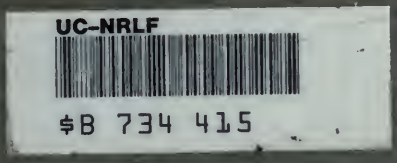

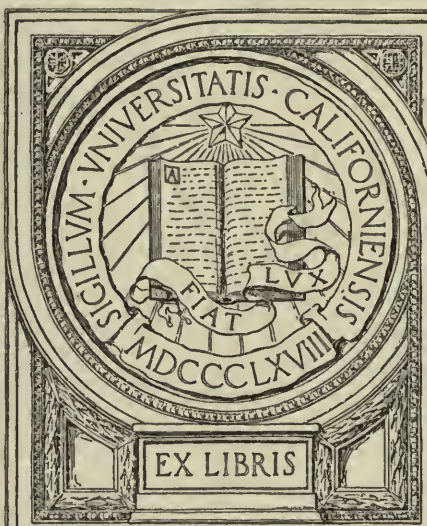

YOUNG VIRGIL'S POETRY

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VIRGIL was born a poet but he was also made. As with most writers whose works have lasted, his genius found expression in a thoroughly harmonious form only after varied experiments in alien fields. Epic was his goal. His temperament as revealed in his mature productions is imperial and Augustan. But Virgil started, naturally, with the literary fashions which prevailed when he began to write. Catullus and Calvus were the popular poets of the day. Their themes were largely those of their Greek masters of the Alexandrian age, who had practised mainly the smaller literary varieties — mime, pastoral, elegy, and epigram. They had maintained drama in a new and important species of comedy, but tragedy had virtually disappeared. Epic either had dwindled into short narrative poems, "epyllia," or else, if it retained its length, had submitted in spirit to the pervasive influence of erotic elegy. The genius of Catullus lifted his work high above his models; however we technically class him, for sheer lyric intensity he is the peer of Sappho or of Burns. But his craftmanship is Alexandrian. In the earlier Republican period, national desires had found expression, however imperfectly, in epic and tragedy, the forms which were best suited to the Roman temperament, and which the writers of the day, Ennius, Naevius, Pacuvius, found lacking in contemporary Greek literature. They turned to the older authors for their vital needs. Nothing could better show, however much they depended on Greek forms, the individuality and sincerity of their effort to create a national and Roman literature. Virgil's ambition, developing slowly at first in an alien atmosphere, was eventually the same.

The record of our poet's progress from Alexandrian to Augustan, — a more pleasurable history to follow than Milton's transformation from Elizabethan to Puritan — is partly displayed in the ascent from *Bucolics* to *Georgics* to *Aeneid*. It may be more minutely traced if we may regard as genuine certain of the minor poems attributed to him.

The question of their genuineness has of late been hotly argued. Once generally accepted — though arousing occasional doubt even in mediaeval minds — they fell easy prey to the higher critics of the nineteenth century; the little poems were unworthy of the author of the *Bucolics*, the *Georgics*, and the *Aeneid*, and were therefore not his. Gudeman, in his *Latin Literature of the Empire*,[1] declares that their "spuriousness is established by incontrovertible proofs." Munro, speaking of the *Aetna*,[2] remarks, "As it has manifestly no claim whatever, less even than the culex or ciris to be his work, I need not controvert what none will now maintain." These were typical utterances of the last century.

As the new century came in, Franz Skutsch published a little work entitled *Aus Vergils Frühzeit* (1901), as a result of which the supposedly dead issue became very much alive. Skutsch maintained,— uncontrovertibly, I believe, — that the *Ciris*, which is full of the phrasings of Virgil's *Aeneid*, is not a later imitation of that poem, but a precursor. It belongs in type and atmosphere with the epyllia of Catullus's day. It is Virgil who imitates the author of the *Ciris*. That author, Skutsch reasoned, — this time, I believe, not incontrovertibly — was Virgil's intimate friend and brother poet, Cornelius Gallus. Skutsch also argued for the early date, if not for the genuineness of the *Culex*. He was vigorously attacked, particularly by Leo,[3] but whether or no all details of his argument were accepted, the number of those who would admit some, at least, of the disputed works into the Virgilian canon has constantly been on the increase. We may measure the change in sentiment by comparing the opinion of Schanz,[4] who regards as Virgilian only four or five of the short poems of the *Catalepton*, with that of Vollmer, the editor of the minor works in his revision of Baehrens' *Poetae Latini Minores*,[5] who finds no reason for doubting the genuineness of any of the poems included in the ancient account of Virgil's writings. A compromise between the two extreme views is offered by Mackail, who, as an eminent literary critic

[1] II (1899), 1.
[2] H. A. J. Munro, *Aetna, revised*, etc., Cambridge, Eng., 1867, p. 32.
[3] *Hermes*, xxxvii, 14 ff.; xlii, 35 ff.
[4] *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur* (1899 [2]), pp. 62 ff.
[5] I (1910); also *Sitzungsber. der bayer. Akad.* (1907), 335 ff.; *Heft* 11 (1908).

and admirer of Virgil, does not desire to have inferior matter palmed off on his poet, yet who, as a reasonable man cannot resist the evidence recently adduced for the genuineness of the *Appendix Vergiliana*. Mackail, agreeing heartily with the feeling of the last century that the poems in general cannot be ascribed to Virgil, puts them in the realm of Virgilianism.[1] Virgil was one of a group of brother-poets, who like Sidney and Spenser, Wordsworth and Coleridge, collaborated. This convenient explanation allows us to claim for Virgil as many and as much of the minor poems as we can stand.

Now this long debate is nothing new. One can breathe a truly modern air of controversy if one turns to a work published in the year of the Independence of America by that excellent Dutch scholar, Johannes Schrader.[2] Skutsch's theory of the authorship of the *Ciris* was going the rounds even then. But even then it was no new thing. Hubert van Giffen (Gifanius) in the sixteenth century had first, it seems,[3] tracked Gallus to his lair, and Caspar Barth and Friedrich Taubmann in the seventeenth, Fontanini in the eighteenth, had passed on the torch of his discovery, which Johann Friedrich Voss caught up not long after Schrader wrote. Schrader says pithily of Fontanini: *equidem doleo virum doctum magno conatu magnas nugas dixisse.* He gives an excellent review of the problem of the *Ciris*, bringing up nearly all the points that are made nowadays, except for

[1] *Class. Rev.*, xxii (1908), 65 ff.; *Lectures on Poetry*, London (1911), pp. 48 ff.

[2] *Liber Emendationum*, Leouardiae (1776), pp. 31 ff.

[3] Schrader quotes the words of Barth: *Obertus Gifanius odoratus est ex sexta Ecloga Maronis poemation, quod Ceiris nomine Virgilio adscribitur, ad Cornelium Gallum pertinere posse.* Skutsch, pp. 62, 136 ff., after much search, could not find any expression of the new idea in the works of Gifanius. In his famous edition of Lucretius, 1566, Gifanius attributes *Ciris* to Virgil, nor is any change made in the second edition of this work in 1595. Skutsch concluded, therefore, that Gifanius came upon the idea late in life, and that it was orally transmitted to his pupils. Barth (*Advers.* 3, 21) and Taubmann (*Virgilii Opera*, 1618, on *Ecl.* 6, 74) seem to be independent witnesses. Fontanini, the main source for Schrader, evidently had not read any statement in Gifanius, for his words are (Justus Fontaninus, *Historia Literaria Aquilejensis*, 1742, p. 32): Fredericus Taubmannus ad Eclogam X (*sic!*) inter summi poetae opera ab se illustrata, & edita . . . & Barthius . . . testes mihi sunt Obertum Gifanium primum omnium olfecisse *etc.* Fontanini, writing the history of Aquileia, claims Gallus for Friaul rather than Fréjus, devotes a plump chapter to him, and is only too glad to add *Ciris* to the string of his achievements.

scientific statistics on metrical and stylistic matters and the minute accounts of the tradition of the manuscripts that we owe to the school of Traube. I cannot pretend to offer a startling array of new facts in the present paper; my desire, like Schrader's, is to return to a once generally accepted tradition.

I

The starting-point of investigation should be the ancient external evidence on the question. Too often it has been the critic's reverence for Virgil, or rather for of his own definition of what Virgil's poetry must have been. This external evidence is furnished in the life of the poet. Donatus, who, as is generally agreed,[1] is drawing from Suetonius, thus describes young Virgil's earliest work.[2]

Poeticam puer adhuc auspicatus in Ballistam ludi magistrum ob infamiam latrociniorum coopertum lapidibus distichon fecit:

> monte sub hoc lapidum tegitur Ballista sepultus;
> nocte die tutum carpe viator iter.

deinde catalepton (catalecton *codd.*) et priapea et epigrammata et diras, item cirim et culicem, cum esset annorum XVI (XXVI *Scaliger, Brummer*). cuius materia talis est: (there follows a brief summary of the *Culex*, ending with the final distich of the poem preserved to us). scripsit etiam de qua ambigitur Aetnam. Mox cum res Romanas incohasset, offensus materia ad bucolica transiit.

Servius makes substantially the same statement.[3] After giving the distich on Ballista, he adds:

Scripsit etiam septem sive octo libros hos: Cirin Aetnam Culicem Priapeia Catalecton (*sic codd.*) Epigrammata Copam Diras.

The only other important notice in the material published by Brummer is in the *vita* compiled by Philargyrius,[4] who, according to the best manuscript, has the correct form *Catalepton*.

There are two items of difference in the lists of Donatus and Servius. The first is that whereas the former expresses a doubt about

[1] See Sommer, *De P. Vergilii Maronis Catalepton Carminibus*, Halle, 1910, p. 19. He refers to Koortge, *Dissert. Philolog. Halens.* xiv, (1901), 189 ff.

[2] *Vitae Vergilianae. Recensuit* Iacobus Brummer, Leipzig (1912), p. 4.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

the *Aetna*, Servius puts it near the head of the list. Yet we must observe that the doubt is not directly stated as that of Donatus himself; otherwise he would have said something like *dicitur autem etiam Aetnam scripsisse de quo tamen carmine ambigendum est.*

Further, the words *etiam de qua ambigitur* are omitted in the Sangallensis 862 *s.* X (= G), one of the most important codices of the *Vita*, while in the Bernensis 172 *s.* IX–X (= B), the clause *de qua ambigitur* follows *Aetnam* (aetham *B*), with marks for transposition inserted, and in the Parisinus 7930 *s.* XI (= E) the clause has been shifted to the same place, without the addition of the signs of transposition. As Brummer has made clear,[1] the manuscripts of the *Vita* spring from one ancestral codex[2] (I will call it X) in two lines of succession (Y and Z). G is the only ancient representative of Z; E and B are on different offshoots of the Y branch. It looks, therefore, as if the clause *de qua ambigitur* were written above the line in X, omitted in G and inserted now before and now after *Aetnam* in the Y manuscripts.

We now may note that both Y and Z show in various places the presence of interpolations and substitutions.[3] These show the char-

[1] *Philologus*, lxxii (1913), 278 ff. See also his edition of *Vitae Vergilianae* (1912).

[2] The error *ut* for *ac* in l. 96 suggests that this archetype, X, was copied from a minuscule manuscript in which the open *a* appeared. The interchange of *v* and *b* (Car*b*ili l. 180) and that of *r* and *s* (Vip*r*anius l. 180) occur. The first of these errors is frequent in copies of Spanish script, and both are characteristic of the Insular variety. These data, however, are in themselves insufficient to warrant a conclusion as to the locality in which the parent manuscript was written. There are various indications of another kind that the *Minor Poems* came into France from Ireland, where the study of Virgil flourished in the period preceding the Carolingian epoch. We need a special treatment of the part played by Insular scholars in the transmission and interpretation of the text of Virgil from the seventh through the ninth centuries. Brummer shows (*Philologus, loc. cit.* p. 289) that the *Vita Gudiana* I is connected with the school of John the Scot, who is cited in the *Vita*. I would add that the kind of introduction that John the Scot might himself have written is shown in Monacensis 18059 *s.* xii (see Thilo and Hagen's edition of Servius, p. lxxxv note). Lindsay has opened up a new field in his recent investigations of mediaeval glossaries. Following his clues, N. F. G. Dall (*Class. Quart.*, xii (1918), 171 ff.) finds in the *Affatim* and Second Amplonian Glossaries evidence of an annotated edition of Virgil compiled in England in the seventh century.

[3] For Y, see 16, 22, 165. Z, as represented by G, shows in general a more sober and reliable text. The errors of G, though often serious, are due to scribal blunders

acter of the annotations with which X was apparently provided. Some scholar who used the life of Virgil in his classes accompanied his instruction, in the mediaeval manner, with running comments, now suggesting a synonym, now paraphrasing a clause or sentence, now adding a bit of information, or misinformation, as in the remark on the genuineness of the *Aetna*. What his source was in the present case, we have no means of knowing. While I would not deny the possibility that the clause *de qua ambigitur* is part of the original text, that G independently omitted [1] and B and E independently transposed, it is more probable, I believe, that we can trace this doubting about Aetna no farther back than to the authority of an earlier scholiast. Hagen was justified, therefore, in bracketing the words.[2]

Further, it has been observed [3] that Servius in commenting on Virgil's description of the volcano in the third *Aeneid*,[4] gives an admirable little sketch of the argument of our poem, citing Virgil without question as its author; *secundum Aetnam Virgilii* are his words. Now, if it is true, as I have recently suggested,[5] that Servius took his

and not unfortunate attempts at improvement; cf. 124, 134, 137. Nevertheless, interpolations have crept in, as in 88, 148, 159.

[1] E. Diehl, *Die Vitae Vergilianae und Ihre antiken Quellen* (1911), p. 12, remarks that the omission of *etiam de qua ambigitur* in G is due to the similar endings (*scripsit . . . ambigitur*); if so, the latter word was written with the symbol for *ur* above the final *t*. This is not a certain case of such error. If, as I have assumed, the original text was *scripsit etiam Aetnam*, with *de qua ambigitur* as gloss, G, which has *etnam* for *aetnam*, could readily have omitted *etiam* before it.

[2] Besides Hagen, B. Kruczkiewicz, *Rosprawy i Sprawozdania* (Univ. of Cracow), X (1884), 147, regards the clause as an interpolation.

[3] See J. Vessereau, *Aetna* (1905), p. xxxii.

[4] *Aen.* 3, 578. Thilo and Hagen, *Servius*, i, 438

[5] In *Class. Quart.*, X (1916), 158 ff. I had arrived at my results independently of Wessner, in the revision of Teuffel's *Römische Litteraturgeschichte* (1913), to whom I gave the credit for prior discovery. Since then, my attention was called by my friend and former colleague, Professor A. S. Pease, to the fact that F. Lammert, in working on Donatus and St. Jerome, had come to the same conclusion (*Commentationes Philologicae Ienenses*, ix,[1] (1912), 41 ff.); he had found Barwick's investigations a good halfway mark (p. 421), just as I had. H. Philipp, *Die historisch-geographischen Quellen in den Etymologiae des Isidorus von Sevilla* (in W. Sieglin's *Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie*, Heft xxv (1912), 42 ff.) also working independently and also taking the same attitude to Barwick, arrived at the same result. The new view is approved and further corroborated by G. Ho-

comment almost bodily from Donatus, we may say that the latter no less than Servius spoke without qualification of Virgil's *Aetna* in his note on this passage. The complete note, in its opening part, runs thus:[1]

571. TONAT AETNA RUINIS *sensus est: portus quidem securos nos faciebat, deest enim 'quidem,' sed Aetna terrebat. et* causa huius incendii secundum Aetnam Vergilii haec est: sunt terrae desudantes sulpur . . . The entire note, if I am right, belongs to Donatus. Servius excerpted the most important part, beginning with *causa huius*. Donatus, therefore, in this place at least, refers to the *Aetna* as an undoubted work of Virgil's.

The other point of difference between the two lists is that Donatus makes no mention of *Copa*. Baehrens did not hesitate to supply *et copam* between *cirim* and *et culicem;*[2] in a critical position like this, with similar syllables both preceding and following, the words might easily have fallen out in the archetype from which all our manuscripts are proved to have descended. Similarly, one of the Y manuscripts, M, omitted *et diras item cirim*. One curious reading of all the other manuscripts of the Y group seems not without significance in the present matter. They have *cirimus* for *cirim*. I would suggest that in X the words *et copam*, at first omitted by the scribe, were written by him in the margin, with a reference sign to them placed above the *m* in *cirim*. This sign, which Z neglected along with the marginal addition, seemed to the scribe of Y — or that of Y^1 — to be the compendium for *us*, a suprascript apostrophe, which various of the reference-symbols common in early minuscule manuscripts might well have suggested. He accordingly wrote out the supposed word, *cirimus*, which appears in the manuscripts that derive from his copy.

meyer, *De Scholiis Vergilianis Isidori Fontibus* (1913), p. 84. G. Funaioli, one of the foremost experts on Virgilian scholia, refers (in *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, xxi (1915), 41) to Lammert's conclusion as "*una tese novissima, che in se nulla impedisce di accettare e per cui invece militano parecchi argomenti.*" Later (p. 81) he speaks a bit more doubtfully. The question will be settled, I hope, in the dissertation to which I referred in my article and which, held up by the war, will not be much longer delayed.

[1] Thilo and Hagen, *op. cit.*, i, 438.

[2] *Poetae Latini Minores*, ii (1880), 4. See Sommer, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

Finally, if we may again appeal to the view that Donatus is the immediate source of Servius, the inclusion of *Copa* in the latter's list makes it probable that it existed in the former.

Another peculiarity of Servius is that he is uncertain of the exact number of the minor poems; "*septem sive octo*," he says. Some scholars see in this remark an allusion to the disputed authorship of the *Aetna*,[1] others to that of the *Copa*. It is most probable, however, that Servius was puzzled by the title *Epigrammata*. According to Vollmer,[2] Virgil wrote a collection of epigrammata, which now is lost. Other scholars have with better reason regarded the term as merely another title for *Catalepton*, or better still, the title of one of the component parts of the *Catalepton*. Donatus's phrase should thus be punctuated, "*deinde catalepton* (*et priapeia et epigrammata*)." This is accurate enough description of the poems in the *Catalepton* outside the *Priapea;* indeed one of them, (4, 9) is cited by the grammarian Marius Victorinus[3] as *Vergilius iambico epigrammate*. Quintilian, after quoting *Catalepton* 2, adds: *Nec minus noto Sallustius epigrammate incessitur*, from which it is reasonable to infer that Quintilian thought of the poem from the *Catalepton* also as an epigram.[4] Donatus, therefore, makes a correct statement, which we need only to punctuate to understand. Servius, not understanding, and rearranging the titles in the wrong order, found eight, with two of them, *Catalepton* and *Epigrammata*, fitting the same collection of short poems. He evidently concluded that either these were alternative titles (there being seven works in all) or one of the works was lost (there being eight in all).

We may be reasonably sure, therefore, that in Suetonius's time there was current a collection of six minor poems ascribed to Virgil — *Culex*, *Ciris*, *Copa*, *Aetna*, *Dirae*, *Catalepton* (*Priapea* and *Epigrammata*). In the case of *Culex*, *Copa*, and some of the pieces of *Catalepton*, there is other external testimony in the shape of citations in Martial, Lucan, Statius, and other writers of the empire.[5] The Vir-

[1] For a résumé of opinions see de Gubernatis in *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione*, xxxviii (1910), 205. To this add Sommer's remarks, *op. cit.* p. 19.

[2] See *Sitzungsberichte*, etc. (1907), p. 340.

[3] *Grammatici Latini*, 6, 137 (K).

[4] *Inst. Or.* 8, 3, 29.

[5] Teuffel, *op. cit.*, § 230, 1, 4,

gilian authorship is further attested by the manuscripts of all the poems on the list. The titles *Priapea* and *Epigrammata* do not appear, but the title *Catalepton* precedes the *Priapea* as it naturally would if meant to include both it and the epigrams.[1] Not all the poems have come down by the same line of tradition. The text is sadly corrupted in many places, especially in *Ciris* and *Aetna*. But the facts of the manuscript tradition, so Vollmer, who of all men has studied it most thoroughly,[2] declares, point to the existence of an ancient codex of Virgil, in which *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid* were preceded by the six minor poems; *Aetna* was among them, whether or not it was designated as doubtful. A few works of other poets were also included, not necessarily because the compiler ascribed them to Virgil, but because he found their contents appropriate. Thus *Lydia* was added to *Dirae* inasmuch as the name of the shepherdess is the same; the *Moretum* gives a description of country-life somewhat like that in the *Georgics;* the *Elegiae in Maecenatem* commemorate Virgil's great patron. In the course of time, scribes naturally put Virgilian titles on all these works. Thus a manuscript, now lost, but mentioned in a catalogue of the books at Murbach compiled c. 850, formed one of four volumes, the others containing *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid*, while it included *Dirae*, *Culex*, *Aetna*, *Copa*, *Maecenas*, *Ciris*, *Catalepton*, *Priapea* and *Moretum*.[3] Other spurious affairs then gathered about the collection, particularly the poems *De Viro Bono*, *Est et Non* and *De Rosis Nascentibus*, of which the first two certainly and the third probably were written by Ausonius in the fourth century.[4] Mediaeval

[1] Vollmer has to support his theory by arbitrarily assuming, as Ellis in his edition also does, that the title *Catalepton*, originally standing before the second part of the collection, "*casu migravit ante Priapea.*" See his edition, pp. 127, 130. Brit, *Jugendverse und Heimatpoesie Vergils* (1910), pp. 2 ff., has an excellent discussion of this matter. So Sommer, *op. cit.*, p. 34 f. He well disposes of Leo's view that the *Epigrammata* are the miscellaneous verselets quoted and attributed to Virgil in the enlarged form of the *Vita . . . Nocte pluit tota*, etc. (Riese, *Anthol. Lat.* Nos. 256–263).

[2] For a summary statement, see his edition, pp. 3 f. See also below, p. 155.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 4. H. Bloch, *Strassburger Festschrift zur 46en Versammlung der Philologen und Schulmänner* (1901), 257 ff.

[4] Teuffel, *op. cit.*, § 229,2. The latest addition to this list is an epitaph of four verses on Julius Caesar, published by Hieronymus Geist from a Cambrai manuscript in *Berliner Philologische Wochenscrift* (1914), 1107.

anthologies exist, with extracts from various of the poems, and a special collection was made in Carolingian — or pre-Carolingian — times, containing *Culex*, *Dirae*, *Lydia*, *Copa*, *De Est et Non*, *De Institutione Viri Boni*, *De Rosis Nascentibus*, and *Moretum*. According to Vollmer,[1] the title preceding it, *P. Virgilii Iuvenalis Ludi Libellus*, pertains rather to the *Culex* than to the whole collection. He thinks that a monk of Fulda may have been the editor. We should also, I believe, consider the possibility of an earlier origin in England or Ireland.

The starting-point for the higher criticism of the *Minor Poems* should be the ancient list transmitted in Suetonius's biography of Virgil and backed up by statements of ancient authors and by the testimony of the manuscripts. This testimony, naturally, is not so strong as it is for Virgil's mature works, *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid*, which formed one of the staples of education in the later empire. But the line of tradition of the *Minor Poems* is quite as bright as is that of Catullus or of Tibullus or of Propertius. Instead, then, of creating from *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid* a definition of what Virgil at all times must have been, and by that definition excluding the minor poems as unworthy of him, we should accept the ancient statement and in the light of it enlarge our understanding of Virgilian qualities, thankful for the opportunity of seeing his genius mount from stage to stage. This, at any rate, is my mode of approach, and had been, I may say, even before the appearance of Skutsch's article.[2] In the present paper, I shall not reckon much with minute analyses of Virgil's style and metre, though I shall not consciously neglect any recent article that offers apparent evidence against the genuineness of the *Minor Poems*. Such studies are useful, nay indispensable; but they must be used with exceeding caution in determining questions of authorship. Works of short compass that by hypothesis come from the unformed period of youth when the poet was consciously assuming different attitudes and cultivating different styles ought not always to

[1] *P. L. M.* i, p. 13.

[2] At that time, it seemed to me that *Culex*. *Copa* and most of the *Catalepton* were Virgil's. Vollmer's articles induced me to add *Ciris*, *Dirae*, without the *Lydia*, and the rest of the *Catalepton*. On subsequent reflection, I could find no valid argument against admitting *Aetna*. I doubt not that many a scholar has gone through a similar experience.

conform to habits later established.[1] Some similarity we have a right to demand, but the presence of diversities is no certain proof of spuriousness. At what point the element of diversity becomes a deciding factor is a difficult matter to determine. My method is frankly deductive. Accepting the ancient testimony as true, and throwing on the adversary the burden of proof, I seek to interpret in a general and cursory way, the significance of the minor poems in what I take to be their chronological sequence. Unless we arrive at results against which good taste and common sense — our ultimate court of appeal — instinctively rebel, we may regard the external testimony as further supported by the contents of the poems. Once more, this attitude is nothing new. It was taken long before the present controversy by one of the most competent critics of the period of Latin literature into which Virgil was born, August Ferdinand Naeke.[2] And though Naeke is led to divergent results, his starting-point is that of Schrader.

