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The Prolegomena of La Cerda's Commentary on Virgil

*A commented edition from the Cologne 1642
imprint, with English translation and
explanatory notes*

by

John Roberts

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Classics

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For my Dad

Paul Roberts

1950 – 2005

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Since I began this project I have lost a father but gained a wife and two children, Isabella (3) and Iris (1). This puts me in net profit. Although my Dad is not here to see this

thesis completed I know that he has been with me every step of the way and he would be immensely proud of the achievement. This work is dedicated to him.

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis has not already been accepted in substance for any degree, and is not currently submitted in candidature for any other degree. It is the result of my own independent investigation, and all authorities and sources which have been consulted are acknowledged in the Bibliography.

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Abstract

This thesis presents a new Latin text of the Prolegomena and accompanying prefatory material of the Cologne 1642 edition of the Virgil commentary by the Spanish Jesuit scholar Juan Luis De La Cerda. It provides an original English translation of this material along with explanatory notes which focus upon the social, educational, intellectual and political influences that informed La Cerda's work. The notes also take account of some of the rhetorical and stylistic aspects of La Cerda's work. An introduction situates the work in its cultural and intellectual context and provides a clear overview of the structure and composition of the Prolegomena.

Preface

La Cerda's status as the greatest commentator on Virgil has never been challenged. The influence of his monumental work is clearly visible in many modern editions of Virgil's poetry, some of which have used his commentary at length, others simply in passing.

Indeed, the influence of La Cerda's commentary has always been evident even if it has not been adequately acknowledged. The monumental edition of Christian Gottlob Heyne (1767-1775) and revised by G. P. E. Wagner draws frequently on La Cerda as does the *variorum* edition of Lemaire published in London in 1819.¹ James Henry's *Aeneidea* (1873-92) frequently reproduced the notes of La Cerda. Recent commentators who have made more explicit their debt to La Cerda include Wendell Clausen (1994), Philip Hardie (1994) and Stephen Harrison (1990). Nicholas Horsfall has made extensive use of La Cerda in his recent editions of *Aeneid* 7 (1999), *Aeneid* 11 (2003), *Aeneid* 3 (2006) and *Aeneid* 2 (2008)² as has Richard Tarrant in his Cambridge edition of *Aeneid* 12 (2012) in which he alludes to professional Virgilians' illicit use of La Cerda.³ The recent three-volume Spanish edition of the *Aeneid* by García, Sola, Moreno, Ramírez (2009-11) has a critical list of Renaissance editions and pays particular attention to La Cerda.⁴

The study by Stevens (1945) *Un humaniste espagnol: Le Père Juan-Luis De La Cerda commentateur de Virgile*⁵ is the first published monograph dedicated solely to La Cerda and his commentary on Virgil. Antonio (1783) and Simón-Díaz (1944) have produced

¹ See Laird (2002a) pp173-4.

² See for example Horsfall (2003) *pix*, (2008) *pix*.

³ Tarrant (2012) p43: "When I was a graduate student, La Cerda's commentary was something of a trade secret, passed on by word of mouth from teacher to student."

⁴ See *pX*, ppCLXXXVIII.

important biographical work as has the anonymous entry in the *Enciclopedia virgiliana* which also provides a summative, commendatory judgement on La Cerda's work.⁶

Continuing philological interest in La Cerda's commentary can be seen in a series of articles published in the mid-1990s by Iglesias Montiel (1991), (1993); Mazzochi (1993) and Lawrance (1994), each of which represent interest in varying aspects of the principles and methods which have shaped La Cerda's Virgil commentary. Concurrently, recent research produced in Spain on La Cerda has again been focused in particular on the philological aspects of his work: for example, the doctoral dissertations of Ortega Castejón (1990) and Ruiz-Funes Torres (1994); (see also Ruiz-Funes Torres (1994-5); (1995); (1997)). In light of the continuing interest in La Cerda's commentary, the University of Pennsylvania has eased access to La Cerda through an on-line digitised version of the three volumes of his commentary.

However, Andrew Laird's work (2002a), (2002b), (2003) and Sergio Casali's article (2008) have drawn attention to La Cerda's literary accomplishment as well as his role as an early-modern humanist commentator on Virgil. Richard Tarrant's entry on La Cerda in the forthcoming Harvard *Virgil Encyclopedia* reflects this current interest:

“La Cerda's vibrant Latin is enlivened by colloquialisms, personal asides, and questions and exhortations addressed to the reader; he must have been an inspiring, if exhausting, lecturer. Long neglected, La Cerda's commentary is increasingly being acknowledged...as the work of an engaged and often acute interpreter.”⁷

⁶Antonio, N., *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova* (Madrid, 1696); Simón-Díaz, J., (1944); *EV* (1984-91) p740: “Minute linguistic, mythological and historical analysis and criticism of the works of Virgil, rich in reference to Greek and Latin sources, and consolidated by shrewd use of medieval and humanist exegesis; a work on which the modern tradition of exegesis is based, and which constituted, just as it should constitute, a constant point of reference for criticism of the text.” [trans. Laird (2002) p175].

⁷ Thomas, R.F., and Ziolkowski, J.M., (eds.) *The Virgil Encyclopedia* (Harvard, forthcoming) pp709-10.

The present thesis has been conceived in the light of such observations. A clearer understanding of La Cerda's distinctive style and intellectual intent can be gleaned from the prefatory materials to his commentary which are the focus of this study and are referred to throughout as the "Prolegomena". These natural features of La Cerda's commentary have been of little interest to scholars of Virgil but this thesis suggests that they are crucial documents in understanding La Cerda's intellectual position and achievements.⁸

The Prolegomena are presented in a modern Latin text based upon the 1642 edition printed at Cologne with an original English translation. Notes to the seven chapters of Prolegomena concentrate on the contemporary social, educational, intellectual and occasional political influences which informed La Cerda's work. The notes also focus upon some of the rhetorical and stylistic aspects of his endeavours.

The four Chapters of introduction to this thesis begin with a biographical account of La Cerda's life and works. Chapter 2 considers the origins and development of Renaissance humanism in Spain in order to provide the cultural and intellectual background. An account of humanistic education in early-modern Spain is provided at the end of Chapter 2, before the sixteenth-century origins and characteristics of Jesuit education are considered in Chapter 3. La Cerda's relationship to Jesuit educational theory and practice is also considered in relation to his stated approach within the Prolegomena. Sections I-IV of Chapter 4 focus upon La Cerda's Virgil commentary. Section I offers discussion of the historical context in which La Cerda's commentary was produced and suggests how these influences helped to shape the polemical nature of the Prolegomena. In particular, the role of the prefatory material as a response to contemporary social and political influences is considered, especially its articulation of the relationship between poetry and imperial politics.

⁸ This thesis contests Laird's assertion that "in spite of the erudition displayed in these chapters, their sentiments are as generic as the form in which they are expressed." Gibson and Kraus (2002) p177.

An account of the form and presentation of La Cerda's commentary follows in Section II of Chapter in order to familiarise the reader with La Cerda's method and thus ease potential difficulties when encountering material from the commentary itself within my explanatory notes. Section III, which deals with La Cerda's engagement with previous Virgilian commentators, provides a more specific intellectual characteristic of the Prolegomena and offers some orientation on La Cerda's position within the history of Virgilian exegesis. Section IV, with which Chapter 4 ends, provides a *conspectus rerum* intended as a practical guide to the arrangement, subject matter and presentation of the Prolegomena.

Abbreviations

The Prolegomena to La Cerda's Virgil are presented in dense columns in the 1642 edition. For ease of reference I have developed the following abbreviations and line numbers for cross referring to La Cerda's text:

Ded. = *Dedicatio*

GS = *Gaspar Sanctius ad P. Ioannem Ludovicum De La Cerda De Bucolicis, & Georgicis P. Virgilii Maronis egregio commentario illustratis, Gaspar Sanctius Societ. Iesu.*

Schottus = *in P. Virgilium a Ioan. Lud. Cerda Societatis Iesu illustratum And. Schottus Antuerpiensis Eiusdem Soc.*

Proem. = *Prooemium*

cap. I = *Caput Primum*

cap. II = *Caput II*

cap. III = *Caput III Etc.*

FE. = *Finis Elogiorum*

Ad lect. = *Ad lectorem*

Thus *Ded.* 26 refers to line 26 of La Cerda's opening *Dedicatio*; *Schottus* 34 to line 34 of the second dedicatory poem, *cap.VI.* 48 to line 48 of Chapter 6 of the Prolegomena etc. It is hoped that this system will facilitate the consultation of the notes on La Cerda's text. The original typography has been followed as closely as possible; the lines of prose text have again, for ease of use, been numbered.

Methodology and Approach

The thesis presents a modern Latin text and an original English translation of La Cerda's Prolegomena to his monumental commentary on Virgil. The Prolegomena have been overlooked by scholars despite La Cerda's continuing importance to Virgilian studies. Thus the thesis presents this material with an accompanying English translation and explanatory commentary in order to facilitate its reading and demonstrate the importance of the study of this material in gaining a clearer understanding of La Cerda's role on Virgil within the history of scholarship and as a distinctive literary personality.⁹

The Introduction which precedes this edition of La Cerda's text surveys the cultural, historical and intellectual contexts to La Cerda's work. The Introduction also serves to highlight characteristic aspects of the Prolegomena as well as themes and influences that are pursued in the explanatory notes.

The Latin text presented in this thesis is based upon the 1642 edition printed at Cologne. In the few cases where the text was unreadable or ungrammatical, the 1619 edition printed at Leiden has been consulted. Where the reading could not be resolved, I have offered my own conjectures recorded in footnotes to the Latin text presented here.¹⁰

⁹ For recent work on Renaissance commentaries see Most (1999), especially Fowler (1999) pp426-42 and Gumbrecht (1999) pp443-54. Gibson and Kraus (2002) pay special attention to lemmatization, tralatitiousness and parallels in commentary writing. cf. in particular in this volume Gibson pp331-57 which gives practical demonstrations of the role played "the parallel" in classical commentary and has important implications for any discussion of *copia* in commentary writing. Studies in Santini and Stok (2008) discuss the meaning of *commentarius* in the Renaissance (see especially Ramminger pp11-35) and consider Virgilian Renaissance commentary in particular (see especially Farrell pp211-32 and Casali pp233-61). Craig Kallendorf has produced important work which demonstrates the continuing relevance of the study of Renaissance commentaries on Virgil: see in particular Sacre and Papy (2009) pp579- 94; Kallendorf (2007a); (2007b).

¹⁰ For example, I have made the following emendations and conjectures to the 1642 edition: at *Schottus* 33 *simas* for *cimas*; I have retained *ast* at *Schottus* 32 though I have conjectured *est*; at *cap.I.29 omen* for *omne*; *cap.I.52 Nereides* for *Nercides*; *cap.I.63 Melissa* for *Mellise*; *cap.I.74 omina* for *omnia*. See p1v-lvi for a note on the text presented here.

My original English translation is intended to facilitate ease of access to La Cerda and thus to demonstrate the importance of the study of the Prolegomena for those who use his commentary.

Explanatory notes following the English translation interpret the text by focusing on several themes important for understanding La Cerda's methods and intentions in the Prolegomena. In particular the notes discuss the influence of the difficult socio-political climate in early seventeenth-century Spain and the historical importance of Spain's own conception of its imperial identity political practice. The notes seek to explain how La Cerda's Prolegomena react and respond to these challenging contemporary influences.

The explanatory notes also focus on La Cerda's role as a Jesuit educator and highlight the potentially provocative stance of the Prolegomena which, in contrast to the Jesuit *ratio studiorum*, assert the role of Virgilian poetry over that of Ciceronian prose. Thus La Cerda's relationship with other Renaissance humanists as well the classical models which helped to shape the Prolegomena is also considered.

Further, the notes focus attention on the literary and rhetorical style of La Cerda's work and demonstrate how he sought to challenge Virgil as an author in his own right as well to explain his poetry. They highlight these characteristics of La Cerda's work through examination of the Virgilian language deployed within the Prolegomena and by highlighting some of the rhetorical and literary aspects of the commentary.

Particular attention has been paid to the often overlooked or disregarded "paratextual" materials which accompany the 1642 edition of volume 1 of La Cerda's commentary on Virgil. These supplementary materials situated within the same volume as the poetic text consist of La Cerda's dedication to his literary patron, Diego da Silva y Mendoza, and two sets of laudatory verses composed by fellow Jesuit scholars in praise of La Cerda's

commentary.¹¹ The explanatory notes to these liminal texts argue for their important programmatic function as well as considering the contemporary social, political and intellectual factors which shaped their composition. The intellectual background of the authors of these paratexts and their role in defining the literary and scholarly achievements of La Cerda are made clear.

The emphasis I place upon the programmatic importance of this preliminary material is broadly in line with Genette's theory that the paratext "is at the service of a better reception of the text and a more pertinent reading."¹² As Smith and Wilson (2011) explain, "The purpose of the paratext is...to guide the reader into the riches of the book, and to structure his or her approach to what s/he is about to read."¹³

Biographical notes on each author listed in the *Syllabus Auctorum* are provided after the explanatory commentary notes. The *Syllabus* is of importance for understanding both the range of La Cerda's scholarship as deployed throughout the *Prolegomena* and in helping to clarify the intellectual position of his work within the context of early modern commentary on Virgil.

¹¹ More specifically, in Genette's taxonomy, these texts are defined as "peritexts". See Genette (trans. Lewin) (1997) p5. Genette defines the "epitext" as those supplementary texts which are located outside the book. These include reviews, author interviews, letters and diaries.

¹² Genette (trans. Lewin) p2.

¹³ Smith and Wilson (2011) p2. As well as the recent Smith and Wilson (2011) volume of collected essays on a range of Renaissance paratexts see also Bossuyt et al (2008) for a volume that deals specifically with the paratexts of Latin dedications and motets in the sixteenth century. See especially Lewis, M.S., "Introduction: The Dedication as Paratext" pp1-12.

Introduction

1. Juan Luis De La Cerda

The few facts describing La Cerda's life and works are briefly told¹⁴. He was born around 1558 to Don Francisco De La Cerda, Canon of Toledo cathedral, and Gerónyma de Zarate. He entered the Society of Jesus on the fourth of October 1574, at the age of sixteen. His academic career began in 1583 when he was appointed Professor of Grammar at Murcia, moving to Oropesa in 1593 before taking Professorships of Poetry, Rhetoric and Greek at Madrid in 1597. He subsequently prepared new editions of two standard grammars of Latin for student use in 1598: Antonio de Nebrija's *Introducciones grammaticales* and Sanctius' *Minerva, sive de causis Latinae linguae commentarius*.¹⁵ This close involvement with educational matters is also evidenced by his concerns expressed in the *Dedicatio*.¹⁶ In 1603 he was chosen to perform the funerary oration for the Empress Maria Augusta, founder of the College of Madrid and four years later received the Imprimatur for his commentary on the *Bucolics* and *Georgics* – the first of the three volumes of his Virgil commentary.¹⁷ This first volume appeared in 1608, followed by volumes two and three in 1617 which dealt with *Aeneid* 1-6 and 7-12 respectively.¹⁸

La Cerda followed his monumental edition of Virgil with works on Tertullian in 1624 and 1630; a treatise examining sacred eloquence, entitled *Adversaria sacra, quibus fax praefertur ad intelligentiam multorum scriptorum sacrorum* in 1626; an annotated edition of Solomon's

¹⁴ The principle source for our understanding of La Cerda's life is Nicolas Antonio's entry in his *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova* published posthumously in Madrid in 1696. See Laird (2002a) pp171-203 for an account and bibliography. See also Entrambasaguas (1967) p328f.

