulcet,' where the simile is concluded similarly by a return to the original subject of it—in this case, the north wind.

202. 'Hic : ' Med., fragm. Aug., restored by Wagner : 'a horse like this.' Med. corr., Vat. fragm., Rom., have 'hinc' [which Ribbeck accepts]. The preceding simile, though its elaboration

has little to do with the horse, is supposed to have impressed the reader with his high qualities.

'Metas et maxima campi spatia' seems to be a hendiadys, as if it had been 'metas campi maximis spatiis,' or, as it might have been expressed, 'ad metas per campum maximis spatiis.'

203. 'Sudabit' contains the notion of 'sudans ibit.' Forb. comp. Prop. v i 70, 'Has meus ad metas sudet oportet equus,' evidently an imitation. 'Spatia,' I 513. 'Spumas aget,' Lucr. III 488.

'Cruentas : ' from the bit against which he pulls, showing his spirit (Keightley). So Aesch. Ag. 1067, *πριν αίματηρόν έξαφρίζεσθαι μένος*, a metaphor from a horse being broken in.

204. Virg. probably refers to the employment of highbred horses in drawing the carriages ('essedae') of the rich (Keightley). The 'essedum' was properly the British war-chariot, and is so mentioned by Caesar and Cicero, but it had been recently introduced into Rome as a carriage (Cic. Att. VI i 25 ; Phil. II xxiv 58). So Prop. II i 86 (of Maecenas) 'essedae caelatis siste Britanna iugis' and Sil. III 337 (imitating Virg.) 'aut molli pacata celer rapit esseda collo.'

'Belgica,' instead of British. So Pers. VI 47 calls the 'essedae' German. Pal. and Med. (originally) have 'Bellica.'

'Feret' seems to refer to the wearing of the yoke on the neck. Fragm. Aug. apparently has 'ferat.'

205. 'Farrago' [mixed green food for cattle, Varro R. R. I xxxi 5, Contr. to Latin Lex. p. 455 ; it is sometimes spelt 'ferrago,' and so Med. here.—H. N.] It is called 'crassa' from its effects, like 'grandi polenta,' Pers. III 55.

'Tum demum' is explained by 'iam domitis' in v. 206.

ingentis tollent animos, prensique negabunt  
verbera lenta pati et duris parere lupatis.

Sed non ulla magis vires industria firmat,  
quam Venerem et caeci stimulos avertere amoris, 210  
sive boum sive est cui gratior usus equorum.  
atque ideo tauros procul atque in sola relegant  
pascua, post montem oppositum, et trans flumina lata ;  
aut intus clausos satura ad praesepia servant.  
carpit enim vires paulatim uritque videndo 215  
femina, nec nemorum patitur meminisse nec herbae  
dulcibus illa quidem inlecebris, et saepe superbos  
cornibus inter se subigit decernere amantis.  
pascitur in magna Sila formonsa iuvenca :  
illi alternantes multa vi proelia miscent 220

207. 'Prehsi : ' 'prensos domitare boves,' I 285 note.

208. 'Lenta,' a perpetual epithet. 'Lupatis : ' 'dicta lupata a lupinis dentibus, qui inaequales sunt,' Serv. So λύκοις is used in Greek, and 'lupus' by Ovid and Statius. Both 'lupatum' and 'lupatus' are found as substantives, and Hor. Od. I viii 6 uses 'lupatis' as an epithet of 'frenis.' [Comp. also Ovid Tr. iv vi 3.]

209-241. 'The chief danger to the strength both of bulls and horses is from excess of the passion of love. Thus bulls have to be kept at a distance from the cows. Rivalries often arise among them ; they fight for the same heifer ; the beaten one retires, and after a long interval, during which he has been collecting his strength, returns and renews the conflict.'

211. 'Whether you prefer rearing bulls or horses.' 'Cui' belongs to 'si' in 'sive.' [Fragm. Vat. originally had 'bovom,' and so Ribbeck.—H. N. The form occurs also in MSS. of Varro : Keil, Comm. on R. R. p. 172.]

212. The political word 'relegant' suits the language of the paragraph ; the bulls are spoken of in terms appropriate to men, and so invested with a kind of heroic dignity. There is a special fitness in the word, as the essence of 'relegatio' was confinement to or exclusion from a particular place.

213. The intervening hill excludes the view : the breadth of the stream prevents crossing.

214. 'Satura,' to keep up their strength and divert them.

215. 'Caeco carpitur igni,' A. IV 2. 'Videndo : ' see E. VIII 71. Here it = 'visu,' 'by the sight of her.'

217. Ribbeck (after Klotz) seems right in connecting 'dulcibus—inlecebris' with the preceding clause, 'illa quidem' having the force of 'quamvis,' as A. IX 796 ; X 385,—'she wastes them away, though with a tender passion.'

219. 'Sila' (Rom. Med. corr.) is mentioned by Serv., though with disapproval, and has been accepted by most edd. since Heyne ; the other MSS. and Serv. give 'silva.' The specification of a particular forest is quite in the manner of Virg., and is in place here, announcing, as if by a change of tone, that a narrative description follows. For 'Sila' comp. A. XI 715 (a fight of bulls) 'ingenti Sila, summove Taburno ;' for the whole line Hor. Ep. I iii 36, 'pascitur in vestrum reditum votiva iuvenca.'

220. The language in A. XII 720 foll. is very similar. The conflict there is not for a particular heifer, but for the sovereignty of the herd. The descriptions in Ov. M. VIII 46, Stat. Theb. VI 864 agree in their general detail with the passage in the Aeneid, but represent the object of the combat as here. All the passages, those of the later poets especially, may be modelled on the fight between Heracles and Achelous, Soph. Trach. 517, [but the resemblance is really very slight].



volneribus crebris; lavit ater corpora sanguis,  
 versaque in obnixos urgentur cornua vasto  
 cum gemitu; reboant silvaeque et longus Olympus.  
 nec mos bellantis una stabulare; sed alter  
 victus abit, longaeque ignotis exulat oris, 225  
 multa gemens ignominiam plagasque superbi  
 victoris, tum, quos amisit inultus, amores;  
 et stabula aspectans regnis excessit avitis.  
 ergo omni cura vires exercet, et inter  
 dura iacet pernix instrato saxa cubili, 230  
 frondibus hirsutis et carice pastus acuta,  
 et temptat sese, atque irasci in cornua discit

221. ['Lavit' Nonius pp. 466, 503, Philarg. and all the uncials; in Med. 'lavit' is corrected into 'lavat.' For 'corpora' Nonius pp. 337, 466 has 'vulnera.'—H. N.]