II

Two of Virgil's poems are school-boy affairs. One is an epigram, in the form of an epitaph, on the robber Ballista, the keeper of a school, presumably of gladiators, whom his pupils stoned to death.

> Monte sub hoc lapidum tegitur Ballista sepultus;
> nocte die tutum carpe viator iter.

This distich offers the higher critic small matter for argument. Virgil's reputation is not damaged if we accept the verses as genuine.

[1] I agree thoroughly with de Gubernatis, *loc. cit.* (above, p. 110), p. 220: *Prima di dichiarare apocrifi carmi come* Ciri, Copa, Catalepton (Epigrammata), Dirae, Moretum, *un filologo deve portare ragioni sicure e convincenti e non basarsi su impressioni soggettive o statistiche grammaticali e metriche interpretate arbitrariamente.*

[2] *Carmina Valerii Catonis. Cum Augusti Ferdinandi Naekii Annotationibus. Accedunt eiusdem Naekii . . . Dissertationes IV. Cura Ludovici Schopeni.* Bonnae 1847, p. 221: Virgilium praeter tria opera maiora . . . alia scripsisse, minora, tam per se probabile est, ut nihil ei, qui ita factum esse contenderit, sed contrarium ei, qui factum esse neget, probandum sit. . . . Inter minora carmina, quae tribuuntur Vergilio, unum et alterum tam bona auctoritate tribuuntur, et ab idoneis testibus comprobantur, ut etiam alia, cum illis edi solita, nisi per se Virgilio sint indigna, pro Virgilianis haberi possint. Naeke's ideas on the minor poems in general and *Dirae* in particular had taken shape at least as early as 1828. See Schopen's preface, p. v.

The other school-boy poem is

Culex

The ascription of *Culex* to Virgil occurs in manuscripts as early as the ninth century,[1] and the existence of a poem called *Culex* and attributed to Virgil is attested by Lucan, Statius, and Martial in the first century and by the grammarian Nonius Marcellus, who is using some earlier authority, in the fourth.[2] Indeed, there is ground for believing that Ovid, who apparently imitates the poem preserved to us, regarded it as Virgil's.[3] In recent years, the tendency to accept the genuineness of the present poem has gathered strength.[4] Accord-

[1] One of the certain proofs that all the manuscripts of *Culex* descend from a common ancestor is conspicuous in v. 27, where the scribe of the ancient codex, after writing *ponitque*, carelessly caught at *namque* in the line above, and finished with the rest of that line, which he had just written, instead of giving us the last half of v. 27; hence the lacuna in all the MSS.

[2] Teuffel, *op. cit.*, § 230, 1.

[3] See C. Plésent, *Le Culex. Étude sur l'Alexandrinisme latin.* (1910), pp. 33, 119 ff.

[4] It is accepted, e. g., by Vollmer in the work mentioned above, p. 2, also by J. G. Phillimore, *Class. Phil.* v (1910), 418 ff.; E. S. Jackson, *Class. Quarterly*, v (1911), 163 ff.; G. D. Butcher, *Ibid.*, viii (1914), 128 ff.; R. S. Conway, in *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* (1915), pp. 4, 11. J. W. Mackail, who in his *Latin Literature* (1895), p. 104, said that the *Culex* is the work of a clever imitator of Virgil, now (*Lectures on Poetry*, pp. 68 ff.) declares that Virgil wrote it in the period of his *Georgics*, though it lacks the finishing touches, — I fear that our present poem needs more than finishing touches to transform it to the art of the *Georgics*. The *Culex*, if Virgil's, was written at an earlier stage. Schrader, *op. cit.*, p. 16 ff., and Naeke, *op. cit.*, pp. 227 ff., present good reasons for accepting the work as genuine. The latter quotes remarks in the same vein by Johannes Andreas de Buxis, the editor of the *princeps* in 1469.

On the other side, the most important discussions that I have seen are: C. Plésent, *op. cit.*; also *Le Culex. Poème pseudo-Virgilien. Ed. critique et explicative*, Paris, 1910. Plésent believes that Virgil wrote a poem on the same subject as that of our poem, that it was lost and the present affair forged ("*une falsification préméditée*," p. 37 of the latter work) and substituted in the *corpus* of Virgil's works before the time of Ovid; the date of the poem on this theory is *c.* 19 B.C. Needless to say, the assumption of "*falsifications préméditées*" is not the most commendable method of solving literary problems.

Birt, in his *Jugendverse und Heimatpoesie Vergils* (*Erklärung des Catalepton*), p. 9, declares against the genuineness of the poem on metrical and stylistic grounds and because of its "general silliness." One of Birt's pupils pronounced on the metre

ing to the ancient biographer, *Culex* is the work of a boy of sixteen; we do not need with Scaliger and some modern scholars to change " sixteen " to " twenty-six," just because Statius extravagantly compliments Lucan, who died at twenty-six, for achieving great things in poetry " before the age of Virgil's *Culex*." [1]

The poet dedicates his work to a certain Octavius,[2] whom we shall perhaps meet in later poems, and apologizes for offering him a *jeu d'esprit;* there will come a time when he will write of his friend in a loftier strain. This prophetic note, with its commingling of modesty

(O. Braum, *De monosyllabis ante caes.*, Marburg, 1906) and another on the style (W. Holtschmidt, *De Culicis Carminis Sermone et de Tempore quo scriptum sit*, Marburg, 1913).

[1] The " emendation " is accepted by Teuffel, *op. cit.*, § 230, 1, and by Brummer in his text of the *Vita*. I will not deny that the archetype of all the manuscripts might have contained the easy error of *XVI* for *XXVI;* similar errors are committed by M (*XVII*) and Z (*XV*). But the supposition is unnecessary, and is dealt a *coup de grace* by W. B. Anderson in *Class. Quarterly*, x (1916), 225 ff. Anderson interprets the words of Statius (*Silvae*, 2, 7, 74) to mean: " Thou shalt be singing of these themes (the events of the Civil War) even at the dawn of thy young manhood, before the age at which Maro wrote the *Culex*." He adds; " It is possible that the *Wunderkind* composed some parts of the poem about the age of fifteen, and it is possible also that when he made the famous reference to the *Culex* he believed that Virgil had written that work at the age of sixteen."

[2] I cannot believe that the Octavius addressed is the later Octavianus Caesar. There is no external evidence that Virgil and Octavius were acquainted at the time. However, various scholars identify Octavius of the poem with the later Octavian. So Skutsch (who cannot quite ascribe the poem to Virgil), *Aus Vergils Frühzeit*, 131 ff.; Vollmer, *Sitzungsberichte*, etc. (1907), 351. Ward Fowler (*Classical Review*, xxviii (1914), 119) is further disposed to believe that the lads met in the year 50 when Julius Caesar was in Cisalpine Gaul, and that the dedication to the poem was composed in this year. Conway, *The Youth of Virgil* (1915), 20 ff., enthusiastically seconding this suggestion, paints a pretty picture of " the big boy Virgil taking the little boy Octavius round the Mantuan farm." Now there is no evidence whatever either that Octavius joined his uncle Caesar in 50, or that Virgil's father was in a position to invite the nephew of the great general to his house. If we suppose, as we are bound to do until other evidence appears, that the dedication is of a piece with the rest of the poem, it was written, according to the statement of the ancient biographer, in 54 B.C. But there is no likelihood that young Octavius, aged nine, joined Caesar near Mantua in that year. After the second invasion of Britain, Caesar was kept the entire time in Transalpine Gaul, owing to uprisings among the tribes. Those who regard the *Culex* as a forgery can readily say that its author, writing under the spell of Virgil's later works and the later career of

and confidence, is familiar to readers of Virgil; it appears again at the beginning of the eighth *Eclogue* and the third *Georgic*. Octavius is still very youthful, though his youth inspires respect; " worshipful Octavius," " holy lad," the poet calls him. Phoebus and Pales, pastoral deities, are invoked, for though the spirit of the little poem is mock-epic, its contents are largely pastoral. The verse shall not tell of gods and giants or battles of Persians and Greeks. Like Virgil in the *Georgics*, our author turns from high themes to something nearer at hand.[1] He will tell the story of shepherd who drives his flocks afield at dawn and while the goats are cropping the grass, hanging from cliffs and selecting, with a certain Epicurean discrimination, the younger and tenderer bramble-shoots, soliloquizes, in a fashion recalling the second *Georgic*, on the pleasures of rural simplicity. At noon he retires with his herd to the shelter of a grove — some little grove about Mantua, which nevertheless is the home of the rustic gods and as awesome as the abode of Diana herself. The youthful, like the mature, Virgil, saw sacred presences in common scenes.

> Fortunatus et ille deos qui novit agrestes
> Panaque Silvanumque senem Nymphasque sorores.[2]

The grove was full of goodly trees; there were plane and lotus, alder and almond, oak, pine, cypress, beech, poplar, with clinging vines of ivy and myrtle. The songs of birds, mingling with the plashing of a little stream, made agreeable music for those who bathed in its waters. This is purely Virgilian scenery, not painted from life, with regard for the appropriate fauna and flora, but including, besides real details, literary reminiscence and anything that the poet can use in creating an Arcadian fairyland. The incongruous elements are combined in the *Eclogues* by the magic of illusion into a pleasant harmony. Here they lack the touch of magic and remain extravagant. With the men-

Augustus, betrays himself by a clumsy anachronism. We are driven, I believe, to this alternative: either the poem is a forgery, or the Octavius mentioned is not Octavianus Caesar. There are three contemporary Octavii — or possibly, three different references to the same Octavius. For a discussion of these passages, see below, pp. 136 ff.

[1] Cf. *Georg.* 3 *init.* On this τόπος of Greek and Latin verse, apparently of Alexandrian origin, see Jackson, *Molle Atque Facetum* in *H. S. C. P.*, xxv (1914), 123.

[2] *Georg.* 2, 493 f., and 3, 331–334.

tion of each tree, the story of its metamorphosis is intruded, much more to the poet's than the reader's delight. Perhaps the effect is intentionally somnolent. The shepherd, at any rate, goes to sleep. While he is enjoying his siesta, a huge spotted snake, whom readers of the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid* well know,[1] glides up and, angry that his wonted bed is preoccupied, is about to make trouble for the intruder, when a little gnat wakes the shepherd by stinging him on the forehead. The shepherd, starting in pain, slays his benefactor. Then, seeing the greater peril, still drowsy and not so frightened as he normally would have been, he tears a bough from the tree and crushes the serpent. That night the gnat comes to the shepherd in a vision, even as Patroclus appears to Achilles in the *Iliad*,[2] and tells, at wearisome length, the story of his adventures in the world below. Next morning, the shepherd, touched with pity, builds a burial-mound for his little friend, heaps it with enough flowers to fill a seedman's catalogue and carves an epitaph:

> Parve culex pecudum custos tibi tale merenti
> funeris officium vitae pro munere reddit.

For a lad of sixteen, our poet has scored a success, not to say a triumph.[3] He has written an epyllion of the heroic rather than the romantic type,[4] in which diverse elements are blended. The exalted

[1] E. g., *Aen.* 5, 84 ff. and especially *Georg.* 3, 426 ff., where a shepherd is enjoined to slay a snake in the fashion described in the *Culex*. On the differences between the description in the *Culex* and those in the later poems, and on the Greek models, see Leo's note in his edition, pp. 56 ff. C. Plésent, *Le Culex, Étude*, etc., gives an even fuller treatment (pp. 97 ff.). He well remarks (p. 100): *il semble d'ailleurs que le morceau du Culex ait fait école à son tour. Ovide, Stace, Claudien en reproduisent de nombreux traits.* Special attention, I think, should be called to the very close connection between Ovid, *Met.* 3, 32 ff. and the present passage. The outline and many of the details (e. g., cf. v. 167 with *Met.* 3, 41 ff.) closely correspond; but Ovid has transformed raw material into orderly and brilliant art.

[2] 23, 62 ff.

[3] Leo, who declares that he was attracted to the task of editing the poem, not by its beauties but by its difficulties (see his edition, 1891, p. 21), has to admit that the design of the poem is "*lepidum*" (p. 17), and can compliment an individual verse (p. 37), or a description (p. 36).

[4] See Jackson's excellent treatment of this theme in *The Latin Epyllion*, *H. S. C. P.*, xxiv (1913), 40 f.

treatment of humble actors and a humble theme — *angustis addere rebus honorem* —[1] is an essentially Virgilian undertaking. Pursuing this aim in all seriousness, Virgil later raised the pastoral to epic, creating a new literary species. He followed Lucretius in similarly transforming didactic poetry, though taking in the *Georgics* a subject less epic in character than that of the *De Rerum Natura*. The same endeavor treated playfully results in mock-heroic, as in the Battle of the Bees[2] and in the *Culex*. There are youthful infelicities, prolixities and lame verses in the present poem, — *Culicem fleverat ore rudi*, observes Martial —[3] but the little parody is cleverly managed and has pleasant touches of humor, good observation, and a genuine, if immature, feeling for nature. The work is just what a country-boy with the spark of genius and a passion for reading might have written.

The lad is well-read. He knows his Homer, both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*,[4] and his Hesiod; in the latter he discerns, with no little penetration, not a weary pessimist, such as Hesiod is sometimes portrayed, but a tranquil sage who has caught the secret of simple delights.[5] He has also dipped into Greek tragedy and meditated on the divine vengeance that smites down human pride,[6] and on the tragic interplay of fate and human wills. Fate brought about Eurydice's doom, and yet Orpheus deserved a share, perhaps the larger share, of the blame:

Sed tu crudelis, crudelis tu magis Orpheu.[7]

Young Virgil may have known, besides, Alexandrian poems on love and metamorphosis and journeys to the lower world. It is interesting to compare the Inferno here with that in the sixth *Aeneid;* none of the special inventions of that artful account, in which the theological

[1] *Georg.* 3, 290. [2] *Ibid.*, 4, 66 ff. [3] 8, 56, 20.

[4] See 304 ff. for the *Iliad* and 328 ff. for the *Odyssey*.

[5] V. 96: aemulus Ascraeo pastor sibi quisque poetae | securam placido traducit pectore vitam. See the writer's *Horatian Urbanity in Hesiod's Works and Days* in A. J. P., xxxii (1911), 165.

[6] V. 339: illa vices hominum testata est copia quondam, | ne quisquam propriae fortunae munere dives | iret inevectus caelum super: omne propinquo frangitur invidiae telo decus.

[7] V. 292. Cf. *Ecl.* 8, 48: crudelis tu quoque, mater: | crudelis mater magis, an puer improbus ille? | improbus ille puer; crudelis tu quoque, mater. *Ciris* 133: sed malus ille puer, quem nec sua flectere mater | iratum potuit. *Aen.* 4, 412: improbe Amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis!

features are necessitated by the dramatic setting,[1] appear in the story of the gnat, who wanders about in the aimless fashion of a tourist. Surely an imitator writing after the *Aeneid* could not have been thus unaffected by Virgil's later plan.[2] Another Alexandrian earmark is the pastoral element, which is not, however, drawn from Theocritus.[3] It has been suggested[4] that the whole affair is nothing but a translation of some lost Greek work. I prefer to give Virgil the benefit of the doubt; John Stuart Mill had read at least an equal bulk of Greek literature at half the age. Besides, no Greek speaks so distinctly in this poem as does Virgil's own countryman and most immediate master, Lucretius, whose poem had appeared not long before. The pastoral passages in the *De Rerum Natura* and its splendid bursts of moral satire, in which senseless human conventions are matched with the quiet joys of nature, explain the serious part of the *Culex*, supply some of its phrases and excuse, in part, its tautologies and crudities of construction. Catullus is not so much in evidence. Perhaps the latter's poems had not yet been widely circulated; or perhaps the lad had not read them deeply.[5]

Among the rhetorical crudities obvious in the poem are the excessive or awkward use of the parenthesis[6] and of anaphora[7] — devices of

[1] Ellis introduces a bit of the Inferno of the *Aeneid* by reading (v. 233) *quem* (i. e., the gnat) *circa tristes densentur in ostia Poenae* (for *in omnia poenae*). The gnat mentions no limbo or mourning fields, and, unless Ellis is right, no clustering Abstractions about the gates of Hell. The legend of good women (v. 260) suggests the *campi lugentes* without the setting given to them in the *Aeneid*. The "Lake of Dis" is a novelty, unless *lacus* is merely a misnomer for the rivers of the underworld.

[2] Leo is so much impressed by the differences between the two accounts that he declares (*op. cit.*, p. 89): *nisi singula quaedam imitatorem proderent, dubitari posset num huius carminis auctor Vergilianum novisset.* This state of affairs would be curious in a forgery; it is natural enough in a genuine and early work.

[3] See Plésent, *Le Culex, Étude*, etc., p. 266: "Il ne se trouve pas un seul emprunt avéré à Theocrite ni aux autres poètes de son école."

[4] See Teuffel, *op. cit.*, § 230, 1.

[5] As examples of possible reminiscences cf. v. 245 and Cat. 63, 12 (see below, note 7); vv. 413 f.: *tibi tale merenti funeris officium vitae pro munere reddit* and Cat. 64, 157: *talia qui reddis pro dulci praemia vita.*

[6] There are about ten in the poem. Awkward are those in 136, 139, and especially awkward, if Vollmer's punctuation is right, is that in 170–174.

[7] There are some twenty-four prominent cases. Among them should be reck-

which Virgil was also fond later, but which he employed with greater art and greater reserve.[1] Prolixity and tautology are far too frequent, though Lucretius could give the young poet authority enough for these defects.[2] A flagrant example of both vices occurs at the end of the poem. All that the poet has to say is that the shepherd, not forgetting his duty to the gnat, raised a circular hill of earth and covered it with a smooth marble stone. What he says is:[3]

> Iam memor inceptum peragens sibi cura laborem
> congestum cumulavit opus atque aggere multo
> telluris tumulus formatum crevit in orbem.
> quem circum lapidem levi de marmore formans
> conserit, assiduae curae memor.

This is a kind of vicious circle of redundancy, ending where it began.[4] For prolixity, the description immediately following could hardly be excelled. Here we find eighteen varieties of flowers that the shepherd has heaped on the tomb of the gnat. As in a Roman prayer, which avoids the possible neglect of some unknown god, an omnibus clause is added to include all the remaining flowers of spring. There is no attempt to diversify the description by arranging separate nosegays.

oned 245: †siblite puellae, | ite, quibus taedas accendit tristis Erinys. Whatever the text, the anaphora *ite* . . . *ite* (cf. *Ecl.* 1, 71; 7, 44; 10, 77, etc.) is certain. Editors have curiously avoided Voss's conjecture, *simul ite*. It is adopted by Wetmore, in his excellent *Index Verborum Vergilianus*, 1911, and supported by Catullus 63, 12: Agite *ite* ad alta, Gallae, Cybeles nemora *simul* | *simul ite*, Dindimenae dominae vaga pecora. The situation is virtually identical — the calling of a wild troupe to action. *Simul ite* is intensely emotional here as elsewhere in Catullus's poem (vv. 19, 27, 31). The present passage, therefore, affords another proof that all the manuscripts of the *Culex* derived in the early Middle Ages from one ancestor; the curious nature of the mistake here suggests an ancient or a peculiar script, or possibly an error of hearing, due to dictation to an amanuensis.

Lucretius contains splendid examples of anaphora, e. g., 5, 949: umori' fluenta | lubrica proluvie larga lavere umida saxa, | umida saxa, super viridi stillantia musco. Anaphora is also frequent in Catulus; e. g., 64, 19–21.

[1] There is at least one parenthesis in every *Eclogue* except the first.

[2] See Munro's index, s.v. " Tautology," though this is only a partial list. 3, 294 f.: *illis quibus acria corda* | *iracundaque mens facile effervescit in ira* may serve as example.

[3] V. 394 ff.

[4] Still, Virgil's *iacentem* . . . *iacebant* at the end of vv. 14 and 16 in *Ecl.* 6 is not much better than *formatum* . . . *formans* of vv. 396, 397 here.

The flowers follow one after the other, heralded no less than five times by *hic*, which thrice stands in the same position in the verse.

Contrast now the manner in which a similar motive is treated in the *Bucolics*. Again it is a shepherd offering his beloved a gift.[1] The passage contains virtually the same number of lines, and almost as many objects are specified; but its wealth of description is without confusion. Obvious anaphora is avoided, and has emotional value when it appears (*tibi — tibi*). Verbs and participles are sprinkled in with the nouns, to prevent the effect of a list. The flowers are not merely named; they form part of the action. The action is distributed by the introduction of other persons besides the shepherd himself. The offering is diversified by the presence of fruit among the flowers, by its distribution among different actors, and finally, by its personification and the use of the case of address.

The use of participles, particularly the present participle, is free, not to say excessive in the *Culex;* in his later works, Virgil retained his fondness for participles, but kept it within bounds. A special crudity is the combination of an adjective and an adjectival present participle, without a connective, modifying the same noun. Perhaps we should not call it a crudity, but rather a trait of style, for it is employed by Catullus and Lucretius. In the former we find a verse [2]

> Saepe tibi studioso animo venante requirens
> Carmina uti possem mittere Battiadae

in which, besides the use of adjective and participle in combination, there is a piling up of the idea of desire that Catullus wishes to emphasize, and does so with good effect despite the tautology; it is one wave surging through the verse, like Lucretius's [3]

> hic temere incassum frustra mare saepe coortum.

Tautology appears with the combination of adjective and participle in Lucretius, as [4]

> insequitur candens confestim lucidus aer,

[1] *Ecl.* 2, 45 ff.

[2] 116, 1. I agree with Ellis, against Merrill, that *studioso* should be construed with *animo*, not with *tibi*. See both editions *ad loc.* For other examples see the sixty-fourth poem, e. g., 87: Suavis exspirans castus odores | lectulus.

[3] *Lucr.* 5, 1002; 2, 1059 f.

[4] 4, 340. For an awkward justaposition of participles, see 6, 1260 ff.

a verse that somehow we had better not try to improve. In 1, 34–40, we have a splendid passage of seven lines, in which there are as many participles.

These and many other verses of Lucretius explain what we find in the *Culex*. Two striking examples occur at the beginning of the poem:

gloria perpetuom lucens, mansura per aevom (38)

and

tibi sospes
debita felices memoretur vita per annos,
grata bonis lucens (39)

and there are many others.[1] As in Lucretius, the construction appears in a passage flavored with tautology:

at volucres patulis residentes dulcia ramis
carmina per varios edunt resonantia cantus (146).

Now this free use of the participle in conjunction with adjectives is rare enough in the *Bucolics*, the *Georgics*, and the *Aeneid*. In the light of Catullus and Lucretius, we cannot call it merely the rude art of a youthful poet. But it went out of style, apparently through Virgil's own efforts. However, there is at least one place in his later poems in which he reverts to it, finding it useful for a special effect — the description of a rushing and hissing stream:

saxosusque sonans Hypanis Mysusque Caicus.[2]

But though the *Culex* is marred by infelicities,[3] we commit a *petitio principii* by declaring them too bad for Virgil at the age of fifteen. We

[1] The adjective is combined with the present participle in 41; 49; 76; 120; 146 f.; 166; 195; 385; 394. In these examples, both adjective and participle are descriptive epithets. I do not include cases like 163 f., where the participle is narrative. Adjective and future participle: 20; 38; 362. Adjective and perfect passive participle: 70; 158 f.; 164; 213 f.; 240; 253; 267; 365. Two adjectives, perfect participle and present participle: 234 f. Gerundive and perfect passive participle; 260. Perfect passive participle and future participle; 113 f. Two adjectives: 237. Two perfect passive participles: 62 f.; 127 f. This feature of style deserves a new treatment. One would expect it in C. Eymer, *De Adpositorum apud Poetas Romanos Usu*, Marburg, 1905, but though he has a section on *De singulorum substantivorum cum binis adiectivis coniunctionibus*, he hardly broaches the matter.

[2] *Georg.* 4, 370. Servius, Philargyrius and later hands in two of the Bernenses prefer *saxosum*, but the weight of the tradition is against them.