¹⁵ For La Cerda's preference for Brocense's *Minerva* over the grammar of Nebrija see Ruiz-Funes Torres (1994-95).

¹⁶cf. *Ded.* 24-49 and the accompanying notes at pp170-5.

¹⁷ For an edition and study see Ortega Castejon (1990); see also Iglesias Montiel (1993); Mazzocchi (1993).

¹⁸ For a study of La Cerda's commentary on the first six books of the *Aeneid* see Ruiz-Funes Torres (1994).

Psalms in Latin and Greek also published in 1626.¹⁹ He then produced a work concerned with spiritual improvement in 1631, *De excellentia sacrorum Spirituum, in primis de Angeli Custodis ministerio*. The *Biblioteca de autores españoles* (vol. 42)²⁰ preserves a single sonnet of his poetry. These academic accomplishments seemed not to have gone unnoticed:²¹ Pope Urban VIII was such a great admirer of his talents that he ordered his ambassador, Francesco Barberini, on a visit to Philip IV, to give his personal greetings to La Cerda. According to Nicolás Antonio the Pope was even rumoured to keep a bust of La Cerda in his private chambers.²² La Cerda died on the sixth of May 1643.

¹⁹ For a study of La Cerda's commentary on Tertullian's *de Pallio* see Fortuny Previ and Moya del Bano (2003).

²⁰ ed. Rivadeneyra (1857).

²¹ cf. the dedicatory poems as examples, attesting La Cerda's academic accomplishment as well as evidence of his intellectual coterie.

²² See Antonio (1696).

2. Renaissance Humanism in Spain

Accounts of “humanism” or “Renaissance humanism” are necessarily beleaguered by the dangers of subjectivism and competing historical agenda.²³ Jacob Burckhardt’s classic nineteenth-century, *The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy* (1860) once provided the dominant intellectual framework for the discussion of the emergence of humanism as an enlightened phase of intellectual and cultural rebirth. For Burckhardt, humanism drew its inspiration from antiquity but was energised by the growth of commerce and urban civilisation in Italy from the 1300s.

However, the twentieth century saw a reaction against this Burckhardtian orthodoxy. Kristeller saw the Renaissance as an evolution rather than a break from medieval thought.²⁴ Thus the development of humanism during the Renaissance is not to be understood as defining the end of medieval scholasticism but as emerging from it and shaped by a “unique set of social, political and economic conditions”²⁵ in Italy during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In particular, as Burckhardt had suggested and as Nauert discusses, Italy’s series of urban republics emerging in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and who exercised *de facto* independence, led to the emergence of a wealthy professional commercial class and the marginalisation of the clerical body.²⁶ Thus the emergence of humanism and the growing centrality of its educational model, the *studia humanitatis*, is closely related to the changing social and political landscape of Europe. In sixteenth-century Spain, the increase in the

²³ The concept and term “Renaissance” have come back into general use (see Nauert (1995) p3) after their validity came under serious question in the twentieth century following debate sparked by (1860). Modern scholarship has moved away from any concept of *the* Renaissance and prefers to view the period of profound cultural transformation in Europe between 1400 and 1600 as a fluid and mobile international phenomenon characterised by a series of Renaissances, each with their own highly specific and separate characteristics. The crossover of the term to Spain is equally controversial (see Robbins (2004) pp137-8).

²⁴ Kristeller (1955); Nauert (1995) p3.

²⁵ Nauert (1995) p4.

²⁶ See Nauert (1995) p4ff.

bureaucratic needs of the growing Spanish state, coupled with the traditional figure of the court servant schooled in Latin letters as well as warfare, sustained interest in humanistic study. This development of humanist culture forms the intellectual background in which La Cerda's work emerged.

Humanism

The term "humanism" describes the movement dedicated to the literatures of ancient Greece and Rome and to the cultural (humane) values perceived to be derived from them.²⁷ The English term "humanist" derives from the fifteenth-century Italian *umanista*, denoting a student or teacher of classical literature. The origins of that term in turn were found in the Ciceronian concept of *humanitas*, the cultural value of which was enshrined in the *studia humanitatis ac litterarum*.²⁸

The political dimension of Cicero's conception of the *studia humanitatis* is clear: it served the educational needs of a Roman ruling elite whose professional and political advancement depended on rhetorical skill and whose duty as freeborn Roman citizens lay in their active participation in government through the proper exercising of these skills.²⁹ Thus the training of a young man in the early imperial period still largely comprised of the study of grammar and rhetoric as well as moral philosophy as a means of providing an ethical or obligatory framework to their active participation in political life.³⁰

²⁷ Mann (2003) p3.

²⁸ Cicero, *Pro Archia* 2-3.

²⁹ Nauert (1995) pp12-3.

³⁰ cf. *De officiis*; *De oratore* and *De inventione* e.g. 1.1: *qui vero ita sese armat eloquentia, ut non oppugnare commoda patriae, sed pro his propugnare possit, is mihi vir et suis et publicis rationibus utilissimus atque amicissimus civis fore videtur*. [The man who arms himself with eloquence, not to attack the interests of his country but to fight for them, this man, I think, will be a citizen most supportive and well disposed to the purposes of the community as well as to his own].

The emergence of the humanist programme of education that came to be the cornerstone of the university curriculum in Europe by the fifteenth century well reflects its politicised roots. The dominant scholasticism of the Middle Ages with its heavy focus on the study of Canon law and logic, primarily to serve the needs of the Church, began to be displaced by the humanistic study of classical literature, as European society, particularly in Italy from the twelfth century onwards, urbanised and developed commercially. The growing civic administrations of independent city states and their mercantile priorities created a demand for a new literate class of civic professionals, trained in the drafting of legal documents and Latin grammar: whose personal success was defined to a great extent by utilitarian bureaucratic skills transferrable to the spheres of politics, trade and religion. Rhetoric, particularly in the form of letter writing (*ars dictaminis*), became, as Nicholas Mann has noted, “a skill for contemporary life”, and enabled its practitioners (*dictatores*) to be heavily involved in and influential upon affairs of state.³¹ Indeed, an increasingly literate commercial population led to a need for professional *dictatores* to distinguish themselves as such, chiefly through the display of a mastery of the Latin language and an ability to deploy learned quotations from classical authors.

Growing interest in Italy during the thirteenth century in Roman law also helped to affirm the practical utility of classical literature, bringing the *Code* and *Digest* to bear on current legal issues, as well as promoting awareness of the great civilizations of the past. Thus the Paduan circle of lawyers centred around Lovato Lovati (c.1240-1309) led to that city becoming one of the earliest European centres of the revival of classical culture.³²

³¹ Mann (2003) p5.

³² Weiss (1969) pp1-16; Mann (2003) p6; Nauert (1995) pp6-7; see also the collection of essays in Caruso and Laird (2009) which explore the origins of the Greco-Roman tradition in Italy.

The fourteenth century saw the humanist educational blueprint embodied in the figure of another legally trained individual, Francesco Petrarch (1304-74). His discovery of Cicero's *Pro Archia* in 1333 heralded a rebirth of the classical conception of the perfect civilised individual as embodied by Cicero himself. The public career of the Roman statesman proved the practical utility of rhetoric in public life but this ran concurrently with a personal, private image of the philosopher seeking individual truth. To obtain the perfect balance the civilised individual needed rigorous training in the disciplines of the *studia humanitatis*, namely grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, and moral philosophy. Similarly, the late fourteenth-century example of the republic of Florence, whose aristocratic rulers strongly favoured a humanistic education for their sons in line with Petrarch's idealised vision of Cicero's original conception of an education for the ruling elite which led to the truly virtuous man enshrining the needs of the community in his life of active service, again suggests the strong relationship between politics, morality and humanist training.³³

*Origins of Humanism in Spain*³⁴

The early modern period in Spain spans two decisive and closely related cultural shifts: "Renaissance Spain" defines Spain's break from medievalism in the late fifteenth century, precipitated by the influence of the Italian Renaissance and defined by humanistic interest in Latin language and the culture of classical antiquity; "Baroque Spain" is the period at the

³³ Nauert (1995) p14. The utility of humanist study in the political arena is confirmed by the activities of the Florentines Coluccio Salutati (1331 – 1406) and Leonardo Bruni (1370-1444) whose intimate connection with political (specifically republican) life and humanist training was labelled by Hans Baron "civic humanism." See Hankins (ed.) (2000) for a study of this controversial term.

³⁴ See Di Camillo (2010) pp19-66 for a comprehensive survey of the controversies and scholarship on Spanish Renaissance Humanism. Coroleu (1998) is a useful account of the development of humanism in Spain which pays close attention to the influence of Italian humanism.

beginning of the seventeenth century marking the end of the Renaissance in Spain and the emergence of the vernacular as the dominant vehicle for cultural expression.³⁵

The traditional account of the development of humanism in Spain is that: “there was little to be said about the slow and late start of humanism and scholarship in Spain.”³⁶ Such a view was rooted in belief in an extension of medieval culture in Spain as far as the sixteenth century as well as a reluctance to define the strong vernacular character of humanism in Spain as humanism proper. In Di Camillo’s words such a view “renders any likely speculations of Spanish Renaissance humanism as moot.”³⁷ However, whilst Pfeiffer took the publication of the polyglot Bible in Spain, prepared at Alcalá between 1502-1522, as the beginning of what could be regarded as “serious scholarship”,³⁸ a more sympathetic view of an earlier development of humanism in Spain, discernible at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and originating from the effects of the humanist movement in Italy, can be offered.³⁹

The earliest manifestations of humanist activity in Renaissance Spain show Italian influence. The Marquis of Santillana (1398-1458), a prominent literary figure and passionate advocate of the virtuous, noble qualities of Latin learning, who, influenced by the civic overtones of Italian humanism, encouraged Spanish noblemen to combine their traditional life of arms with the study of letters (*armas y letras*).⁴⁰ However, his inability to read Latin

³⁵ Robbins (2004) p137: “The term “early modern” has gained currency as a descriptive term for the transition from a medieval world view to a more recognisably modern, secular, scientific, and bourgeois one.” On the blending of the Renaissance and Baroque periods see Weiss (2004) p170 and his discussion of the Neo-Latin and vernacular poet Augustinian Fray Luis de Leon (1527-1591).

³⁶ Pfeiffer (1976) p94.

³⁷ Di Camillo (2010) p27.

³⁸ Pfeiffer (1976) p94.

³⁹ Robbins (2005) pp135-48 is an authoritative account of the Spanish Renaissance and Baroque periods.

⁴⁰ Kagan (1974) p34 quotes some correspondence with Prince Henry, the future Henry IV of Castile; “Knowledge does not blunt the iron of the lance nor weaken the sword in a knight’s hand.” (Quoted in Rusell (1967) p49). The *armas y letras* motif belongs to Castiglione’s *Il Libro del Cortegiano*.

and his consequent dependence on Spanish or Italian translations, seriously calls in to question his role as a humanist.⁴¹

Juan de Mena (1411-56), a friend of Santillana and the royal secretary of Latin letters, had studied in Italy and cited classical authors throughout his principal work *Laberinto de fortuna*, though his contribution to Spanish vernacular literature was greater than his services to Latin scholarship.⁴²

Alonso de Cartagena (Alonso Garcia de Santa Maria) (1384-1456), the Spanish-educated bishop of Burgos, represents the clearest example of early Latin humanism in Spain. In a single year between 1422 and 1423, he produced Spanish translations of Cicero's *De officiis*, *De senectute*, *Pro Marcello*, *De amicitia*, and, in 1428, *De inventione*. However, it is his criticism of Leonardo Bruni's (c.1370-1444) translation of Aristotle's *Ethics*, which he regarded as favouring literalism over the accurate conveying of philosophical meaning, which represents perhaps the earliest example of scholarly Latin humanism in Spain.⁴³

Educated in Italy where he mixed with such humanist figures as Cardinal Bessarion and George of Trebizond and strongly influenced in his youth by Cartagena, Alfonso Palencia (1423-90) produced, along with Spanish translations of Plutarch and Josephus, a *Compendiolum* of ancient Spanish place-names, a Latin-Spanish dictionary, and his greatest work, though never printed, the *Gestarum Hispaniensium Decades*. A manuscript of the

⁴¹ Nauert (1995) p101; Lawrance (1993) p221-2.

⁴² See Nauert (1995) p101; Di Camillo (1991) p80 refers to these two figures as "vernacular humanists."

⁴³ For an account of Cartagena and his correspondence with Bruni see Lawrance (1993) pp223-7. Lawrance regards Cartagena as providing Spain's "first serious brush with humanism" (p224) and his correspondence with Bruni as "set[ting] the agenda for the whole subsequent history of humanist scholarship in Iberia." (p225). Nauert (1995) p101 assigns him a rather less important role and writes off his idea of textual authority as essentially medieval.

scholia on Terence bears his handwritten annotations and further demonstrates his scholarly endeavour in humanistic studies in Spain.⁴⁴

The best known humanist figure in late fifteenth century Spain and a discernible influence on La Cerda's theoretical conception of his Virgilian commentary is Antonio de Nebrija (1444-1522). Educated at Bologna, Nebrija became royal historiographer in 1509 before spending the rest of his professional career as a lecturer at the universities of Salamanca and Alcalá. Nebrija's importance lies not just in the publication of his hugely successful *Introductiones Latinae* (1481) which followed Niccolo Perotti (1429-80) in focusing on classical usage and broke away from the application of medievalist logic to the study of Latin grammar but in the way in which his scholarly publications join together the two divergent strands of humanism discernible in early-modern Spain.⁴⁵ His work is also important in demonstrating how humanist scholarship could be harnessed to the political ideology of Spanish imperial destiny.

Nebrija's publication of a Latin-Spanish dictionary followed by his *Arte de la gramatica castellana* (1492) which schematised a vernacular European language in the same scholarly fashion as its classical counterparts for the first time, represents the aspiring cultural and political interests of the recently united kingdoms of Castile and Aragon via the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella in 1469 and the completion of the *Reconquista* in 1492. As Di Camillo has noted, implicit in Nebrija's undertaking is the idea that "the maturity of the Spanish language is ... concomitant [to the] growth of the nation's power."⁴⁶ Indeed, Nebrija asserts in the preface to his *gramatica*:

⁴⁴Salamanca University MS 78 quoted in Lawrance (1993) p230.

⁴⁵ First published in 1481 but reprinted immediately in 1482, with a bilingual edition for Queen Isabella c. 1487 and again in 1496. La Cerda himself revised a version printed in 1598. See Percival (2004) for a collection of articles on the grammars of Perotti and Nebrija.

⁴⁶ Di Camillo (1991) p93; on this topic cf. Mignolo (1992) pp301-30.

Siempre la lengua fue compañera del imperio; y de tal manera lo siguió, que juntamente començaron, crecieron y florecieron, y después junta fue la caída de entrambos.

[Language was always the companion of empire, and followed it such that together they began, together they grew and flourished, and later together they fell.] [trans. Navarrete (1994) p19].