222. ἦν δὲ μετώπων ὀλέοντα πλήγματα καὶ στόνος ἀμφοῖν, Soph. l. c. 'Gemitus,' like στόνος, seems to refer to the bellowing of the combatants. It might also conceivably be the crash of the horns; 'gemere' is used v. 183 of the noise of wheels. ['Urgentur' Pal.—H. N.]

223. Med. has 'resonant,' but this would clearly be inferior.

'Longus' (Med. and Macrob. Sat. vi 4) was rightly restored by Burm. The common reading was 'magnus' (Pal. Rom.). It is a translation of Hom.'s μακρὸς Ὀλυμπος: Virg. however, as Heyne remarks, merely means 'Olympus' as a synonym for heaven, so that 'longus' is to be explained by 'reboant.'

224. The elevation of the language leads Keightley to suggest that Virg. may have had in his mind the withdrawal into banishment of some defeated public man. Lucan. II 601 and Stat. Theb. II 323, who imitate the passage, use the image as a simile for the retirement of their heroes, Pompey and Polynices.

'Stabulare,' intrans. A. VI 286, etc.; Varro I 21 uses the word actively [Neue-Wagener, Formenlehre II p. 92].

['Set' Med. 'Sed' Pal. Rom.—H. N.]

227. 'Amores,' of the beloved object, Catull. XLV I, 'Acmen, suos amores.'

228. The action of this line precedes that of v. 225, as is marked by the change of tense. Thus, as 'tum' shows, Keightley

is wrong in connecting 'amores' with 'aspectans.' With the image comp. E. VI 80 (according to one interpretation) and with 'regnis avitis' E. I 70. 'A wistful look at his stall, and the king has quitted his ancestral domain.'

['Adspectans' Rom.—H. N.]

230. ['Pernix:' so Med. Pal. Rom. Gud., Nonius p. 358, Serv. Philarg. Schol. Bern., followed by Ribbeck. It means here, as Nonius explains it, 'perseverans.' Philarg. mentions a variant 'pernox,' given also by Schol. Iuv. VII 10 and one or two inferior MSS., which was preferred by Con. and others as suiting 'iacet' and 'cubili.'—H. N.]

'Instrato:' probably adj., unstrewn: so ἀστρωτος is used both of the rough ground (Eur. Herc. F. 52) and of those who sleep on it (Plato Polit. 272). The word seems to occur nowhere else. Others make it part of 'insterno' (comp. Lucr. V 987 'instrata cubilia fronde'), i.e. 'spread on the rocks,' though 'spread with' is the usual sense.

232. 'Iraci in cornua temptat,' A. XII 104. The words are from Eur. Bacch. 732, ταῦροι . . . εἰς κέρασ θημούμενοι, and are probably to be explained with Voss as if the bull were throwing his anger into his horns. So Ov. M. VIII 882, 'vires in cornua sumo.' But it is not easy to analyze the expression, or to be certain that Eur. and Virg. meant exactly the same thing: εἰς κέρασ might be explained as denoting the object, εἰς μάχην κεράτων: 'in cornua' might be framed on the analogy of 'in speciem,' etc., as a modal accusative, so that 'irasci in cornua' would virtually = 'irasci cornibus.'

arboris obnixus trunco ventosque lacessit  
 ictibus et sparsa ad pugnam proludit harena.  
 post, ubi collectum robur viresque refectae, 235  
 signa movet, praicepsque oblitum fertur in hostem;  
 fluctus uti medio coepit cum albescere ponto  
 longius, ex altoque sinum trahit; utque volutus  
 ad terras immane sonat per saxa, neque ipso  
 monte minor procumbit; at ima exaestuât unda 240  
 verticibus, nigramque alte subiectat harenam.

Omne adeo genus in terris hominumque ferarumque,  
 et genus aequoreum, pecudes, pictaeque volucres,

233. 'Obnixus,' butting, as in v. 222. 'Ventos:' so 'ventilare' is used of a fencer's flourishes (Lemaire). Comp. A. v 377 note.

234. 'Iam cornu petat et pedibus qui spargat harenam,' E. III 87. ['Proludit:' comp. Cic. De Or. II lxxx 325 and Dio. Verr. 47; Iuv. v 26; Seneca de Ira II ii 5.—H. N.]

235. ['Ast' Med. for 'post.'—H. N.] 'Refectae' Med., Pal., Gud. originally. 'Receptae' (Rom., Gud. corr.), was the reading before Heins.

236. See v. 212. ['Oblicum' Med. for 'oblitum.'—H. N.]

237. Virg. shows his judgment by calling off the reader's attention to a simile, instead of following the animals through a second encounter. The comparison is from II. IV 422 foll., where the thing illustrated is the march of the Greeks. It recurs in a briefer form A. VII 528 foll., where the quarrel with the Italian rustics is swelling into a battle. Here probably the likeness is in the roar as well as the rush of the water. With regard to the latter, two points are evidently meant to be noted,—the appearance in the distance and the final collision.

'Uti medio' (Rom. Pal.) preferred by Wagn. on the ground that Virg. omits the prep. when he uses 'medius' loosely. Med. a m. pr. has 'ut in medio.'

238. The construction is 'uti fluctus, cum coepit albescere, trahit,' 'cum coepit' answering to 'volutus' in the next part of the sentence. Heyne and Wagn. are right in making 'que' couple 'ex alto' with 'longius.' The combination is Virgilian, resembling those noticed on A. v 498, but more grammatically regular. See Wagn. Q. V. 34.

'Ex alto,' 'from the main sea,' answering to 'medio ponto.' 'Omnis ab alto

Frangitur inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos,' A. I 160. 'Sinus' here is the curve of the wave, as in IV 362.

'Trahit' expresses not only forward motion but the gradual increase of the 'sinus.' 'Utque' is parallel to 'uti.'

239. 'Ipsa monte:' the 'mons' being the whole of which the 'saxum' is a part. 'Saxum, Haud partem exiguum montis,' A. x 127. Here 'mons' is probably the crag against which the sea breaks. The same comparison occurs IV 361, A. I 105.

241. 'Subiectat:' Lucr. VI 700, 'Saxaque subiectare, et harenae tollere nimbos,' which Virg. plainly imitated. 'Subiectat' (Med. and Rom.) does not suit the sense, being used of carrying freights, upheaving burdens, etc.