[3] This is the burden of Leo's argument against the genuineness of the *Culex; op. cit.*, pp. 15 ff.

are similarly presumptuous if we find that the stylistic divergences between the poem and the later works place it beyond the pale. An effort of this sort has been recently made by a pupil of Birt's, W. Holtschmidt.[1] This writer considers in the present dissertation merely the use of verbs and adjectives. His data hardly justify his conclusions. For example, he has 311 entries under verb forms. He finds that 22 verbs are "*omnino aliena a Vergilio.*"[2] Then there are 61 which Virgil has, but uses in a different sense; of these, 46 "*magnum praebent discrimen inter Vergilii et Culicis scriptoris elocutionem.*" The remaining 15 may "possibly be defended." This looks like a damaging indictment. But to consider merely the most dangerous list of "*omnino aliena,*" nine of the instances are found in Lucretius. These are *cubuere, dubium sit, existat, praepandit,*[3] *propulit, prosternit, prostravit,*[4] *transcendat,*[5] *tribuere.*[6] It is natural that a sixteen-year old poet should adopt from his most important model certain phrases which he abandoned later. This is particularly true of prosaic expressions, like *dubium est* and *exsistere.* We note in this connection that eight more of the "un-Virgilian" verbs are found in Ciceronian and other contemporary prose: *aversari, causam dicere, obcaecaverat, comparat,*[7] *conformare, iniunxit, inscendere.* This leaves an irreducible minimum of five entries (four words) which cannot be explained, so far as we know, by the environment of the young poet; they first appear in poetry written after 54 B.C. The words are: *Immoritur* (Horace, Ovid); *obstrepit* (Horace, Propertius); *refovebat, refoves* (Ovid); *letat* (Ovid).[8] Supposing the *Culex* genuine, I must assume

[1] *De Culicis Carminis Sermone et de Tempore quo Scriptum sit.* Marburg Dissertation, 1913.

[2] P. 121.

[3] V. 16. Note the reminiscence of Lucretius 5, 272; 6, 638 in v. 17.

[4] V. 69. See Lucr. 2, 29 and below, pp. 124ff. on the imitation of this passage by the author of the *Culex.*

[5] V. 84. The direct model is Lucr. 3, 60.

[6] V. 388. For exactly the same use see Lucr. 5, 869.

[7] Two entries, once with the infinitive. *Parat* with the infinitive is Virgilian.

[8] Note that in one of the two places in which Ovid uses *letare* (*Met.* 3, 55: *letataque corpora*), there is obvious imitation of the *Culex* in the immediate context. See above, p. 117, Note 1; and also cf. *Culex* 42 with *Met.* 3, 50.

that these words were first used by young Virgil and later fancied by his admirers Horace and Ovid, though not repeated by Virgil himself. Indeed, I should expect just such evidence as this to prove the genuineness of the piece. Virgil kept his vocabulary alive, as Dryden found,[1] by constant variation. A very easy form to invent, especially under urgence of the metre or the desire for assonance, is a new compound verb; three of our instances are of this kind. It is further true that Virgil sometimes never used again a word or form appearing in one of his earlier works. Looking merely at verbs compounded with *con*, we find *commaculare* in the *Bucolics*, but not elsewhere; *cogitare*, *collocare*, *colludere*, *compescere*, *comprendere*, *concidere*, *conflare*, *confluere* in the *Georgics* but not elsewhere. This list would offer excellent material for proving the *Georgics* spurious on the basis of the vocabulary of the *Bucolics* and the *Aeneid*. Holtschmidt's data, which I have tested with some care, are not more significant elsewhere than in the present specimen. In brief, I find them of interest in proving the exact opposite of what he infers that they prove.

But to illustrate now what excellencies young Virgil had attained, and what lay before him still, I would invite the reader's attention to one of the best passages in the poem, the beginning of the shepherd's soliloquy on the joys of the country life.[2] The model for these lines is the famous passage at the beginning of the second book of Lucretius.[3] Young Virgil indicates his source clearly enough by a few touches, but there is no palpable borrowing. He replaces specific description by typical examples.[4] He recasts the whole passage in a more periodic style. The period is too long and inflated, but the construction as a whole is more stately and less casual than Lucretius's sentence. He has not, however, avoided the tautology which his great model had permitted.

[1] "Virgil, above all poets, had a stock, which I may call almost inexhaustible, of figurative, elegant, and sounding words. — (He) call'd upon me in every line for some new word, and I paid so long, that I was almost bankrupt; so that the latter end must needs be more burdensome than the beginning or the middle; and consequently, the *Twelfth Aeneid* cost me double the time of the *First* and *Second*." *Dedication of the Aeneis*, Cambridge edition, ed. G. R. Noyes, 1908, p. 518.

[2] Vv. 57 ff. Discussed by Miss E. S. Jackson, *op. cit.*, *C. Q.*, v (1911), p. 167.

[3] 2, 14–39: o miseras hominum mentes, etc.

[4] Cf. Lucr. 2, 24 f. and *Culex* 62, 67.

The passage is worked into its final form in the *Georgics*.[1] Here, as in the *Culex*, Virgil begins with an accusative of exclamation, to which is attached a dependent clause. The ensuing conditional clauses (*si non . . . nec . . . neque . . . nec*) are followed, just as in the *Culex*, by *at*,[2] the period ending, after the effective repetition of *at*, with *absunt*. In the earlier poem, there is similar anaphora of *si* in the protasis. As anaphora cannot well occur in both protasis and apodosis, Virgil restricts it, in the later passage, to the apodosis, thereby giving the end of the sentence greater emphasis. In the *Culex*, the period tapers off into a *cum* clause, in the manner of Lucretius. Both passages end with an impressive series of details, arranged in two sentences with anaphora of the demonstrative pronoun or pronominal adjective, *illic . . . per illos* in the *Georgics; atque illum . . . illi* in the *Culex*. In the *Georgics*, a full-fledged period caps the climax. But young Virgil has his eye on climax, too, and ends, if not periodically, yet with a swinging series of adjectives, participles, and nouns, distinguished by rich assonance and rapid movement.

In a way, the *Culex* marks a progress beyond the hexameters of Lucretius and the structure of his sentences. One notes — not everywhere, but here and there — a conscious effort to tighten the loose, to drop the superfluous, to arrange the unsymmetrical. The easy grace of Lucretius's verse

propter aquae rivum sub ramis arboris altae [3]

in which the words drip on pleasantly to the end, is refashioned compactly into

rivum propter aquae viridi sub fronde latentem.[4]

[1] 2, 458 ff: o fortunatos nimium, etc.

[2] Vollmer should not spoil the Georgic effect by reading *a pectore* for *at pectore* in *Culex* 68. He is doubtless right in thinking *a pectore* the reading of the ancestor of all the manuscripts extant, but *at pectore* is an inevitable emendation. It was made by the author of the *Excerpta* in the eleventh century and later by the Italian humanists. Incidently, I think that Vollmer places too high a value on the *Excerpta* as a first-hand source. Its good readings not found elsewhere might easily have been emendations, and it contains a number of violent changes such as are not infrequent in compilations of extracts. The compiler means not to produce a scholar's text of Virgil but to provide the reader with an easily intelligible anthology of maxims and purple patches.

[3] 2, 30.

[4] V. 390. The Lucretian model makes it certain that *latentem* agrees with *rivum*

Here the first word and the last lock the verse into a well-organized unit, in which the sense is kept in suspense. When Virgil repeated Lucretius's phrase — of which he was obviously fond — for a second time, in the *Bucolics*,[1] he likewise arranged the elements in climax, though of a different kind.

Where did young Virgil find a model for this orderly compactness? Possibly he had read Cicero's attempts at verse, which, however lacking in poetical intensity, could not help reflecting the sense of careful arrangement ingrained in the master of formal oratorical style. We do not need, however, to look for a pattern outside of Lucretius himself, outside of the passages in which he condescended to art.

> Aenaedum genetrix, hominum divumque voluptas,
> alma Venus, caeli subter labentia signa
> quae mare navigerum, quae terras frugiferentis
> concelebras, per te quoniam genus omne animantum
> concipitur visitque exortum lumina solis:
> te, dea, te fugiunt venti, te nubila caeli
> adventumque tuum, tibi suavis daedala tellus
> summittit flores, tibi rident aequora ponti
> placatumque nitet diffuso lumine caelum.

What could be more Virgilian than these lines, with their conscious suspense and careful climax?[2] Cicero's comment on Lucretius is profoundly true (if left unemended)— *multis luminibus ingeni, multae tamen artis*.[3] Lucretius did not care about the rules. He was a poet *malgré lui*. He wished to drive home the true gospel in the most telling way, using poetry as a sugar-coating for the wholesome pill. But intense conviction, imagination at white heat, is bound to express itself at times with utter clarity and simplicity, with the effect of great art at which the poet had not primarily aimed — all of which Cicero says in "*tamen*."

(so Sillig, Forbiger and apparently Leo and Vollmer) and not with *locum* (Heyne, Ellis).

[1] *Ecl.* 8, 87: propter aquae rivum viridi procumbit in ulva.

[2] There is one detail that Virgil would not ordinarily have allowed — the elision in the fifth foot in v. 4.

[3] *Ad Q. Fr.* 2, 9, 3. Orelli with *multae etiam artis* and Bergk with *non multae tamen artis* do their best to make Cicero banal or egregiously wrong. For a careful discussion of this passage, see Litchfield in *H. S. C. P.*, xxiv (1913), 147 ff.

It was, then, to these passages of great and simple art to which young Virgil instinctively turned and which helped the development of his innate tendencies into a style.

That the passages from the *Culex* and the *Georgics* just discussed are related as model and imitation nobody would deny.[1] It is difficult to believe that the talented author of the *Culex* could have had before him the perfected reserve of Virgil's *Georgics*, to say nothing of the *Aeneid*, and yet kept on with the crude tautologies and participial constructions that we have noted. This poem precedes, not follows, the admitted works of Virgil. He turned to this, just as he always turned to his earlier works, sometimes to improve a first attempt, sometimes to borrow what he had done well enough the first time.[2]

Virgil's goal was epic. He had to struggle through a hostile literary environment before reaching it, but the signs of an epic temperament are apparent even in this his earliest work. A lad who spends his fancy on a mock-heroic may one day attempt the heroic; indeed he promises so to do.[3] Moreover, certain passages, if they chanced to have come to us as fragments, might well seem portions of some lost poem of a seriously epic character. There is a description of a storm at sea, for instance, which for boyish workmanship is not unworthy of the vastly more epic storms in the *Aeneid*.[4]

All in all, the *Culex* gives us what we should expect to find in what the ancient biographer says it is, a poem composed by Virgil at the age of sixteen. It has the crudities of a first attempt and reflects the Alexandrian environment into which Virgil was born. The new impulses stirring in the poem are Lucretian moral earnestness and the promise of genius in the young poet himself.

[1] For another example of Virgil's later refashioning of motives less well executed in the *Culex* cf. vv. 294 ff. and *Georg.* 4, 489.

[2] See Miss Jackson's article and E. Albrecht, *Wiederholte Verse und Verstheile bei Vergil* in *Hermes*, xvi (1881), 393 ff.

[3] Vv. 8 ff.

[4] Vv. 344–52: comes erat . . . ac ruere in terras caeli fragor. Virgil uses the bucolic diaeresis with similar effect in his description of the thunder storm in *Georg.* 1, 331, save that it comes not at the end of the passage, as here, but with far greater appropriateness, several removes from the end. The pause marks a lightning-stroke, but one in the thick of the shower and not the final stroke.

III

Catalepton

If the *Culex* was written under the spell of Lucretius, the *Catalepton* attests a vigorously Catullan period in Virgil's career. His schooling, the ancient biographer informs us, took place first at Cremona, then, after he had assumed the *toga virilis* in his fifteenth year, at Milan, shortly after which time he came to Rome.[1] If the *Culex* was written in his sixteenth year, 54 B.C., he may well have come to the city in 52.[2] There he found himself in the world of Catullus. He may have already known, at Milan or at Mantua, something of the works of the poet who had made North Italy famous,[3] but now he entered the inner circle of admirers,

nil praeter Calvum et doctus cantare Catullum.[4]

The title Κατὰ Λεπτόν, used by Alexandrian writers,[5] means 'In Trifling Vein' or 'Trifles.' The collection comprises the *Priapea* and the *Epigrammata*.[6] The pieces are not all of the same period, but most of them date from Virgil's youth, and immediately suggest Catullus. Indeed, Catullus had borrowed the same title, translating it *Nugae* for one of his volumes of verse.

Manuscripts of the collection are far less abundant than those of the *Culex*. The tradition is divided into two main branches, one represented by the Bruxellensis, *s.* XII, and the other by two varieties of fifteenth century manuscripts.[7] On the other hand, there are excellent bits of external testimony, including Quintilian's.[8]

[1] *Vita Donatiana*, ed. Brummer, p. 2, 20 ff.

[2] See Theodor Birt, *Jugendverse und Heimatpoesie Vergils. Erklärung des Catalepton*, 1910, p. 17. This excellent work marks a notable advance in the interpretation of the *Catalepton*.

[3] On the Catullan elements in the *Catalepton* see Birt, *op. cit.*, p. 14, Sommer, *op. cit.* (above p. 3), pp. 71 ff., 99 ff., and the writer's article on *Catullus and the Augustans*, in *H. S. C. P.*, xvii (1906), 17 f. Also see above, p. 12, note 1.

[4] Horace *Serm.* 1, 10, 19.

[5] Birt *op. cit.* pp. 6 f.

[6] See above, p. 7.

[7] See Vollmer in his edition, p. 126.

[8] *Inst. Or.* 8, 3, 27 f.

Priapea

The *Priapea* are graceful and sprightly soliloquies of the scarecrow-god, who figures also in the *Georgics* and the *Bucolics*.[1] Like the other specimens preserved, they are inscriptional in form. This does not mean that they are carved each on some statue of the god. They have not such dignity as that. They stand one stage higher in the literary scale than latrine *graffiti*.[2] They are scribbled on the walls of the god's rustic shrine,[3] or brought as offerings to his likeness,[4] or hung on a nearby tree, sometimes with a blasting effect.[5] The god expects a bountiful supply of these metrical tributes, and threatens his usual punishment if the poet slights him.[6] Along with indecency, we find delightful touches of wit and pastoral charm and rustic piety. Ancient religion penetrated life in regions from which it is debarred in our colder and more proper times.

Virgil's *Priapea* are, according to Birt,[7] the earliest complete specimens of the kind extant in Latin literature. Virgil of course did not invent such a literary type. It is Hellenistic and Catullan.[8] Virgil took up with this tradition as he did with all, or almost all, the topics that were going the rounds among the successors of Catullus whom he knew in Rome. He shied at the grossly offensive matter and made good poetry of the rest. I am not so sure that the *Priapea* of the extant collection are all of a later date.[9] This collection is obviously a combination of two different sets of *Priapea*; the first two poems are both introductions. The former is in elegiacs; Schanz rightly calls it the later of the two.[8] The other, in hendecasyllabics, is in imitation of

[1] *Georg.* 4, 110 f. *Ecl.* 7, 33 ff. In the latter passage, Priapus is *custos pauperis horti* just as in Virgil's *Priapea* 2, 4 and 3, 6.

[2] See *Priapea* 48 (Baehrens, *P. L. M.* i, 73): Tu, quicumque vides circa tectoria nostra | Non nimium casti carmina plena ioci, | Versibus obscenis offendi desine: non est | Mentula subducti nostra supercilii.

[3] *Ibid.*, 2, 9 f.: Ergo quidquid id est, quod otiosus | Templi parietibus tui notavi, | In partem accipias bonam, rogamus.

[4] Birt, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

[5] *Priapea*, 61.

[6] *Ibid.*, 41 and 47.

[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 47.

[8] *Ibid.* See also Schanz, *op. cit.*, § 320.

[9] *Ibid.*, and Teuffel, *op. cit.*, § 254, 5.

Catullus's preface to his *Nugae*.[1] Various echoes of Catullus appear in the following pieces; most of them occur in those written in hendecasyllabics and choliambics.[2] Ovidian and Horatian reminiscences most frequently occur in the elegiac poems.[3] No hard and fast line can be drawn, and none can gainsay the possibility that all the pieces are late Augustan. But there is also no compelling argument against the supposition that the collection is made up of an earlier set, Catullan in character, in which elegiacs are rare, and a later Ovidian set, in which elegiacs predominate. Whether or not we have before us various pieces that contemporaries or predecessors of young Virgil wrote, we may be tolerably sure that the *Priapea* that served him as models are well enough represented by those that have come down to us.

The first of Virgil's *Priapea* is in elegiacs. The idea of the poem is, so far as we know, his own.[4] Priapus complains that though he is heaped with rustic bounties in the other seasons, winter gives him a chilling fear that despite his divinity, some lazy rustic may turn the ligneous god into igneous fuel. There is quiet humour in the piece, a touch of Horace's satire on the godhood of scarecrows [5], and a neat play on Lucretius's remarks on the similarity of *lignum* and *ignis*.[6] Priapus, who frequently comments on the woodenness of his nature,[7] fears that he may be subjected to an uncomfortable kind of atomistic transformation:

> Nam frigus metuo et vereor ne ligneus ignem
> Hic deus ignavis praebeat agricolis.

[1] Cf. the close of the poem (quoted in Note 3 above) with that of Catullus 1. Cf. also v. 3 with Cat. 1, 7.

[2] Cf. 8, 3 with Cat. 5, 3; 52, 11 with Cat. 5, 12; 77, 10 with Cat. 7, 2.

[3] Cf. 10, 4 and 73, 3; with Hor. *Serm.* 1, 8, 1; 16, 5 with Ovid, *Epist.* 21 and *Ars. Am.* 1, 457; 21, 3 with Ovid. *Ars. Am.* 2, 265; 67, 33 with Ovid. *Am.* 1, 8, 47. The whole coloring of *Priap.* 67 is Ovidian; (cf. 80, 1 with Ovid. *Am.* 3, 7, 1 ff.). It should be further noted that Horace, *Serm.* 1, 8, is only a longer specimen of the type of *Priap.* 12, 32 and 46, while *Priap.* 3 is ascribed to Ovid by the elder Seneca, *Contr.* 1, 2, 22. See Schanz, *loc. cit.*

[4] Birt, *op. cit.* p. 22.

[5] *Serm.* 1, 8.

[6] This point has escaped Birt and other editors, so far as I can discover. Lucian Müller wished to "emend" *ligneus* into *lentus in.*

[7] *Priapea* 6, 1: Qui sum ligneus, ut uides, Priapus. Cf. 10, 4; 73, 3, etc.

This, then is a pleasant variation on a familiar theme by a poet acquainted with Epicurean science.

In the second poem, which is a longer affair in iambics, a better favored Priapus speaks. He has offerings throughout the year, his winter relish being " olives cooked with cold." [1] He goes on to boast of the goats raised in his pastures — as though he were responsible for the process — of the lambs that enable their owner, with better luck than the shepherd in the *Bucolics* [2] to come back from town laden with coin, and of the heifers that despite their dam's laments, pour out their blood at the shrines of the gods; this verse, like that in the preceding poem, shows that the writer has not forgotten his Lucretius.[3] Then comes a touch of the traditional coarseness, handled delicately, and in fact with a moral lesson attached. The passer-by, perhaps induced by Priapus's vaunting of his attractions, attempts an insult. He is warned that the bailiff, who opportunely appears, can convert the wooden *mentula* of the god into an effective club.[4]

The third piece is in the beautiful and impetuous Priapean metre that Catullus had employed with great skill.[5] The god, in charge of a swampy sort of garden that suggests Mantua,[6] boasts of the pretty offerings that he receives from the farmer's household:

> Florida mihi ponitur picta vere corolla,
> primitus tenera virens spica mollis arista,
> luteae violae mihi lacteumque papaver
> pallentesque cucurbitae et suave olentia mala,
> uva pampinea rubens educata sub umbra.

[1] I think that we should read as the archetype of our manuscripts evidently did: *Mihi glauca oliva duro cocta frigore. Glauca* is a traditional epithet of the olive; that it applies strictly to the leaf rather than to the fruit is not a matter worth quibbling about. *Cocta frigore* refers to the ripening of the olive in the late autumn or early winter, as Voss saw (Birt, *op. cit.*, p. 30).

[2] V. 13: gravem domum remittit aere dexteram. Cf. *Ecl.* 1, 35; *Moretum*, 80.

[3] Cf. v. 15 and Lucretius, 2, 352 ff.

[4] The correct explanation of the closing verses is given, I believe, by K. Prinz, *Berliner Philol. Wochenschrift*, 1914, 1020 ff. Some genius invented Priapus and his organ, which at once affected the yokel with religious awe, cheered him with ribald jests and provided him with a weapon for whacking the transgressor. Priapus is also moral — for once — in a poem of the collection (No. 64).

[5] *Poem* 17; *Frag.* 2.

[6] Birt, *op. cit.*, pp. 38 f.

These verses have the lusciousness of Catullus's

> quoi cum sit viridissimo nupta flore puella
> et puella tenellulo delicatior haedo,[1]

and the richness of the description of pastoral tributes in the second *Eclogue*. Our poet has also learned restraint since he composed that prolix array of floral offerings in the *Culex*.[2] Faithful to his charge, the god suggests that the youthful marauders will find a wealthier and less vigilant Priapus at the next-door neighbour's, to which he kindly points the nearest way.[3]

Virgil would not have been ashamed of this perfect little poem, or of its companion-pieces, in any period of his career. It is useless to guess how long they were written before the *Bucolics*, or how long after.[4] We must not divide Virgil's activity into water-tight compartments as though he could not turn aside from writing *Bucolics* or *Georgics* or *Aeneid* to pleasant little *jeux d' esprit* as a relief from the larger task. At the same time, it is most natural to associate these pieces with the rest of the *Catalepton* and Virgil's apprenticeship to *Catullus*.

Epigrammata

The *Epigrammata* include fourteen pieces in various Catullan metres, elegiac, iambic, and choliambic; the familiar hendecasyllabic, Virgil did not try — at least there are no specimens of this metre in the present collection. The elegiacs are of the Catullan and not of the Ovidian type; the later practice of invariably ending the pentameter with a dissyllable is not observed here. Most of the poems are early, and in character, very Catullan.[5] Some show us the youthful Virgil among the poets of love — nothing to wonder at when we consider the second *Eclogue* and the tenth, with its tribute to Gallus and his school. Virgil is one of a group of young writers, Tucca and Varius among their number, who continue the vein of Calvus and Catullus.

[1] 17, 14 f. For direct echoes of Catullus, for the Catullan character of the metre, and for refinements introduced by Virgil, see Birt, *op. cit.*, pp. 45 f. But Birt should not call Catullus's humorously jolting verse (22) " ungeschickt."

[2] See above, p. 120.

[3] The same idea appears in *Priapea* 51, 23 f.

[4] Not long before, according to Birt, pp. 16 ff.

[5] On the Catullan character of the metre, see Sommer, *op. cit.* (pp. 86 ff.).

To Tucca, Virgil complains that his lady-love has returned from a visit, but is not the more accessible to him for that reason, as her jealous husband keeps her under lock and key.[1] To Varius, he confesses his desperate love of a lad — he first refers to his beloved as πόθος, and then realizing how shocked the critics would be to find a Greek word in a Latin verse, calls him in plain Latin *iste puer*. A good bit of passion lies beneath this mock compliance with the purists' rules.[2]

Also in the manner of Catullus are certain boisterous invectives, which lack, however, the inexpressible filth from which Catullus did not refrain. In one of these, Poem No. 2, he satirizes the rhetorician Annius Cimber, archaistic and Atticistic in tendency, who poisoned his brother with a mess of his own style. We should not know the name of the rhetorician, did not Quintilian quote the epigram, which he considered admirable.[3] Ausonius knew it too, and either had a fuller text of it than we have or sadly bungled our present text.[4] I shall make no fresh attempt to analyze the ingredients of Cimber's deadly concoction,[5] but a word may be said as to the date of the epigram. The murder took place before 43 B.C., as Cicero refers to it in the *Philippics*,[6] but how much before, we do not know. Cicero's language does not imply that it was specially recent. If it had occurred as far back as 52, Cicero's remarks would still have point — he simply finds a man of Cimber's character a useful example of the kind of company that Antony was wont to keep. The epigram, on the other hand, should probably be dated not very long after the event; the satire of

[1] This poem has at last been satisfactorily explained; see Birt, pp. 48 ff.

[2] This, I take it, is the spirit of this piece (No. 7), slightly differing from that of *Priapea* 3, with which it may well be compared. There the intent is to ridicule elegant circumlocutions of the unvarnished vernacular.

[3] *Inst. Or.* 8, 3, 27 ff.

[4] *Grammaticomast.* 5–9. I should imagine that just as v. 2 is lacking, whether through accident or intent, in Quintilian's quotation, the archetype of our manuscripts may have omitted after v. 3 another line which contained the *al Celtarum* and the *sil* that puzzled Ausonius.