Another important aspect of Nebrija's impact on humanist education in Spain is his assertion, via a Latin oration delivered at the opening of the academic year of 1486 at the University of Salamanca, of the primary role of the *grammaticus* in all academic disciplines. Poliziano's *Lamia* (1492) stated the same idea six years later: the *grammaticus*, as the embodiment of the idealised humanist, is capable of undertaking the exegetical exposition of any text, in any discipline, whether from the fields of the *studia humanitatis* or any other discipline from the arts and sciences.⁴⁷ The extensive quotation of Latin and Greek authors throughout La Cerda's commentary on Virgil is perhaps partly indicative of the influence of Nebrija's Latin grammar which asserted the importance of classical usage for the study of Latin and which was of course revised by La Cerda himself for student use in 1598. The interdisciplinary aspirations of La Cerda's Prolegomena, particularly *cap.III* which describes Virgil's learning in the spheres of philosophy, astrology, medicine, mathematics, judicial law, religious law, ancient customs and Greek literature, suggests his alliance with Nebrija's

⁴⁷ Poliziano, *Lamia* 71ff. Calenza (2010) is a modern edition with a text, translation and introductory studies of this important Renaissance work. See Di Camillo (2010) p25.

grammaticus. Importantly for La Cerda though, it is Virgil himself who comes to play the role of the idealised humanistic pedagogue.⁴⁸

The sixteenth century in Spain continued to produce humanist philologists, rhetoricians and classical scholars of high standing. Juan Luis Vives (1492-1540) and Francisco Sanchez de las Brozas (El Brocense) (1523-1600), whose work on Latin theoretical linguistics, *Minerva*, was edited by La Cerda in the same year as Nebrija's Latin grammar, are amongst the best known. The strong vernacular brand of Spanish humanism also found perhaps its clearest expression in the pastoral *Eclogues* and Horatian epistles of Garcilaso de la Vega (c.1501-36). Antonio Agustín (1517-86), admired as a Latinist by Erasmus, produced translations of Aristotle and treatises on history, ethics and politics.⁴⁹

The Decline of Spanish Humanism in the Sixteenth Century

While the intellectual climate of sixteenth-century Spain had developed from close contact with the humanist movement in Renaissance Italy, the open flow of intellectual currents into Spain also brought with it ideas that ran contrary to Catholic orthodoxy.

The spread of Lutheranism in Germany had alarmed the Inquisition and helped to drive its move towards a narrower and more rigorous definition of Catholic orthodoxy. Thus the Illuminist movement (*Alumbrados*), with its emphasis on a direct, personal communion with God and its eschewing of form and ceremony, suffered the arrests in 1524 of its most active exponents Isabel de la Cruz and Pedro de Alcaraz.

Illuminism's perceived relationship with Lutheranism redoubled the efforts of the Inquisition to uncover any aspect of religious dissent. The growing popularity amongst

⁴⁸ For the influence of Poliziano see notes *passim* to Schottus' poem.

⁴⁹ Lawrance (1993) p257.

Spanish intellectuals of Erasmianism, characterised, like Illuminism and Lutheranism, by internal religious introspection rather than external ceremonial expression, led the Inquisition to regard Erasmus' ideas with suspicion. It may also be the case that Erasmus was seen to represent a continuation of the influx of "foreign" ideas into Spain and, for the strongly traditionalist Castilian element in the newly created kingdom of Spain, a continuation of anti-Castilian impurity.⁵⁰ Certainly, the humanist elements in Spain were encouraged by the arrival of Ferdinand and his cultured foreign Court in the late fifteenth century at a time when the cosmopolitan influence of the European Renaissance was beginning to be felt and the inward-looking nature of Castile was being forced to confront a more intellectually ambitious Europe.

Thus the mid sixteenth century was characterised by the struggle between two opposing forces; on the one hand a traditionalism which sought to protect Spain from the religious and intellectual tumult of the rest of Western Europe, and on the other those with enthusiasm for the possibilities of social regeneration offered by the intellectual climate of the Renaissance.

Traditionalist sentiment came to dominate Spanish society of the mid sixteenth century. Increasing acceptance of the doctrine of *limpieza* which insisted on purity of ancestry (in effect, non-*converso*) for the nobility and all those seeking office. The fate of perhaps Spain's most gifted humanist, Juan Luis Vives, is brutally indicative of these sentiments: sent abroad in 1509 at the age of sixteen to study in Paris, Vives never returned to Spain and spent the rest of his life and career in the Netherlands. In 1520, his father was arrested by the Inquisition and burnt alive because of his Jewish heritage and his mother's

⁵⁰ The driving force behind the revolt of the *Comuneros* had been hatred of the foreigner and of foreign ways and ideas. See Elliott (2002) p215.

bones were disinterred and burnt four years later.⁵¹ The decrees of Philip II in 1558-9 banned the import of foreign books and forbade the travel of Spanish students abroad to study. The Inquisitor General Valdes published a Spanish Index of prohibited books in 1559 which included the *Enchiridion* of Erasmus. This increasingly reactionary climate severely limited the horizons of Spanish humanism: classical education in Spain came to be dominated by the rising Jesuit order which La Cerda joined in October 1574.⁵²

Humanistic Education in Early Modern Spain

The picture of education in Europe was profoundly changed by Johannes Guttenberg and the invention of moveable type in 1453. The resulting mass production of books created a decisive shift from the medieval tradition of literacy as practised by a learned professional class of clergy and lawyers and helped to bring education and academic training to a wider spectrum of society. In addition, the civic functions of the growing new monarchies throughout Europe required literate men in growing numbers and such employment, with its resulting advances in wealth and social prestige, redefined the social orders of much of European society.

Renaissance humanism in Italy influenced education in Spain which also emphasised the study of Latin and Greek over the traditional scholastic curriculum. The new conception of education differed from the medieval tradition in that they regarded academic training as not necessarily vocational but rather aimed to create citizens interested in service to their princes, their nations and God. Classical authors provided models of virtue to emulate in the realisation of this goal. The humanists addressed their educational *credo* principally to their

⁵¹ See Kamen (1991) p112.

⁵² Lawrance (1993) p254.

noble patrons, whom they urged to serve their communities through a combination of the traditional noble arts and a thorough literary training in the classics.

Under the rule of Ferdinand and Isabella, fifteenth-century Spain saw the growing influence of this humanistic educational model. Alonso de Palencia (1423-1492) and Juan de Lucena (1430-1506) had been educated in Italy and returned to Spain steeped in the humanist tradition. The growing importance of the study of the classical languages in Spain at this time can be seen from the establishment of the first chair of Greek anywhere in the peninsula in 1480 at Salamanca. Notable Italian humanists were also shaping Spain's Renaissance education, with figures such as Lucio Marineo Siculo (1460-1533) and Peter Martyr (1499-1562) lecturing in Spain from the mid-1480s. The publication of Nebrija's grammars (*Introductiones Latinae* 1481, *Arte de la gramatica castellana* 1492), particularly his Castilian grammar dedicated to Queen Isabella, saw humanist education, though a uniquely Iberian blend of it, quickly harnessed to the service of the Spanish state. The establishment of Alcalá's university status in 1508 and its close association with the completion of the Polyglot Bible represent the highpoint of humanist educational endeavour in Spain.

A rapidly expanding Spanish empire in the early sixteenth century saw an increase in the bureaucratic needs of the state and thus an increase in the general provision of education. This education was largely based upon the study of the Latin language and was intended to provide literate men suitably trained to meet these bureaucratic needs and accorded with the prevailing contemporary ideology that saw a need to produce servants of the crown skilled in literature as well as war. While education of the aristocracy remained largely a traditional, private affair conducted by personal tutors at home, the grammar school or *colegio* (*escuela de gramaticá*) was the training ground for the Latin instruction of those who aspired to careers in the emerging civil services. Students followed a humanistic curriculum based upon the study of Latin grammar and the more advanced curriculum of the reading of rhetorical,

poetical and historical Latin texts.⁵³ A climate favourable towards humanism under Isabella and the increasing importance attached to ability in Latin in accessing the more lucrative civic careers, led to a rapid increase in the number of these schools. By 1600, almost every town of substantial size had a Latin school of its own.⁵⁴ However, crippling economic conditions led to a backlash against the provision of Latin education in favour of educational subjects deemed to be more economically productive, until after Philip IV's edict in 1623, which stated that only towns with a royal *corregidor* would be allowed to have grammar schools, well shows.⁵⁵

The sixteenth century also saw twenty new universities (*estudios generales*) created along collegiate lines. During the period 1500-63, thirty-eight colleges were formed: the *colegios mayores*, open only to small numbers of mature, usually graduate, students. Of the six *colegios mayores*, four were at Salamanca (founded between 1401 and 1521), one at Valladolid (1484) and one at Alcalá (1508). However, their curriculum was based on legal study, rather than on any advanced instruction in the humanities.⁵⁶ Indeed, of the university faculties of grammar, arts, canon law, civil law, medicine and theology, it is the courses in law that were most heavily enrolled.⁵⁷ Despite the flourishing interest in classical studies and literary philology in the university curricula of fifteenth-century Spain, which had been created by the Italian Renaissance and transferred to Spain's universities by humanist such as Peter Martyr and Marineo Siculo, the humanist trend did not last long. In particular, the backlash against Erasmianism in the mid sixteenth century and the decline of Jewish culture

⁵³ For a detailed account of the Latin curriculum of the *studia humanitatis* see Grendler (1989) pp111-276.

⁵⁴ Kagan (1974) p42.

⁵⁵ See Elliott (2002) pp94-8.

⁵⁶ Kamen (1991) p114.

⁵⁷ For details of matriculations by faculty during the period 1550-1810 at the universities of Salamanca and Valladolid see Kagan (1974) pp214-5.

in Spain was symbolic of a wider mistrust of the free enquiry typical of Renaissance scholarship. Thus whilst the study of classical languages remained popular among the religious orders (the Jesuits in particular), the medieval grip of the study of law tightened once again.

3. Jesuit Education

School Education

The proliferation of the schools of the Society of Jesus altered the educational landscape in the later 1500s. Commitment to scholarship and learning is well evidenced by the founder of the Society, Ignatius Loyola (c. 1495-1556) who set the precedent for its commitment to scholarship and learning. Initially instructed in basic Latin grammar at the hands of Jerome Ardevoll, after two years Ignatius was advised to move on to the University of Alcalá in 1526 where he spent sixteen months before moving on to Salamanca where Ignatius then attended the University of Paris in 1528 where the Italian humanist influence had led to the study of classical literature being at the heart of its curricula.⁵⁸ Thus Ignatius' own educational experience fused the scholastic method of Alcalá with the Renaissance Humanism of Paris, providing the blueprint for the Jesuits' educational model.

By 1543, Francisco Xavier had established a Jesuit school in Goa, training Indian and Portuguese youths in Christian doctrine and the humanities.⁵⁹ Encouraged by this and taking up the subsequent offer of Francisco de Borja (1510-72), the Duke of Gandia, to endow a *studium generale* in Valencia, Ignatius oversaw the establishment of this university level school opened in 1546-7. The school was initially intended to educate members of the society but soon opened the attendance of lectures to the laity.

Thus, following this example of offering education to lay students not necessarily intending to join the priesthood, the school of Messina was formally opened on 1 October 1548. The Jesuits would not charge for their teaching and the school was to be funded by

⁵⁸ Cesareo (1993) p18.

⁵⁹ Grendler (1989) p363-4.

freewill offerings from the local town as well as by material support from the Spanish Viceroy who had petitioned Ignatius in the first place to send ten Jesuit scholars to teach and undertake charitable activities. The Jesuit fathers were to teach basic literacy and Latin grammar followed by rhetoric, oratory, Greek, Hebrew, Aristotelian logic and ethics, scholastic theology and casuistry as well as catechism.⁶⁰

The school at Messina was a huge success, in great part due to its free instruction which was a novelty in Italy. Such gratuitous instruction accorded with the Jesuit ideology of poverty but in a more practical sense the success of the early schools helped to affirm the Jesuits' belief in the piety of scholarship and the utility of learning to the Jesuit and the wider Catholic cause.⁶¹ Indeed the early Jesuits “viewed teaching Latin, offering catechetical instruction, and leading schoolboys to receive the sacraments as religious deeds akin to converting pagans.”⁶² In particular, the effective teaching of rhetoric had the practical advantage of the cultivation of a pleasing and thus persuasive style for the ministry of preaching. Thus the Jesuits harnessed the Renaissance Humanist curriculum of the *studia humanitatis* to teach Christian doctrine by way of the great examples of *virtus* they found so conspicuous in the classical authors. The cultivation of *pietas* and its role in the formation of good character was the primary concern for the Jesuits in adopting the humanist programme: “*omnia vero selecte ita ordinanda, ut in studiis primum locum pietas obtineat.*”⁶³ This method identified closely with the humanist belief in the didactic power of good (i.e. classical) literature (*bonae litterae*) to imbue good morals. Humanists found the clearest articulation of this idea in Cicero's description of the ideal orator: *Vir bonus, dicendi peritus*,

⁶⁰ Grendler (1989) p364.

⁶¹ Ignatius and his early followers bound themselves to this ideal on the feast of the Assumption of Mary, 15 August 1534 (O'Malley (1993) p32).

⁶² Grendler (1989) p366.

⁶³ Letter of Jeronimo Nadal (1552) quoted in O'Malley (1995) p212.

a description which neatly summed up the ideals of probity, eloquence and civic commitment which came to define rhetorical humanistic education.

By 1600, the Jesuits had colleges in most of Spain's major towns and cities with 118 colleges in Spain by the early 1700s. Thus the Jesuits quickly became the leading organizer of secondary education in Habsburg Spain.⁶⁴

The reasons for the popularity of their schools were much the same as they had been in Italy: free instruction and the chance of social mobility for an artisan class who perceived value in their sons being taught Latin as a means to join either the church or the growing civic professions; the Jesuit schools also offered a scheme of instruction, later enshrined in the *ratio studiorum* of 1599, that was superior to much of the contemporary secondary schooling on offer; a humane curriculum as well as additional training in theology, mathematics, history, geography, astronomy, all of which was underpinned by Jesuit morality and self-discipline as well as the strong dedication of Jesuit teachers, made a powerfully appealing package.⁶⁵ Indeed, the quality of Jesuit instruction in Spanish schools in the late sixteenth-century threatened even university faculties of grammar in Spain, with Alcalá and Salamanca both seeing a decline in student numbers as the Jesuit colleges expanded.⁶⁶ Some university faculties in Spain also employed Jesuit teachers due to the paucity of qualified instructors: at the University of Valladolid in 1581 Jesuit teachers were brought in on a 4-year commission

⁶⁴ Kagan (1974) p52.

⁶⁵ The *ratio studiorum* of 1599 provided a code of laws and regulations for the teachers and officials involved in the then rapidly expanding number of Jesuit schools and colleges throughout Europe. The *ratio* was originally circulated in draft format in 1586 and was further revised in 1591 in the light of empirical observations and recommendations gathered by the Jesuit educators to whom the document had been circulated. The *ratio* defined a two-tier educational system with the "Higher Faculties" of Theology and Philosophy following the "Lower Studies" of Rhetoric, Humanity (i.e. poetry) and Grammar. See "Letter of Transmission" (Farrell 1970).

⁶⁶ See Kagan (1974) Figs. 9 and 10, pp213-4.

to teach grammar, rhetoric and Greek. The success of student numbers led Granada, Lerida, Santiago, Toledo, Valencia to do the same.⁶⁷

Jesuit colleges in Spain also operated a boarding school programme designed for wealthy, fee-paying students which entailed a strict routine of long hours of study, short vacations, limited parental visits and agonistic competition designed to teach the pursuit of excellence. Though this provision for residential boarders operated alongside that of the other, non fee-paying students of the college, it does represent an important feature of Jesuit education: the instruction of the social elite. Though the earliest Jesuit schools provided instruction for everyone, subsequent developments in educational policy transformed the Jesuits into teachers of the upper and middle classes.⁶⁸ Their growing reluctance to teach the basic skills of reading and writing and offering instruction that depended on familiarity with the rudiments of basic Latin grammar, effectively excluded illiterate (i.e. poor) students from their schools.⁶⁹

Spain established the Colegio Imperial in 1629, an academy staffed by Jesuits in order to educate the sons of Spain's nobility "to prepare them for the important roles they would have to play as the natural leaders of the nation."⁷⁰ There followed the establishment of similar Jesuit schools such as the Collegium Germanum founded in Rome in 1552 which became the training ground for those destined for high ecclesiastical office in Germany. The

⁶⁷ Kagan (1974) p51.