'Harenam' is the sand at the bottom which the sea casts up, the *κελαινὰ θίνα* και *δυσάνεμον*, heaved up *βυσσόθεν*, of Soph. Ant. 590. Comp. A. I 107, 'furit aestus harenis,' where the same thing is described. 'Like a billow, when, beginning to whiten far away in the mid sea, it draws up from the main its bellying curve; like it too, when, rolling to the shore, it roars terrific among the rocks, and bursts in bulk as huge as their parent cliff, while the water below boils up in foaming eddies, and discharges from its depths the murky sand.'

242-283. 'In fact, the maddening effects of passion are universal, but none undergo so much as mares.'

242. 'Adeo:' see on E. IV II.

243. 'Pecudes, pictaeque volucres,' A. IV 525. 'Pecudes:' added because not included in 'ferarum' (see v. 480), though that word might easily be pressed so as to include all quadrupeds, as might 'pecudes' itself (A. VI 728).



in furias ignemque ruunt. amor omnibus idem.  
 tempore non alio catulorum oblita leaena 245  
 saevior erravit campis, nec funera volgo  
 tam multa informes ursi stragemque dedere  
 per silvas; tum saevus aper, tum pessima tigris;  
 heu, male tum Libyae solis erratur in agris.  
 nonne vides, ut tota tremor pertemptet equorum 250  
 corpora, si tantum notas odor attulit auras?  
 ac neque eos iam frena virum, neque verbera saeva,  
 non scopuli rupesque cavae atque obiecta retardant  
 flumina correptosque unda torquentia montis.

'Pictae' is supposed by Forb. to be an imitation of 'variae volucres,' which occurs frequently in *Lucretius*. (e.g. II 344, a passage not unlike this), but the epithet in *Lucretius* means only 'various,' [see G. I 383].

246. The perfects are explained by 'non alio tempore.' See I 374.

'Volgo,' v. 363 note. Here it seems i. q. 'late.'

247. 'Informes,' on account of their size, as well as their appearance, great bulk being itself a deformity, as involving a departure from symmetry. So probably 'turpe,' v. 52.

'Dedere': 'dare funera,' A. VIII 571; 'dare stragem,' v. 556 below. 'Edere' is also used with both, A. IX 526. Comp. v. 265 'dant proelia.'

248. 'Pessima,' as 'malus' is used of serpents, vv. 416, 425.

249. 'Heu, male tum mitis defendet pampinus uvas,' I 448. 'Male erratur' like 'male creditor,' Hor. S. II iv 21.

'Solis,' though grammatically belonging to 'agris,' really points to the traveller.

250-5. These lines are placed by Ribbeck after v. 263, and vv. 264, 265 are inserted before v. 258. It is easy however to see that the passage loses by this attempt to restore symmetry; to pass gradually through the animals not treated of in the *Georgics*, ending in man, and then to discriminate horses from mares is to do what *Virgil*, deliberately abstains from doing; it is to assimilate the composition of a didactic poem to that of a regular treatise. Ribbeck believes vv. 250-254, like some other difficult passages (see IV 291, etc.), not to have belonged to the original draught of the poem, but to have been added on revision and imperfectly harmonized with the rest of the passage.

250. 'Nonne vides,' I 56. 'Tremor pertemptat' occurs *Lucretius* VI 287. [Pal. has 'et' for 'ut.'—H. N.]

251. Heyne remarks that we might rather have expected 'aurae odorem attulere.' As the scent comes with the gale, *Virgil* chooses to make it the bearer, not the borne, for the sake of variety.

252. 'Iam' implies that the fury has risen beyond control.

'Virum,' because other than human obstacles are mentioned in the next verse.

'Verbera saeva' is questioned by Keightley, who remarks that no one would beat a runaway horse to stop him. Mr. Blackburn says, '*Virgil*, writing loosely, enumerates some of the common methods of controlling horses without caring for the suitability of all to the particular case.' [*Virgil*, writing loosely, means perhaps in v. 252 to describe the horse as masterless: 'retardant' is the verb to this line only by zeugma. Hence 'non iam:' the horse is no longer subject to the reins and the whip, and what might still stop him, rocks and rivers, do not affect him either. Marindin.]

253. *Macrob.*, Sat. VI 2, cites a line from *Varius*, which *Virgil* is said to have imitated, 'Non amnes illam medii, non ardua tardant.' See E. VIII 89.

254. 'Correptosque': here, as elsewhere, *Virgil* couples things not strictly co-ordinate; A. II 86, 'comitem et consanguinitate propinquum . . . misit;' XII 305, 'Pastorem primaque acie per tela rurentem.'

'Torquentia montis' is a heightening of the picture of *Lucretius* I 288, 'volvitque sub undis grandia saxa.' 'Unda' may be connected with either 'torquentia' or 'correptos.'

ipse ruit dentesque Sabellicus exacuit sus, 255  
 et pede prosubigit terram, fricat arbore costas,  
 atque hinc atque illinc umeros ad volnera durat.  
 quid iuvenis, magnum cui versat in ossibus ignem  
 durus amor? nempe abruptis turbata procellis  
 nocte natat caeca serus freta; quem super ingens  
 porta tonat caeli et scopulis inlisa reclamant 261  
 aequora; nec miseri possunt revocare parentes,  
 nec moritura super crudeli funere virgo.

255. The wild boar has been named v. 248, so Serv. and others suppose that Virg. here means the tame one, which they think explains the force of 'ipse.' Ladewig quotes Varro II 1, to show that the name 'sus' was restricted by some to the tame sort. But the dignity of the language would pass into burlesque if applied to the domestic swine, and the facts mentioned here agree with Aristotle's description of the wild boar, H. A. VI 17. 'Ipse' is apparently meant to prepare the reader for something exalted, and the monosyllabic ending (Lucr. v 25, 'horrens Arcadius sus') is in keeping. 'Sabellicus' similarly recalls the woods and mountains of Samnium.

256. 'Prosubigit' is quoted only from Val. Fl. IV 288 (of the Cyclops forging the thunderbolt) and Prudentius, *περι στεφ.* III 129, where it is used in the same sense as here, with 'pede.' 'Subigere' is frequently used of breaking up land (II 50), and this may be the reference here, with the addition of 'pro' to denote the forward action of the feet, as in 'proculco,' 'protero.' Serv. says, 'fodit, et pedibus impellit alternis.' Aristot. I. c. speaks of boars as *πρὸς ἀλλήλους μὲν ποιοῦντες μάχας θανμαστὰς θωρακίζοντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ποιοῦντες τὸ δέσμα ὡς παχύτατον ἐκ παρασκευῆς, πρὸς τὰ δένδρα διατριβόντες καὶ τῷ πηλῷ μολύνοντες πολλάκις καὶ ξηραίνοντες ἑαυτοὺς.* 'Arbore' may be either the instrumental or the local ablative.