[5] According to H. W. Garrod, *C. Q.*, iv (1910), 123 ff., the satirized forms are Latin. W. Schmid, *Philologus*, lxxii (1913), 148, finds a great deal more Greek than anybody had suspected before. H. R. Fairclough, *T. A. P. A.*, xlvii (1916), 43 ff., suggests that the *tyrannus Atticae febris* may refer to Thucydides as the masterful describer of the plague at Athens.

[6] 11, 6, 14; 13, 12, 26.

it, somewhat tame at the best, would have completely lost its sting four or five years after the event. The situation, I think, is as follows. Young Virgil has come to Rome and is studying rhetoric. Although, as we have just inferred, not wholly a purist, he is disposed, like Horace later, to ridicule fads of style. Cimber, who was faddish in style, and most reprehensible in morals, kills his brother. Out comes the epigram at once — Cimber must have served his brother with a dose of his own vocabulary. The date of the poem, then, is virtually that of the murder itself; this, as we see from Cicero, must have taken place before 43 B.C. From what we have learned of Virgil's early career, we may infer that both events occurred round about the year 52.

Poems 6 and 12 are companion-pieces in honor of a certain "Owl-eyes," Noctuinus, who, of low class himself, has married the daughter of Atilius, one of the landed gentry — the name is common in North Italy. But Owl-eyes does not see that he has incidentally married another daughter of Atilius, to wit, the bottle. The old gentleman is *pater potationis*, and his example infects his son-in-law. There is a dreadful mix-up, in which both son-in-law and father-in-law play the part of husband. The poet well remarks, in a verse that parodies Catullus,[1] —

gener socerque, perdidistis omnia.

Both poems show something of the hot blood of Catullus. The setting of the twelfth is the wedding-day; it is a fine specimen of *Fescennina iocatio* and ends boisterously with the marriage cry —

thalassio, thalassio, thalassio.

Parody of Catullus on a more elaborate scale appears in No. 10. The parody is at the expense not of Catullus but of the subject of the poem, a former mule-driver, now a provincial magistrate, who has dedicated a portrait or statue of himself in a temple of Castor and Pollux. Catullus's poem on the yacht (No. 4), is the model; it is cleverly adapted to the new theme by surprisingly few verbal changes. Only two verses are made up entirely of new material, and only two of the original are passed.[2] It is an extraordinary metrical tour of force,

[1] *Catal.* 6, 6; Catullus 29, 24.

[2] I do not find it necessary to assume with Birt and others that our manuscripts have omitted a line after v. 19, or even to emend *utrumque* to *utrimque* with Heinsius.

and the invective is neat and pungent. The upstart is beyond doubt a local magnate of Cremona or some other place near Virgil's home town, and not as scholars have supposed till lately, Ventidius Bassus.[1] Thereby disappears the only clue to an exact dating of the poem. I am inclined to put it with the other Catullan pieces, in the early years of Virgil's sojourn in Rome. It shows that Horace, who chose a very similar theme for his fourth *Epode*, was helped by Virgil as well as by Catullus in shooting Archilochian *iambi* at the targets of his satire.

Another seemingly early piece is No. 3. It commemorates the downfall of some mighty monarch of men, who had subdued the kings and nations of Asia, and after levelling all other obstacles with his spear, was aiming at Rome herself. But in the very midst of the struggle, he fell headlong, driven from his fatherland to exile. In a rather boyish and obvious fashion, that recalls a passage in the *Culex*,[2] the poet ends with moralizings on the arbitrary sway of Fortune.

There have been many candidates proposed for the hero of this piece. Birt makes out a strong case for Alexander[3] — a subject that might have been assigned as a rhetorical theme of the kind with which Roman schoolboys were familiar. But one detail is not explained by Birt; Alexander's later career may be described as an "exile from home," but he was hardly driven to it. We are rather inclined to look about for a contemporary hero. Phraates has been suggested,[4] but Virgil would have written something more powerful than the present piece in 32 B.C. or the years immediately following, we should imagine, granting that Phraates deserves to be set on so exalted a bad eminence as he is here assigned. One also thinks of Pompey, but his end was more than exile, his station was hardly that of a king, and his purpose would scarcely be described even by a Caesarian as that of imposing *grave servitium* on the Roman people. Antony is another selection.[5] The opening lines are not too extravagant a description of the oriental pomp that Antony had assumed, and he surely threatened

[1] See Birt's excellent remarks, pp. 116 f., and E. T. Merrill. *Classical Philology*, viii (1913), 389 ff. Sommer, *op. cit.*, p. 77 still adheres to Ventidius.

[2] Vv. 339 ff. [3] Pp. 61 ff. So Sommer, p. 78.

[4] See Nettleship in *The Works of Virgil*, Conington and Nettleship, revised by Haverfield, 1898, I, p. xxi.

[5] See especially, N. De Witt, *American Journal of Philology*, xxxiii (1912), 317 ff.

Rome with slavery; but his fall was to death, not exile. He lived for about a year after Actium, but life in Alexandria was anything but an exile for him. We are, therefore, left with Mithradates, whom every detail in the poem does fit at the moment when he fled from Pompey into the wilds of the Cimmerian Bosporus.[1] This was in 66. The king recovered sufficiently to plan reprisals and even a new attack on Italy, but finally succumbed to the conspiracy organized by his son Pharnaces and ended his life by poison and the sword in 63. We are not told that Virgil, seven or eight years old at the time, was writing poems at that tender age, but this piece might well have been done about the time of the *Culex*, when he was still a school-boy at Milan. The career of Mithradates, whom Cicero in 45 called the greatest king after Alexander,[2] would have impressed itself on the imagination of school-boys and school-teachers for some time after that monarch's death. The subject prescribed, or chosen, is not the death of Mithradates but his downfall. It is a better moment to select than the death, which did not immediately follow, to illustrate the point set forth in the closing lines.

We now come to a pair of poems of considerable biographical importance. The fourth is addressed to a certain Musa, a learned devotee of Clio[3] and all the choir of Phoebus. He is about to part from Virgil, who swears eternal affection to him, though scarcely hoping that it will be requited. This is the language of respect appropriate in accosting a patron or somebody of a higher station in life. The eleventh poem laments the death of Octavius, a writer of Roman history, who, rumor had it, died from excessive fondness of the bowl. Piecing together the two poems, we find them concerned with the same man, Octavius Musa, who was a member of the literary circle to which Horace, Virgil, and Macenas belonged,[4] and one of the agents

[1] Appian, *Mithr.* 102.

[2] *Acad. Pr.* 2, 1, 3: ille rex post Alexandrum maximus.

[3] Birt tries to show (pp. 69 f., 131), I think without success, that *Clio* in this poem and *historia* in the Eleventh do not indicate that Octavius wrote history. I should rather infer that he was a versatile writer like Pollio, trying his hand both at history and various sorts of verse, epic perhaps included.

[4] Hor. *Serm.* 1, 10, 82. Horace's Octavius, whether Octavius Musa or not, is placed in exalted company — Plotius, Varius, Maecenas, Virgil, Valgius, Fuscus and the Visci.

of Octavian during the disturbances at Cremona. He paid off an old grudge on the Mantuans by taking a slice from their territory too;[1] it looks as if he were, or had been, a resident of Cremona. It is now tolerably clear who the Octavius is in whose honor the boy Virgil wrote his *Culex*. He was a somewhat younger boy of higher station whom Virgil met in his school-days at Cremona or Milan. We get glimpses of his career down to 35 B.C., when Horace published the first book of his *Satires* and we find his death recorded in the eleventh poem of the *Catalepton*. Not long after the *Culex*, perhaps even before Virgil had left Milan,[2] occurred the parting between the two youths and Virgil's poem of farewell. It suggests in spirit several of Catullus's poems of friendship,[3] and perhaps, though this is a dubious point, contains reminiscences of Catullus.[4] The last poem in the series is not very much later than 35, for Octavius is outlived by his father and goes before his contribution to *historia Romana* has been completed.[5] Octavius is the first among the heroes of young Virgil, who was born with a passionate hero-worship, and successively transferred his worship, for good cause, to various heroes. We can imagine that Octavius's treatment of the Mantuans may have led to estrangement. The present tribute, written after his death, is a trifle chilly; an ardent admirer would not have found it necessary to mention the fatal bottle, even though this is called the outward and secondary sign of an all-compelling fate.[6]

The evidence that Virgil could write a mediocre poem later in his career — at the time when the *Georgics* were well under way — may help us decide the case of No. 9. This is a panegyric of Messalla, in

[1] See Servius on *Ecl.* 9, 7.

[2] Birt, p. 67, allows for this possibility.

[3] E. g. 9 and 46. This point is well made by Sommer, p. 84.

[4] See Birt, pp. 67 ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 132.

[6] Birt makes the tone more cheerful still by discovering a Centaur in v. 2. Starting with an epigram of Callimachus, imitated here, which has the Centaur (ἦρα τὸ καὶ Κένταυρον; ὅ μοι πεπρωμένος ὕπνος | ἦλθεν, ὁ δὲ τλήμων οἶνος ἔχει πρόφασιν.), Birt gets *dicunt Centaurum* out of *dicunt* (*dicuntur* AR) *animo* (*animi B*). This is a clever misuse of ingenuity, at which both Palaeography and Quellenforschung might be expected to nod approval. Birt is so fascinated with his centaur, that he thinks (pp. 127, 132) that Horace in *Carm.* 1, 18 and Virgil elsewhere have the present passage in mind. However, I believe that the Urbinas has the right reading, whether or not by conjecture, *a nimio*.

honor either of his triumph over the Aquitanians in 27 B.C., or of the general triumph of Octavian, in which Messalla shared, celebrated after the battle of Actium in 31. At the time, then, Virgil was either just finishing the *Georgics* or beginning the *Aeneid*. Messalla, as we shall later see,[1] had been interested in Virgil's early work. Virgil, like Horace, though specially of the circle of Maecenas, was not thereby debarred from friendship with other patrons of literature. Horace made Messalla the fine gift of his best convivial ode, *O nate mecum consule Manlio*.[2] Virgil contributed the present piece, a distinctly mediocre affair, such as great poets sometimes produce when writing from a sense of duty. And yet there are touches of the real Virgil in the poem, particularly in the neat compliment to Messalla's Greek pastorals, which the poet describes with a reminiscence of his own.[3] The poem begins with the acclamation of the victor and the praise of his literary achievements. There follows the praise of his heroine, who is likened to various mythological prototypes. Instead of recounting the victor's military exploits, the poet passes them by in a tiresome series of rhetorical questions. Such deeds are too magnificent for him to laud; they speak for themselves. Enough for the poet if he can shed adequate praise on the hero's poetical triumphs:

Hoc satis est: pingui nil mihi cum populo.

The piece ends thus abruptly, in a somewhat Pindaric manner.[4] It follows in general the rules laid down for encomia in the rhetorical treatise *Ad Herennium*.[5] The poet evidently approached his task with about the amount of immediate inspiration that writers of Pindaric odes in English poetry have possessed. Bows from the poet laureate to the victor laureate are apt to be formal. The reason that Virgil has written admirable *carmina iussa* in some of the *Bucolics* and the *Georgics* is that those really are not ordered but spring from the heart. No poet can write by compulsion. When he tries, we should not relieve him of the responsibility for the result. Our verdict should be, "A pity that he had to do it," not "It is the work of

[1] See below, pp. 147, 154. [2] *Carm.* 3, 21.

[3] V. 17: molliter hic viridi patulae sub tegmine quercus. Cf. *Ecl.* 1, 1.

[4] Cf. the ending of *Ol.* 3 and *Pyth.* 2.

[5] Shown by Sommer, p. 51.

somebody else." Scholars have not questioned, unless in the school of Peerlkamp, that Horace wrote the fourteenth ode of Book 4.[1]

A still harder poem to accept, on first reading, as Virgil's is No. 13.[2] In metre and matter, this is an epode. A certain Lucius has declared that our poet, enfeebled by dissipation, can no longer endure the toils of the sea or the camp. Virgil describes the vices of his critic in billingsgate so abusive that it suggests a literary exercise. We find in the *Bucolics* ribald pastoral invective quite as violent as that here and on the same theme.[3] Virgil had not served in the army or the navy, so far as we had known, and his life had been singularly pure; even Suetonius could rake together only a few dubious items for the chapter of scandals with which he regularly equipped his biographies of illustrious men. But there is a certain liturgy of abuse, which Archilochus and Catullus and Filelfo and Milton well knew, and which relieves us of the necessity of taking invectives as historic truth.[4] There is also a liturgy of the improper, a narrative told indecently and in order, authorized on the principle of

> nam castum esse decet pium poetam
> ipsum, versiculos nihil necesse est.[5]

[1] Birt, pp. 91 ff. and Sommer, pp. 37 ff. attempt an elaborate proof that the poem is not Virgil's. I agree with P. Jahn in his review of Sommer (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1911, 1397 ff.) that if the rest of the *Catalepton* can be accepted, there is no good reason for leaving out No. IX. Sommer, indeed, has furnished (pp. 44 ff.) a useful list of coincidences between it and Catullus, *Culex*, *Ciris* and the undoubted works of Virgil. This evidence, some of which had already been collected by Naeke, *op. cit.*, p. 233, helps to put the poem in the same literary setting as others of the *Catalepton*, and also to connect it with Virgil. Connections with Virgil, in the case of any of the disputed works are not proof of a later imitation. They may be instances of Virgil's constant habit of echoing his own phrases. Such coincidences occur, e. g., in the *Priapea*, which Sommer (p. 74) accepts as Virgilian. Indeed, if a work of any extent contained none of them, its genuineness would be subject to the gravest suspicions. Sommer (pp. 56 ff.) believes that the *Laudatio Messallae* included in the *Corpus Tibullianum* imitates the present poem. This may well be so.

[2] Rejected by Sommer (pp. 60 ff.) mainly because it contradicts what we know of Virgil's life. Sommer spends most of his time in disproving Nemethy's thesis that the poem is the work of Horace.

[3] *Ecl.* 3, 7 ff.

[4] See Birt, p. 142.

[5] Catullus, 16, 5 f. See Hack's discussion in *H. S. C. P.*, xxv (1914), 107 ff.

Even the younger Pliny, the least libidinous of lovers, bows to the custom of the forefathers, cites a kind of apostolic succession of improper writers, Virgil, be it noted, among them, and with a splendid effort of conscience, writes a naughty, but not very convincing, poem himself.[1] Horace in his *Epodes* uses similar autobiographical fiction with more effect, for the purpose of satirizing the third person in terms of the first. The present piece might have been prompted by the *Epodes*, which Virgil doubtless knew considerably before the volume appeared in 30 B.C.; or perhaps it occurred to him even earlier, in the storm and stress of youth, to turn into an Archilochian epode the material of a Catullan invective. Indeed he had paved the way to such an achievement in Poems 6, 10, and 12. He is thus a halfway mark between Catullus and Horace.[2] We may thus credit Virgil with starting in Roman literature a form which Horace claimed as his creation, just as he called lyric poetry his own despite the few essays of Catullus with sapphics, and just as Ovid is the ultimate author of heroines' love-letters, though Propertius hit the idea first.

Further, the poem may contain after all a certain amount of reliable autobiography. It were nothing surprising for instance, if, Virgil, like any young Roman, served for a while, as long as his sickly constitution permitted, in the army.[3] I hardly think that we can venture more definite conclusions. Birt would fix on the beginning of the Civil War as the time of Virgil's campaign, in which he fought on Caesar's side.[4] A reference to Caesar, if the text is not corrupt,[5] would indicate, what is most probable, that Virgil was favorably disposed towards Caesar; more we cannot say. Birt sees reasons[6] for placing the poem before No. 5, in which the poet seems to cry *peccavi*[7] for the indecency of just such a piece as the present. If all this is so, No. 5 would have been written rather late in Virgil's career.[8]

[1] *Epist.* 4, 14; 5, 3; 7, 4.
[2] Birt, pp. 115 f., 151.
[3] So Birt, p. 143.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 143 f.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 148.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 141, 148.
[7] Vv. 12 f.: et tamen meas chartas | revisitote, sed *pudenter* et raro.
[8] After v. 16 there suddenly appears in the inferior branch of the tradition an elegiac quatrain of uncertain text but obvious enough meaning. It is an epitaph on some genius for whose premature death the somewhat cold consolation is offered that none is exempt from fate. This piece is called by Vollmer (see his edition *ad loc.*) a humanistic composition on Virgil himself. Birt, however (pp. 178 ff.), who

If we are justified in accepting poems 11 and 13 as Virgil's and thereby assuming that the *Catalepton* contain certain pieces composed in poet's later periods when the *Georgics* or even the *Aeneid* was his immediate task, there is no antecedent reason for barring out No. 14. This is a prayer to Venus that she will grant the poet strength to finish his epic, so that Trojan Aeneas may ride in triumph through the streets of Rome:

> Troius Aeneas Romana per oppida digno
> iam tandem ut tecum carmine vectus eat.[1]

The first of these verses is made up of phrases from the *Aeneid* and the *Georgics*, and other echoes of these poems occur.[2] The votive offering will be not only incense and wreaths and a picture, but a hornèd ram, a mighty bull and a marble Cupid with irridescent wings.[3] These will be consecrated in the temple of Venus on the Surrentine shore. This

gives a plausible reconstruction of the text, thinks that the writer lived not much later than Ovid, and Ribbeck even supposed that the verses are part of *Catal.* 11; see his edition. They stood, I should infer, in some manuscript from which the archetype of all our present copies are derived, at the head of a page that came after the epilogue to the *Catalepton* (No. 15). The scribe turned a leaf or two too many, caught the quatrain at the top of the page, discovered his error, added a direction to omit or transpose, and proceeded with the copying of No. 13. The scribe of our archetype, or of some ancestor, copied the misplaced passage without observing the signs of omission or transposition, and thus it is engrafted in the text of No. 13 in one branch of the tradition. The scribe of B, or some ancestor, either found the signs in the archetype and heeded them, or found them not, but noting the incongruity of the verses, boldly left them out. Thirty-nine lines remain between 13, 16, and the end of the Epilogue to the *Catalepton;* if we allow two lines for headings to Nos. 14 and 15, and a line for a subscription, we have forty-two, that is a leaf with twenty-one lines on the page. Possibly not one but two or more leaves were carelessly turned by the scribe. The quatrain, at any rate, comes from some collection that followed the *Catalepton*. There is nothing to show that it is by Virgil or about him. There is no obvious indication of its date. It might, perhaps, have been part of a series of short poems put together in the fourth century, like the *Carmina Vergiliana* collected by Baehrens (*P. L. M.*, iv, 156 ff.). But this is all guesswork. We may infer only that the lines are probably not by Virgil.

[1] For an admirable translation of this poem, see Dr. T. H. Warren's *The Death of Virgil*, vv. 756 ff. This work is more than an agreeable exercise in dramatics. It contains many fine observations on Virgil's style and his temperament.

[2] See Sommer, pp. 68 ff.

[3] See Birt, p. 172.

is a fine place for an offering to Venus, and one to which Virgil would naturally turn from his favorite resort at Naples.[1] Augustus, too, is pictured as joining in the prayer. This language is appropriate enough for the author of an epic which immortalizes, if not the historical career of Augustus, that which is more important still, the guiding ideals of his policy and of his times.[2] We must remember, too, that Augustus had taken a special interest in the *Aeneid*, hearing Virgil read several books of it to him and begging him in a letter to expedite the work and send him a specimen.[3] At the moment when Augustus wrote this letter, Virgil was feeling despondent about the success of his epic. He declares that he must have been out of his senses when he undertook it[4]—a remark that has led literal-minded critics to take warning from Virgil's "own confession" and refrain from "hysterical admiration" of an inferior work.[5] Ups and downs of a writer's sentiment are inevitable in the progress of a great poem like the *Aeneid*. The present piece gives a mood of hope, of that radiant aspiration towards some high achievement that appears often enough in Virgil.[6]

A metrical detail is not without significance. Though the poem was written at a time[7] when Tibullus and Propertius had developed the style of pentameter, later perfected by Ovid, in which a word longer than a dissyllable regularly is not allowed at the end of the verse,[8] this rule is not here observed; three of the six pentameters end in polysyllables. This is a mark of genuineness, not *pace* Sommer,[9] of spuriousness. A later forger who possessed the inspiration that the present piece shows would have probably mastered the elegiac technique observed in his day. Virgil is of the old school. He wrote Catullan

[1] *Vita Donatiana*, ed. Brummer, p. 3, 43; *Georg.* 4, 564.

[2] Birt, p. 170.

[3] *Vita Donat.* p. 7, 105 ff.; Servius on *Aen.* 4, 323; Macrobius *Saturn.* 1, 24, 11.

[4] Macrob. *loc. cit.*: ut paene vitio mentis tantum opus ingressus mihi videar.

[5] Teuffel, *op. cit.*, § 228, 5. The remark of Teuffel is a bit toned down in the recent revision by Kroll and Skutsch.

[6] E. g., *Culex*, 8 ff. *Ecl.* 8, 6 ff. *Georg.* 3, 8 ff.

[7] Birt, p. 172, places it between the writing of Books 1 and 5 of the *Aeneid*. At any rate, a goodly portion of the poem has been finished.

[8] See above, p. 132.

[9] Pp. 69 ff.

elegiacs in his youth, and clung to this manner when, for the nonce, he later turned to elegiacs again.

Two poems remain, which give especially important clues to the development of Virgil's interests in the period of his youth. The first of these, believed Virgilian by various scholars who do not accept the *Catalepton* as a whole,[1] is a boyish farewell to rhetoric and poetry as the sterner training in philosophy under Siro is in prospect. Virgil's rhetorical studies are well attested. One of his masters was Epidius.[2] He doubtless entered some rhetorical school when he came from Milan to Rome, round about the year 52.[3] The vigor of this little poem suggests the bits of Catullan invective in the *Catalepton*. It also ushers in an important period in Virgil's youthful career. It is the only poem in the series, with perhaps the exception of No. 13, on which Birts's notes throw more darkness than light. The Varro mentioned, we will admit, is hardly the great Varro or Tarquitius the Etruscan antiquary.[4] But surely they are the lad's teachers, not his companions, and surely his farewell to his beautiful mates is sincere, not ironical.[5]

The poetry to which Virgil bids good-bye — only a partial good-bye — would include the *Culex* and whatever he had written primarily under the spell of Catullus. This need not have been a lengthy period; a year would amply suffice to explain what we have seen in the *Catalepton*. Doubtless there were other pieces, dashed off at white heat, that early disappeared from view like the poetry of Calvus and Cinna; indeed it is by the merest chance that the immortal *nugae* of Catullus have come down to us. The word *pudenter* in the last line perhaps implies,[6] that Virgil soon repented of certain performances in the libidinous vein scantioned by Catullus and other predecessors.[7] At all events, a turning-point in his intellectual career has come.

We hear of Siro some years later, in a poem, or little prayer, addressed to the humble villa, once Siro's, which now was to shelter Virgil, his father and others of his family, " If sadder news comes from

[1] Teuffel, § 230, 5. Schanz, *op. cit.*, § 241.

[2] Sueton., *De Gramm.* 28. Birt, p. 72.

[3] I agree with Sommer, who dates the present poem early (though perhaps a bit too early, 53 B.C.) rather than with Birt (pp. 18, 72), who thinks it shortly preceded No. 8, which he assigns to the year 41.

[4] See Birt, p. 73.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 74.

[6] Above, p. 140, note 7.

[7] Above, p. 139; Birt, p. 72.

my native town." The circumstances suggest either the year 43, after the battle of Mutina, or [1] 41, after Philippi. The poet writes presumably from Rome, at least from some place not Mantua.[2] Wherever the little villa was,[3] its philosophical owner had found it, as Horace found his Sabine farm, stocked with that abiding wealth which the young author of the *Culex* had praised.[4] Whether Virgil and his family actually had recourse to this villa, we do not know. At all events, this little poem gives us autobiographical facts concerning Virgil, quite different from the ideal presentation of a general situation which suits the art of the *Bucolics*. Various critics from Servius on have come to grief in the attempt to extract from the *Bucolics* by that dangerous instrument, allegorical interpretation, a coherent account of Virgil's own experience during the unhappy period of demobilization at Mantua.[5]

The *Catalepton* closes with an epilogue which obviously is not by Virgil himself.

> Vate Syracosio qui dulcior Hesiodoque
> maior, Homereo non minor ore fuit,
> illius haec quoque sunt divini elementa poetae
> et rudis in vario carmine Calliope.