⁶⁸ Grendler (1989) p373.

⁶⁹ Grendler (1989) p373: "The Collegio Romano (1551) admitted only students who already knew how to read and write and...had begun the study of Latin."

⁷⁰ Kagan (1974) p38.

Jesuit school founded in Parma in 1601, to educate princes, taught a Latin curriculum supplemented by training in singing, dancing, fort building, French, and riding.⁷¹

Scholasticism and Humanism

Jesuit education blended scholasticism and humanism.⁷² Ignatius had received scholastic training at Alcalá but his exposure to the curriculum of Renaissance humanism in Paris meant that the *modus Parisiensis* became the basis for the Jesuit model of education later defined and schematised in the *ratio studiorum* of 1599.

The scholastic and humanistic strands of Jesuit education also met in the controversies between Aristotelians and Ciceronians, partially instigated by Leonardo Bruni's Ciceronian translations of Aristotle. By enshrining Cicero at the heart of the *ratio studiorum* and by advocating the study of Ciceronian works and the imitation of Ciceronian style as principal exercises in the study of the humanities, the Jesuits adhered to the principles of Italian Ciceronianism.⁷³ The *ratio* also of course specified the study of Aristotle's rhetorical works and thus, thanks to the efforts of Italian humanist translators and their Ciceronianising of Aristotle and his scientific works, the Jesuit intellectual enterprise sat comfortably on a compatible combination of these two authors.

⁷¹ Grendler (1989) p376.

⁷² See Mack (2011) p176.

⁷³ Tuck (1993) pp 51-5; the Jesuit Antonio Possevino (c. 1533-1611) in his *Bibliotheca selecta* (1593), in the section under *Cicero* which discusses the issue of imitation, reproduced the letters of the Pico-Bembo exchange along with a paraphrase of Lilio's letter to Giraldo Cinzio. The 1603 edition also included the letter of Justus Lipsius (1547-1606) which was influential in resolving the Ciceronian quarrel. Possevino presents what he regards as being the best solution to the debate by highlighting the potential sequential practice of Ciceronianism and Electivism as put forward by Lilio. The key texts are presented in Duvick and Dellaneva (2007); see ppvii-xxxv for discussion of the Ciceronian controversies.

Cicero and Virgil

Despite the prominent educational role assigned to Virgilian poetry by La Cerda, Virgil's presence within the *ratio* is surprisingly sparse. As Haskell notes, "the *ratio studiorum* does not in fact prescribe Vergil for poetry in the same global terms as it does Cicero for oratory."⁷⁴ Certainly poetry occupied a lower rank in the Renaissance curriculum (as it had in the medieval curriculum) than rhetoric and it chiefly served as an adornment to style and good expression in rhetorical composition.⁷⁵ In the *ratio*, study of Virgilian poetry is confined to the Humanity classes (themselves the foundation for the higher Rhetoric classes) along with select odes of Horace and other "suitable"⁷⁶ poems and poets, and the higher Grammar classes which specify study of the *Eclogues* and "some of the easier books of Virgil, such as the fourth book of the *Georgics* and the fifth and seventh books of the *Aeneid*."⁷⁷ A *Catalogus Perpetuus* from the Rhine province indicates the place of Virgil in Jesuit schools in Germany from 1629-1634:⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Haskell (2010).

⁷⁵ For the place of poetry in the Renaissance curriculum see Grendler (1989) pp235-55; on the place of Virgil see *op. cit.* pp235-50.

⁷⁶ *ex poetis praecipue Virgilius, aliquibus exceptis eclogis et excepto quarto Aeneidos; praeterea odae Horatii selectae, item elegiae, epigrammata et alia poemata illustrium poetarum, modo sint ab omni verborum obscenitate expurgati (ratio studiorum, Regulae Professoris Humanitatis 1)*

[from the poets Virgil especially [is to be read], though with certain *Eclogues* removed and with the fourth book of the *Aeneid* removed; moreover, selected *Odes* of Horace, similarly elegies, epigrams, and other poems of the illustrious poets, provided they have been cleansed of all obscene expressions.]

⁷⁷ *Ratio Studiorum*, Rules of the Teacher of the Highest Grammar Class, (trans. Farrell (1970)).

⁷⁸ *Ratio Studiorum et Institutiones Scholasticae Societatis Jesu per Germaniam olim vigentes collectae, concinnatae, dilucidatae a G. M. Pachtler S. J.*, vol. 4 (Berlin, 1894).

1629	Humanity Class	<i>Aeneid</i> 1-3	Higher Grammar Class	<i>Georgics</i> 4
1630	Humanity Class	<i>Aeneid</i> 6-9	Higher Grammar Class	<i>Aeneid</i> 5
1631	Humanity Class	<i>Aeneid</i> 10-12	Higher Grammar Class	<i>Aeneid</i> 7
1632	Humanity Class	<i>Aeneid</i> 1-3	Higher Grammar Class	<i>Georgics</i> 4
1633	Humanity Class	<i>Aeneid</i> 6-9	Higher Grammar Class	<i>Aeneid</i> 5
1634	Humanity Class	<i>Aeneid</i> 10-12	Higher Grammar Class	<i>Aeneid</i> 7

Thus a student in the higher Grammar class could expect to study a single book of the *Aeneid* (books 5 and 7 being favoured for their relative ease, as noted in the *Ratio* of 1599) or a single book of the *Georgics*, before progressing to the Humanity class where he could expect to read three or four books of the *Aeneid*, (if not book 4, probably deemed unsuitable after Augustine's *Confessions* 1.13.20-21). The reading of Virgilian poetry was a means of perfecting Latin and practising the higher linguistic skills required for the Rhetoric class and beyond. La Cerda's Prolegomena would appear to reject this role of Virgil and instead position him as the superior of Cicero who could be placed at the heart of a revised model of Jesuit education.

La Cerda's assertion within the Prolegomena that Virgil triumphs over Cicero in the fields of rhetoric and eloquence offers a provocative challenge to traditional Jesuit educational theory.⁷⁹ La Cerda is well aware of the controversial nature of this proposition as his comment at *cap.III. 220* shows:

*Est hoc temerarium dictu, & insolens: sed parcite Lectores, nam mihi coniungenti
praeconia Virgilii, cur non fas sit ea dicere, quae ante me alii?*

⁷⁹ cf. *cap.III.146-302*.

[This is inadvisable to say, and contrary to custom. But bear with me, readers, for why might it be improper to say those things which others have said before me, when I am joining together the commendations of Virgil?]

Note also his acknowledgment at *cap.*III. 259-60 of those who disagree with this provocative stance:

Sunt, quibus iudicium Macrobiani visum est audax. Nam quis audeat praeferre in Eloquentia Maronem Tullio?

[There are those to whom the judgement of Macrobius seemed bold. For who would dare to prefer Virgil in eloquence to Cicero?]

However, La Cerda's challenge to Jesuit educational orthodoxy is made clear by his comment at 264-8:

Sed hic tamen οὐ κατ' εἰωθος dicam, animadvertisse me loca Tullii, quae omnes unice praedicant, ut quae rara, exquisita, singularia: quibus tamen video aliquid addi posse humano ingenio, & alieno labore. Rursum me ad Virgilium confero, & loca video adeo inaccessa, ut nullus sit locus mortali ingenio aliquid addendi.

[But I shall however say, against custom, that I have noticed passages of Cicero, which everybody makes particularly special mention of, that are rare, exquisite, special but to which I see that something could be added by human talent and the work of others. I go back again to Virgil and I see passages that are so far from reach that there is no place for mortal talent to add anything.]

So perfect and complete is Virgilian poetry that it becomes an encyclopaedia of knowledge in itself. The polemical intent of the Prolegomena is thus made clear: La Cerda's enterprise questions the centrality of the Ciceronian corpus to the Jesuit model of education. Indeed,

even the status of the Virgilian text itself may be reassessed as La Cerda's commentary provides a unique and singular guide to Virgil's poetry and its resultant educational hegemony.⁸⁰

The Teaching of Grammar and Humanity

Ignatius Loyola's *modus Parisiensis* was founded on a solid foundation in classical Latin grammar. It asserted the centrality of Cicero and Virgil and emphasised speaking Latin aloud. It also involved methods of repetition, review, memorization, disputation, composition and the mastery of a specified body of work.⁸¹

The Jesuit *ratio studiorum* schematised the *studia humanitatis* with the scholastic framework of the *modus Parisiensis*. It prescribed a five-class system of three graded classes in grammar followed by humanities, and finally rhetoric. Each of the three grammar classes was to take about a year with the humanities class taking two years and the rhetoric class one year.⁸² Grammar classes involved the intensive memorisation of the rudiments of Latin grammar, delivered in Spain via Nebrija's *Introductiones latinae* in the 1598 version prepared by La Cerda. This became the official Latin grammar to be used in the *colegios* of Spain via the royal decree of Philip III in 1598.⁸³ Grammar classes also involved the study of Cicero and Virgil; the *Aeneid* or *Eclogues* provided an introduction to metrics.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Weiss (2004) notes the conscious desire of the Spanish epic poet Alonso de Ercilla y Zuniga (1533-1594) to outdo his Virgilian model in his *La Araucana* (published in three volumes between 1569 and 1589). For Ercilla's relationship with his epic models see Quint (1993) pp168-85.

⁸¹ Grendler (1989) p377.

⁸² Farrell (1970) pp77, 161.

⁸³ See Burrieza y Revuelta (2004) p127ff. Percival (2004) shows the Jesuits previously had adopted the grammar of the Portugese Emmanuel Alvares (1572). See further Percival (2004).

⁸⁴ Bolgar (1964) p357.

The humanities class introduced a broader range of classical authors with continued to focus on Cicero and Virgil. The study of Greek was introduced along with elementary rhetoric. Cyprian Soares's (1524-93) compendium *De arte rhetorica* (1562) was the text proscribed by the *ratio* for this purpose but some works of Erasmus were also studied, for example *de Copia* and *de Conscribendis Epistolis*.⁸⁵

The rhetoric class represented the culmination of Jesuit educational training and combined oratory and poetry. This class was the final preparation for *eloquentia perfecta*.⁸⁶ Cicero's orations, Aristotle's works on rhetoric and poetics, Quintilian and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* were also studied in depth.⁸⁷ Emphasis was placed on the composition of orations on suitable themes as well as verse compositions emulating the poets studied in earlier classes. The study of Greek also continued.

Teaching within Jesuit schools was heavily influenced by Quintilian. The *ratio* outlined the method of the *praelectio*:

"The method of the praelection should in general follow this plan: first, the instructor should read the whole passage to the class, unless, as may happen in rhetoric and humanities, it is too long. Second, he should briefly give the gist of the passage and when necessary its connection with what precedes. Third, he should read over each sentence and, if he is interpreting it in Latin, he should clear up obscurities and show the relation of part to part. He shall give the meaning, not indeed in an awkward paraphrase, matching one Latin word with another, but by recasting the sentence in clearer

⁸⁵ For Soares see Mack (2011) pp177-82; Flynn (1956). For the study of Erasmus' works see Flynn (1956); Pachtler (1898) vol.2, p414; Bolgar (1964) p357.

⁸⁶ *ratio studiorum*: "The grade of this rhetoric class is not easily defined. Its purpose is the development of the power of self-expression. Its content spans two major fields, oratory and poetry, with oratory taking the place of honour" (trans. Farrell (1970) pp72).

⁸⁷ Bolgar (1964) p375; Grendler (1989) p379.

terms...Fourth, beginning over again, he should make whatever observations on the text are suited to the class, unless he prefers to give this commentary as he goes along.”⁸⁸

The paraphrasing of text, the discussion of meaning and the citing of observations are the fundamentals upon which La Cerda’s own detailed exposition of Virgil is based. This is perhaps to be expected from a Jesuit himself closely involved in education but this theoretical framework does not prevent his commentary from being relatively free from other aspects of Jesuit educational preferences or prejudices, which, given the polemical nature of the Prolegomena noted above, may not surprise.

La Cerda offers an uninhibited presentation of *Aeneid* 4 and no concentration of Christianising interpretations in his presentation of the *katabasis* in *Aeneid* 6. Moreover, there is no explicit oratorical concentration, for all the emphasis on such instruction in the Jesuit schools.⁸⁹ Indeed, the practice of rhetorical competition, known as agonism, was a defining characteristic of early Jesuit schooling and competition played a central role in the lives of students enrolled in the colleges.⁹⁰ Masters divided their classes into groups of ten (*decuriae*), each headed by a leader (*decurio*), whose job it was to hear the recitations and memory exercises of his remaining group members, as well as recite before the master himself. The *decuriae* were the vehicles for many forms of competition including papers on classical topics, original compositions in prose and verse, disputations and recitals. The victors in these contests could go on to win further acclaim in schoolwide events and public appearances.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Trans. Farrell (1970) pp66-7; cf. Quintilian’s description at *Inst.* 1.8.12-16.

⁸⁹ See Laird (2002a) p184.

⁹⁰ Johnson and Lynch (2012) have demonstrated the importance of agonism to Jesuit educational practice.

⁹¹ Grendler (1989) p380.

The influence of agonism is ubiquitous in La Cerda's *Prolegomena* as Virgil battles with and overcomes Cicero, Homer and all the other Greeks and Latins.⁹²

⁹² See commentary notes at *Ded.* 18 for a fuller discussion of La Cerda's method.

4. The Virgil Commentary of Juan Luis De La Cerda

I. Historical Context

*History*⁹³

La Cerda was born in 1558 in the reign of Philip II. When he entered the Company of Jesus at the age of sixteen, Spain had embarked on the Eighty Years War in an attempt to reassert control of their Dutch colony. By the time La Cerda accepted the Professorships of Rhetoric, Poetry and Greek at Madrid, Spain had entered two more conflicts: the Anglo-Spanish War (1585-1604), and the French War (1590-1598) both precipitated by ongoing unrest in the Netherlands. Spain was at the height of her European power, profiting from the heavy flow of gold and silver from the Americas and the annexing of Portugal in 1580 brought great prestige as well as greater naval strength to Spain.⁹⁴

However the 1580s and 1590s brought a series of crises; the defeat of the seemingly invincible Spanish Armada in 1588 debunked the conception of Spain's own divine, anti-Protestant imperial destiny; bankruptcy in 1596 effectively signalled the end of Philip II's imperialist activity and his death in 1598 provided further grim news; widespread food shortages and a devastating outbreak of plague from 1596-1602 decimated the Spanish population by around ten percent and dealt a significant economic blow to the nation.⁹⁵ The social phenomenon of the *picaro* and the subsequent form of literary portrayals in the early

⁹³ For an account in English of this period Spanish history see Kamen (2002). The subtitle of his work is interesting to note: *The Making of a World Power 1492-1763*. Kamen does not accept the view that Spain was in decline from 1599.

⁹⁴ Williams (2001) p170.

⁹⁵ Williams (2001) p229; Davis (1996) pp529-34.