257. The first 'atque' couples 'durat' to the other verbs, the second joins 'hinc' to 'illinc.' 'Umeros' Med. Gud.; 'umerosque' (Pal. Rom.) gives a feebler sentence.

258. He glances at the story of Leander to show what love can make men do. Martyn remarks on the judgment which leads him to avoid mentioning it expressly,

thereby representing the action as which the whole species would do.

Some such verb as 'facit' is to be understood with 'quid,' as also in v. 264. Comp. Hor. Ep. I ii 10, 'Quid Paris? ut salvus regnet vivatque beatis Cogi posse negat.' 'What of the youth whose marrow the fierceness of love has turned to flame?'

['Cui' is dat. for gen., the so-called 'dat. energicus,' very common in poetry with pronouns: cf. A. x 745, 'olli dura quies oculos . . . urget,' perhaps E. IV 62 and the exx. in Wölflin's Archiv VIII 42. See v. 347 also.]

'Versat' merely expresses the motion within, as in IV 83, 'Ingentis animos angusto in pectore versant.'

259. 'Abruptis,' as Heyne remarks, has the force of 'abruptibus,' like 'mare proruptum,' A. I 245.

261. 'Porta caeli:' comp. Hom. II. v 749, VIII 393, *πύλαι μύκον οὐρανοῦ*; Ennius Epigr. 'mi soli caeli maxima porta patet;' the actual words 'quem . . . caeli' are ascribed to Ennius in an anon. fragm. [probably in error (Vahlen Ann. 595; Müller p. 139).] Virg. probably means that the gate of heaven is opened to let out the storm and the noise of its opening is the thunder: comp. I 371.

'Reclamant,' cry out against his daring (Martyn). This is more poetical than the usual rendering, 'rebellon.'

262. Leander is warned by the thought of his parents, who would call him back in agony if they knew his danger. This explanation seems established by the next line, as Hero, far from calling him back, was waiting for him.

263. 'Super' may mean either 'thereupon,' or literally 'on his body' (Ladewig): comp. Musaeus 440, *κάθ' Ἡρώ τήθηκεν ἐπ' ἄλλυμένῃ παρακοίτρῃ.* To understand



quid lynces Bacchi variae et genus acre luporum  
 atque canum? quid, quae inbelles dant proelia cervi?  
 scilicet ante omnis furor est insignis equarum; 266  
 et mentem Venus ipsa dedit, quo tempore Glauci  
 Potniades malis membra absumpsere quadrigae.  
 illas ducit amor trans Gargara transque sonantem  
 Ascanium; superant montis et flumina tranant. 270  
 continuoque avidis ubi subdita flamma medullis,—  
 vere magis, quia vere calor redit ossibus,—illae  
 ore omnes versae in Zephyrum stant rupibus altis,  
 exceptantque levis auras, et saepe sine ullis  
 coniugiis vento gravidae, mirabile dictu, 275

it as = 'insuper' seems scarcely so good, though the thought of Hero would be a stronger appeal than the thought of his parents. Pal. has 'supra.'

'Crudeli funere' with 'moritura,' as A. IV 308 shows.

264. Lynxes, like tigers (A. VI 805), drew the car of Bacchus, Ov. M. IV 24.

'Variae,' like 'maculosae,' epithet of the lynx, A. I 323.

Lucr. v 862 has 'genus acre leonum.'

265. 'Dant proelia:' 'edere proelia,' Lucr. II 118, Livy xxv 38, etc. Compare v. 247.

266. 'Scilicet' is apparently explained by 'quid' in the two previous lines. He has been hurrying on; now he gives his reason for doing so, the fact that there is most need to dwell on the fury of the mares.

'Ante omnis:' Keightley understands 'furores,' but it seems simpler to suppose 'above all animals' to be put for 'above the fury of all animals.'

267. He chooses a mythological story as typical of what mares do, not apparently as supplying a mythical account of the origin of their fury.

'Mentem dedit' seems equivalent to 'dant animos,' A. VII 383. Venus is said to have inspired them. If we press the sense of 'mens,' we may explain it by what follows, the purpose with which they fell on their master.

268. 'Quadrigae' seems properly to mean the horses rather than the car.

269. 'Illas:' 'equas.' He returns to the general description, though he still localizes. 'Gargara,' I 102.

270. 'Ascanius' is a river flowing out

of a lake of the same name in Bithynia, Strabo XIV 681. The introduction of the general after the particular, 'montis et flumina' after Gargarus and Ascanius, is weak, but the stress is possibly to be laid on the verbs 'superant' and 'tranant,' the accusatives meaning little more than 'illa' and 'hunc.' The picture is from Lucr. I 14, 'Inde ferae pecudes persultant pabula laeta Et rapidos tranant annis.'

271. 'Continuo,' closely with 'ubi.' He is now speaking of a different effect of passion. Keightley takes it 'all at once, after having run themselves out of breath.'

'Avidis' may either be a general epithet of passion or denote the greed with which they catch the flame.

'Subdita' gives the image of a fire kindled from beneath.

272. See II 323 foll. 'Calor ossa reliquit,' A. III 308. Rom. has 'redit calor.'

274. [For 'exceptant' Pal. and originally Med. have 'expectant.' 'Exceptant' is attested by Serv., Philarg., and the Berne scholia.—H. N.]

275. The theory of the impregnation of mares by the wind (*ἰξανεμύσθαι*) was general among the ancients. It is supposed to be indicated by the mythological stories of horses generated by Zephyrus or Boreas, and inheriting their swiftness (II. XVI 150, XX 222, in the former of which passages the mother, the Harpy Podarge, is feeding by the ocean, the home of the west wind). Aristotle H. A. VI 19 fixes it to Crete, Varro II 1 to the neighbourhood of Lisbon, and Columella l. c., himself a Spaniard by birth, speaks of the phenomenon as of frequent occur-

saxa per et scopulos et depressas convalles  
diffugiunt, non, Eure, tuos, neque Solis ad ortus,  
in Borean Caurumque, aut unde nigerrimus Auster  
nascitur et pluvio contristat frigore caelum.  
hic demum, hippomanes vero quod nomine dicunt  
pastores, lentum destillat ab inguine virus; 281  
hippomanes, quod saepe malae legere novercae,  
miscueruntque herbas et non innoxia verba.  
Sed fugit interea, fugit inreparabile tempus,

rence 'in Sacro Monte Hispaniae, qui procurrit in occidentem iuxta Oceanum.' The two latter add that foals so conceived do not live beyond three years. Wind-eggs were supposed to be produced in the same manner, Varro l. c. Comp. Aristoph. Birds 695, where the egg produced by Night without a father is called *ὑπηνέμιον*.