If Varius or Tucca, Virgil's literary executors, did not write this envoy, some other expert did, who knew that 'sweet' was a favorite word with Theocritus,[6] and that Virgil's temperament was epic. The fourteenth poem has the right ring, but otherwise there are no conspicuously epic notes in the *Catalepton*; this quatrain must have stood at the end of a collection that contained more than the *Catalepton*. We have detected the flavor of epic in the *Culex* here and there — it will appear again in others of the minor works.[7]

[1] So Birt, p. 86. Sommer, p. 29, calls the date 42.

[2] Birt, p. 86.

[3] Possibly Naples, or North Italy. Birt, p. 86.

[4] Cf. v. 2 with *Culex* 58–97. See Birt, p. 88.

[5] For excellent remarks on this subject, see Birt, pp. 86 ff.

[6] So Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* 9, 9. Birt, p. 175.

[7] Birt, pp. 8 f., believes that the quatrain was added by Varius and Tucca, and that as it applies only to the *Catalepton*, it shows that Virgil's literary executors did not think that he wrote the other minor poems ascribed to him. This conclusion is dangerous, not only because of the absence of the epic element in the *Catalepton*, but because the collection contains several pieces (at least 9, 11, and 14), which

IV

Ciris

It was the fame of Siro, we have seen, that decided young Virgil to renounce the Muses and to take up serious thinking. Siro came to Rome in 50 B.C.,[1] a date that fits in well with the story of Virgil's early career as we have deduced it thus far. If the latter came down from Milan in 52, he would have had two years in which to study rhetoric and to run the gamut of Catullan emotions and themes; he would be quite ready to turn to something new. The *Vita* by Probus, which I think certain scholars are a bit too prone to set aside,[2] marks out a brief scientific or philosophic period in Virgil's development. *Vixit pluribus annis*, this document declares,[3] *liberali in otio, secutus Epicuri sectam, insigni concordia et familiaritate usus Quintili, Tuccae et Vari.* His associates are Tucca and Varius as before, and likewise Quintilius — apparently Quintilius Varus, who on the testimony of Horace,[4] was one of the dearest of Virgil's friends. There is also a tantalizing fragment in one of the Herculaneum rolls, which makes it possible that Virgil with Quintilius and Varius were among the pupils of Philodemus.[5] Young Romans attended the lectures of both these authorities on Epicureanism. Cicero, though never won by that school, reverenced these leaders, whom he calls his friends, as fine men and learned

cannot be called youthful works. If, on the other hand, the quatrain was appended to a collection containing also *Culex*, *Ciris*, *Aetna*, *Copa*, and *Dirae*, the proportion of later poems becomes insignificantly small and the general designation of the pieces as *elementa* is justified. Vollmer (in his edition, p. 142) and Sommer (pp. 12 ff.), regard the poem as late — fourth century, according to the latter — and as intended for a volume containing more than the *Catalepton*. The hypothesis might be entertained — I can contribute nothing new in its favor — that Varius and Tucca added the epilogue to the collection of minor poems named in the ancient *Vita*. If so, the *Catalepton* stood last in the series. Such an arrangement would be chronologically appropriate, since the *Catalepton* includes, besides very early pieces, the latest specimens of Virgil's occasional verse.

[1] Birt, pp. 17, 72.

[2] For a list of discussions, see Teuffel, *op. cit.*, § 301, 6, 5.

[3] Brummer, *Vitae Vergilianae*, p. 73, 10. This statement is supported by Servius (Donatus) on *Ecl.* 6, 3: *nam vult exequi sectam Epicuream, quam didicerant tam Vergilius quam Varus docente Sirone.* See also on *Aen.* 6, 264.

[4] *Carm.* 1, 24.

[5] Birt, p. 17.

thinkers.[1] But even without the help of Herculaneum or of the *Vita* by Probus, we are sure from the evidence of *Catalepton* 5 and the profound study of Lucretius which *Culex*, *Bucolics* and *Georgics* cumulatively show, that Virgil had at some time steeped himself in Epicurean lore. We need no further proof, either, that he lived on intimate terms with Varius, Tucca and Quintilius.

At first reading, the *Ciris* seems curiously unlike Virgil. It is hard to understand, particularly as the manuscript tradition is so bad. The text descends by the same line by which the *Catalepton* has reached us, save that the *Bruxellensis*, the main support of that work, fails us in the *Ciris*, except for eighty-eight verses at the end of the poem. For the rest of it, only the inferior branch is represented; what that loss means, we can see by noting certain errors of that branch that the *Bruxellensis* clears away in the small portion of text in which it is preserved.[2] Doubtless the whole poem would seem far more Virgilian if we could establish its text as well as that of the *Bucolics* or even of the *Culex*. For external evidence, besides the statement in the *Vita Donatiana*, a comment in the enlarged Servius (Donatus),[3] vouches for the Virgilian authorship of the piece.[4]

The difficulty of ascribing the poem to Virgil is further diminished if we assume that it was written at the beginning of the scientific period in the poet's career.[4] For the young author of this piece, though

[1] *De Fin.* 2, 119: Familiares nostros, credo, Sironem dicis et Philodemum, cum optimos viros, tum homines doctissimos. Cf. *Ad. Fam* 6, 11, 2.

[2] E. g., 470, 472, 481, 511, 530, 533. Both branches are of value, for B has its own errors and shows the presence of the gloss; cf. 522.

[3] *Ecl.* 6, 3. Servius interprets *cum canerem reges et proelia* as referring to the *Aeneid* or to *gesta regum Albanorum*. He omits the further suggestions of "Donatus," of which the first is: *alii Scyllam eum scribere coepisse dicunt, in quo libro Nisi et Minois, regis Cretensium, bellum describebat.*

[4] Of recent writers, Vollmer, *op. cit.* (followed by de Gubernatis, *op. cit.*), and A. B. Drachmann (in *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi, Tredie Raekke*, xiii (1904), 65 ff.; also *Hermes*, xliii (1908), 405 ff.) accept the poem as Virgil's. Drachmann's studies strike me as the best yet written on the subject. P. Jahn (*Rhein. Mus.* lxiii (1907), 79 ff.), who discusses more coincidences with other poets than anybody had thought worth collecting before, inclines to regard Virgil as the author. The literature of the controversy reopened by Skutsch is given in Teuffel, § 230, 2. Naeke, pp. 235 ff., agrees on the early character (*antiqua simplicitas*) of the poem, puts it before the *Bucolics*, but does not decide for either Gallus or Virgil as its author. On Schrader, see above, p. 105.

a stranger to the task of philosophic exposition,[1] is devoutly attached to the garden of Epicurus. He has already done some worshipping of the Muses, and would like to make the present work an ultimate farewell to poetry.[1] He scorns the prizes of the fickle mob and craves above all things the fame of a philosopher. He would look down on the passing show from a Lucretian ivory tower,[2] which rests in a more eclectic fashion than Lucretius would have approved, on the pillars of the four ancient schools.[3] Philosophy is a haven of refuge to him, as to the youth who wrote the fifth poem of the *Catalepton*.[4] Feeling, however, that his scientific powers need development, he will for the moment give his patron, the young and yet learned Messalla,[5] the best that he has:

> interdum ludere nobis
> et gracilem molli liceat pede claudere versum.[6]

Perhaps a day will come when he can adorn a larger page with science — *naturae rerum magnis intexere chartis*.[7] This is the same mood of hopeful prophecy that we have noted as characteristic of Virgil.[8] Meanwhile the humbler Muses have returned to him — *pudenter* — as he had anticipated.

Now for the poem. It is no impromptu affair; it may not, like Cinna's *Smyrna*, be a nine-years' pondered lay, but it at least has cost much burning of the midnight oil.[9] The theme is the story of Scylla's unhallowed passion for her country's enemy Minos, which led her to cut from her father's head the sacred purple lock on which the safety

[1] Vv. 42 f.: sed quoniam ad tantas nunc primum nascimus artes, | nunc primum teneros firmamus robore nervos. *Artes* cannot refer to poetry; see vv. 10 f.

[2] We noted at the end of *Catal.* 9 the same philosophic despite of the vulgar herd.

[3] Vv. 17 ff.

[4] Vv. 8 ff., Birt should add to his note (p. 76) on philosophy as a haven, the eloquent passage in Cic. *Tusc.* 5, 5.

[5] Vv. 36, 54.

[6] V. 20. The phrasing runs pretty close to that of *Culex* 35 f.: mollia sed tenui pede currere carmina, versu | viribus apta suis Phoebo duce ludere gaudet.

[7] Vv. 36 ff.

[8] See above, p. 142, note 6.

[9] Vv. 46 f.

of the city depended. The young poet soberly rejects the legend of that other Scylla whom poets often declare

> candida succinctam latrantibus inguina monstris
> Dulichias vexasse rates et gurgite in alto
> deprensos nautas canibus lacerasse marinis.[1]

These lines suddenly arouse a Virgilian feeling in the mind of the reader; they are either a copy or the model of a familiar passage in the *Bucolics*.[2] The poet remarks, with a certain wit, that neither Homer, who preserves the yarn, nor Ulysses who tells it, has the best reputation for veracity.[3] At most, it is a fable of vicious passion, which the author expounds in the manner of Lucretius and with Lucretius's interest in allegorical explanation,[4] lending a temporary reality to the myth which he would destroy.[5] He likewise shows a Virgilian sympathy with the unhappy subject of the uncanny tale.[6] Nor should we be surprised at finding here a peculiar estimate of the story of Scylla that Virgil does not give elsewhere; for his accounts elsewhere are not consistent. In the *Culex*, he had the Homeric version. In the *Bucolics*, he fuses the two legends, and declares that it is the very daughter of Nisus who became the sea-monster; the reason may be that having to tell of Philomel also,[7] he cannot twice describe how a maiden was

[1] Vv. 59-61.

[2] *Ecl.* 6, 75 ff.: candida succinctam latrantibus inguina monstris | Dulichias vexasse rates et gurgite in alto, | a! timidos nautas canibus lacerasse marinis.

[3] Sed neque Maeoniae patiuntur credere chartae | nec malus istorum dubiis erroribus auctor. Surely *malus auctor* must refer to Ulysses and not to Neptune (so Sillig) or Homer himself (so Forbiger *ad loc.*, Skutsch, *Aus Vergils Frühzeit*, p. 88, and Linforth, *Am. Journ. Philol.*, xxvii (1906), 440 f.). *Istorum* means "such tales as this," and *dubiis erroribus* is a paraphrase of πολύπλαγκτος, with the implication that most of Ulysses's travels took place in his imagination. Such criticism of Homer is as old as Pindar, *Nem.* 7, 20 ff. As a matter of fact, Homer has himself answered this particular criticism of Pindar in *Od.* 11, 543.

[4] See his elaborate account of the inner meanings of the rite of Cybele (2, 600 ff.) and of the punishments of noted villians in Hades (3, 977 ff.)

[5] Lucretius's Phaethon (5, 396 ff.) is quite as real as Ovid's (*Met.* 2 ff.). Just so here, the scientifically impossible Scylla seems very much alive.

[6] V. 71: infelix virgo, quid enim commiserat illa? Also 81 f. Similarly Virgil of the unhappy Pasiphaë (*Ecl.* 6, 47, 52): a, virgo infelix, etc.

[7] Vv. 78 ff. See Skutsch, i, 99. If as Skutsch thought (p. 110), Virgil compliments Gallus in this passage by borrowing the latter's lines, why should he go out of his

transformed into a bird. He therefore varies — artistic freedom is as natural in the *Bucolics* as scientific exactness is in the present poem.[1] In the *Georgics*,[2] Scylla is the bird once more, but in the *Aeneid*, the monster;[3] Virgil could alter his treatment of the legend to suit his varying purpose. So could Ovid. He, too, now merges the Scyllas into one, and now presents them separately.[4] We may not infer, therefore, that the *Ciris* is not the work of Virgil because he here condemns the version of the myth that he elsewhere accepts.

There is another reason besides scientific propriety that induces the writer to choose his Scylla with care. Indeed strict science, after all, cannot be his concern, for the metamorphosis of a maiden into a bird is not more naturalistic than her assumption of a girdle of barking sea-dogs. The poet wants to be as scientific as he can — he also wants to throw his subject into high relief. So he feels about for it, blocking out his terrain and designating the parts that he is not going to touch it; it is a sort of *praeteritio*, of which other poets, too, can furnish examples.[5]

After a brief invocation of the Pierides, the poet is ready for the story, which he tells with a firm dignity and a certain mystic wonder, of which the exclamations over the metamorphosis of Scylla are typical,[6] and to which the sixty-fourth poem of Catullus presents the nearest parallel.[7] Despite occasional roughness in verse and phrasing, the poem is a noteworthy success. Scylla deserves a place with the characters of tragedy. The moment when her old nurse overtakes her, in the act of stealing by night to her father's chamber in quest of the fatal lock, is full of tragic feeling.[8] Despite the horror of the deed, we

way to present a view of Scylla that his friend had branded as false? It is more likely that Virgil treated thus cavalierly an earlier poem of his own.

[1] Lucretius (5, 892) had scoffed at the canine Scylla as a scientific impossibility.

[2] 1, 404 ff. [3] 3, 420 ff.

[4] In *Am.* 3, 12, 21 ff., the two Scyllas are combined exactly as in *Ecl.* 6. The bird-story appears in *Met.* 8, 91; *Rem.* 67; *Trist.* 2, 393. The monster-story appears in *Her.* 12, 123; *Am.* 2, 11, 18; *Met.* 13, 730, 967; 14, 18; *Ex Pont.* 3, 1, 122; 4, 10, 25. In *A. A.* 1, 331 the couplet of *Am.* 3, 12, 21 is repeated.

[5] E. g., Horace *Carm.* 3, 11; 3, 27. Ovid. *Met.* 4, 43 ff.

[6] Vv. 195 ff.

[7] Cf. Catullus's apostrophe of the age of heroes, vv. 22 ff.

[8] Ovid appreciated the tragic element in the story, whether he found it in our poem or elsewhere. See *Trist.* 2, 393: Impia nec tragicos tetigisset Scylla cothurnos, | ni patrium crinem desecuisset amor.

have the sense of some uncanny destiny that overrules poor mortals and occasions part at least of their guilt — *crudeles vos quoque superi.* A touch of this idea, we saw, was present in the earliest of Virgil's works.[1]

As a whole, the epyllion of *Ciris* is in the manner of Catullus and his contemporaries. It also shows some of their minor traits of versification and language, such as spondaic lines and diminutive adjectives.[2] Some of its very crudities are explained by its Neo-Alexandrian character.[3] Taken with the *Catalepton*, it gives evidence of a thoroughgoing emulation of the two varieties of Catullus's work, the *Nugae* and the longer poems.[4] No touch of his wistful romanticism the yearning for a golden age, appears; its nearest approach is the sense of wonder and mystery. The laments of Scylla and Carme are inferior in pathos to that of Ariadne in Catullus, but the tragic element gives the *Ciris* a peculiar intensity which the latter wholly lacks. Virgil entered the lists against his master another time, when in his story of Dido he again transformed pathos into tragedy. A dim prophecy of this achievement is given in the present poem.

[1] See above, p. 118, note 7.

[2] Admirably shown by Skutsch, i, 64 ff., ii, 19 ff. The massing of adjectives and participles about a single noun still occurs. Cf. v. 3 with Catullus, 64, 87.

[3] For certain details, see Vollmer, *Sitzungsberichte*, etc. (1907), pp. 359 ff. One noticeable peculiarity is the frequent use of compound sentences, in which the coördinate elements often form a lengthy chain. Thus in Catullus, 64, 19 ff., three lines begin with *Tum*, each containing a main verb near or at the end of the line. In a stretch of eleven verses (32–42), there are no less than fourteen main verbs, with no subordinate clauses. So in *Ciris*, vv. 29–32, four main verbs follow one another in as many lines, the first three being in exactly the same position in the verse. In a passage of nine lines (459–467), there are seven main verbs. In vv. 387–390, there are three main verbs with *Tum* at the beginning of three of the lines, the whole passage being obviously modelled on Catullus, 64, 19 ff. When Virgil turned to this poem later, with a far different purpose in mind, it is not surprising that he should again exhibit this trait of style. The oracular character of the *Fourth Eclogue* makes short, coördinate sentences appropriate.

[4] The most apparent reminiscences of Catullus are noted in Vollmer's edition. To specify one detail, the lament of Carme, vv. 283 ff., and that of Scylla, vv. 404 ff., represent a τόπος natural enough after Ariadne's lament in Catullus 64, 132 ff. For all that, the coloring of these passages is also a kind of prophecy of the pastoral lament in Virgil's eighth *Eclogue*. Cf. *Ciris* 302, and *Buc.* 8, 59.

Another prophecy of the later Virgil consists in the identity of phrases, lines, and passages with portions of the *Bucolics*, the *Georgics*, and the *Aeneid*. These are so extensive that many believe the *Ciris* is a later imitation, in places almost a *cento*, from these works of Virgil.[1] And yet the piece seems clearly of the school of Catullus. It is hardly conceivable that some belated admirer of the late Republican poets wrote it toward the end of the Augustan period, incidentally making large appropriations from poetry of a different sort.[2] It is curious that he should plunder Virgil in this wholesale fashion, but borrow from Catullus and Lucretius in the skilfully allusive manner in which Virgil treated his predecessors.[3] The perplexities raised by this hypothesis are cleared away by the testimony of tradition. The poem belongs to the earlier period, — and it is by Virgil himself. To see how a later Augustan used the same material, we can turn to Ovid's story of Scylla, or of Byblis, or of Myrrha,[4] where dapper rhetoric and an expert mastery of pathological impossibilities replace the sober and somewhat archaic art of Catullus and the author of the *Ciris*; technique has developed and grandeur disappeared as in Bernini's sculpture after that of Giovanni Pisano. Virgil could plunder the *Ciris*, for he was plundering his own, and in most cases improving what he took. We do not need the ingenious, but unsupported, theory revived by Skutsch [5] and favored by Mackail [5] that *Ciris* is wholly or in part the

[1] The most important coincidences are noted in Vollmer's edition. See also *Sitzungsberichte*, etc (1907), p. 362. These coincidences are not confined to the *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid*. For instance, cf. *Culex*, 385, and *Ciris*, 340; *Catalepton*, 3, 5, and *Ciris*, 291. On *Ciris* and *Catalepton*, see Sommer, *op. cit.*, pp. 48 f, 104, 106; Drackmann, *Hermes*, xliii, 425; P. Jahn, *Rhein. Mus.*, lxiii, 100. On the use of the name "Hellespont," in the sense of "Aegean," see G. Jachmann, *Rhein. Mus.*, lxx (1916), 640; it is found in both *Culex* and *Ciris*.

[2] The priority of the *Ciris*, I believe, has been conclusively shown by Skutsch, i, 61 ff., 105 ff.; ii, 4 ff., and Drachmann in *Nordisk Tidsskrift loc. cit.*, 65 ff.

[3] A point admirably made by Drachmann, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Met.* 8, 1; 9, 450; 10, 298.

[5] See above, pp. 104 f. The bit of external evidence with which Skutsch starts is Servius's remark on *Ecl.* 10, 46: *hi autem omnes versus Galli sunt, de ipsius translati carminibus*. Obviously Virgil is quoting a certain amount from Gallus. How much is covered by *hi omnes versus* it is arbitrary to say. Gallus's elegiacs would have to be refashioned in any case. Suggestive reminiscences there may be in all parts of Gallus's speech, but the problem of this eclogue is not solved by calling

work of Gallus, to whom Virgil paid the compliment of constant borrowing. But Virgil also borrowed, with utter freedom, from his own works, from the *Bucolics* in the *Georgics* and from both of these poems in the *Aeneid*.[1]

The mystery of the *Ciris* vanishes if we recognize that it marks an ebullient and unsettled period in its author's career. Of course, then, its style and its very metre differ both from what he had previously done and from what he was later to do.[2] He is passing consciously, or trying to pass into a new world of thought and feeling.[3] He would

it a string of quotations. Its general meaning is clear, and the meaning of vv. 44–45 is clear — it was long ago explained by Servius (*ex affectu ibi se esse putat, ubi amica est, ut 'me' sit 'meum animum'*). The piece is a study of the shifting emotions of a poetic mind, which finally centres on its proper task. It is a tribute to the sincerity of Gallus's elegies, and as noble a tribute as one poet ever paid another. It is far removed from the realm of "Catalogue Poetry." Skutsch, starting with Servius's comment, follows it like the flower in the crannied wall. He naturally finds Catalogue Poetry rampant in the sixth *Eclogue* — but there he is altogether on the broad sea of conjecture.

Mackail's theory amounts to a modification of that of Skutsch. See his *Lectures on Poetry*, p. 68.

[1] See above, p. 127, note 2, and Drachmann, *Nordisk Tidsskrift*, *loc. cit.*, p. 67.

[2] In a profitable dissertation, (*Num Culex et Ciris Epyllia ab eodem poeta composita sint quaeritur*, Giessen, 1914), Miss L. G. Eldridge comes to the conclusion that owing to their differences in metrical usage, the *Ciris* and the *Culex* cannot be by the same author. But the divergences are by no means fatal to the theory that I am here presenting. In general, the *Ciris* shows greater sureness of touch, but less regularity. Thus there are more elisions allowed than in the *Culex* (p. 48). Hiatus appears (p. 49), though absent from the *Culex;* one variety of hiatus, be it noted, is especially Virgilian — that in which a Greek word is involved at the end of a verse (e. g., 474, repeated *Aen.* 3, 74: Neptuno Aegaeo). Spondaeic lines, not a feature of the *Culex*, are introduced in *Ciris* owing to the influence of Catullus, and later again disappear in Virgil (cf. *Ciris* 96: *deponunt flores aut suave rubens narcissus* with *Ecl.* 3, 63: *munera sunt lauri et suave rubens hyacinthus*). The use of diaeresis in the two poems is virtually the same (pp. 50 ff.). They agree in occasionally permitting diaeresis in the second foot — a license that later became anathema to Virgil. *Ciris* is more like the later Virgil than is *Culex* in its use of the monosyllable at the end of the line (as may be gathered from the examples cited in pp. 55–57). On the style in general, the writer (p. 60) justly remarks, as Naeke (p. 237) had remarked before: *sermonem Ciris elegantiorem quam Culicis esse neque tot locis rudibus atque malis abundare.* This is what we should expect if *Culex* is the earlier, *Ciris* the maturer, work.

[3] For this much of my argument — no more — I may appeal to Reitzenstein,

like to have done once for all with poetry, to which he has been devoted in the past. Giving it a final fling, he turns no longer to the models on which he had formed his style at the age of sixteen, but after an intense preoccupation with the ideals of Catullus, he deliberately adapts his poetic manner to that of his new master.[1] Neo-Alexandrian dactylic hexameter as practised by Catullus is a type in itself, as distinct from the heroic verse of Lucretius and the author of the *Culex* as the conversational hexameter of Horace's satires is from the lyric hexameter of his odes and epodes. It is not more surprising that Virgil should have written both *Culex* and *Ciris* than that Horace proved adept in different types of the same verse. And notwithstanding the strange atmosphere of *Ciris*, continual flashes of the later Virgil warn us that its manner will not last. These " Virgilian " bits consist not merely in the lines and passages that Virgil incorporated, with or without modification, in his later poems; others, likewise, have the right swing.[2] These, indeed, we should expect to occur in a genuine work of his; a mere imitator could not have invented them. In a word, the *Ciris* is the product of a peculiar period in Virgil's development. It reflects his interest in science, which, strongest in his youth, colored his temperament throughout his life. It also shows how profoundly

Hermes, xlviii (1913), 250 ff., who detects in the poem the flavor of a *vita nuova*, a turning-point in a career (p. 255).

[1] Lucretius is not altogether forgotten in the *Ciris;* his influence appears particularly in the introduction, where the poet pledges his loyalty to science.

[2] For a preliminary survey, one may take the list given by Miss Eldridge, *op. cit.*, p. 60 to illustrate the *elegantior sermo* of the *Ciris;* it includes some of the verses repeated in Virgil's later works. Though every reader prefers his own selection, the verses here cited suffice to prove that their author was master of his art. One blemish of the poem may also be noted here, on account of its very Virgilian character. In describing Scylla's unwitting act of sacrilege at the cermony in honor of Juno, the poet says, vv. 142 f.: *dum sacris operata deae lascivit et extra | procedit longe matrum comitumque catervam*. The reader is instantly and unpleasantly reminded of Lucretius's unapproachable lines (1, 72 f.): *ergo vivida vis animo pervicit, et extra | processit longe flammantia moenia mundi*. There is a striking parallel to this infelicity in the *Aeneid*. Aeneas greets Dido in the world below with the the words spoken by Berenice's lock in Catullus's poem (66, 39): *invita o regina tuo de vertice cessi* (*invitus regina tuo de litore cessi: Aen.* 6, 460). The Verona scholiast on *Aen.* 10, 557 remarks that Virgil *neque temporis neque loci habet curam* in his imitations. It may be that the vice of intention obtains in neither case. My point is that they show a strikingly similar defect, whether of memory or of taste.

he had been imbued with the spirit of Catullus. And it prophesies the turn that his own genius was to take.