1700s highlighted a mood of cynical fatalism which led the Spanish to question their very sense of national purpose.⁹⁶

Philip III acceded to the throne upon his father's death in 1598. He inherited a kingdom ravaged by plague and a much-enlarged Spanish empire beset with administrative and economic problems. Indeed, acute economic necessity dictated the peace treaties with England in 1604 and the Dutch in 1609 and the situation was hardly helped by the new domestic initiative to expel the Moriscos from Spain in 1609, compromising the rural economy. Spain's awareness of her own crisis and the introspectiveness engendered by it is well evidenced by the emergence of the *arbitristas* during the first quarter of the seventeenth century who set themselves the task of analysing the ills of their ailing society and providing Philip with advice on how best to restore Spain's economic and imperial greatness.⁹⁷

Prose Dedicatio

La Cerda's commentary on Virgil, in particular the paratextual material of the *Dedicatio* and the laudatory poems, clearly reflect these contemporary social and political problems. La Cerda's *Dedicatio* prefacing the Prolegomena to his first volume of commentary offers a polemical defence of a Latin poetic education set against a backdrop of traditional aristocratic snobbery and concern over the contribution of Latin education to Spain's current economic difficulties.⁹⁸ Moreover, La Cerda makes an explicit connection between contemporary Spain and Augustan Rome, asserting that Spain's return to greatness, measured by its comparison with imperial Rome, can only return when the study of (poetic) literature is once again invested at the heart of Spain's political elite as it was in Rome under the patronage of

⁹⁶ Elliott (2002) p299.

⁹⁷ See Kamen (1991) pp231-6.

⁹⁸ See Kagan (1974) p40-50, especially pp44-5.

Augustus. Thus La Cerda clearly equates poetry with civic success and happiness, reflecting Augustus' successful application of it to the practising of imperial politics.⁹⁹

Dedicatory Poems

The dedicatory verses also articulate a relationship between poetry and imperialism, supporting La Cerda's argument of the centrality of Latin (and specifically Virgilian) poetic education to Spain's recovery. Moreover, they provide an assertive restatement of Spanish identity in the face of a faltering imperial reality, played out in a classical poetic landscape re-colonised by Spanish humanistic endeavour.¹⁰⁰

Sanctius' poem presents classical philology itself as an act of colonisation with La Cerda this time playing the role of Augustus granting the re-colonised poetic landscape back to Virgil.¹⁰¹

Schottus situates La Cerda's work in an overtly imperial context, evoking a series of poetic conquests: Spain herself becomes the poetic imperialist, conquering Rome in the ultimate assertion of Spanish imperial glory, just as Rome's conquest of Greece is exemplified through the poetic conquest of Homer by Virgil. Indeed, La Cerda becomes a greater (Spanish) Virgil as his commentary lays claim to an intellectual Virgilian hegemony. A *translatio imperii* by way of the *translatio studii*.

⁹⁹ For the vernacular tradition, beginning with the marques de Santillana (1398-1458), of placing poetry at the epicentre of human affairs see Weiss (2004) p159. La Cerda's view of the intimate connection between literature and empire (linguistic attainment reflecting military accomplishment) accords with Nebrija's cyclical view of the history of empire where Greece gives way to Rome and, consequently, Latin gains cultural authority over Greek. Spain is next in line for this *translatio* (though the *translatio imperii* has outstripped the *translatio studii*) and his 1492 grammar of the Castilian language provides the vehicle for Spanish culture to match Spanish imperial dominance. See Navarrete (1994) pp18-24.

¹⁰⁰ For the relationship between literature and politics in Renaissance Spain see Navarrete (1994) p18 which discusses Spain's perception of her literary achievements as lagging behind her military ones.

¹⁰¹ On the topic of philology as an act of colonisation see Mignolo (1992) pp301-30; note especially pp306-9 for his discussion of Nebrija.

Taken as a whole these various paratexts generate a series of playful interchanges between patron, poet and commentator: La Cerda's *Dedicatio* places its addressee, Diego da Silva y Mendoza, in the role of the idealised political *princeps* and literary patron to La Cerda's work on Virgil. The association with Virgil's own political patron, Augustus, is invited and thus, by implication, La Cerda playfully casts himself in the role of Virgil, thereby ranking himself as commentator as an equal to the commented text. However, La Cerda interchanges the personae of his dedication and also casts Mendoza in the role of Virgilian poet, deploying the language of his *Elogia* of Virgil to describe his patron.

La Cerda's interest in placing humanist education at the heart of Spain's recovery shows that scholars needed to continue politicising themselves in a period when opportunities for advancement had started to decline. The Prolegomena should also be viewed as a provocative and compelling contemporary humanist response to Spain's faltering imperial identity.¹⁰²

*Literature*¹⁰³

Despite the grim economic and political scene under Philip III, the arts flourished. The seeds of the *Siglo de Oro* are perhaps to be found in Philip II's creation of *El Escorial*, the royal palace designed by Juan Bautista de Toledo, which attracted some of Europe's finest architects and painters to the environs of Madrid.¹⁰⁴

Poetry particularly inspired by Italian Renaissance verse forms began to appear under the influence of Garcilaso de la Vega (1501-1536) and a succession of Spanish poets emerged, perhaps the most famous being Lope de Vega (1562-1635), whose immense literary

¹⁰² In comparable fashion, Heinze (first published 1902; Eng. trans. 1993) and Poschel (1950; Eng. trans. 1962) during the period between the two World Wars found imperial ideology and moral clarity enshrined in Virgil's *Aeneid*. See Perkell (1999) pp18-19.

¹⁰³ See Gies (2004) pp137-306.

¹⁰⁴ For a biography of Philip II see Kamen (1998) with a full bibliography pp364-8; also Williams (2001). The role of the *Escorial* is explored in Kamen (2010).

output ranged from sonnets and epic poetry to novels and over a thousand plays.¹⁰⁵ Miguel de Cervantes (1547-1616) published *Don Quixote*, the greatest work of Spanish vernacular literature, in 1605 and 1615. Traditional Picaresque fiction also continued to develop at the turn of the seventeenth century with the publication of Mateo Aleman's *Guzman de Alfrache* in 1599.

¹⁰⁵ See Kamen (2002) pp339-42.

II. Form and Presentation

La Cerda's monumental edition of the collected works of Virgil appeared in three volumes between 1608 and 1617. Volume 1 deals with the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* whilst volumes two and three deal with books 1-6 and 7-12 respectively, of the *Aeneid*. Volume 1 runs to 535 folio pages, volume 2 to 743 and volume 3 to 782, all of which present their material in Latin in two columns of densely packed type. Following 22 pages of introductory material, Volume 1 presents La Cerda's *Ad Lectorem* explaining the principles of his work and rationalising the roles of *Argumentum*, *Explicatio* and *Notae* which surround the *lemma* of Virgil's text.

Argumentum

*Divido, ut vides, Lector humanissime, has in Virgilium lucubrationes meas in Argumenta, explicationes, Notas. In ARGUMENTIS breviter comprehendo partem illam carminum, quam declarandam suscipio: & ita, ut interdum annectam verba superioris argumenti cum praesenti. Itaque, si quando videatur desiderari verbum in aliquo argumento, quaerendum est ab superiore.*¹⁰⁶

[I divide, as you see, most humane reader, these nocturnal studies of mine on Virgil into *Argumenta*, *Explicationes* and *Notae*. In the *Argumenta*, I briefly grasp the part of his poetry which I am undertaking to explain; and I do this in such a way that I may occasionally connect the words of an earlier *Argumentum* with the present one. And so, if ever a word seems to be required in some *Argumentum*, it must be sought from the earlier one.]

Thus the role of the *Argumentum* is to elucidate (usually through paraphrase) the particular portion of text under scrutiny. Lengthy *Argumenta* begin each *Eclogue* or each new book of the *Georgics* or *Aeneid*, providing the reader with a detailed summary of the contents of the poem. Shorter *Argumenta* then follow each portion of the text quoted.

¹⁰⁶ *Ad lectorem* 1-5.

Explicatio

In EXPLICATIONIBVS non solum sententias singulas explano, sed universas annecto, expendens interdum mentem Poetae: interdum (inquam) & ut visum aptius, nam si id semper, iusti Commenteritii vicem haberet. In explicando autem hanc saepe rationem teneo, ut synonymo aliquo (& saepe intra parenthesin incluso) mentem Poetae aperiā. In hac parte (si quando est necesse ad captum novitii lectoris) literam ordino, sed id perquam raro, nam Virgilius perquam raro indigent hac diligentia: cum illi, quantum est rebus ipsis profunditatis, & reconditae doctrinae, tantum sit in verbis claritatis.¹⁰⁷

[In the *Explicationes*, I not only explain individual opinions, but I also tie together collective ones, occasionally weighing up the Poet's intention. I stress "occasionally" and only as seemed appropriate, for if I were to always do this it would take the place of the commentary proper. However, in explaining I often hold to this principle: to reveal the intention of the Poet by some synonym (often confined in a parenthesis). In this section (if it is ever necessary for the understanding of the novice reader) I give the order of the line, but I do it very rarely, for Virgil very rarely requires such care: since he has as much depth and recondite learning in his writing as there is clarity in his words.]

Immediately following the paraphrase of the *Argumentum*, the *Explicatio* is bound to the particular portion of text through the sequential lettering *a, b, c, d* etc printed at the beginning of the relevant lines and thus forming the individual paragraphs of the *Explicatio*. Here La Cerda seeks to synthesise focused and panoramic comment on the text with the overarching aim of presenting a clear account of what he feels the poet means. This may, occasionally, go as far as printing the order in which the line is to be read, though examples of this are rare in the work. For La Cerda, Virgil's work is characterised by *claritas*, and thus, as Laird (2002a) has noted, he has little time for the allegorical readings of Virgil that were prevalent before the Renaissance.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ *Ad lectorem* 6-12.

¹⁰⁸ Though allegorists such as Fulgentius are listed in the *syllabus auctorum*, there are no entries for Fulgentius in the indices of any of the three volumes of the commentary.

Notae

*In NOTIS multa est rerum varietas pro ipsa rerum varietate, quibus Poeta est plenus. In his enim iam Explicationem meam firmo, adductis aut Auctoribus, aut testimoniis, quibus innitor. Iam profero alias aliorum explicationes, sed id raro, una, ut plurimum, contentus: iam vim vocum, iam etymologiam persequor, si haec praesertim conducere ad sententiam potest.*¹⁰⁹

[In the *Notae* there is a great variety of subjects, reflecting the great variety of subjects of which the Poet is full. For in these *Notae* I now support my *Explicatio*, with either added authors or testimonies, which I rest on. At one time, I offer the alternative explanations of others, but I do this rarely, as I am often content with one. At another, I follow closely the force of words and at another, their etymology, if this is especially helpful to the sense.] (trans. Laird (2002a)).

The *Notae* form the third and final (and longest) layer of La Cerda's explication of Virgil. Here *lemmata* are followed by exhaustive textual parallels and discussion of the work of previous writers and commentators on Virgil. Clearly, part of the function of these *Notae* is to support the reading of the *Explicatio*, as well as to reinforce the focus on a more literal form of interpretation: hence the interest in *vim vocum* and *etymologiam*. Further rationalisation of the *Notae* continues:

*saepissime patefacio Graecorum & Latinorum loca, quibus Poeta institit: saepissime item illorum loca, qui post Virgilium fuere, & qui institere illius vestigiis. Quod cur faciam, quaeso diligenter attende. Destinaveram aliquando Poesin docere, & hac de re laboris aliquid in lucem dare, sed abstinui ab his praeceptis, & satius duxi ipsa exercitatione praecepta patefacere. Qui? Dices. Audi. Solet Virgilius saepissime ita Graecorum loca imitanda suscipere, ut, quae in Graecis desunt, addat; quae in illis redundant, adimat; quae in illis sunt imperfecta, & parum culta, perfectiora & nitidiora labore suo, & industria reddat. Haec res ita est efficax ad docendam Poesin, ut nulla fortasse magis.*¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ *Ad lectorem* 13-16.

¹¹⁰ *Ad lectorem* 17-24.

[Very frequently I reveal the passages (*loca*) of Greeks and Romans in which the Poet has trodden: and very frequently again of those who were after Virgil and who trod in his footsteps. To hear why I do this, please pay keen attention. I had at one time determined to teach poetry, and to bring some of my labour on this activity to light, but I refrained from these instructions and considered it more than adequate to reveal my instructions by this very exercise. “What?” you will say. Listen then. Virgil is very frequently accustomed to undertake the imitation of passages of Greek authors in such a way as to add things which are lacking in the Greeks, to remove things in them which are redundant, and to render more perfect and resplendent things in them which are imperfect and too little cultivated by his labour and industry. This activity is so effective for the teaching of poetry that there is perhaps none greater.] (trans. Laird 2002a).

This passage has important implications for the commentary as a whole. Transcending matters of form, it reveals La Cerda’s core intention for his work and explains his methods for achieving it. The importance he attaches to *Quellenforschung*, through detailed attention to Virgil’s models and successors, is geared towards successful *imitatio*. For La Cerda, that concept lies at the very heart of Virgil’s own poetic achievement.¹¹¹ His commentary, far from simply being an exercise in Virgilian exegesis, is actually an attempt at a practical teaching of poetic composition through the exhaustive analysis of the acknowledged master poet. The very form and presentation of the commentary itself perhaps suggests a clear didactic principle born out of a mainstay of Jesuit education, the *praelectio*.¹¹²

¹¹¹ See Laird (2002a).

¹¹² See Introduction above pxxxvi.

III. La Cerda's Engagement with Previous Virgilian Commentators

A. *Late Antique Commentators*

I have used the term "Late Antique" of Virgilian commentators of the fourth century; Aelius Donatus, Tiberius Claudius Donatus, Macrobius and Servius. La Cerda's commentary draws upon each of these authors in varying degrees in different sections of his work. This chapter seeks to outline his use of each of them.

Aelius Donatus, Tiberius Claudius Donatus, Macrobius

Though these authors are used extensively throughout the *Elogia*, comparatively little acknowledged use is made of them in the body of La Cerda's commentary proper. The *Index Rerum et Verborum* lists only a single entry for (Aelius) Donatus under "*Donatus refellitur*" at *Eclogues* 7.53. note 2; no entry at all for Tiberius Claudius Donatus and seven entries over three volumes for Macrobius.¹¹³ These entries are striking for two reasons; first, in a commentary on this scale, little use is made of these authors; and second, what mention there is is entirely critical. Yet, despite being conspicuously absent from the commentary itself, each of these authors is listed in the *syllabus auctorum* at the end of the *Prooemium* at volume one as a source from which La Cerda has drawn material to construct his seven chapters of *Elogia*. Indeed, La Cerda makes selective rather than critical use of the biographical and literary critical material contained in these authors.¹¹⁴ It is interesting to note that he appears to regard deployment of their material as useful for his *Elogia* but the ancient authorities are of little use once his commentary is underway.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ These comprise of "*Macrobius lapsus*", "*Macrobius carpitur*", "*Macrobius refellitur*", "*Macrobius error*" and "*Macrobius ineptae*".

¹¹⁴ See *Prooemium* and accompanying notes below for La Cerda's deployment of this material.

¹¹⁵ See p232 for the influence of Scaliger on La Cerda's hostility towards Macrobius.

Servius

By contrast, rather more use is made of Servius' commentary on Virgil. The *Index* to Volume 1 lists nine entries, Volume 2 ten entries and Volume 3 nine entries concerned with his work. Again, however, these statistics must be considered in relation to the overall size of La Cerda's endeavour and, once again, it is clear that La Cerda makes comparatively little use of the most famous and widely read Virgilian commentary of the time. These references to Servius are, as with the previous fourth-century commentators, almost entirely critical, even hostile.¹¹⁶ Interestingly, further hostility to Servius is betrayed beyond those faults listed in the Indices. This is most easily detected in La Cerda's *Argumentum* beginning book 4:

Continet hic liber amores Didonis erga Aeneam, sed modestissime, ut decet Vatem Parthenium. Neque obtrudant Critici sumptum Apollonium ad imitationem. Hoc scilicet Graeculi. Nihil habet Virgilius commune cum Apollonio, nisi tantum describi a Graeco amores Medeae erga Iasonem, a Latino Didonis erga Aeneam. In reliquo longe dissimiles. Apollonius mera est umbra, merae nugae, mera insipientia si cum Virgilio conferatur. Sed omitto hic crisin et pergo ad argumentum libri huius.