276. A spondaic termination generally expresses slowness and majesty: here it is evidently meant to indicate the contrary. Voss comp. Il. iv 74 βῆ δὲ κατ' Οἰλύμποιο κερήνων ἄϊσσα: x 359 φευγόμεναι τοι δ' αἴψα διώκειν ὠρηθήσαν: so Catull. l. xv 23, 'Atque illud prono praeceps agitur decursu.' The number of syllables in a spondaic line is smaller than in a dactylic (a fact similar to that noticed by Johnson in reference to imitative rhythm in English poetry), and, where the notion of rapidity has been already conveyed to the mind, the balanced equality of two long syllables may perhaps be best adapted, as Voss thinks, to leave an impression of continuous smoothness. Judging merely by the ear, we might say that the change of metre here expresses the motion downwards, as in Homer and Catullus.

277. Aristotle says of the mares so impregnated, *θίουςι δὲ οὔτε πρὸς ἑω, οὔτε πρὸς δυσμίας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἄρκτον ἢ νότον*. With this the words of Virg. cannot be made to agree, whether we understand him to mean that they run 'not to the east nor to the north or south' (Martyn and Keightley), or 'not to the east, but to the north or south' (Heyne and others). The latter view might seem preferable, as differing from Aristotle by the omission only of the west. But that difference is important, as it appears from v. 273 that Virg. did not mean to exclude the west, so that on that point they are directly at issue. We must suppose, then, either (1)

that Virg. wished to combine Aristotle's statement with that of others, who made the west wind that from which the conception generally took place, or (2) that he followed a different authority, who wrote, as Martyn suggests, about some place where the nearest sea lay to the west, such as Lisbon (v. 276), and spoke of the mares as only running westward, while Aristotle, writing about Crete, as naturally made them run north and south, in which direction the sea lies nearest. The language does not enable us to decide either way.

'Tuos ad ortus,' as the east is called 'Euri domus' l 371.

278. 'Caurus' or 'Corus' is N. W. according to Pliny xviii 338, with whom Virg.'s description elsewhere (v. 356, A. v 126) agrees. Gell. ii 22 makes it S.W.

'Nigerrimus Auster': 'Turbidus imber aquis densisque nigerrimus Austris,' A. v 696.

279. 'Nascitur et laevo contristat lumine caelum,' A. x 275. Rom. has 'sidere' for 'frigore.'

280. 'Hic,' upon this, under these circumstances.

'Vero nomine' is explained to mean that this is the true hippomanes, as distinguished from two other things that went by the name, the supposed tubercle on the forehead of a young foal, mentioned A. iv 515, and a plant used in incantations, Theocr. ii 48. But it need mean no more than that the hippomanes is rightly called, *ἐπίωνμος*.

283. See ii 129.

284-294. 'But I dwell too long on horses and cows; I must sing of sheep and goats, a difficult subject to treat poetically, but the enthusiasm of an untouched theme carries me on.'

284. ['Set' Med. and in v. 291.—H. N.] 'Inreparabile tempus,' A. x 467.



singula dum capti circumvectamur amore. 285  
 hoc satis armentis : superat pars altera curae,  
 lanigeros agitare greges hirtasque capellas.  
 hic labor ; hinc laudem fortes sperate coloni.  
 nec sum animi dubius, verbis ea vincere magnum  
 quam sit, et angustis hunc addere rebus honorem ;  
 sed me Parnasi deserta per ardua dulcis 291  
 raptat amor ; iuvat ire iugis, qua nulla priorum  
 Castaliam molli devertitur orbita clivo.

Nunc, veneranda Pales, magno nunc ore sonandum.  
 incipiens stabulis edico in mollibus herbam 295

285. 'Circumvectamur' may either be an image from chariot-driving, as just below, v. 291, or from sailing, as in II 41 foll. 'Capti amore,' E. VI 10.

286. 'Armentis : ' horses as well as oxen. [So II 195, IV 395.]

287. 'Agitare' looks almost like a play on the word, intended to apply both to the breeder and to the agricultural poet. If it must be confined to one, it will be to the breeder, as the next line shows.

288. As usual, he does not extenuate the difficulty, but tells them that they can cope with it, and points to the glory. See I 63, II 37. He goes on to say that his own feeling is the same : he knows the effort needed, but yearns for the exertion and looks to the reward.

289-293. These lines are a brief imitation of Lucr. I 136 foll. and 921 foll. : see also v 97 foll.

289. 'Animi dubius : ' so Lucr. 'animi fallit,' which Virg. perhaps thought too bold ; in A. IV 96 he copies the phrase, but changes 'animi' into 'adeo.' See note on A. VI 332 [and exx. in Roby § 1321, Munro Lucr. I 136].

'Vincere verbis' is from Lucr. (v 735), who however has a different meaning, 'to prove,' whereas Virg. must mean to triumph over the difficulties of the subject, with some such reference as v. 9.

290. 'Hunc,' 'this honour which I have in my mind,' as it were *δεικτικῶς*, the honour I have to confer as a poet.

291, 292. 'Avia Pieridum peragro loca, . . . iuvat integros accedere fontis . . . meo capiti petere inde coronam, Unde prius nulli velarint tempora Musae,' Lucr. I 926.

293. 'Molli clivo,' E. IX 8, here of the slope which leads down to the Cas-

talian spring. In both passages there is a contrast between 'iugum' and 'mollis clivus.'

'Devertitur' seemingly has its ordinary sense of turning aside. Virg. gets to the spring, but by a path of his own making. This assertion of originality is the common boast of Roman poets, who constantly claim honours for having been the first to imitate Greek subjects.

294-321. 'Through the winter months keep the sheep in sheds, well laid with straw and fern. The goats should have arbutes and fresh water ; their cotes should face the south. They require and deserve as much care at these times as sheep ; hair is not so valuable as wool, but it has its use ; and besides, they are more prolific and give more milk : generally too they need less tendance—another reason for not grudging it when wanted.'

294. 'Awake a louder and a loftier strain.' Such invocations are common where the task is supposed to increase in difficulty, e.g. A. VII 37, before the description of the war in Italy, ib. 640, before the catalogue of the Italian forces. Here it is perhaps open to the objection that a deliberate exaggeration is intended, the exaltation of what is naturally mean, not the treatment of things unusually noble in language transcending the poet's ordinary powers.