The question of the date of the poem remains. As Virgil came to Rome about 52 B.C., we may plausibly assign the year 50 as the earliest appropriate date of the *Ciris*. Though the work was finished when science had taken possession of him, he may have spent part of his purely Catullan period on the body of the work. He may well have devoted some three or four years in all to its composition, emulating the careful method of Helvius Cinna and his nine years' pondered lay on a similar story of filial impiety.[1] There is no reason why a poem could not have been dedicated to Messalla in or about 50 B.C. He was nearly of Virgil's age at the time,[2] and evidently had given promise of the eminence in oratory and letters that he later attained; in 43 B.C., Cicero lauds his eloquence to the skies.[3] It is not necessary to connect the poem with Messalla's later career, for instance with the triumph that he celebrated for his victory over the Aquitanians in 27 B.C.; indeed, there are grave objections to assuming that Virgil wrote a poem like the *Ciris* so late in life. That was not the time for a somewhat youthful panegyric of science — after the full flung challenge to

[1] The name of the nurse, Carme, is taken from Cinna's *Smyrna*, and there may well be a good bit of imitation of that poem elsewhere in the *Ciris*. See Heinze, *Virgil's Epische Technik* (1908²), p. 126, note. Virgil's admiration of the *Smyrna*, or at least of Cinna's work in general, is obvious from *Ecl.* 9, 35 f.

[2] According to St. Jerome, a notoriously slippery source on dates, Messalla was born in 59 B.C. Teuffel, *op. cit.*, § 222 gives the date, with a question-mark, as 64 B.C. Schanz, § 215 omits the question-mark. The date 64 B.C. is deduced mainly from St. Jerome's (likewise uncertain) statement of Messalla's age at the time of his death. Scaliger, in his note on St. Jerome, argues for 70 B.C. as the year of Messalla's birth. Drachmann (*Nord. Tidssk., loc. cit.* p. 71) would assign the poem to the year 45, on the assumption that Messella was born in 64. But he also feels that the characteristics of the piece, especially in relation to the art of the *Bucolics*, demand a date nearer to 50 B.C. He therefore is inclined to infer that it is dedicated to some other Messalla. I should prefer to accept, with Scaliger, an earlier date for Messalla's birth. If that fell, let us say, halfway between that of his intimate friends Horace and Virgil, he would be seventeen or eighteen in 50 B.C. — not too young for the meed of praise given him in the *Ciris*. Lads were well educated in those days. Virgil wrote his *Culex* at sixteen. We can get a bit more leeway by assuming 48 B.C. as the date: I can see no arguments against it.

[3] *Ad Brutum*, 1, 15, 1.

Lucretius made in the *Georgics*.[1] I doubt also whether at that time Virgil would have felt like refurbishing an earlier epyllion in his long-since discarded Catullan manner.

V

Aetna

The philosophical achievement to which the poet of the *Ciris* looked forward perhaps lies before us in the *Aetna*. The Virgilian authorship of this work was doubted in antiquity, or at least in the early Middle Ages, though possibly not by Donatus himself. Indeed, both Donatus and Servius may be cited as witnesses to the Virgilian authorship. Later in the Middle Ages, Vincent of Beauvais appears among the higher critics.[2] The theme of the poem, the nature of volcanoes, does not appeal to most modern readers of *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid* as Virgilian.

We can at least limit the date of the poem to the period between the year 55 B.C., the death of Lucretius, whose influence in the work is patent, and 79 A.D., when the great eruption of Vesuvius, not mentioned in the poem, occurred. Almost everybody who wielded a pen between these dates has been cited as a possible author of the poem — Quintilius Varus, Cornelius Severus, Ovid, Augustus, Manilius, Seneca, Lucilius Junior, the elder Pliny, the younger Pliny,[3] and even beyond the bounds of this period, Claudian.[4] Present opinion inclines

[1] Vollmer (*Sitzungsberichte*, etc. (1907), 364 ff.) would conclude, as I am tempted to conclude, that the body of the *Ciris* may have been written before the present form of the poem was finished. But he would place the *Ciris* between the *Bucolics* and the *Georgics* mainly because of the character of the coincidences. This is treacherous ground. Vollmer thinks that the introduction was written in 27 B.C.

[2] *Spec. Hist.* 6, 62.

[3] By A. Kraemer, *Berl. Philol. Woch.*, 1913, 139.

[4] For a review of the diverse opinions, see J. Vessereau, *Aetna*. Paris (1905), xi ff., xx ff. The starting point for many suggestions is a letter of Seneca to his friend Lucilius (*Epost.* 79), to whom Seneca attributes the intention of writing a poem on Aetna. The tone of the exhortation is a bit jocose (cf. 7: aut ego te non novi aut Aetna tibi salivam movet). Lucilius has been going the rounds of Sicily, and is about to report his observations in a letter to Seneca. The latter is anxious to learn the truth about Charybdis (1), and calls likewise for an investigation of Aetna (2: Si haec mihi perscripseris, tunc tibi audebo mandare, ut in honorem

to an anonymous writer of the age of Nero. It is a daring act of heresy to suggest Virgil once more. And yet, though Virgil would hardly have devoted a poem to natural science at the time when he wrote his later works, it is precisely the subject that would appeal to him in the brief period when he had turned from the glamour of letters to sterner training under Siro the Epicurean. For Epicureans of the type of Lucretius and the young Virgil were more interested in the physical laboratory than in roses and wine.[1]

The text of the poem presents peculiar difficulties. It bristles with unsolved and perhaps unsolvable problems that have spurred great scholars like Scaliger, Munro and Ellis to heroic deeds of exegesis and emendation.[2] Curiously, the manuscript sources are more abundant than those for the *Ciris*, which, on the whole, is an easier document to read. Besides the two groups of Z, the younger branch, we have the Cantabrigiensis, *s.* X, the Stabulensis, *s.* X, the Excerpta, *s.* XI, and for lines 138–287, the readings of a lost manuscript used by Gyraldus. Most scholars regard this last-named source as the most important of all for the portion for which it is preserved; but Ellis, following Alzinger, raised certain doubts not easy to be downed.[3] We are forced, I think, to the conclusion postulated by Vollmer,[4] that the text of all the

meum Aetnam quoque adscendas). I see no certain proof from this letter that Lucilius wrote anything on Aetna. He was apparently at work on some sort of a poem pertaining to Sicily, and Seneca hopes that he may bring in Aetna (5: Aetnam describas in tuo carmine et hunc solemnem omnibus poetis locum adtingas: quem quo minus Ovidius tractaret, nihil obstitit, quod iam Vergilius impleverat. Ne Severum quidem Cornelium uterque deterruit).

[1] My idea is exactly expressed by B. Kruczkiewicz, *Poema Vergilio auctor; potissimum esse tribuendum demonstrabat*, in *Rozprawy i Sprawozdania* (Univ. of Cracow), x (1884), 155: Ceterum cum etiam in dicendi genere Aetna auctor . . . medium quoddam tenet inter Lucretii atque maiora tria Vergilii carmina, facile adducor, ut credam ipsum Vergilium quondam recentis epicurae doctrinae materiam secutum fortius impugnasse fictas illas historias, priusquam aetas uitaeque usus impetum illum iuuenilem retardassent nimiumque studium temperassent.

[2] See Scaliger, *Pub. Virgilii Maronis Appendix — In eandem Appendicem Castigationes*, Leyden (ed. of 1595), p. 87: Nulli fere poemati magis nocuit, imo, ut ne quid dissimulem, nulli tantum nocuit vetustas.

[3] *Aetna*, pp. lxv ff.

[4] See above, pp. 111f. On the verse of *Aetna* is cited in the *Exempla Diversorum Auctorum*, see Vollmer, *Sitzungsberichte*, etc. (1907), 349.

minor poems comes from a single book, though different groupings of the works were later made. This single text, furthermore, whether it was contained in a faded ancient codex or in an intermediate copy made in some puzzling script like the Irish cursive,[1] was full of errors that only the divining art of conjectural criticism can remove.

The writer of the *Aetna* starts off with an invocation to Phoebus, not too poetical a beginning for an imitator of Lucretius, who called Venus to aid him in the building of his philosophical verse. There is no touch here of the Augustan significance of Apollo, Octavian's patron-saint at Actium. Apollo is invoked as leader of the Muses, whose help is needful in a journey on the higher levels of thought. But they must be sure of the direction; their guide must lead the way.[2] The poet's theme is novel and modern — not the Golden Age, which some poets appear to know better than their own times, nor any of the stale fables which everyone has sung. Among these is included the tale of Ariadne abandoned on the barren shore; this looks like a glance at Catullus and the kind of poetry that the young philosopher himself had shortly before been writing. Such anti-mythological talk might seem unlike Virgil if there were not the same sort of thing in the *Culex* and the *Georgics*.[3] The tone is milder, naturally, in these other passages. He perhaps would not later, or earlier, as here, call the poet's function the dissemination of false report. Yet Ovid blithely uses a similar phrase,[4] and Lucretius, of course, likes to harp on the splendid lies that are fed

[1] The error of *furtim* for *euri* points to an archetype in rustic capitals. The right reading in the codex of Gyraldus is easy for an intelligent humanist to divine from the context. Another correct reading of G, likewise easily attained by emendation, is *unde* for *una* in v. 220. This suggests a misinterpretation of a parent manuscript containing the insular abbreviation *ūn̄* for *unde*. So far as I can see, the most plausible lineage to assume for the text of the minor poems, is (A) an ancient, and perhaps faded, MS. in rustic capitals; (B) a copy of A, in some Insular hand; (C) a copy of B and the parent of all our extant codices.

[2] The Virgilian character of this invocation and its similarity to that in the *Culex* has often been remarked. See S. Sudhaus, *Aetna. Erklaert.* Leipzig, (1898), p. 96. The Apollo of the *Culex*, as of the third *Georgic*, is the pastoral divinity.

[3] See above, p. 116, note 1. Incidentally, would anybody have felt like calling the theme of Aetna *insolitum* in the age of Nero? To Seneca it is *sollemnis omnibus poetis locus*. See above, p. 155, note 4.

[4] *Fasti* 1, 6, 253.

to mankind by poets and allegorists.[1] As early as Solon, in fact, a poet could declare of his brother-bards

πολλὰ ψεύδονται ἀοιδοί.[2]

However, the poet of the *Aetna* seems to speak out of the bitterness of a new experience; his words show the intensity of a youthful observer who has discovered that the utterances of Religion are not absolute truth. There are touches of a youthful irony in his account of the myth that he finds necessary to tell.[3]

The subject of the poem, doubtless inspired by the sixth book of Lucretius, is the real cause of volcanoes. Here is a matter in which the gods are not involved, for free from sordid cares, they dwell in the palaces of the sky and mind not our concerns; the poet, like Lucretius and the author of the *Ciris*, is of the school of Epicurus.[4] This fact does not prevent him from taking a large part of his science from Posidonius;[5] his goal is eclectic truth and not merely Epicurean theory. The tale of Vulcan and the Cyclopes and of the fate of Enceladus in the battle between gods and giants is an idle affair, our poet declares. He takes a certain pleasure in telling it, in very decent verse, only to cap the story with a vigorous denial of its veracity —

haec est mendosae volgata licentia famae.[6]

Most of the staging of life, he continues, is falsity. The poets have invented the realm of Pluto; they have pried into heaven itself and

[1] See 5, 405: *scilicet ut veteres Graium cecinere poetae*, which takes the pith out of the preceding story of Phaethon. The account of the rites of Ceres and their allegorical meaning, though flavored with an amount of ill-concealed interest, ends with a similar remark (2, 644). We have noted the same vein in *Ciris:* see above, p. 148, note 5.

[2] *Fgm.* 26 Hiller.

[3] There is irony in the exclamatory *nefas* (v. 43) and in the description of the serpentine giant (vv. 46 f.).

[4] Vv. 29 ff.

[5] See Sudhaus's careful study, *op. cit.*, pp. 56 ff. He explains the striking coindences between *Aetna* and Seneca, of which advocates of a later date for *Aetna* have made much, as due to the use of a common source. This may well be the case; I also see no reason why Seneca should not have borrowed directly from *Aetna*, especially if that be the work which, he says, *Vergilius impleverat*. See above, p. 155, note 4.

[6] V. 74. This is exactly the fashion of Lucretius. See note 1.

recorded its scandals and its wars. That is well enough for poetry, but our present concern is truth — it would not be impossible, we feel, for our philosopher to turn to mere poetry again if occasion arose.

The true explanation of Aetna, we are told, is that air works into the crevices of the earth, induces fire by its action, and thus ignites and sets in motion masses of earth and stones, particularly the *lapis molaris* which constitutes its chief fuel. The treatment of this subject is characterized by clarity and a sense of balance.[1] It is constructed in a Virgilian fashion, with digressions or moral outbursts which effect an aesthetic relief from the somewhat arid theme.[2] The theme is high and difficult, the author asserts, but worthy of the dignity of man, who was born, not like the beasts to grovel in the earth, but to raise his head to the skies and to inquire proudly into the laws that govern the world — this noble passage has the flavor of both the *Georgics* and Lucretius.[3] Scientific discovery is a rare and sacred pleasure, the veritable thrill of religious awe that the vision of raining atoms inspired in Lucretius — *divina est animi ac iucunda voluptas*.[4]

The ordinary pursuits of mankind are idle, the quest of gold in the veins of the earth, or the farmer's struggle for fertile soil and bursting crops and lusty herds, with the ignoble lure of wealth ever in the foreground. This disillusioned picture of the agricultural career suggests the toils of Lucretius's unhappy farmer rather than the cheerful gospel of labor set forth in the *Georgics*, and yet the latter work contains an inconspicuous passage on that round of chores and calamities which justifies exasperation and prompts the wise maxim

laudato ingentia rura, exiguum colito.[5]

Read this passage with no knowledge of its context, and you would think it came from a satire on farm life in the vein of *Aetna*.

[1] Vessereau, *op. cit.*, p. xliv.

[2] Kruczkiewicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 151 ff. He justly remarks that there is more of the aesthetic flavor in the digressions of the *Georgics* and more moral purpose in those of the *Aetna* and Lucretius. This is what we should expect in a poem inspired on Lucretius and written before the *Georgics*.

[3] *Georg.* 4, 6: in tenui labor, at non tenuis non gloria. Lucretius, 1, 62 ff.

[4] Vv. 248 ff. Cf. Lucr. 3, 28: his ibi me rebus quaedam divina voluptas | percipit atque horror.

[5] *Georg.* 2, 397.

The best cure for the ills of life, our author continues, is not sordid farming, but the cultivation of the richer soil of the intellect.[1] Learn of science the secret of Aetna, and the fears of superstition flee apace.[2] Your wonder at the incredible will give way to wonder at the true. Why go afar to visit the temples of fictitious gods, the fabled walls of Thebes, Sparta and its sacred band, Athens, loved of Minerva? Science can show you better marvels near at hand, more thrilling than the ashes of Troy or ruined Pergamon, or the beauties of Greek art — Aphrodite of the dripping locks, Medea's children unsuspectingly at play, Agamemnon veiled for the sacrifice of his own daughter, the living glory of Myron and a thousand other works, which you wander over lands and seas to gaze upon. There is a bit of epic in the poet's descriptions, especially in the lines on Troy. His appeal to the beauty or the marvellousness of the commonplace and the near is a familiar strain in Horace[3] and Virgil,[4] and is caught by both of them from Lucretius.[5] This is not the Stoic contempt of art, else the poet would not speak of the *gloria viva Myronis;* his real censure is not of the enjoyment of art but of the indifference to nature.

The poem ends, as the last book of Lucretius ends, with an episode. During an eruption of Aetna, everybody was hastily carrying off his dearest possessions, one groaning under gold, one loading his stupid neck with swords, and one staggering under the weight of his poems — a terrible satire on the Muses, of whom our author, we saw, is the lasting foe. All these greedy folk were overtaken by the hot lava, but Amphion and his brother, catching up their best treasures, their aged parents, brought them through the flames, which yielded at their approach; science apparently has room for a few miracles. The poet exclaims, in words recalling one of the mystic raptures of the *Ciris*,

felix illa dies, illa est innoxia terra.[6]

Filial devotion like that shall live forever and bards shall sing its praise — there seems to be a use for the poet after all.

[1] Vv. 274 ff.

[2] Vv. 279 ff.

[3] *Carm.* 1, 7.

[4] *Georg.* 2, 136 ff.

[5] 2, 1026 ff., on the miracles of the heavens and all that in them is, which for most people fade into the common light of day. The sense of wonder comes to expression in *Aetna* in v. 156.

[6] V. 637. Cf. *Ciris*, 27 f.

This little work is primarily a Lucretian affair, with Lucretian attitudes and catch-phrases, but its author is not a profound scientist; Humboldt [1] thought him a bit obvious. He is also, as we have seen, no rigid Epicurean. Like the author of the *Ciris*, he is more tolerant and eclectic than Lucretius; he speaks of "the truest words of the book obscure" of Heraclitus,[2] whereas Lucretius charged Heraclitus with using obscure words to conceal poverty of thought.[3] We see the same spirit at work as in the *Ciris* — that of a youthful thinker, who starts his philosophical wanderings in the garden of Epicurus,[4] but soon builds him a high tower on the foundations of all four schools.[5] For all that, the flavoring of the poem is rather Epicurean than anything else, notwithstanding the borrowings from Posidonius and others, for the reason that it is so penetrated with Lucretius.[6]

That the poem was written not long after the death of Lucretius may possibly be inferred from certain incidental allusions.[7] In the passage in which the wonders of nature are exalted above those of art, several well-known works of art are described — the painting of Venus Anadyomene by Apelles, the Medea of Timomachus, the Iphigenia of Timanthes, and the bronze cow of Myron.[8] When Cicero wrote the Verrine orations,[9] the Venus was at Cos, the Medea at Cyzicus, and the cow at Athens. The cow was brought to Rome sometime after this date, 70 B.C., and before the reign of Antoninus Pius.[10] The Venus was taken from Cos by Augustus and put up in the temple of Caesar.[11]

[1] *Kosmos*, (ed. of 1847), ii, 21. See also Vessereau, pp. xliii ff.

[2] V. 538.

[3] 1, 638.

[4] *Ciris*, 3.

[5] *Ibid.*, vv. 15 ff.

[6] I cannot follow Sudhaus in calling our poet a Stoic (p. ix, etc.). The different varieties of what he calls the bitterness of the Stoic diatribe may be found in Lucretius. L. Alzinger, *Studia in Aetnam collata*, Lipsiae (1896), pp. 3 ff., has an excellent collection of parallels with Lucretius; see also pp. 35 ff. Several additions might be made, e. g., the intransitive use of *turbare;* cf. v. 168 and Lucr. 2, 126.

[7] The only testimony of like nature that indicates a later date is the allusion to certain hydraulic devices (vv. 294, 297 ff., 328), of which descriptions exist in post-Augustan writers. See e. g., C. Catholy, *De Aetnae Aetate*, Gryphiae (1908), p. 15. But these devices were certainly known in the year 50 B.C. also. See Alzinger, *Blaetter f. d. bayer. Gymnasialsch.*, xxxvi (1900), 649 ff.

[8] Vv. 594 ff. See Alzinger, *Studia*, etc., pp. 45 ff.; Ellis's notes on vv. 593 ff.

[9] 4, 60, 135.

[10] See Kruczkiewicz, p. 157.

[11] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 35, 91.

The Medea was bought by Julius Caesar and put up in the temple of Venus Genetrix.[1] Here we have a very definite date, between the years 46 B.C., when the temple was dedicated, and 44 B.C., when Caesar was put to death. Kruczkiewicz[2] was the first to point out that the date of the poem could not be later than the Augustan age, and Alzinger[3] that it preceded the transfer of the Medea to Rome in the period between 46 and 44 B.C. The lines in the *Aetna* could scarcely have been written after the Medea was a familiar object in Rome. An American writing today would not say to New Yorkers, "Why cross the ocean to see the chariot of Mother Cybele when you can behold on this side the greater wonder of Niagara Falls?" at a time when the chariot of Mother Cybele is preserved in the Metropolitan Museum. Advocates of a later date for the *Aetna* have brushed aside this argument by taking the poet's apostrophe as addressed not to Romans or Sicilians but to mankind in general;[4] but the repeated emphasis on *crossing the seas* to visit foreign scenes is too plain.[5]

Another mode of attack is to declare the description too general to be associated with particular works of art. Such is probably the impression of anybody who reads the passage for the first time; one does not feel disposed to limit the *gloria viva Myronis* to his cow. But the writer is concerned with popular masterpieces. He may not have studied Greek art in the country of its makers,[6] but is rather following some traditional statement like that in the *Verrines*, which Cicero would not have lugged in had it meant nothing to his hearers. So Ovid[7] selects as typical subjects in art, Ajax (also the subject of a noted painting by Timomachus), Medea and Venus Anadyomene.[8]

[1] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 35, 136. [2] P. 158. [3] *Studia*, p. 46.

[4] P. R. Wagler, *Berliner Studien f. klass. Philol.* in *Arch.*, i (1884), 557. E. Herr, *De Aetnae Carminis Sermone*, Marburg (1911), p. 2.

[5] Cf. vv. 571 (*traducti maria*) and 600 (*haec visenda putas terrae dubiusque marisque*), the latter immediately after the description of the works of art.

[6] Virgil might possibly have been in Greece in his youth, as *Catal.* 13 speaks of travels by sea. See above, p. 139. Horace's *propempticon* (*Carm.* 1, 3) written at a later time, refers to a voyage to Greece that Virgil at least had some thought of taking.

[7] *Trist.* 2, 525.

[8] Authorities like Haupt and Brunn agree on the identification of the works of art described in *Aetna*. See Alzinger, *Studia*, p. 45.

Another solution suggested[1] is that the author of the poem is copying sources, not writing from life; his source was composed before the period 46–44 B.C., and he blindly incorporates it. This argument really admits the main point in Alzinger's contention, only that it presupposes a writer of exceeding woodenness of soul, of the character that the traditional *Quellenforscher* imputes to most subjects of his analyses. Our poet, whatever his feelings, has not sunk to such a depth. If in our hypothesized American production, the writer had cribbed his lines on Mother Cybele from a poet of fifty years ago, the result would seem doubly inept. Let us credit the author of the *Aetna* with a minimum of common sense.

Still another view is that all the works alluded to might have been in Rome when the passage was written. The author is presenting well-known types, and for this reason selects specimens that his readers had seen with their own eyes.[2] But cultivated readers, as the passage in the *Verrines* proves, knew these particular specimens before they were actually brought to Rome. I still think it incredible, if they were there, that a writer should take them and not other works as examples of what one makes long journeys to see.

Another bit of contemporary evidence is perhaps furnished by the history of the volcano. No eruption is recorded between the years 122 and 50 B.C., and none between 32 B.C. and 40 A.D. Between 50 and 32 B.C., however, there were four vigorous eruptions, in 50, 44, 38, and 32.[3] The first of these, after seventy-two years of quiet in Aetna, would have been a considerable, not to say an ominous event in the Roman world. It might have roused young Virgil, who, by our hypothesis, had finished, or was writing, the *Ciris* and was longing for a proper inspiration from Science. The following eruption in 44 B.C., which portended the death of Julius Caesar, certainly appealed to the poet's imagination.[4]

On the style of *Aetna*, the oracles have spoken diversely. Munro, no mean judge, declared that the work had no claim to be Virgil's,[5] and

[1] Catholy, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
[2] Sudhaus, p. 82.
[3] Alzinger, *Studia*, pp. 46 ff.
[4] *Georg.* 1, 471 ff.
[5] *Aetna*, p. 32.

that the style is exactly that of Lucan.[1] Scaliger, also no mean judge, considered the style Augustan.[2] Sudhaus, in his valuable edition asserts that the author has not passed through the school of Ovid.[3] Ellis balances what he calls the only two possible datings — one shortly after Virgil's death, the other in the Silver Age — without rendering a decision;[4] he is certain only that the work is not pre-Virgilian.[5] But some there are, with whom I concur, who find it, we will not say pre-Virgilian, but pre-Bucolic. They see nothing in the style that does not comport with the usage of 50–45 B.C.[6]

The latest and most elaborate study of the style of the *Aetna* is by E. Herr.[7] The author has collected his material, which is sometimes valuable, with industry, but the dissertation as a whole is a good specimen of sham science, built up of irrelevant details, multitudinous categories and illegitimate conclusions. The first heading is *De hyperbato coniunctionum*, and the first topic discussed under it is *particulae* et *liberior collocatio*. Five instances are given of postpositive *et;* e. g., v. 59: *impius et miles . . . provocat*. But the reading, or the interpretation, in two of these passages (vv. 133, 164) is doubtful, and in another (v. 140), as Herr admits, *et* may have the force of *etiam*. The statement is then made, after Haupt, that Virgil has only forty-three such instances in all, and only two in the second *Georgic*, which the writer has selected for comparison with the *Aetna*.[8] Horace is declared to be bolder in his use of the postpositive *et*, and Manilius very fond of it. *Videmus igitur hac in re Aetnae auctorem Vergilium longe superare, propius ad Horatii proxime ad Manilii consuetudinem accedere*.[9] The proper conclusion is, that this section of the argument is worthless. So says Herr himself later;[10] he declares that the evidence not only of postpositive *et* but of *neque, sed* and *namque* is

[1] *Aetna*, p. 34. It is little short of amazing that the noted editor of Lucretius should not have appreciated the Lucretian coloring of *Aetna*.