[This book contains Dido's passion for Aeneas, though in a most temperate manner, as befits the Parthenian Bard. Critics should not simply thrust upon us that Apollonius has been taken up in imitation. This is what little Greeks maintain. But Virgil has nothing in common with Apollonius, unless perhaps those passions of Medea, described by the Greek author Euripides, for Jason, or those by the Latin one, of Dido for Aeneas. In what remains, he is greatly dissimilar. Apollonius is nothing more than a shadow, nothing more than mere trifles, nothing more than stupidity if he is compared with Virgil. But, at this point, I abandon literary judgement and move on to the theme of this particular book.]

¹¹⁶ Volume 1 lists five entries under "*Servii error*" and single entries under "*Servius carpitur*" and "*Servius reprehenditur*". Two entries bear the title "*Servius defenditur*". Volume 2 is similar, listing nine entries under "*Servii error*" and a single entry under "*Servius defenditur*". Volume 3 is arguably more dismissive listing a further nine entries of what are now termed "*Servii nugae*".

In this candid discussion of what was a controversial book for some Jesuits, La Cerda holds that Virgil remains the traditional paragon of moral virtue: *ut decet Vatem Parthenium*. For La Cerda Virgil is saved from the censure of critics who suggest that he has simply copied the Dido episode from Apollonius' Medea in the *Argonautica*. The "critics" whom La Cerda characterises as "thrusting upon us" (*Critici obtrudant*) appear to be those commentators on Virgil who accept without question the received wisdom of Servius who states the following at the start of his commentary on *Aeneid* 4:

Apollonius Argonautica scripsit, ubi inducit amantem Medeam. Inde totus hic liber translatus est de tertio Apollonii.

[Apollonius wrote the *Argonautica* where he introduced the lover Medea. Hence this whole book has been copied from the third book of Apollonius.]

Comment of this type offered at this point by La Cerda is not to be found in any of the other eleven *Argumenta* introducing the individual books of the *Aeneid*.¹¹⁷

B. Middle Ages and Renaissance

La Cerda makes little explicit use of medieval commentary on Virgil. There are striking omissions from the indices and syllabi to La Cerda's commentary: the sixth-century Christian commentator Fulgentius is listed in the *elenchus auctorum veterum qui partem his commentariis contulerunt* though he is omitted from the *syllabus auctorum* and the indices to the three volumes of commentary. The twelfth-century Bernardus Silvestris is not mentioned in any of the indices or syllabi. The allegorical nature of these works may well explain their

¹¹⁷ La Cerda's comment here gives an interesting Jesuit perspective on the relationship between Latin culture and Greek culture. The *ratio studiorum* clearly placed study of Latin over Greek though Greek language and literature still played its part in the curriculum. The dismissive diminutive *Graeculi* may refer to contemporaries championing Greek culture over Latin whom La Cerda rejects but in a self-consciously studied way; note the Greek accusative *Aenean* after the Latinised form of the same noun governed by the same preposition in the first line and the Greek accusative *crisin*, ultimately from κρίςις, which places La Cerda in the role of a literary judge.

limited use or entire omission from La Cerda's commentary. In a work designed to explain the method of Virgil's poetic craft for those wishing to engage in successful *imitatio*, La Cerda perhaps regarded these authors, with their focus on the explication and understanding of the content of Virgil's work, as of little or no value for understanding the craft of Virgilian poetry.¹¹⁸

La Cerda's use of Renaissance humanistic commentators, with their preference for linguistic rather than allegorical scholarship, is far more extensive. The *syllabus recentiorum* lists such figures as Petrarch, Pontano, Poliziano, Erasmus, both Scaligers, Bembo, Sannazaro, Budé, Muré and the Spanish Jesuit classical scholar Martin Delrio. The poetic works, of Pontano and the *Manto* of Poliziano in particular, are drawn upon extensively in the *Elogia*. The allegorising commentary of Cristoforo Landio is quoted in the *Elogia* but, again, his work is omitted from the indices of the commentary.

¹¹⁸ Though allegorical readings are not entirely absent from the commentary; cf. La Cerda's comment in the opening *Argumentum* of *Eclogue 4: sed omnia huius Eclogae CHRISTO Servatori conveniunt, de quo tam mira Sibylla cecinit, cuius rei ignarus Poeta omnia transtulit ad Cunas, & natalitum Salonini*; cf. his comments at *Ecl.* 4.5., 4.13.

IV. Prolegomena: arrangement, subject matter and presentation

The Prolegomena to La Cerda's commentary are arranged in the following way:

Dedicatio; Gaspar Sanctius ad P. Ioannem Ludovicum De La Cerda De Bucolicis, & Georgicis P. Virgilii Maronis Egregio Commentario; Andreas Schottus In P. Virgilium a Ioan. Lud. Cerda; Prooemium

Caput I:

Elogia natali Virgiliani

Caput II:

Elogia Virgilii sumpta ab Honesto: Pudor; Humanitas; Prudentia; Modestia; Pietas; Elogia ab Utili;
Elogia ab Iucundo

Caput III: De Variis Artibus:

Elogia a Philosophia; Elogia Rhetoricae & Eloquentiae Virgilianae; Proximus Tullio; Par Tullio;
Maior Tullio

Caput IV: Elogia Sumpta Ex Comparatione Virgilii Cum Poetis Aliis, Graecis & Latinis:

Proximus Homero; Par Homero; Maior Homero; De Homero; Maior Reliquis Graecis Poetis; Maior
Latinis Poetis; Virgilius Maximus Poetarum

Caput V: Elogia Poeseos Virgilianae:

Imitator; Iudicium; Proprietas; Sublimitas; Pictura

Caput VI: Elogia ab Attributis

Caput VII:

Honores qui habiti Virgilio Viventi; Honores qui habiti Virgilio Mortuo; Honor Virgilii futurus
Aeternus

Finis Elogiorum

Ad Lectorem

Detailed discussion of the subject matter of the constituent chapters of the Prolegomena is confined to the explanatory notes. Here, a general description of the presentation of this material follows.

The prefatory material is arranged over 46 pages of volume 1 of the commentary before La Cerda's opening work on *Eclogue* 1 begins. The *Dedicatio* to the author's patron naturally occupies first place in the work and is presented in a conspicuously larger font. Two sets of dedicatory verses follow. The first comprises of 18 elegiac couplets by Gaspar Sanctius and 45 hexameters by Andreas Schottus of Antwerp.¹¹⁹

A lengthy *Elenchus Auctorum Veterum* provides a varied list of ancient source material for La Cerda's commentary and this is followed by a further list of more recent commentators, editors and humanists concerned with Virgil.

The *Elogia* then begin with a short *Prooemium* describing the seven chapters to follow and defining La Cerda's undertaking as distinct from those authors who have gone before him:

Interpretes alii initio Operum Virgilii vitam praeferunt, alii testimonia coniungunt illorum qui locuti sunt de hoc Vate. Discessi ab utroque genere interpretum.

[Some commentators, at the beginning of their works, place a Life of Virgil. Others join together the accounts of those who have spoken about this poet. I have departed from both these types of commentators.]

La Cerda steers away from presenting the customary *Vita* of the poet as the material is well-known and adequately presented elsewhere. His contribution is to be a reorganisation of this material in order to make clear the educational and moral benefits of reading Virgil. This is to be achieved through an account of the poet's birth and character at *cap.* I-II; *cap.* III concerns his knowledge and oratorical skill, greater than even that of Cicero; *cap.* IV relates his pre-

¹¹⁹ See pp xli-xlii above for discussion of these poems; detailed notes can be found below at pp 176-203.

eminence in the field of epic poetry, surpassing Homer and the other Greek poets; *cap.* VI-VII are reserved for an account of the particular merits of Virgilian poetry.

The address to the reader follows the seven chapters of *Elogia* in which, as we have seen, La Cerda defines the functions of the *Argumenta*, *Explicationes* and *Notae*.

A Note on the Text of the Present Edition

Editions

P. Virgilii Maronis Bucolica et Georgica (Madrid, 1608; repr. Leiden 1619; Cologne, 1628, 1642; 1647)

P. Virgilii Maronis Aeneidos Libri Sex Priores (Leiden, 1612; repr. Madrid 1613; Cologne, 1628; 1663)

P. Virgilii Maronis Aeneidos Libri Sex Posteriores (Leiden, 1617; repr. Cologne, 1647, 1695)

The Latin text presented in this thesis is based upon the edition printed at Cologne in 1642 and made available on-line by the University of Pennsylvania.

I recently obtained a copy of the 1619 edition printed at Leiden and I have compared these two editions when faced with textual difficulties. In the few places where the text remained ungrammatical or illogical after comparison with the 1619 edition, I have supplemented the present text with my own readings or I have consulted the standard modern edition of an author where available. These corrections have been given at the foot of the pages of the Latin text.

I have corrected the text of the 1642 edition in the following places:

Schottus 33 *simas* for *cimas*

cap. 1.29 *omen* for *omne*

cap. 1.52 *Nereides* for *Nercides*

cap. 1.63 *Melissa* for *Mellise*

cap. 1.74 *omina* for *omnia*

cap. II.17 *Gellius* for *Agellius*

cap. II.196 *nulli* for *multi*

cap. IV.189 *promptum* for *promtum*

cap. IV.220 *interemptum* for *interemtum*

cap. VII.114 *emptum* for *emtum*

cap. VII.133 *sumptum* for *sumtum*

cap. VII.135 *numinis* for *nominis*

TEXT

ILLVSTRISSIMO

COMITI

SALINAE

JOAN. LVDOVICVS DE LA CERDA,

S. P.

Mihine, an Tibi, an Hispaniae toti vitam tuam gratuler, Illustrissime Comes? Mihi: cui contigit potuisse te meis laboribus Patronum unicum adoptare: Tibi, cuius vita magnarum virtutum exemplis illustrata, Principibus aliis exemplo est: Hispaniae, quae te fruitur ad ornamentum sui, ad salutem bonorum, ad pauperum calamitates sublevandas, ad Regis tui
5 curam non mediocrem sustinendam, cum res tota Lusitani regni (cuius accessione iam inde a Philippo II gaudemus) humeris tuis imposita felicissime administretur. Omnibus simul gratulor. Nihil mihi certe felicius potuit contingere, quam Tibi ac tuo nomini opus hoc inscribere, sive ad defensionem parandam contra impetus malevolorum, sive ad perennitatem nominis consequendam: quod Te fautore non dubito. Quae enim exoptare in Patrono meo
10 potui, ea in Te summa sunt: humanitas ad Commentarios istos tuendos: iudicium ad Poetarum maximum expendendum: doctrina ad capiendum, quicquid est reconditum in hoc Vate. Quae istae laudes? roget aliquis. Tu in summo Principe, in Illustrissimo Comite, in honestissimo Equite, nihil aliud reperis, quam ea quae necessaria ad literarum monumenta versanda. Multa certe sunt in Te uno, quae singula multos ornarent, sive nobilissimum SYLVARVM genus
15 considerem inter Lusitani nominis Principes maximum: sive cognationes & propinquitates cum universis fere primoribus Hispaniae, quibus nexu quodam implicatus, nullius familiae splendore cares: sive opes, quae nullis inferiores sunt, cum potius quam regiarum magnificentia, comitatu publico, nitore domestico longe lateque superes: sive gradus

honorum, quos tibi Tua Virtus coniuncta cum summa Nobilitate peperit: qua factum, ut nunc
20 in Regia Philippi III Curia Lusitano Senatui, quo nullus aut gravior, aut sanctor, vice Regis
tui cum summa laude & integritate praesis: sive denique considerem multarum Virtutum
splendorem, quibus apprime enitescis, video Te inter Maximos esse Maximum. Sed tamen
haec omnia cum magna in Te sint, maiora quidem sunt accessione earum rerum, quas Tibi
quotidie ingenium tuum parit. Clare loquar, literas amas, literatos colis, Poetarum laude
25 flores, gaudes doctorum consortio, scriptorum tuorum gloriam felicissime auspicatus es,
coniungens rem literariam cum disciplina equestri: neque Te haec a literis, neque literae a
studiis equestribus avocarunt, doctissimus inter doctissimos, inter Principes Princeps. Possem
hic conqueri multorum Nobilium arrogantiam & supercilium. Itane vobis, Viri nobiles,
deformes visae sunt literae, ut harum studium non coniunctum cum honestissimis disciplinis
30 putetis? Dirum dictum, deforme auditu putare Musas, literas, scholarum disciplinas pertinere
ad abiectos homines, saltem ad eos, qui minus generis nobilitate splendent. Indecores scilicet
Literae sunt, neque dignae, quae inter nobilissimos spectentur. Longe aliud antiquorum
aevum. Euntes ad bellum Duces libri comitabantur: & qui in dextris gladios gerebant, libros
in pretiosis scriniis repositos portabant, ut post ardorem diurnae pugnae nocturnum tempus
35 illorum lectioni dicarent, & ita a militari strepitu conquiescerent. Quod aevum conferri potest
cum aevo Augusti, aut gravitate Principum, quibus ille usus est? aut bellorum magnitudine,
quibus status universi terrarum orbis mutatus est, publicis omnium opibus in unum hominem
conversis? aut studiis pacis post longa bella? Et tamen ita Literae in honore habitae sunt, ut
aevum illud felicius ipsae reddiderint: in quod amplissima scriptorum, oratorum, Poetarum,
40 Philosophorum seges erupit: & haec ita magna, ut ab illo ad nos, quicquid fere
floquentissimum est, in humanis Literis redundarit. Atque ab opibus illius aevi, cum infinitos
alios, tum P. VIRGILIVM habeamus Poetarum omnium principem. Neque secus atque ille
suum saeculum exornavit, tuum Tu Illustrissime COMES, qui non putas alienas esse Musas

ab ingenta Maiorum tuorum nobilitate, imo Tu una cum nobilissimis Fratribus tuis has
45 SOCIETATIS IESV Scholas, illas cum primum aperuimus, incredibili studio frequentastis,
idque iussu maximi RODERICI GOMESII A SYLVA, patris vestri EBOLENSIS
PRINCIPIS, ac PASTRANAE DVCIS, cuius adhuc felicissimam memoriam Hispania colit:
quem virum in intimis habuit PHILIPPVS II Regum omnium, qui hactenus fuerunt,
prudentissimus, illius prudentiam admiratus. Te ego tanti patris filium, de nostra
50 SOCIETATE benemeritum, in meipsum (licet immerentem) praecipuo quodam amore
insignem, huius Operis vindicem libentissime ascribo: & hoc dono, qualecunque illud est,
meum erga Te animum testatum esse volo.

Matriti Nonis Iuniis Anno M. D C V I I I.