With 'magno ore sonandum' Forb. comp. Hor. S. I iv 43, 'os Magna sonaturum,' one of the qualifications of the poet—probably an imitation of Virg.

295. 'Incipiens . . . edico' may be an allusion to the edict made by the praetors on entering office, as Keightley observes, remarking also that the language in general seems to be that of a proprietor going

carpere oves, dum mox frondosa reducitur aestas,  
 et multa duram stipula felicumque maniplis  
 sternere subter humum, glacies ne frigida laedat  
 molle pecus, scabiemque ferat turpisque podagras.  
 post hinc digressus iubeo frondentia capris 300  
 arbuta sufficere et fluvios praebere recentis,  
 et stabula a ventis hiberno opponere soli  
 ad medium conversa diem, cum frigidus olim  
 iam cadit extremoque inrorat Aquarius anno.  
 haec quoque non cura nobis levioere tuendae. 305  
 nec minor usus erit, quamvis Milesia magno  
 vellera mutantur Tyrios incocta rubores :

round his estate (Cato II). Comp. also A. x 258, 'Principio sociis edicit, signa sequantur,' where the language is military.

'Edico' is followed by an inf. clause as A. XI 463. There however the subject of the inf. is the same as the dat. expressed with the verb; here it is different, though the dat. ('tibi' or 'pastoribus') is not expressed. In v. 298 the subject is changed so as to be identical with the implied dative. Comp. the change of subject vv. 330 foll.

'Mollibus' seems generally to denote comfort, including the requisites mentioned v. 297, but not them only. So the foliage of summer is mentioned in the next line, as the thing for which the shepherd must provide a substitute.

'Herbam:' Col. (VII 3) recommends elm or ash leaves, beans, vetches, etc.

296. 'Dum reducitur:' see E. IX 23.

'Mox:' they will not have to remain long in the sheds. 'The cold weather does not begin in the south of Italy till towards the end of December.' (Keightley.) 'Aestas' includes all the warmer months, as 'hiemps' the colder.

297. Cato v; Varro II 2; Col. VII 3.

298. ['Supter' Pal. and Rom.—H. N.]

299. 'Turpis podagras,' probably the 'clavi,' a name given to two kinds of disease in the feet of sheep. Col. VII 5.

300. 'Digressus:' as if he were actually moving to another part of his farm (Keightley).

302. Col. (VII 3) says that sheep-cotes ought to look south, and from ib. 6 it seems probable that he would extend the remark to goats. Varro (II ii 3) prefers the east for both.

303. Aquarius sets in February, which with the Romans would be close on the end of the natural year. 'Frigidus' and 'cadit' seem to refer to the sign, 'inrorat' to the supposed figure in the zodiac. 'Sprinkling the skirts of the departing year.'

'Cum olim' seems equivalent to 'olim cum,' for which see II 403.

305. The MSS. present three readings, 'haec—tuendae' (fragm. Vat., Rom.), 'hae—tuendae' (Pal.), 'haec—tuenda' (Med.). 'Haec—tuendae' seems preferable, as enabling us to explain the two others. 'Haec' is an archaic form of the nom. fem. pl., used by Plaut. Lucr. Cic. etc., if not elsewhere in Virg. (see A VI 852). It would naturally be misunderstood by transcribers, as it has been by Serv. and Philarg., who defend 'haec—tuendae' on the ground that the junction of neuter with fem. is a Latin idiom. [See Neue-Wagener, ii p. 417.]

Wund. is right in connecting the line with what goes before (comp. Hor. S. II ii 68, 'unctam Convivis praebebit aquam; vitium hoc quoque magnum'), though it has also a reference to what follows.

306. 'High as is the price that wool fetches when dyed.' The introduction of 'quamvis' with an exception expressed in special, not in general language, is like I 38, 39, 'Quamvis Elysios miretur Graecia campos, Nec repetita sequi curet Proserpina matrem.'

'Milesia vellera,' IV 334, mentioned among the best by Col. VII 2, ranked third, after the Apulian and Graeco-Italian, by Pliny VIII 190.

307. [Rom. has 'colores.'—H. N.]



densior hinc suboles, hinc largi copia lactis ;  
 quam magis exhausto spumaverit ubere mulctra,  
 laeta magis pressis manabunt flumina mammis. 310  
 nec minus interea barbas incanaque menta  
 Cinyphii tondent hirci saetasque comantis  
 usum in castrorum et miseris velamina nautis.  
 pascuntur vero silvas et summa Lycaei,  
 horrentisque rubos et amantiæ ardua dumos ; 315  
 atque ipsae memores redeunt in tecta, suosque  
 ducunt, et gravido superant vix ubere limen.  
 ergo omni studio glaciem ventosque nivalis,  
 quo minor est illis curae mortalis egestas,  
 avertes, victumque feres et virgea laetus 320  
 pabula, nec tota claudes faenilia bruma.

308. The recommendations of the goat enumerated in this and the following lines are summed up Geopon. xviii 9, *διδυμοτοκεῖ δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ, καὶ τρέφει τὰ γεννώμενα, καὶ προσόδους δίδωσιν οὐκ ὀλίγας, τὰς ἀπὸ γάλακτος καὶ τυροῦ καὶ κρέως, πρὸς δὲ πούτοις τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς τριχός.* Goats occasionally bear three, Col. vii 6. 'Copia lactis,' E. i 82. [For the second 'hinc' fragm. Vat. has 'hic.'—H. N.]

309. Rom. has 'quo : ' 'quam' is the reading of Ribbeck's other MSS. and is sufficiently supported by A. vii 787, where 'tam magis . . . quam magis' occurs. The meaning is, as 'exhausto' shows : the fuller the pails after one milking, the more will be yielded by the next.

310. 'Flumina : ' Pal., Rom. [and Nonius p. 340] give 'ubera,' which is acknowledged by Philarg., and was preferred by some earlier editors.

311. 'Incanaque menta,' A. vi 809.

312. 'Tondent,' 'men clip,' like 'inurunt,' v. 158. This seems better than to separate 'Cinyphii' from 'hirci,' making it nom. plural, or to suppose that the goats are said to clip their own beards because they surrender them to the shears. The latter view, though slightly supported by 'barbas,' is discountenanced by the use of 'pascuntur,' v. 314, of the goats generally.