[2] *Pub. Virgilii Maronis Appendix* (1595), p. 86. He quotes Seneca and ascribes the work, which he highly esteems, to Cornelius Severus.

[3] P. 93.

[4] P. xlvii.

[5] P. xxxiii.

[6] Vessereau, pp. xviii ff.

[7] *Op. cit.*, above, p. 162, note 4.

[8] As we are playing with statistics, we should not forget that this book, treated by Herr as an equivalent amount, is only five-sixths of the size of *Aetna*.

[9] P. 7.

[10] P. 8.

inconclusive — "*tamen omittere nolui.*" This beginning does not impress us with the writer's power of suppressing the non-essential.

Let us turn to evidence that he regards as serious, the substantival use of neuter adjectives. His first announcement is:[1] *Demonstratur in Aetna hunc usum saepius inveniri quam apud optimos.* There follow 58 instances of the usage found in the *Aetna*, one in Catullus, 21 in the second *Georgic*, and 57 in the first book of Manilius. The inference, obvious to an arithmetically trained mind, is that substantival neuter adjectives for brevity I will call them neuter substantives were a rarity before Virgil, came in with him, and were plentifully developed by Manilius, whose tendency is also illustrated in the *Aetna*. I can help this case a bit, on the principle of proportionate representation. As there are 542 lines in the second *Georgic*, 646 in the *Aetna*, 926 in the first book of Manilius, the number of substantival neuter adjectives in the *Georgics* being 21, the proportionate number for Manilius would be 33 and for the *Aetna* 48; this reckoning might get the *Aetna* down to the time of Pliny, where Herr would like to put it.

But we must apply other analyses. If we count not the number of instances of any substantival neuter adjective, whether repeated or not, but the number of different neuter substantives, we find 19 in the *Georgics*, 38 in Manilius, and 37 in the *Aetna*. This reckoning puts *Aetna* and Manilius together, being the proportionate figures 19, 22, and 32. Furthermore, in seven of the passages in the *Aetna*, (involving seven substantival neuter adjectives), the reading is uncertain or other interpretation is possible.[2] If we rule these cases out, there remains no noticeable difference in style between the *Aetna* and the other two works. More than this, Herr fails to note one of the most important elements in the question. He does not record the testimony of an author generally reckoned *inter optimos*, namely Lucretius. At least ten of the thirty-eight substantival neuter adjectives of the *Aetna* occur in Lucretius,[3] seven of these reappearing in Virgil. Ten more

[1] P. 33.

[2] See Ellis and Vollmer on *abscondita*, 409 *hausti*, 411 *tutum*, 458 *haud equidem mirum*, 463 *ictaque*, 466 *collis*, 638 *dextera*.

[3] *Altum*, cava, falsum, *imum*, *malum*, *plenum*, *profundum*, *solidum*, *tantum*, totum. The Italicized words are also found in *Buc.*, *Georg.*, or *Aen.* *Cava* occurs in *Culex*.

are found in the accepted works of Virgil,[1] and one in the *Ciris*.[2] Those remaining, nine in number, are *aridiora*, *in artum*, *in breve* (*brevia*, *brevibus* are in Virgil), *cari*, *in commune*, *declivia*, *in inclusis* (*incluso*), *in occulto*, *singula* (!).

But let us put Lucretius to another test, of the kind applied by Herr to the other works. Taking the first 542 lines of Book 1, the equivalent of the second *Georgic*, I count no less than 79 cases. On this scoring, it would be natural for Herr to welcome Lucretius, likewise, to the *entourage* of the elder Pliny. Preferring another kind of analysis, and counting now the different substantival neuter adjectives, I find 28,[3] virtually the number noted in the *Aetna*. This apparently curious result is due to the fact that Lucretius, who up to v. 329 has 11 varieties and only 16 instances of substantival neuter adjectives, now begins to talk about the *inane;* he adds 17 varieties and 63 instances in the remainder of the passage.

In brief, the above evidence comports with the assumption that Virgil wrote the *Aetna* not long after Lucretius, and before the *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid*. His use of neuter substantives agrees in the main with that in the *De Rerum Natura* and in his own later works. Being a writer of individuality, he uses some expressions that he does not elsewhere use, just as in the second *Georgic* we find some rather striking cases not found in his other works or in Lucretius.[4]

As for Manilius, some of the substantives recorded by Herr occur in the accepted works of Virgil,[5] some are Lucretian,[6] some are the

[1] *Augusta, densum, in longum, multis, in obliquum, per omnia, parva, proxima, rapta* (raptis *Aet.*, rapto *Aen.*), *in tenui*. Herr remarks on *in tenui* (p. 35): hoc adiectivum Aetnae auctor solus substantive usurpasse videtur. He will find it in *Georg.* 4, 6.

[2] *Insolitum.*

[3] *Bina, clausa, coeptum, coniunctum, culta, deserta, diversa, gravius, inane* (*inania*), *omne* (*omnia*), *multa, nulla, pingui, de pleno, prima, quantum, reperta, saepta, solidi, strata, sublimia, tantum, tantundem, totum, unum, vacans, vacuum, verum*. On *ex pleno*, Herr observes (p. 35): hoc enim apud classicos non exstare videtur: apud Plinium accusativum huius adiectivi saepius legimus. Lucretius's *de pleno* is much more to the point.

[4] *Longinqua Tarenti, iusto laetior, in teneris, in plano, per purum, exiguo.*

[5] *In adversum, convexa, contraria, diversa, extrema, media, serenum, summum, supremum.*

[6] *Altum*, in commune bonum, *imum, inane* (*inania*), minimum, omne, *profundum, ultima.*

veriest commonplaces, used by almost any writer.[1] There are but six not found in the other works under discussion. Two of these are in the verses: [2] *frigida nec calidis* (in Lucretius) *desint aut umida siccis* (in Virgil) | *spiritus aut solidis* (in Lucretius and Virgil). The remaining four are *acclivia*, *in longius*, *ex simili* and *vulgata*. The only substantival neuter adjectives found also in the *Aetna*, which is supposed to "*congruere accurate*" with the Manilius, are: *in breve* (*brevia* in *Aeneid*), *declivia*, *in longum* (in *Ecl.*), *per obliquum* (*in obliquum* in *Aetna* and *Georgics*), *per omnia* (in *Aeneid*), *parvis* (general), *singula* (!). This is about what we should expect from Manilius. Both he and the author of the *Aetna* find a fairly large number of neuter substantives necessary in their technical subjects, but while Manilius plods on in beaten tracks, the poet of *Aetna*, like the poet of the *Bucolics*, the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid*, creates.

The history of the substantival use of the neuter adjective is a profitable matter for investigation, but nothing whatever can be learned about it from the method pursued by Herr. I have gone through others of his categories with similar care, but one specimen is enough. His effort, easily accomplished by his plan, is to align the style of the *Aetna* with that of the elder Pliny, whom Birt, by a curious lapse of taste, had suggested some years ago as the author of the poem.[3] This dissertation, like that of Holtschmidt on the *Culex*, does little credit to the author of *Jugendverse und Heimatpoesie Vergils*.

Another elaborate production of the school of Birt is devoted to the metre of the *Aetna* by J. Franke.[4] His starting-point is Birt's classification of the dactylic hexameter into six forms according to the caesurae employed. In F(orm) I, the masculine caesura in the third foot is found, either with or without a supplementary trithemimeral or hepthemimeral caesura. In F II, there are only the trithemimeral and

[1] *Cuncta*, *magna*, *maiora*, *omnia*, *sua*, *talia*, *tanta*, *tantum*.

[2] Vv. 141 f.

[3] See *Philologus*, lvii (1898), 607 ff. Herr's study of parataxis (pp. 62 ff.) reaches the conclusion that the manner of *Aetna* agrees to a T with that of the elder Pliny. What is *breviloquentia Pliniana* to the school of Birt, Naeke called *antiqua simplicitas*. The peculiarities discussed by Herr may be found either in Catullus (e. g., see above, p. 150, note 3), or, as he sufficiently shows, in Virgil himself.

[4] *Res Metrica Aetnae Carminis*, Marburg, 1898.

hepthemimeral caesurae. In F III, besides these two, there is a feminine caesura after the third trochee. In F IV, there is a caesura after the third trochee and also a hepthemimeral caesura. In F V, a caesura after the third trochee is preceded by a trithemimeral. In F VI, only the caesura after the third trochee is found. The most desirable forms, according to Birt, are F I and F III.

The writer sums up his results in three lists. The first contains seventeen points in which the metre of the *Aetna* is declared superior to that of the *Georgics*,[1] the second has fourteen points of inferiority, and the third, sixteen points of general similarity. The conclusion, which smacks of the arithmetical flavor relished by the pupils of Birt, is that the *Aetna* was written after the *Georgics*.

As in matters of style, some of these supposed metrical habits deserve a closer analysis than the counting of their occurrences. Certain of them, the writer admits, are of minor importance. Among the metrical superiorities of the *Aetna*, there are eleven to which he attaches special significance. I will examine two of these, by way of illustration. No. 1 is thus stated.

" 1. Forma II exstat in *Aetna* semel in vv. 80 $\frac{3}{4}$, in *Georg. I* in vv. $36\frac{3}{4}$; F II: F III in *Aetna* 1: $10\frac{7}{8}$, 1: $3\frac{5}{7}$ in *Georg. I*."

Form II, we learned from Birt, is an inferior form. *Ergo*, the *Georgics* is inferior, which has it twice as often as *Aetna*. But surely this is no defect of the *Georgics;* rather we see the hand of the master who consciously varies his effects. We are not surprised to find that *Aetna* is surpassed in the supposed virtue only by that sublime artist Avienus, who attains the proportion of 1 in 235 vv.)[2]

Another " superiority " of *Aetna* is its avoidance of hiatus. The proportion is 1 in 646 verses, but in the first book of the *Georgics*, 1 in $85\frac{2}{3}$. In other words, there is but one case of hiatus in the *Aetna*, the rough verse

hospitium fluvium, aut semita, nulla profecto.[3]

In the first *Georgic*, there are six cases. In two, the hiatus occurs in verses containing Greek names,[4] a device of which Virgil is fond and

[1] P. 45. [2] P. 14.

[3] V. 129. The hiatus is emended away by most recent editors.

[4] Vv. 221, 437.

which he introduced into his verse as early as the *Ciris*.[1] The first of these has a spondee in the fifth foot — a rare occurrence in Virgil. In Virgil, metrical exceptions never rain but they pour. So in v. 281, there is another hiatus in the middle of the line; it helps in slowing the pace of the verse to that of the action. A similarly effective hiatus occurs at the beginning of the poem, a place which the poet certainly did not leave unfinished. The breaking in of the hiatus in v. 4 both prevents the introductory list from becoming monotonous, and serves, by the necessary pause, to emphasize the topic that caps the poet's climax — the story of the bees. On more case remains, v. 341:

> tum pingues agni et tum mollissima vina,
> tum somni dulces densaeque in montibus umbrae.

I submit that a reader who finds any defect here has not attuned his ear to the subtle music of Virgil's hexameters. The way to treat his discords is not to catalogue them as eccentricities, but to note how they are resolved into some larger harmony.

Other points adduced by Franke, particularly the matter of elision, deserve a similar scrutiny. Many of his collections are valuable. The conclusion to draw from them, I believe, is that the metre of the *Aetna* resembles that of the *Georgics* and the *Bucolics*, but is the work of a less practised hand. This result tallies with our hypothesis that *Aetna* was written before the *Bucolics*, and by the same writer.[2]

[1] 474: Nereidum matri et Neptuno Aegaeo (*Aen.* 3, 74). This habit, so far as I can ascertain is one of Virgil's inventions. Catullus is fond of ending a line with a spondaic Greek name (e. g., 64. 3, 11, 28, 36, 74, 79, 96, 252, 358), and Virgil picks up this manner in *Ciris* (73, 113, 239, 326, 413, 486), sometimes having the same name, as *Amphitrite*, 73, Cat. 11). Hiatus is first introduced in such a line in v. 474. Virgil liked the effect, and in the later poems where he gave art free rein, he has a number of these verses. One of the earliest examples, and one of the best, is *Ecl.* 2, 24: Amphion Dircaeus in Actaeo Aracyntho. There are no cases in *Culex* — another sign that this poem is not the work of a later imitator, who might well have shown by a touch or two that he understood the refinements of the Virgilian ehxameter; Ovid, at least, has understood (cf. e. g., *Met.* 2, 244; 4, 535). Lucretius uses Greek names when he has to, but he does not roll them under his tongue, like that blessed word Mesopotamia, in the fashion of the Neoterics and of their perfecter, Virgil. Lucretius has no combinations of Greek names, spondees and hiatus.

[2] For excellent remarks on the verse of *Aetna*, see Vessereau, p. xlviii.

As has been hinted in the foregoing paragraphs, the Virgilian element in *Aetna* is only less prominent than the Lucretian.[1] The poem opens in a manner resembling the first *Georgic* or the third. Not long thereafter we come upon an admirably hissing line describing a snake:[2]

squameus intortos sinuat vestigia serpens.

Proper names are woven into a line, but not yet with the full Virgilian skill.[3] There is good poetry in the account of the soldier's battle with the stars.[4] There is good climax, a particularly Virgilian quality, in the line, and the word that closes the line, at the end of a lengthy simile,[5]

exilit atque furens tota vomit igneus Aetna.

A passage, cited by editors of Ovid for the similarity of the matter, presents no less striking a contrast in manner:[6] It is a thoroughly Virgilian bit, Virgil somewhat in the raw, one of the bear-cubs not licked into shape.[7] The passage has no touch of the easy elegance of Ovid's lines.[8]

We have, therefore, in different guise, the problem of the *Ciris* again; Catullus and Virgil, with a touch of Lucretius, too, were mingled in that poem, Lucretius and Virgil, with only a reminiscence of Catullus,[9] in this. Instead of pointing in either case to the work of a later imitator of Virgil, the evidence, for aught that I have observed, permits us to assume that Virgil wrote both poems under the spell of different influences but in the same period of his career. The *Ciris* marks the beginning of that period; he is paying his farewell to poetry, poetry of Catullus's style, and longing for the day when he can achieve a *De Rerum Natura*. The *Aetna* marks the moment when that wish is fulfilled, as well as it could be then. Yet for all his immaturity, for all his

[1] Kruczkiewicz discusses the similarity in subject-matter (p. 155 ff.), and in various detail of style (pp. 160 ff.). Alzinger's collections are also most valuable (pp. 3 ff.); they contain references to the minor poems as well as to the greater.

[2] V. 47. See above, p. 117, note 1.

[3] See v. 49.

[4] Vv. 51 ff.

[5] V. 329. For similar climax, see *Ciris*, 272.

[6] Vv. 359 ff.

[7] *Vita Donatiana*, 6, 81, Brummer.

[8] Ovid *Met.* 15, 340 ff. See Sudhaus, p. 93; Vessereau, p. xlviii.

[9] V. 21.

studied aversion to rhetoric, the call to poetry is audible enough.[1] This impulse succeeds here and there in brushing away the scientific manner which young Virgil has now appropriately assumed, exactly as he had worn the mantle of Catullus in the *Ciris*. There is a maturer quality in the present poem. The poet's revolt from the singers of Euphorion, his very determination to have done with poetry give a Lucretian strength and dignity to his lines.

Thus the old quarrel between philosophy and poetry, not settled by Lucretius, took possession of Virgil's mind. He thought he had found his career — to prove a second Lucretius. The *Aetna* is the final memorial of his scientific period. Every youth of imagination goes through some telling intellectual experience which he afterwards looks back upon with kindly amusement — an Hegelian period, a Walter Pater period, a Symbolistic period. Such experiences are educating; they teach developing genius what its goal is not. Virgil had not yet known what was in him; he had not seen that science was a subordinate element in his vision of life. He soon was to discover himself. And yet, though poetry triumphed in the end, science was not wholly routed. Touches of his youthful passion for science appear in all of Virgil's greater works. He had intended, on returning from his last and fatal voyage to Greece, to devote the remainder of his days to philosophy.[2] Mr. Santayana, in his brilliant essay on Lucretius,[3] remarks, 'Imagine a poet who, to the freedom and simplicity of Homer, should have added the more reverent idealism of a later age. . . . Rationalized paganism might have had its Dante, a Dante who should have been the pupil not of Virgil and Aquinas, but of Homer and Plato." There is more, perhaps, of Mr. Santayana's programme in the *Aeneid* than he has here conceded. At any rate, had Virgil's dream come true, he would have given the world a new *De Rerum Natura*, built, in the main, on Plato.

[1] Vessereau, p. xlvi. Sudhaus, p. 93, remarks: "Alle diese Eigentumlichkeiten des Stils zeigen nun, wie sich der Dichter bemüht, die breite, bequeme Art des Lucrez durch gedrungene Diction und körnige Kürze zu überholen, ohne sich von ihm loslösen zu können." I should rather say that his object was to hold fast to Lucretius but that he obeyed perforce the workings of his own temperament.

[2] *Vita Donatiana*, 8, 125: ut reliqua vita tantum philosophiae vacaret.

[3] *Three Philosophical Poets. Lucretius, Dante, and Goethe.* (1910), p. 63 ff.

Vessereau, whose discussion of the problem of the *Aetna* is, in my opinion, unsurpassed,[1] stops short of attributing the work to Virgil.[2] He balks at associating its crudity with the perfection of the *Bucolics*, which were shortly to follow. The *Aetna*, he would agree, appeared between 50 and 44 B.C. The earliest of the *Bucolics* was written in 42.[3] Regarding 50 or 48 as the approximate date of the *Ciris*, I am inclined to put *Aetna* not too long after it — say early in 48. Now great things can happen in four or five years at a period when a genius is coming to his own. Misdirected essays, while ultimately beneficial, momentarily do not head one towards the goal, but dammed for a time, the flow of poetry bursts with the greater suddenness when the barriers are removed. The subject of *Aetna*, like that of the *De Rerum Natura*, was not an easy one for poetry.[4] Moreover, like master Lucretius, Virgil was doing his best not to be a poet. He did not, as later, lavish all the golden day to make ten lines wealthier in his readers' eyes. Given a golden day while he was writing the *Georgics*, he could have made the lines that I have cited as Virgilian[5] as splendid as those that describe the pastoral storm.[6]

Further, we must look at the matter not only from the summit of Virgil's later achievement, but from the level that he had thus far attained. There is nothing in *Aetna*, I think Vessereau would admit, that the author of *Culex*, *Catalepton*, and *Ciris* might not have done. We have also to consider certain other pieces that fill in the stretch of years between *Aetna* and the *Bucolics* and make the transition easier to understand. Nor is it an absolute perfection that is reached in the *Bucolics*. There is something youthful even in that triumph — at least so it seemed to their author himself.[7]

[1] Only one scholar since Kruczkiewicz, so far as I am aware, has come out unreservedly for the Virgilian authorship of *Aetna;* see F. Walter, in *Blatter* f. *das bayer. Gymnasialsch.*, xxxv (1899), 585 ff. Alzinger, *Studia*, p. 49, placed the poem before 44 B.C., and suggested, though with bated breath, that the ancient testimony to the Virgilian authorship may be confirmed by what the poem contains. That was heresy enough in the year 1896.

[2] Pp. xxxviii f.

[3] *Vita Probiana*, 73, 12, Brummer: scripsit Bucolica annos natus viii et xx.

[4] See Vessereau's remarks, p. xlvi.

[5] See above, p. 170, note 6.

[6] *Georg.* 1, 316 ff.

[7] *Georg.* 4, 565: carmina qui lusi pastorum audax . . . iuventa.

VI

The Epic on Res Romanae

Thus far the spell of Catullus has prevailed. After *Culex*, the product of the poet's school days, comes a Catullan period with *Nugae* and an epyllion. This is followed by a philosophic or Lucretian period, of which the crowning effort is *Aetna*. Neither of these paths led to genuine success; both gave experience of value. Virgil's quest in life was for the real. He was a great artist and for the expression of his thought tolerated nothing but the best that he could fashion. But his art was not for the sake of art. He abandoned it in youth, when rhetoric seemed stale. He sought reality in science, but something within him called for a larger outlet. His thought now took a new turn. His biographer tells us that not long before the *Bucolics*, he planned an epic on Rome, but finding the subject difficult, abandoned it in disgust.[1]

What the subject of the unfortunate epic was, we can only guess. Servius and Donatus, it seems, could do no better.[2] They find it either the *Aeneid*, doubtless meaning an early form of that work, or the deeds of the Alban kings; Virgil was diverted from the attempt, they gravely add, "*asperitate nominum deterritus.*" Donatus, in the part of the note not taken by Servius, adds other surmises,[3] in particular, "*alii de bellis civilibus dicunt.*" This comes nearest to the *res Romanae* mentioned in the *Vita*. The mighty events of the years of civil war in 48 B.C. and thereafter would naturally impel to epic a spirit that had been feeling the way towards it. There is epic material in the mock-heroic of *Culex*, particularly in its Inferno. There is epic spirit in passages of *Ciris* and *Aetna* — *rudis Calliope*, as Virgil's editors called it.[4] But the moment had not yet come.

It is hard to write epic on a contemporary theme. The Augustan epic that Virgil had partly planned when he was writing the third *Georgic*[5] was concerned with contemporary history — the actual triumphs of his hero over the foes of the state, whom he doomed to an epic Inferno. As the poem gradually took shape in its creator's mind,

[1] *Vita Donatiana*, 5, 65, Brummer.
[2] See Servius (Donatus) on *Ecl.* 6, 3.
[3] See above, p. 146, note 3.
[4] *Catal., Epilogue.*
[5] Vv. 22 ff.

the contemporary and historical elements faded into the background, while the mythical and ideal succeeded to their place. The finished work, informed with the imagination of the poet, became all the more immediate and Roman. There are two bits of contemporary history in the poem; one is pictured on the shield of Aeneas, the other is tucked into the Inferno in the form of a prophecy. But young Virgil was not ripe for such an achievement. He might have started his early epic, say in 46 B.C., and worked at it intermittently up to the moment when "*offensus materia, ad Bucolica transiit.*"

VII

Copa

Apart from Virgil's reaction from epic, two motives prompted the *Bucolics*, resulting in two different kinds of eclogue. One is the simple expression of his fondness of the country and of poems about the country. This pastoral interest already conspicuous in the earliest of his works, appears again in the *Copa*, if we may attribute this poem to him. It is attested by manuscripts of the ninth century and later, being found in the same sources as *Dirae* and *Lydia;* it doubtless formed part of that ancient codex whence all our manuscripts of the minor poems are derived.[1] Although not in Donatus's list, it is in that of Servius, and may have been carelessly omitted by the writer of the archetype of our manuscripts of the *Vita Donatiana*.[2] Further, *Copa* is cited as Virgil's by the grammarian Charisius in the fourth century,[3] and in the preceding century, the pastoral poet Nemesian borrowed a verse of the poem almost without change.[4] Another witness in the ninth century is Micon, who cites one of the verses in his prosodic dictionary.[5] This, then, is satisfactory evidence of an external kind.

However much scholars differ as to the authorship of the poem, they agree that its charm is unique.[6] It represents the proprietress of a

[1] See above, pp. 110 ff.

[2] See above, pp. 106 f.

[3] *Gramm. Lat.* 1, 63, 11 K.

[4] 4, 46: Hic age pampinea mecum requiesce sub umbra. Cf. *Copa* 31.

[5] See Vollmer, *Sitzungsberichte*, etc. (1907), p. 349.