AD P. IO. LVDOVICUM
DE LA CERDA DE BUCOLICIS, ET
GEORGICIS P. VIRGILII MARONIS EGREGIO
COMMENTARIO ILLUSTRATIS, GASPAR

Sanctius Societatis IESV

Pingua rura suo Caesar dedit ampla Maroni,
et dextra gregibus vindice pingue nemus.
Ille datam curvo domuit bene doctus aratro,
sed magis Ascraeo vomere vertit humum.
5 Pavit oves patriae vitreas ad fluminis undas;
Sed Siculo melius carmine pavit oves.
Nemo datos umquam coluit felicius agros,
nemo vagum melius duxit in arva pecus.
Sed bene, quae quondam coluit Maro rusticus arva,
10 Densa erat, atque hebeti squallida silva situ.
Neglecto horrebat pingui rubus asper in agro,
Tardabatque avidos semita clausa greges.
Sed cultu Ludovice tuo squallentia florent
Arva, tegit latum fertilis herba solum.
15 Tu silvam implexam, atque hirsutis pascua dumis
Falce aperis rursus, vomere rursus aras.
Vomere non alio, quam, quo Maro rusticus olim
Divitias Cereri, deliciasque dedit.
Nimirum Genium magni Ludovice Maronis
20 Nactus es, aut (liceat dicere) nullus habet.

In sua, crede mihi, rediit Maro rura, rubosque
Abstulit, & tribulos Virgiliana manus.
Exciderant iterum Vati, puto, rura Latino:
Te, Ludovice, iterum vindice rura capit.
25 Arva dedit Caesar, tu squallida Caesaris arva
Senta novas, Domino restituisque suo.
Caesaris officium est silvas dare, & arva Maroni:
Reddere, quae exciderant, hoc, Ludovice, tuum.
Caesareum donum est opibus cumulare merentem:
30 Reddere sublatas, hoc quoque Caesareum.
Sed mage Caesareum quod longa in saecula donum est,
Quod neque vis rapiat, quod neque tempus edat.
Ergo Virgilio longe maiora dedisti,
Quam quod ab Augusto Caesare munus habet.
35 Iamdudum interiit, quod primo a Caesare munus:
At, Ludovice, tuum non timet interitum.

IN P. VIRGILIUM A IOAN.

LVD. CERDA SOCIETATIS

IESV illustratum

AND. SCHOTTVS ANTVERPIENSIS

eiusdem Soc.

Andinum vatem, decus immortale sororum,

Illustrasse iuuet, CERDA, aspirante Camoena:

Qui tenet in Latio semper florentis Homeri

Nomen, & hoc vates numquam praestantior alter,

5

Seu sylvas, seu rura canit, sive Arma Virumque:

Cui Phoebus, cui Musarum chorus assurrexit,

Ausonia, & totis applaudit Roma theatris.

Huic merito virides transcribat Graecia palmas,

Atque in Olympiaco decerpat dona corona.

10

Ergo Maeonii non iam de sanguine certent

Urbes, oppida tot, populi, gentesque Pelasgum.

Vicit enim MARO (sic animis, linguisque favete:)

Troiani belli scriptorem: cedit Graii.

Et senis Ascraei superavit carmina vatis,

15

Atque Syracosii sublegit scripta poetae.

Fallor? an Elysiis? nunc Maeonidem inter & Orphea

Ipsae sedet campis sella sublimis eburnea?

Multimodis animo versans tua carmina Care,

Priscaque dicta patrum: De Quincti Annalibus Enni

20 (mira cano) insignes suetus depromere gemmas.
Haec fuerint, LVDOVICE, tui praeludia celsi
Ingenii: vigeat sic terris dedita fama.
Grandia grandiloque ore tonas. heu quanta manet te
Gloria? Iam monumenta vides canescere seclis
25 Innumeris. docti evolvent, serique nepotes,
Qua surgit Titan, qua mergitur aequore: & inter
Extremos Morinos, divisos orbe Britannos.
Iam populata feris Neptunia Pergama flammis
Ingeminent vasti scopuli, pinusque loquantur.
30 Sic placitum Superis, victricem Mantua palmam
Vt ferat, Hesperia; mox doctos inter Iberos.
Agricola ast nimium felix, bona si sua norit!
Cum iuuet & simas inter cecinisse capellas,
Et resonet Daphnin, Amaryllida reddat imago.
35 Ergo agite o iuvenes, studiorum robora, palmam
Arripite hinc alacres tanti monumenta Poetae,
Vatis opus firmum, solidaque perennius aere
Semper erit; vivet decus immortale MARONIS.
Quinetiam tantae si tangit adorea laudis,
40 Ac spectare libet? En ipso in lumine primo,
Hinc viridi Phoebum redimitum tempora lauru,
Barbiton atque chelyn aureo qui pectine pulsat;
Illinc Tuscum equitem, proavis qui regibus ortus
Augusti imperio dederat grata otia Musis.

Nec vidisse semel satis. heu iuvat usque morari.

32 est 33 cimas 1642

P. VIRGILII MARONIS

ELOGIA

PROOEMIUM

Interpretes alii initio Operum Virgilii vitam praeferunt, alii testimonia coniungunt illorum qui locuti sunt de hoc Vate. Discessi ab utroque genere Interpretum. Ab illis, quia nihil possem exhibere speciosius quam ipsi exhibuerunt. Nam quid repetam quae alii iam evulgarunt? Certe vitam Poetae multi scripserunt & omnes norunt: modo illa a Donato (ut creditur) modo
5 a Servio edita primum fuerit, modo ab doctis aliis concinnata & propagata ab aevo Virgilii usque ad nostrum. Ab istis, quia nullus est ordo in illis testimoniis ac perinde illa opera exiguae est frugis ad cognoscendam dignitatem Magni Poetae: nam ex tanta testimoniorum acervatione tenebrae quaedam existunt indignae Virgiliano splendore. Itaque potius e re visum fuit redigere ad certum ordinem Virgilii praeconia quibus cognoscatur quantam in
10 rebus singulis vir hic singularis praevaluerit. Reduco vero rem totam ad septem capita. PRIMO loquar de Elogiis natalis eius atque incunabulis. DEINDE de triplici boni genere, Honesto, Vtili, Iucundo: quae bona potentissima in omni genere encomiorum: nam ubi res quae laudatur tria haec bona sortitur, quid amplius expectes? TERTIO attingo varias artes quibus Poeta floruit in his Eloquentiam: quo loci Virgilius comparatur cum Tullio, Princeps
15 Poetarum cum Principe Oratorum. QUARTO, comparo Virgilium cum Homero ac reliquis Graecis & cum Latinis omnibus: doque illi omnium palmam. QUINTO, adduco Elogia poeseos Virgilianae, ea videlicet, quae in illius opere praecipue elucent. SEXTO, excurro in aliqua attributa illius. SEPTIMO, persequor honores quos vivus habuit Virgilius quos mortuus; & adiungo testimonia illorum, qui dicunt, Vatem hunc aeterno duraturum. Prius
20 autem quam perveniam ad capita proponam tibi syllabum Auctorum a quibus laudes istae expromptae:

Abulensis, A.Gellius, Alexander Severus, Alcinous, S. Ambrosius, Ammianus Marcel.,
 Angelus Politian, M. Anton. Cassabona, M. Ant. Maioragius, Anton. Minturnus, Anton.
 Delrius, Apuleius, Auctor eius vitae, S. Augustinus, Augustus Caesar, Ausonius, Budaeus,
 25 Caelius Calcagninus, Calvus, Capitolinus, Cicero, Cl. Claudianus, Cl. Tiberius, Cornel.
 Tacitus, Cornel. Gallus, Dio Chrysost, Domitius Afer, Donatus, Erasmus, Eusebius
 Caesariensis, Fabius Paulinus, Fungerus, Germanus Val. PP, Godescalcus, Gulielm Modicius,
 Helinandus, S.Hieronymus, Hieronymus Vidas, Hilasius, Horatius, Hortensius, Ioannes
 Brodaeus, Ioannes Hartungus, Iovianus, S. Isidorus, Iul. Caesar Scaliger, Iustinianus Imp.,
 30 Iuvenalis, Lactantius, Lampridius, Landinus, Lucanus, Ludovicus Vives, Macrobius,
 Martialis, Matthaeus Toscanus, Maximianus, Muretus, Nannius, Nascimbaenus, Ovidius,
 Patricius Pedianus, Pet. Crinitus, Pet. Victorius, Phocas, Pierius, Plato, Plinius uterque,
 Poetae ἄδηλοι, Propertius, Quintilianus, Rhodiginus, Sannazarus, Seneca Philosophus,
 Seneca Rhetor, Servius, Silius, Stadius Papin, Suetonius, Turnebus, Vegetius,
 35 Velleius Paterculus, Velserus, Vopiscus, Vovianus.

CAPVT PRIMUM

ELOGIA NATALI

VIRGILIANI

Sit exorsus Elogiorum a primo vitae exortu. Qui vitam Virgilii scripserunt tum etiam alii praedicant natalitium huius plenum miraculorum. Phocas natalem eius vocat *MIRACULA RERUM*. Et probat, loquens de illius matre Polla (quam alii Maiam, alii Melissam vocant, a prognostico credo apum) his versibus:

5 *Haec, cum maturo premeretur pondere ventris,*
ut solet, in somnis animus ventura repingens
anxius, e vigili praesumere gaudia cura,
Phoebei nemoris ramum fudisse putavit.
O sopor indicium veri! nil certius unquam
10 *cornea porta tulit: facta est interprete lauro*
certa parens, onerisque sui cognoverat artem.
Consule Pompeio vitalibus editus auris,
et Crasso, tetigit terram. Quo tempore Chelas
iam mitis Phaethon post virginis ora receptus.
15 *Infantem vagisse negant. nam fronte serena*
conspexit mundum, cui commoda tanta ferebat.
ipse puerperiis adrisit laetior orbis:
terra ministravit flores, e munere verno
herbida supposuit puero fulmenta virescens.
20 *praeterea (si vera fides, sed vera probatur)*
laeta cohors apium subito per rura, iacentis

labra favis textit, dulces susurra loquelas.

haec quondam in sacro tantum mirata Platone

indicium linguae memorat famosa vetustas.

25 *sed natura parens properans extollere Romam,*

et Latio dedit hoc, nequid concederet uni.

insuper his. Genitor nati dum fata requirit

populeam sterili virgam mandavit arenae:

tempore quae nutrita brevi, dum crescit, in omen¹²⁰

30 *altior emicuit cunctis, quas auxerat aetas.*

Vide quot miracula in eius ortu. Admonetur in somnis mater futuri Poetae, nam videt se parere ramum lauri, qui sacer Phoebus: natus puer non plorat, quod vel ipsis regibus familiare: apes convolant ad illius os, quod prognosticum Pindaro accidit, Platoni, Ambrosio: eodem die, quo puer nascitur, pangitur populus, quae cito excrescit in miram altitudinem; quae arbor
35 puerperarum votis colitur, & donis ornatur. Prognosticum apum Iovianus etiam scribit lib.2. Vrania, & adiungit quaequam de natali Virgilii. Versus illius sunt:

Mincius hunc genuit conceptum ex Andide Nympha,

quam Phoebe sociam, atque anguis de vulnere tardam

commendat Mantoi: furtim sed caerulus amnis

40 *languentem, & sola tacitus sub rupe iacentem*

implevit. Postquam ex utero iam prodiit infans,

quo partus lateat, denso pater ipse salicto

occultans (ut forte locis habitabat in illis)

pignora sollicitae commendat cara Melissa.

45 *Haec natum gremio excipiens, flaventia mella*

¹²⁰ omne (1642)

Instillat puero, & dulci rore illinit ora.

Ille favi ducens tenerum de nectare succum

paulatim somno capitur, circumque frequentes

ora vagantur apes, lectumque e flore liquorem

50 *intingunt labris, & rore madentia fingunt.*

Atque hunc caerulei nantem ad vada nota parentis

Nereides¹²¹ (nam forte Pado procul aequore nabant)

inspectum rapuere: aderat tum candida Syren,

quae vocis merito, & blandae modulamine linguae

55 *formosum dono puerum tulit: inde per altum*

sublatumque humeris, ponto plaudente ferebat,

litora finitimo repetens coniuncta Vesevo.

Haec puerum instituit cantu ac mox capta pudore

arsit, & assuetis vovit male sana sub antris:

60 *Parthenias iuveni nomen de virgine mansit.*

Quae de Mincio patre Virgilio, quae de Nereidibus, & Sirene attingit, fabulose dicta & poetice ad commendationem Virgilio. Idem lib.1.Eridani ita de infantia Maronis:

Excipit hunc, tepidoque sinu complexa Melissa¹²²

blanda fovet, blandis conciliatque iocis.

65 *Illustratum lauri foliis, somnoque gravatum*

tutanturque apes, labraque melle linunt.

Hinc Musae placidis Salicum docuere sub umbris,

Sebethus liquidis qua fluit uber aquis.

Cunas Virgilianas ita quoque celebrat Politianus in Manto:

¹²¹ Nercides (1642)

¹²² Mellise (1642)

70 *Te nascente Maro Parnassi e culmine summo*
affuit Aonias inter festina sorores
Calliope, blandisque exceptum sustulit ulnis,
permulsitque manu quatiens, terque oscula iunxit,
omina¹²³ ter cecinit, ter lauro tempora cinxit.

75 *Mox aliae dant quaeque tuis munuscula cunis:*
certatim dant plectra, lyram, pellemque pedumque.
Dant & multiforam modulanda ad carmina Loton,
et decrescenti compactas ordine avenas.

Lege reliqua. Dices, nonne ista fabulosa, & mera mendacia, & tantum ad laudem Virgilii
80 conficta? Scias Lector, saltem tria ista de somno lauri, de apibus, de virga populea ab
omnibus narrari, qui vitam Virgilii scripserunt, & ab doctis aliis admitti: & reperi neminem,
qui reiiciat. Imo ab extremo miraculo nomen factum Vati, nam a virga Virgilius. Ad quem
rem Calvus allusit

Et vates, cui virga dedit memorabile nomen laurea.

85 Dissentit ab aliis, qui populum nominant. Donatus etiam in Virgilii vita (si Donati est,
quae circumfertur) ita ait: *accessit aliud praesagium. Siquidem virga populea more regionis*
in puerperiis, eodem statim loco depacta, ita brevi coaluit, ut multo ante satas populos
adaequarit: quae, arbor Virgilii ex eo dicta atque consecrata est, summa gravidarum &
foetarum religione suscipientium ibi, & solventium vota. Imo Germ. & Nannius, atque etiam
90 Donatus dicunt Poetam ad hanc suae populi historiam alluisse versu illo 4.Ecl.

Ipsa tibi blandos fundent cunabula flores.

Et quidem similia facta in ortu multorum Ethnicorum, cur non ego credam paria de Virgilio?
Volente aeterno numine indicare mortalibus quale prodigium nasceretur.

¹²³ omnia (1642)

CAPVT II

Excurram hinc in alia Elogia. Placitum incipere a triplici genere boni, Honesti, Vtilis, Iucundi.

Elogia Virgilio sumpta ab HONESTO.

Cum honestas bonumque honestum signet probitatem animi & ornamenta virtutum dicam hic quae reperi de laudibus Virgilianis quae ad virtutem pertinent.