The river Cinyphs, in Libya, is mentioned by Hdt. iv 175, 198 ; its goats are alluded to Martial viii li ii, xiv 140 ;

the use to which their hair was put, by Sil. iii 276. Rom. has 'hircis,' which is doubtless due to the initial letter of 'saetas.' ['Hirqui' Pal.—H. N.]

313. 'Nautis : ' 'capra pilos ministrat ad usum nauticum,' Varro ii 11.

314. 'Pascuntur' is constructed with an accusative, as being equivalent to a transitive verb ; so 'depascitur,' v. 458.

'Lycaei' (E. x 15), another instance of specification for the sake of dignity.

315. 'Amantis litora myrtos,' iv 124.

[Med. a m. pr., put 316 before 315.]

316. 'Ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae Ubera,' E. iv 21. The fact, however, is mentioned there as a wonder, not as part of ordinary nature. Med. has 'inmemores.'

'Suos,' their young.

317. The pause after the first foot expresses the slowness of their approach with their burden of milk.

318. 'Omni studio' contains the notion of 'eo magis,' the natural correlative of 'quo minor.'

319. 'Curae mortalis' = 'curae mortalium,' like 'mortalia corda,' i 123 ; 'mortalis visus,' A. ii 605 ; 'mortalis sermone,' Lucr. v 121.

320. 'Virgea pabula,' the arbutes mentioned v. 301.

'Laetus' seems rightly explained by Wagn. as 'largus,' the epithet belonging rather to the gift than to the giver.

321. 'Let them have good store of hay the winter through.'

at vero Zephyris cum laeta vocantibus aestas  
 in saltus utrumque gregem atque in pascua mittet,  
 Luciferi primo cum sidere frigida rura  
 carpamus, dum mane novum, dum gramina canent,  
 et ros in tenera pecori gratissimus herba 326  
 inde, ubi quarta sitim caeli collegerit hora  
 et cantu querulae rumpent arbusta cicadae,  
 ad puteos aut alta greges ad stagna iubebo  
 currentem ilignis potare canalibus undam; 330  
 aestibus at mediis umbrosam exquirere vallem,  
 sicubi magna Iovis antiquo robore quercus  
 ingentis tendat ramos, aut sicubi nigrum  
 ilicibus crebris sacra nemus accubet umbra;  
 tum tenuis dare rursus aquas, et pascere rursus 335

322-338. 'In summer let them graze early in the morning; as the heat comes on, take them to water; at midday let them rest in the shade, and in the cool of the evening graze again.'

323. 'Utrumque gregem,' sheep and goats. 'Mittet' is the reading of Med. a m. pr. and is clearly right. The other MSS. have 'mittes' [and so Ribbeck].

324. 'Aestate . . . cum prima luce exeunt pastum, propterea quod tunc herba roscida meridianam, quae aridior est, iucunditate praestat,' Varro II 2. The present passage is partially repeated from E. VIII 14, where Damon invokes Lucifer. ['Lucifero' fragm. Vat. originally, and Gud.—H. N.]

325. It is a question whether 'carpamus' means 'let us haste along,' like 'carpere prata,' v. 142, 'carpere gyrum,' v. 191, or 'let us graze,' the shepherd being identified with his flock.

326. E. VIII 15.

327. 'Caeli hora,' like 'caeli menses' I 335, 'caeli tempore' IV 100.

'Sitim collegerat' is used of becoming thirsty, Ov. M. v 446, like 'frigus colligere' of catching cold; the sense of thirst is here attributed to the time of day.

328. Comp. E. II 13. With 'rumpent arbusta' Serv. comp. 'adsiduo ruptae lectore columnae,' Juv. I 12. For the change from 'collegerit' to 'rumpent' see IV 282.

329. 'Iubebo:' Pal., fragm. Vat.;

'iubeto' Med. Rom. Nonius p. 216. 'Iubebo' is necessary to the sense: with 'iubeto' the subject of the following infinitives would be 'greges,' or we should have an untenable inf. for imperative (see A. III 405). With 'iubebo' Heyne comp. 'suadebo,' IV 264, and Wakef. appositely cites Hor. A. P. 317, 'Respicere exemplar vitae morumque iubebo Doctum imitatore et vivas hinc ducere voces.'

330. 'Currentem ilignis canalibus' seems to mean no more than poured into troughs. 'Iignis:' i. q. 'iligneis,' the more ordinary form. Hor. S. II iv 40, 'iligna nutritus glande.'

331. 'Exquirere:' the subject is here changed from the sheep to the shepherd. For 'at' Med. Pal. [and originally fragm. Vat.] have 'aut.'

332. 'Annoso robore quercum,' A. IV 441.

334. 'Ilicibus crebris' with 'nigrum,' 'sacra umbra' with 'nemus.'

'Accubet' rather than 'adstet,' as applying to the resting of the shadow on the ground, like 'procubet umbra,' etc., v. 145 (Taubmann, referring to Turnebus, Adversaria v 4). 'Where the grove, black with countless ilexes, reposes nigh in hallowed shadow.'

335. 'Tenuis' seems a 'perpetual' epithet of water, as of air, expressing its penetrating power. See I 92; IV 410. Others understand it of water from a little stream.



solis ad occasum, cum frigidus aera vesper  
temperat, et saltus reficit iam roscida luna,  
litoraque alcyonem resonant, acalanthida dumi.

Quid tibi pastores Libyae, quid pascua versu  
prosequar, et raris habitata mapalia tectis?  
saepe diem noctemque et totum ex ordine mensem  
pascitur itque pecus longa in deserta sine ullis  
hospitiis: tantum campi iacet. omnia secum

↓ perverted  
340  
- - - - -

336. 'Temperat aera' like 'temperat arva,' I 110. There the sense of the word is further defined by 'arentia,' denoting the thing to be relieved, as it is here by 'frigidus,' denoting the relief to be given.

337. 'Iam roscida,' beginning to drop dew. The moon was called 'roriflua' and 'roris mater.' For the general sense comp. II 202.

338. 'Resonant alcyonem, acalanthida:' a bolder variety for 'resonant cantum alcyonis, acalanthidos.'

'Alcyonem.' Lachmann on Lucr. III 383 seems to be right in preferring 'alcyonem' (found in one of Ribbeck's cursives) to 'Alcyonen,' on the ground that the personification does not suit a simple passage like this. In IV 15, as he says, the case is different, as there the mythological accessories of the swallow are mentioned. The ordinary reading 'alcyonem' inconsistently gives the Greek form, but drops the personification.

[For the bird, comp. I 398. The kingfisher, which Virgil prob. means, does not sing, but was credited with the voice of the mythical Alcyon. 'Acalanthis' may be a warbler; it seems not to be a goldfinch. See Warde Fowler's Year with the Birds ch. vii and Thompson's Greek Birds pp. 19, 28.]