[6] See Cruttwell, *History of Roman Literature* (ed. 1893), p. 257. Vollmer, *Sitzungsberichte*, etc. (1907), p. 255, de Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, pp. 215, 220, and C. Giussani, *Letteratura Romana*, Milano (1898–99), p. 247, are the only scholars who have

humble tavern performing a seductive tarantella outside the door and plying the wayfarer with inducements to turn in. In the manner of the pastoral swain, she enumerates the attractions of the place — the rose, the bowl and the lute, a cool and shady pergola, the sweet sound of the shepherd's pipe in a Maenalian grotto, country wine just broached, sparkling water and heaps and heaps of posies brought in a basket by the nymph Achelois from the stream. Cheeses and plums and chestnuts and sweet blushing apples are there. Priapus watches the garden, which is stocked with grapes and mulberries and cucumbers. Come in, then, try a summer bumper and twining your brow with roses, gather sweets from the lips of a pretty girl. Why save up garlands to crown your tombstone? Yielding to this appeal, the traveller calls for wine and dice and bids the morrow look out for itself; for Death, plucking us by the ear, cries, "Live ye; I come!"

Some have thought this poem a bit too jovial for Virgil.[1] Is *Copa* more jovial than the picture of two satyr-lads and a fair nymph stealing up to the drowsy and still tipsy Silenus and binding him with garlands? Is there anything in *Copa* that the poet would not have ventured who makes Silenus promise the lads the songs they desire, and adds for the benefit of the nymph that hers shall be a different reward? Servius who has a rather solemn note on this passage from the sixth *Eclogue*,[2] is not blind to its Epicurean flavor — indeed he finds Epicurean dogma in it.[3] Surely Virgil could interpret dramatically the lower sort of Epicureanism, as the character of Anna in the *Aeneid* shows.[4] There is boisterous ribaldry enough in the third *Eclogue*, and the sen-

recently come out for the Virgilian authorship of the poem. It has been attributed to various authors of the Augustan age — Valgius Rufus, Propertius, and, with proper gallantry, to Propertius's sweetheart, Cynthia (Hostia); for the last-named hypothesis, F. Keppler, *Ueber Copa*, Leipzig, 1908, is responsible. Some put the poem in the second century of our era, ascribing it to Florus or to Septimius Serenus. For a review of these opinions, see C. Morelli, in *Studi di Filol. Class.*, xix (1912), 228 f.

[1] So A. Gudeman, *op. cit.* (above p. 104), 2. Birt, *Jugendverse*, etc., p. 10.

[2] On v. 26: nymphae minatur stuprum latenter: quod verecunde dixit Vergilius. Little *verecundia* on the part of Silenus, I fear; there is a difference between modesty and innuendo. There is also a little more humor in Virgil than in some of his illustrious commentators ancient and modern.

[3] On *Ecl.* 6, 13: ut ostendat plenam sectam Epicuream, etc.

[4] Cf. *Aen.* 4, 32 and *Copa*, 35.

suous joy of living is written on many pages of the *Bucolics* and *Georgics*. And Virgil composed love poems, like everybody else.[1]

Before thinking the *Copa* too riotous for the saintly Virgil, we may turn to one of the Priapean poems[2] on a barmaid—apparently a favorite subject in works of this kind. The *Copa*, for length and subject, might almost have a place among the tributes to the scarecrow god.[3] The god himself is described in open language, but not more open than that in the second of Virgil's poems on Priapus. It may be that Virgil, intending another Priapean, proceeded to refine the material in his way, and ended by writing a different poem, in which the barmaid, not the scarecrow god is the central figure.[4]

The art of the poem is firmer and more mature than that of the poems examined thus far. Naeke,[5] for this reason, put it in the age of Ovid, not reckoning with the pre-Ovidian character of the elegiac pentamenter.[6] This is the most important fact to observe about the metre; in the case of so short a poem, elaborate comparative statistics are labor lost.[7] Coincidences with Virgil and Propertius are patent; but, as we have learned from the other minor works, that is no cause for putting *Copa* after the dates of these poets.[8]

[1] See above, p. 132.

[2] *Priapea*, 27.

[3] No. 67, the longest in the collection, has, like the *Copa*, 38 verses.

[4] Morelli, *loc. cit.*, p. 235, thinks that the author of *Priap.* 27 parodies *Copa*. This may be so. I am assuming that Virgil knew the subject-matter of No. 27, not necessarily that poem itself, which might have been later. If it contains parody of *Copa*, we may infer the existence of that work in the earlier part of the Augustan age.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 239.

[6] See above, p. 142, and for other details, K. Mras, in *Wiener Studien*, xxiii (1901), 252 ff., esp. 254 f., 265. Another early sign is the heaping of adjectives and participles on the same noun (vv. 1–4). See above, pp. 121 f.

[7] See Morelli, *loc. cit.*, p. 228, N. 4; Vollmer *Sitzungsberichte*, etc. (1907) p. 351.

[8] See Mras, *loc. cit.*, pp. 264 ff.; Vollmer, *loc. cit.*, pp. 355 ff. On account of the "imitations" of Virgil and Propertius, Mras would date *Copa* after the latter's death in 15 B.C. But owing to the pre-Ovidian metre, it must antedate Ovid. The only possible date, therefore, according to Mras, is the latter part of 15 B.C. Now Ovid had begun his elegies on Corinna at least as early as 22 B.C., and published the first edition of the *Amores* probably in 19 or 18 B.C.; see the writer's article in *Amer. Journ. Philol.*, xxviii (1907), 287 ff., the results of which have been accepted by R. Ehwald in Bursian's *Jahresberichte*, cixvi (1914), 75. One might, then,

The chief excellence of *Copa* is the easy grace with which diverse elements are combined in a novel literary form of notable unity. The suggestion of pastoral is immediate. Our author, who showed no sign of Theocritus in *Culex*, has by this time read his Greek Bucolic poets with care,[1] and applies their devices to a novel situation; he will soon, in the second *Eclogue*, apply them to a strictly pastoral theme. He uses the elegiac metre, however; elegy had developed pastoral tendencies in Hellenistic literature, and it had a fascination for Virgil. One critic, however,[2] declares that *Copa* is not elegy, but *epigramma dimostrativo*. Whether it be elegy or something that looks like elegy, the infusion of the pastoral element into the elegiac form is an achievement with which Tibullus is generally credited;[3] this is the reverse of the process carried out by the successors of Theocritus, who swamped the pastoral with the erotic elegy. If *Copa* is Virgil's, then he paved the way for Tibullus just as he did for Horace in his *Epodes*.[4] But again, with its bit of dialogue and its realism, like that of some Pompeian scene, the poem recalls the little one-scene plays or mimes which had been popular in both Alexandria and Rome. It is not entirely realistic; the ordinary barmaid would not be familiar with Maenalian grottoes or the nymph Achelois. In this very commingling of art and nature, the piece is characteristic of Virgil.[5] Finally, the immediate suggestion was perhaps given by a Priapean topic. In brief, this little poem is a fable for the departmental critics of literature, who do not like to see poets trangress their *Gebiet*;[6] like *Ciris* and *Aetna*, it repre-

argue that the brillant author of *Copa*, if writing as late as 15 B.C., would have known and utilized the metrical improvements perfected by Ovid. We should, therefore, date the poem before Ovid's work was well known, that is, before the *Aeneid* was published. Hence, it is the author of the *Aeneid* who borrowed from *Copa* and not *vice versa*.

[1] See Morelli, *op. cit.*, for parallels in Greek authors.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 231.

[3] See, e. g., Norden, in *Neue Jahrbb. f. d. klass. Altert.*, etc., vii (1901), 269. F. Jacoby, *Rhein. Mus.*, lx (1905), 81 ff., would attribute the innovation to Gallus, particularly on the strength of *Ecl.* 10, but a careful reading of that piece will show that pastoral is precisely what Gallus had not been writing.

[4] See above, pp. 140.

[5] See above, p. 116.

[6] See Hack's refreshing article, *The Doctrine of Literary Forms*, in *Harv. Studies Class. Philol.*, xxvii (1916), 1 ff.

sents a confluence of literary tendencies in its form and a confluence of emotional interests in the mind of the poet. *Copa* is an Epicurean document of a sort, though not, like the sixth *Eclogue* as allegorized by Servius, a text of Epicurean dogma. Epicurean philosophy, as its founder preached it, stands nearer to monasticism than to riotous pleasure. Perhaps, indeed, the poem marks Virgil's reaction from Epicurean science, when, *offensus materia*, he turned again to the sheer joy of living and of art.[1]

Moretum

A poem of equal finish and equal, if different, interest is the *Moretum*, or 'Salad.' It has won the plaudits of competent judges,[2] and has been translated by poets as diverse as Cowper and Leopardi. It is simply the description of a peasant's morning meal. If this be a sufficiently epic subject, the poem is an epyllion. Simylus, probably a slave, or a recent slave, owns a cottage and a bit of a garden. He gets up while it is still dark, finds the hearth by stumbling on it, starts the fire, grinds his meal to the accompaniment of a song and calls to his helpmate, Scybale, or 'Trash,' a very knowingly portrayed negress. After mixing his bread, he allows Scybale to bake it, and proceeds to the great act of the story, the creation of the salad. Getting the proper herbs from the garden, not forgetting four cloves of garlic, he seasons them with salt and cheese, stirring them with a little oil and vinegar into a homogeneous mixture, in which the individual ingredients lose their original virtues to form the new harmonious whole, the perfect salad. Scybale, meanwhile, has taken out the bread and breakfast is ready. Fortified therewith for that day, Simylus draws on his boots, drives his team to the cornland and plunges the plough in the soil.

The art of this delightful and original production is not Virgilian. It does not, like *Culex* and *Copa* and *Bucolics* and *Georgics*, present a harmony of realistic observation and literary allusion. It is all realism; the names of gods are used for the substances that they represent,[3] but this common device does not affect the prevailing tone of matter-of-

[1] I would, therefore, date *Copa* about 45 B.C., though ready to admit that it might have been done earlier, perhaps with the *Priapea*, in the Catullan period.

[2] E. g., Naeke, *op. cit.*, p. 238; Mackail, *op. cit.*, p. 70; Giussani, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

[3] V. 113: Palladii guttas olivi. Cf. vv. 52, 55.

fact veracity. The author is not, like Virgil in the *Georgics*, concerned with country life as a symbol of simplicity; he is interested in a situation, which he sets before us with vividness and charm. Virgil may have passed through a brief period of realism in the prelude of his career, or he may at almost any time have amused himself with translating a piece of his master Parthenius.[1] Supposing that unquestionable external evidence vouched for the *Moretum*, we could add it to his experiments. The fact is, that though the poem is ascribed to Virgil in manuscripts as early as the ninth century, it is not in the ancient list.[2] We are relieved of the necessity of adjusting it to the other poems. The quest of its talented author, presumably a writer of the Augustan age, need not engage us here.

VIII

Dirae

Virgil's interest in the simpler type of pastoral is illustrated by *Copa;* the more elaborate form appears in the *Dirae*, or 'Curses,' the last of the works mentioned in the ancient list. These curses are pronounced by the poet on his own estate of which he has been robbed for the benefit of an old soldier. Battarus, a fellow-shepherd, who, like Mopsus in the fifth *Eclogue*, is skilled in accompaniment, plays his pipe while the poet delivers the imprecation, or, rather, a kind of summary and reminiscence of an imprecation already delivered;[3] he changes his tones from lively to severe at the other's bidding. The poet prays that the pleasant breezes and the sweet breath of the soil may change to pestential heat and fell poison; he invites fires and floods to do their worst with his favorite grove and all of his little estate that the impious surveying-rod has measured off. The pipe

[1] The latter point is well made by Giussani, *op. cit.*, p. 247. However, the supposed facts in the case have been called in question, with good reason, by R. Sabbadini in *Rivista di Filol.* xxxiii (1903), 471; xliii (1915), 80.

[2] See above, p. 110ff. Its position in the *Libellus* after the Ausonian works *De Est et Non*, *De Institutione Viri Boni*, and *De Rosis Nascentibus* arouses suspicion. Nettleship (revision of Conington's *Virgil* by Haverfield, i (1898), xx) sought to show that there is a faint chance of its having been in the ancient list. Vollmer (*Sitzungsberichte*, etc. (1907), p. 341) evidently would like to accept *Moretum* on the basis of the Murbach list.

[3] Vv. 1–3: Battare, cycneas repetamus carmine voces, etc.

plays a more cheerful note as he imagines the new occupant gathering rushes in the swamps where grain flourished before and hearing the croak of a garrulous frog in the ancient domain of the grasshopper. With the thought that the curse of civil war has brought the evil to pass, the shepherd prepares to leave his estate and his beloved Lydia. His sheep climb slowly down the hills, as he takes a farewell look and vows that nothing can drive from his heart the love of his little farm.

This poem seems to me altogether in Virgil's manner, and not far removed in time from the *Bucolics*. There are various coincidences in phrase with several of the *Eclogues*, and the closing scene notably recalls that of the first of them.[1] The verse is firm and strong, the description contains touches of Virgil, like the line

hinc aurae dulces, hinc suavis spiritus agri (22)

or the exact observation of nature in

praecipitent altis fumantes montibus imbres (76).

But these bucolic and realistic elements are combined, in a more elaborate kind of pastoral, with actual history. The poem reflects the woes of the Mantuan district, rather after Mutina in 43 B.C.[2] than after Philippi in 42, as the art of *Dirae* is less perfect than that of the *Bucolics*, which Virgil began to publish in the latter year. *Dirae* helps us understand the motive for historical allegory in those works. A real disaster has come to the poet — perhaps not to Virgil himself, but at least to his townsfolk. For the purpose of his poem, he plays the rôle of a shepherd who has lost his farm. He looks for an appropriate medium of indignation, and selects the poet's curse — Ἀρά — which Ovid also found useful in his exile.[3] Naturally, the curse is

[1] For a list of Virgilian parallels, see G. Eskuche, *De Valerio Catone deque Diris et Lydia*, Marburg, (1889), pp. 63 ff.

[2] So the *Vita Probiana*, 73, 5 (Brummer). Conditions were unsettled in Cisalpine Gaul in 43 B.C. as well as in 42. Antony arrived there about the end of November, 44, and made at once for Mutina, where he found Decimus Brutus besieged. The battle of Mutina was fought at the end of April, 43. It was thenceforth a period of much commotion for the inhabitants. Even if no formal orders were given, cases of misappropriation of the rustics' lands by soldiers would have been possible enough. Later, after Philippi, fresh allotments were made. Virgil's townsmen might have suffered on both occasions.

[3] Callimachus's *Ibis* is one of the various Hellenistic models with which both Ovid and the author of *Dirae* were doubtless familiar.

fitted to the situation. Shepherds have lost their farms; it is a pastoral curse. The next step is to write an actual bucolic on the same theme. In this way contemporary history creeps into the pastoral, not because the poet, starting with the pastoral convention, seeks to embellish it with a rather questionable novelty, but because impelled by a lively sense of wrong to write of contemporary events, he adapts these to an appropriate poetical form. The one undertaking is artificial; the other is sincere. But the actualities do not loom too large in the *Dirae*. Virgil is never crassly historical; that is the secret of the *Bucolics* and the *Aeneid* alike. So here, it is hard to localize the poet's farm at either Mantua or Cremona. In fact, it lies on the shore of the sea,[1] and if the curse avails, will be deluged with salt waves and be called another Syrtis — a disconsolate shepherd in the *Bucolics* makes the same prayer, which is taken by condescending editors for a mistranslation of Theocritus.[2] It is ever Virgil's way to merge the actual in the typical and ideal, and thus to make its reality the brighter.

Except for Vollmer, who finds nothing in *Dirae* to contradict the ancient testimony, there are few today who would ascribe the poem to Virgil.[3] A discovery, now universally accepted, was made in 1792 by F. Jacobs,[4] who saw that the text called *Dirae* in the manuscripts really contains two poems; the latter of these, from the name of the shepherdess from whom her swain is parted, is called *Lydia* by recent editors. Scaliger, developing a remark of Gyraldus's, was the first to propound the attractive theory that the author of both pieces was Valerius Cato, who, Suetonius tells us,[5] lost his inheritance in the troubled days of Sulla, sang of a love named Lydia, and also composed a work evidently charged with the sentiment of the *Dirae*, as it was entitled *Indignatio*. But Suetonius also suggests enough of the

[1] Vv. 48–53.

[2] See Conington's note on *Ecl.* 8, 58.

[3] The manuscript tradition is the same as that of *Copa*. Vollmer thinks that the poem was not included in the *Bucolics* because of its bitter tone. The reason is rather, that in the first *Eclogue*, Virgil worked up the same material in a new form. *Dirae*, after all, is an 'Αρά and not a pastoral.

[4] *Vermischte Schriften*, 5, 639. Naeke, *op. cit.*, p. 250, who in an early publication gave Jacobs the credit for the observation, says that when that *vir praestantissimus et maxime amabilis* later visited Bonn, he remarked, *suavi et plane sua modestia*, that he had quite forgotten his little discovery.

[5] *De Gramm.* 11.

contents of the *Indignatio* to show that it was an entirely different affair.[1] The latest tendency is to treat both poems as anonymous.[2]

Lydia

The *Lydia* offers crucial evidence for the views that I have been setting forth. As the work is not mentioned in the ancient list, we have no *a priori* right to call it Virgil's. As it is found agglutinated to *Dirae*, however, one naturally assumes a common authorship, especially as Lydia figures in both poems. But the validity of our test is apparent the moment that the two poems are compared. They cannot be by the same hand.

In the latter piece, we are presented with a shepherd who envies certain meadows because they can enjoy the presence of Lydia, from whom, for some unstated reason, he is now parted. There is none of the atmosphere of *Dirae* here — no lost estate, no intruding soldier. The meadows, whose-ever they were, will continue to blossom like the rose, especially if Lydia be playing in them. The poet repeats his envy in a love-sick refrain — *invideo vobis, agri.* The maiden, meanwhile, is coquettishly, perhaps symbolically, plucking green grapes with rosy fingers or crushing the soft grass on which she lies, as she warbles pretty nothings to meadow, stream and grove. Never maiden prettier or wittier than she, fit mate for Jove himself — but hold! This message is not intended for Jove's ear. She is not destined, evidently, to be the poet's mate, for he is slowly but surely melting into death. Disappointed love, not exile, seems to be his malady; his career has been a string of amatory failures. The happy animals are all mated. The moon has her Endymion and Phoebus his Daphne. The sky is populated with the sweethearts of the gods. Why, then, has so dreary a lot befallen humankind? Or is the lover's

[1] See Teuffel, § 200, 2. Naeke, p. 264, makes a desperate attempt to fit the matter described by Suetonius into such a frame as that of the *Dirae*. It is not even sure that the *Indignatio* was a poem.

[2] Teuffel, *loc. cit.* Schanz, § 99, continues to look with favor on Scaliger's hypothesis. The best presentation of this view was made by Naeke, *op. cit.*, and is further supported by Eskuche, who reviews the literature of the controversy, p. 50. Stylistic and metrical characteristics (Naeke, 317; Eskuche, 52 ff.), present nothing glaringly un-Virgilian. These scholars have proved, I believe, that both *Dirae* and *Lydia* antedate the *Bucolics*.

passion a sin? Was he the first to know the joys of stolen sweets? Would, indeed, that he had gained this proud distinction! His name would go ringing down the corridors of time. There follows another series of divine *exempla*, the amours of gods and heroes in the golden age. Ah, why was not the poet born then, when passion was not out of date? Such is the rack and ruin wrought on him by pitiless fate, that scarce enough of him remains to make out with the eye. With that, this belated Jupiter melts literally into an ounce or two of decadence. His separation from the meadows is now explained; he is not an ejected tenant but a dying swain.

Virgil did not disdain the theme of the present poem, but he could exalt it to serious poetry. A reading of the eighth *Eclogue* and the *Lydia* will show what is Virgil and what is not. The author of the latter work could not have been Virgil in any period. He is a descendant of the later Hellenistic poets, in whose work pastoral was submerged in the erotic. He is delicately erotic in the description of the dainty maiden and the green grapes; there is delicacy in the picture of the pale stars in the green firmament — he rather runs to green. There is a flavor of humor in his appeal to Jupiter not to listen too closely to the praise of Lydia, and there is a startling paucity of humor elsewhere. Morbid refinement, romantic yearnings and lack of humor are not Virgilian.[1] The two poems cemented together agree only in their general theme and in the name of the shepherd's love. That does not prove it is the same shepherd, or the same Lydia.[2] If Valerius Cato, as seems certain, had won fame for a poem about Lydia, Virgil might well adopt a name that had acquired typical value. Whether by Valerius Cato or not,[3] the *Lydia* gives us an important glimpse into the literary history of the day and puts the originality of Virgil's achievement in higher relief. As the ninth *Eclogue* indicates, he probably found a group of pastoral poets in existence,[4]

[1] There is a vein of Catullan romanticism in the poem. See Eskuche, p. 73.

[2] Schanz, §99, cannot imagine that three different poets could sing of three different Lydias. But Horace can furnish from one to four more Lydias, and Martial one or two.

[3] W. M. Lindsay, *Notes on the Lydia in Class. Rev.*, xxxii (1918), 62 ff., would call Valerius Cato the author. At any rate, the *Lydia* seems the earlier poem.

[4] On the brotherhood of poets to which Virgil belonged, see the admirable remarks by Mackail, *Lectures on Poetry*, pp. 52 ff.

amongst whom he came, as Theocritus amongst contemporary idyllists, like a refreshing wind, blowing aside the vapors of decadence and sentimentality.

IX

Our survey of the minor poems has revealed nothing, so far as I can see, that cannot be reconciled with the testimony of the ancient life of the poet. Few wish, at first reading, to associate *Culex*, *Ciris*, and the rest with the author of *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, and Aeneid. But careful pondering discovers many a flash of genius, many a similar trait of temperament or of art that impel us, or impel me, to conclude that here, too we find our Virgil. A pastoral mock heroic at the age of sixteen; Catullan *Nugae* and a Catullan epyllion; a period of stern Lucretian science and revolt from poetry, culminating in a poem on a volcano; a frustrated epic during the civil wars and epic stirrings in the other poems; pure pastoral delight expressed in various forms; a pastoral imprecation inspired by an actual grievance and reflecting contemporary affairs — such is the prelude to Virgil's *Bucolics*. It is an Alexandrian prelude, with signs of a larger impulse. Neither the temperament nor the art of the poet is fixed. He reflects, without harmonizing, the various literary and philosophical tendencies of the day. With an imagination kindled by the appeal of the moment, he follows now the Muses, and now the sterner daughters of science; it is that ancient battle of which Plato speaks between philosophy and poetry, a battle that Virgil fought till his dying day.

Such is the record, not of a series of impeccable masterpieces, but of the essays of a slowly flowering genius, that lies outspread in the minor poems. The process of flowering is slow, but the changes in any natural evolution are instantaneous and, when one compares the two states, apparently miraculous. The first of the *Bucolics* published — it was probably the second of the collection — must have come like a miracle upon Roman readers; it announced a literary creation in which the essential genius of the poet had a more normal scope for its expression than before — the epic pastoral. This event is no more startling than what we know was true of Horace. The gap between *Dirae*, the last of the minor poems, and *Eclogue* 1, the last of the *Bucolics*, is less wide than that between the very youthful

invectives of certain *Epodes* and the wise urbanity of the *Satires*. Suppose that we knew the early works of Horace only from the first book of the *Satires* and a selection of the daintier *Epodes*, and that a little volume were discovered, bearing the name of Horace as its author and containing *Lupis et agnis*, *At o deorum*, *Quid immerenti*, *Rogare longo*, *Mala soluta*, and *Quid tibi vis mulier*. What higher critic worthy of his calling would not condemn this bad little book as un-Horatian? And yet Book 1 of the *Satires* appeared in 35 B.C., and the *Epodes*, unquestionably genuine, in 30 B.C. Some of the pieces in the collection must be among the earliest things that Horace did. He knew their youthfulness, but he meant posterity to see all his life *votiva descriptam tabella*. Virgil destined for the world nothing but his best. Both records, luckily, are preserved, and both include the same event — youthful crudity magically giving place to mature perfection.

The call to epic, which sounded its first challenge in the *Bucolics*, came clearer and clearer thereafter and ultimately was heard in the national and universal tones of the *Aeneid*. As that achievement is set in a plainer light by the prophecies of it in the *Bucolics* and the *Georgics*, so these works are rendered more intelligible by the poems that preceded them. Sudden creations seem less abrupt when one considers the entire development of the poet. With the minor poems to guide us, we can follow, better than before, the course of Virgil's art, as it proceeds, like the life of St. Augustine,[1] *di malo in buono, e di buono in migliore, e di migliore in ottimo*.

[1] Dante, Conv. 1, 2, 106.