339-383. 'As an instance where summer-grazing is carried to the utmost, I might tell of shepherd life in Africa. In those vast plains the cattle feed day and night for a month together, and the herdsman carries his chattels with him, like a Roman soldier on march. The opposite extreme is in Scythia, where there is no grazing, and the cattle are always shut up. Ice and snow are there all the year round; day and night are alike; all liquids freeze; sudden snow-storms kill the cattle; deer are not hunted, but butchered in the ice; the natives live underground by the fire, playing and drinking.'

340. 'Mapalia,' or 'māgalia,' which appear to differ only in quantity, are defined by Cato (as quoted by Fest. and by Serv. on A. I 421) 'quasi cohortes rotundae,' referring to the 'cohortes vilaticae,' in which the live-stock, etc., were kept. These 'cohortes' were made up 'ex pluribus tectis' (Varro L. L. IV 16), having various sheds or other buildings round them. Thus 'mapalia' seem to have been a camp or settlement of various tents or huts (here called 'tecta'), which would naturally be scattered, 'rara' (Keightley comp. A. VIII 98), owing to thinness of population and extent of country, and easily movable. Shaw (Travels pp. 220 foll., ed. 1757) gives a full account of these encampments or 'dou-wars,' which he says consist of a number of tents (he had seen from 3 to 300), usually placed in a circle. This agrees with A. I 421, IV 259. 'Mapalia' seems also to have been used for the tents themselves (Sall. Jug. 18, and perhaps Pliny V 22, Val. Fl. II 460, where 'mapale' is used in sing.). These tents according to Sall. were oblong, and shaped like the keels of boats, as they appear to be in the present day (Shaw l. c., Hay's Western Barbary p. 25, quoted by Keightley). [See also Boissiere, Algérie romaine i 53.]

341. The elder Scaliger, a great Virgilian enthusiast, declares (Poet. V 16) that Apollo himself could produce nothing superior to these verses.

343. 'Hospitiis,' fixed dwellings, where they could be received at their journey's end, as distinct from what the herdsmen carry with them. 'Tantum campi iacet' accounts for the absence of 'hospitia,' and for the continuous journeying. Lade-wig had a strange notion that 'pecus' was nom. to 'iacet' and 'campi' local gen.

'Omnia secum agit:' the same practice seems to have prevailed on a smaller

armentarius Afer agit, tectumque Laremque  
 armaque Amyclaeumque canem Cressamque pharetram;  
 non secus ac patriis acer Romanus in armis 346  
 iniusto sub fasce viam cum carpit, et hosti  
 ante expectatum positus stat in agmine castris.

At non, qua Scythiae gentes Maeotiaque unda,  
 turbidus et torquens flaventis Hister harenas, 350  
 quaque redit medium Rhodope porrecta sub axem:  
 illic clausa tenent stabulis armenta, nec ullae  
 aut herbae campo apparent aut arbore frondes,  
 sed iacet aggeribus niveis informis et alto  
 terra gelu late, septemque adsurgit in ulnas. 355  
 semper hiemps, semper spirantes frigora cauri.  
 tum sol pallentis haut umquam discutit umbras,

scale in Italy. 'Contra illae in saltibus quae pascuntur et a tectis absunt longe, portant secum crates aut retia, quibus cohortes in solitudine faciant, ceteraque utensilia,' Varro II ii 9. Possibly Virg. intended his illustration to convey an indirect precept to the Italian shepherd.

344. 'His roof and his home.' Sil. II 441 foll., imitating this passage, enumerates among the baggage of the Nomad, 'tectumque focique In silicis venis.'

345. 'Spartan dog and Cretan quiver' are unseasonable reminiscences, like those in E. x 59, G. III 12. The Numidian was not likely to be thus equipped.

346. 'Patriis' seems to refer to the manner of campaigning rather than to the actual armour.

347. 'Iniusto' of excess, like 'iniquo pondere,' I 164. The Roman soldier, besides his armour, had to carry provisions, palisades for the camp, etc. (Cic. Tusc. II 16), altogether amounting to 60 lb., according to Vegetius I 19. [Fragm. Vat. has 'invito.'—H. N.]

'Carpit' implies haste, as the next line shows.

'Hosti' is a dat. of reference, such as is more often found in the case of personal pronouns: see 258. Med. originally had 'hostem,' Pal. 'hostis.'

['Quom' fragm. Vat.—H. N.]

348. 'Ante expectatum' recurs Ov. M. IV 790; VIII 5; Sen. Ep. 114, etc. (Forb.) So 'expectato maturius.'

'Positus castris' i. q. 'et castra ponit.'

The soldiers, on coming to the end of their march, immediately encamp.

Pal. has 'agmina,' which Ribbeck prefers, supposing 'in agmina hostis' to mean 'against the ranks of the enemy.'

349. 'At non:' but things are not so, i.e. this comparison does not hold good, where, etc. The ellipse occurs IV 530, A. IV 529; in the latter place however it can be supplied at once from the context.

The geography is vague, as usual when Virgil speaks of countries out of the ordinary beat. 'Maeotia tellus' is mentioned A. VI 799 as an extreme point.

350. 'Turbidus' closely connected with 'torquens,' which it qualifies (Wagn. and Wund.). 'Hister,' II 497.

351. 'Redit' expresses the form of the mountain, stretching first to east and then to north (Serv.). For the exaggeration which places Thrace in the extreme north see IV 517.

354. 'Informis,' shapeless, like Chaos; comp. E. VI 36 note.

355. The earth is said to rise, because its height is increased by the ice and snow.

357. 'Tum' seems merely to mark the transition, 'Nay, the sun,' etc. This and the two following lines are imitated from Od. XI 15 foll., where the atmosphere of the Cimmerians is similarly described. Similar imitations occur Ov. M. XI 592; Pseudo-Tibull. IV i 65.

'Pallentis umbras,' A. IV 26, opposed here to the rosy brightness of the sun, 'rubro,' v. 359.



nec cum invectus equis altum petit aethera, nec cum  
praecipitem Oceani rubro lavit aequore currum.  
concresecunt subitae currenti in flumine crustae, 360  
undaque iam tergo ferratos sustinet orbes,  
puppibus illa prius, patulis nunc hospita plaustris;  
aeraque dissiliunt volgo, vestesque rigescunt  
indutae, caeduntque securibus umida vina,  
et totae solidam in glaciem vertere lucunae 365