PUDOR

- 5 Incipio a pudore, quia ab eo Virgilius dictus Parthenias. Huius rei testes profero Donatum: *cetera sane vita, & ore & animo tam probatum fuisse constat, ut Neapoli Parthenias vulgo appellaretur: ac, si quando Romae (quo tardissime commeabat) viseretur, in publico sectantes demonstrantesque se, subterfugeret in proximum tectum.* Et Servium, qui in eius vita, *adeo autem verecundissimus fuit, ut ex moribus cognomen acciperet, nam dictus est*
- 10 *Parthenias, omni vita probatus:* Et Ausonium ita scribentem: *quid etiam Partheniam, dictum causa pudoris, qui 8.Aeneidos cum describeret coitum Veneris atque Vulcani, ἀίσχροσεμνίαν decenter immiscuit. Quid in tertio Georgicorum de summissis in gregem maritis? Nonne obscaenam significationem honesta verborum translatione velavit.* Ab hoc pudore in moribus natum, ut nihil umquam impudicum aspserit suis libris. Qui legat librum
- 15 quartum Aeneidos, qui secundam Eclogam, videbit nihil in re amatoria dici verecundius posse. Plinius lib.7. huic Vati assignat *verecundiam*. Quintilianus lib.9. dicit, illum pudoris

gratia verba interdum decenter detraxisse. Seneca Epist.86. ait, loqui *decentissime*. Gellius¹²⁴
lib.9. illum in amore Vulcani & Veneris, uti *verecunda quadam translatione verborum*. Serv.
in 3.Eclog. Theocriti turpia, *suppressit verecunde*. Et 6.Eclog. ad illud, *huic aliud mercedis*
20 *erit*, ait verecunde significatum a Virgilio stuprum. Scaliger lib.5. Poet. Dat huic Vati
summam verecundiam. De eodem: *est castigatae verecundiae*. Item, *includit summis*
munditiis, quae ab aliis minus casta accipit. Et, *quae spurca sunt in Theocrito, & horibilia,*
vertit suavissime, & transfert elegantius. Alibi, *in narranda Polyphemi ingluvie noster*
Parthenias usus est verecundia: Homerus, quasi diceret apud iudicem causam, atrocissimis
25 *atque immanissimis verbis usus est. Neque enim voluit Virgilius repensentare deterrimam*
carnificinam, quae non deceret heroicam maiestatem, sed oleret potius satyricam licentiam.
Obicies: nonne amoribus indulsit, etiam puerorum? Ita vulgus putat, sed falso. Auctor eius
vitae: *Tametsi quidam dicant, illum habuisse consuetudinem cum Plotia Hieria* (alii Aleriam
vocant) *meretrice, tamen Pedianus affirmat, ipsum postea Virgilium narrare solitum, se a*
30 *Vario ad similia furta invitatum pertinacissime restitisse, neque annuisse libidini: quod etiam*
iactatur de pueris, in quos esset propensus, ait Donatus, aliter iudicatum a viris, qui eo
tempore florebant. Dicebant enim probe & syncere pueros a Virgilio amatos, ut Socrates
amavit Alcibiadem & Plato suos pueros.

HVMANITAS

Est hoc alterum honestae vitae Elogium. Auctor eius Vitae ita scribit: *Refert Pedianus*
35 *benignum cultorem omnium bonorum atque eruditorum fuisse*. Et post aliqua: *Ea humanitate*
fuisse, ut, nisi perversus maxime quisque illum non diligeret modo, sed amaret. Eius
bibliotheca non minus aliis doctis patebat, ac sibi: illudque Euripidis antiquum saepe

¹²⁴ Agellius (1642)

usurpabat, τὰ τῶν φίλων κοινὰ, communia esse amicorum omnia. Quare coaevos omnes Poetas ita adiunctos habuit, ut cum inter se plurimum invidia arderent, illum una omnes
40 *colerent, Varius, Tucca, Horatius, Gallus, Propertius. Longe, ab hoc Homerus, qui vivens a nemine amatus est, imo odio habitus, quod expresse scribit Plat. lib.10. Polit. Vide vero an dilectus propter humanitatem Virgilius, cum vocetur a Phoca ROMAE VISCERA; ab Horatio od.3.lib.1. ANIMAE DIMIDIUM MEAE; & Sat.5.lib.1. dat eidem candorem animi. Hanc humanitatis indolem a puero habuit Virgilius. Ait enim auctor eius vitae, illum adeo a primis*
45 *annis miti vultu fuisse, ut haud dubiam spem prosperioris geniturae iam tum indicaret.*

PRVDENTIA

Inventus est saepe Augustus sedens inter Virgilium, & Horatium magnis de rebus cum illis agitans. Virgillii prudentiam etiam declarat sequens narratio. Fuit tantae auctoritatis apud Augustum, ut dubitans is, an imperium retineret, an vero rempublicam redderet pristinae libertati, sequutus fuerit consilium Virgillii, qui, ut retineret, suasit hac ratione. *Ideo molesti*
50 *sunt omnes tyranni, quia ut plurimum iniusti; te vero tui & amant & adorant, quia iustus es. Est enim ea hominum conditio, ut, si quando iustum Regem nacti sint, velint potius illi subdi, quam esse liberi, etiamsi Rex hic sit tyrannus. Quare dominari te, & tibi, & orbi conducit.* Haec ratio adeo efficax fuit apud Augustum, ut nutantem illum confirmaverit ad retinendum imperium. Sed quid opus hac narratione? Certe Virgilianam prudentiam, & iudicii eius
55 *maturitatem indicant sententiae illius planae doctrina, quae sparsae in divinis operibus. Vide etiam sententias, quas colligit vitae eius collector, plenas iudicio. Ait Scal. apud Virgilium Aeneas non temere suas laudes effutit. Hoc quid est nisi mera prudentia? Alibi: est longe civilior Homero. Et, castigatior est. Moderatur quae nimia sunt in Homero, coercet, quae diffluunt in illo. Lactantius lib.2. poeta prudens.*

MODESTIA

60 Auctor eius vitae: *Gloriae adeo contentor fuit, ut cum quidam versus quosdam sibi
adscriberent, eaque de re docti haberentur, non modo aegre non ferebat, imo voluptuosum id
sibi erat.* Scribit idem, tantae modestiae fuisse hunc virum, ut cum Romae a praetereuntibus
digito indicaretur, ipse statim confugeret ad proximum tectum. Ad hanc modestiam pertinent
verba ista eiusdem: *Refert Pedianus benignum cultorem omnium bonorum atque eruditorum
65 fuisse: & usque adeo invidiae expertem, ut, si quid erudite dictum inspiceret alterius, non
minus gauderet, ac si suum fuisset: solitum vituperare neminem, laudare bonos.*

Ad istum contemptum gloriae facit, quod ait S. August. lib. 21. civit. de Virgilio, protulisse
hunc virum sententiam, qua Christiani frequentissime, & viri humiles utantur. Rem eandem
rimatur Scaliger ex exitu illo modestiae plenissimo

70 *Haec super arborum cultu, pecorumque canebam.*

Et alios Poetas cum illo comparans, arrogantes merito vocat. Sed hanc modestiam animi mihi
maxime declarat, illud, quod in eius vita legitur. Noluisse accipere ab Augusto bona
cuiusdam exsulis, quae Princeps offerebat.

PIETAS

Iovianus in Aegidio: *Virgilius pietatis studiosissimus:* Scaliger lib. 5. ait, *Virgilium addidisse
75 suo operi pietatem, qua Homerus caret.* Sed non est necesse, hanc virtutem indicare ex
Auctoribus, ubi exstat divina Aeneis, tota exspirans pietatem; ubi exstat ipse Aeneas
piissimorum & piissimus & virtutis huius singulare exemplum. Dices: Virtus haec poeseos
est, non Poetae. Fateor. Sed quemadmodum sententiae, quae sparsae in Aeneide, prudentiam
huius viri indicant, ita pietas operis pietatem viri. Hinc est, ut fuisse quoque in hoc viro

80 religionem singularem possim existimare, ex religione & cultu, quo afficit suos Deos: de
quibus nihil unquam sordidum praedicat, nihil indignum; ut Homerus, qui illos indigne
pessumdat, & afficit sordidissime. Paria de Fortitudine, Temperantia, Iustitia: exstant enim
harum virtutum clarissima exempla in tota Aeneide, quae diversis in locis aperiunt
Interpretes, & supra omnes Scaliger, effusus sum semper in laudes Virgilii. Ab Coelio
85 lib.20.Antiq.Lect.dicitur Virgilius, *Morum sanctitudine praecellens*. Martial lib.11. ait,
Sancta Maronis nomina. Dat illi Horat.Sat.5.lib.1. *Candorem animi*. Demum nulla fere est
virtus, quam non videam assignari huic Vati.

Elogia ab VTILI

Utilitas, quae sequatur mortales omnes ex Virgiliana lectione late persequitur Marcus
Antonius Maioragius Praefat. in 6. Aeneid. verbis ornatissimis, quae subieci, quoniam
90 continent mira elogia Virgilii. Ait itaque: *quid autem utilitatis haec in se habeant, quis est
adeo stupidus, quin intelligat? Si quis enim Aeneae vitam sibi proponat imitandam, an non
omnium virtutum non adumbratam, sed expressam effigiem videbit? Nam, ubi melius, quid
virtus, & quid sapientia possit, invenies, quam in hoc divino Virgilii opere? Quam enim pium,
quam religiosum, quam iustum, quam prudentem, quam fortem, quam temperatum Aeneam
95 suum fuisse ostendit? Quam deinde sanctas, quam sapientes ubique sententias interserit?
Quot ubique sapientiae praecepta colligere licet? Certe, quod de Homero dicit Horatius,
idem nos de Virgilio, & meritissime quidem dicere possumus:*

Qui, quid sit pulcrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non

Plenius, ac melius Chrysippo & Crantore dicit.

100 *Addo etiam, Platone & Aristotele melius. Nam quae praeceptis & theorematibus Philosophi
docent, hic Poeta noster expressis exemplis ostendit. Quid autem de varia atque multiplici*

doctrina, quae ex Virgiliana lectione percipitur, commemorem? In quo tam pura & candida locutio, tam admirabilis carminum structura, tam suavis rhythmorum modulatio, tot conditae & memoratu dignae historiae, tot eloquentes & summa arte oratoria confectae orationes, tot

105 *loci ex intima naturalium quaestionum subtilitate repetiti conspiciantur: ut admirandum maxime sit, in uno homine tantam fuisse scientiam, ut divinus certe potius quam mortalis fuisse existimari debeat. Nullus enim unquam in hoc Auctore errorem invenit, qui alicuius esse momenti videretur. Quaenam igitur utilior lectio reperiri potest, quam eius Auctoris, in quo nihil est omnino, quod reprehendi possit; & in quo scientiarum omnium quasi lumina*

110 *quaedam fulgentissima splendent. Quid hoc elogio grandius, & in laudem Virgilii excellentius? Sed quoniam utilitatem Virgilianae lectionis rimatur ex rebus, quae utilissimae cognitu in Virgilio sunt, subiungam de his ipsis rebus aliorum testimonia. Ex Macrobio ista convulsim do: Ait lib.1 *Est in eo recondita, atque operta veteris ritus significatio. Est observantissimus definitionum. Est in eo sacrum poema, arcani sensus. Lib. vero 3. Reperies**

115 *saepe profundam scientiam huius Poetae in unico tantum verbo, quod fortuito dictum vulgus putat. Probat hoc late Macr. multis exemplis ex opere Virgiliano. Redeo: Est tam scientia profundus, quam amoenus ingenio. Miranda est huius Poetae, & circa nostra, & circa externa sacra doctrina. Non potest intelligi profunditas Maronis sine divini & humani iuris scientia. Servius in 6 Aeneid. Totus quidem Virgilius scientiae plenus est. Seneca Ep.95. ait,*

120 *Virgilium utilem esse legentibus: adhibetque exemplum. Nam notas equi, quas descripsit 3.G. quispiam possit traducere ad cognoscendam imaginem viri fortis. Si quis enim Catonem confideret, videbit illi convenire illud: nec vanos horret strepitus. Tu reliqua. Quod hoc loco verbis indicat Seneca, saepe alibi re confirmat. Nam quoties versus Virgilii convertit ad rem altiore?* Sed praecipue Ep.108. ait, prudentem debere ad Philosophiam convertere, quae

125 *Virgilius de aliis rebus dixit. Longissimus sim, si referam, quae alii dixerunt de hac re. Tu rimare utilitatem Virgilianae lectionis ex ingeniis maximis, qui post illum floruerunt; quorum*

virtus tota & excellentia posita in imitando Virgilio. Caruisses Papinio, Silo, Sannazaro, Fracastorio, Bembo, Ioviano, aliisque docitissimis Poetis, qui ardore Virgiliti incitati, ediderunt divinos versus. Nam esto illi carmina conderent (quod tuto fortasse possem negare) 130 sed non certe ea prudentia, ea venustate, qua usi. Caruisses optimis Interpretibus, qui, nisi fuisset Virgilius, illi in tenebris fuissent. Caruisses recondita Graecorum doctrina, quam ille passim interserit suis Operibus; nescireque, qua ratione tibi essent imitandi Homerus, Euripides, Sophocles, Pindarus, Apollonius, nisi tibi hic vates aperuisset. Demum si Virgilius non fuisset, caruisses Virgilio. Quo nocumento, quod maius?

Elogia a IVCVNDO

135 Hanc rem nemo satis digne exsequatur. Sed cum meum tantum sit, sparsa in auctoribus praeconia in unum corpus colligere, id praestabo. Neque vero omnia, nam quis hoc? Horat.lib.1.Sat.

Molle atque facetum

Virgilio annuerunt gaudentes rure Camenae.

140 Quintil.lib.8. ait, Virgilium locutum *speciosissime*. S.August.lib.3. contra Academicos: *Virgiliti te carminibus oblectasti*. Macrob.lib.3. dat illi amoenitatem ingenii; alibi, pulcritudinem. Plin.17.*luxuriantis ingenii fertilitatem*. Apud eundem lib.8. Virgilius loquitur *pulcerrime*. Virgilius ipse 9. Eclog. Vocat suos versus *solatia*. Sed nemo magis in hoc Elogium Ioviano incubit. Coniungam attributa, quibus in Actio hanc partem exornat. Vocat 145 ille versus Virgiliti *canoros, numerosos, spectabiles, non diffluentes, non exhalantes, syllabas accentusque quadrato agmine incedentes, vocals, artificiose assultantes, fluentes versus & labentes, non confragos, non caesos, non collisos, ut pene videantur nulla arte facti, nulla cura temperati; admirabiles fluctuantesque accentibus, & quibus summae blanditiae*. Haec

de versibus; de Virgilio vero: *Solertissimarum aurium solertissimus sub blanditor*. Ista in
150 Actio. In Aegidio vero multa satis loquitur de lusibus, iucunditate, festivitate, lascivia, quibus
Virgilius libros orditur, & claudit. Qua in re parem illi Lucretium facit. Apud Scal. lib.5. hic
Vates est *suavissimus, nitidissimus, pulcerrimus, splendidissimus, dulcissimus, politissimus*.
Splendet mira pictura, res exornat variis picturis, pingit res. Nitet in eo eloquutio, &
numerus. Ne ambrosia quidem dulcior Theocrito, laute dicit: quae mutat, sapidiora sunt:
155 *quae addit, faceta ac mollicula. Est Theocrito argutior, suavior, concinnior, lepidior,*
comtior, cultior, venustior. Hoc de Theocrito. Gellius dixit ante Scaligerum lib.9. videlicet,
quae omittit ex Theocrito, substituere *iucundius, lepidiusque*. Redeo ad Scaligerum.
Resplendent gemmae in eius carmine, componit mellita & nectarea. Addit tot venustates, quot
verba. Coniunxit verborum splendorem cum amoenissima varietate. His omnibus exornat
160 Scaliger iucunditatem Virgiliani poematis. Ad idem pertinent, quae idem ait, comparans cum
Apolline, Diis, Musis, ut cum dicit: *Audiamus nunc Apollinem ipsum loquentem, neque enim*
ille, cum pastor esset, iucundioribus aut teretioribus cecinit numeris. Inest in eo phrasis
regia, & ipsius Apollinis ore digna. Sic puto loqui Deorum proceres in consiliis coelestibus.
Non si ipse Iuppiter Poeta sit, melius loquatur. Alibi ait, non aliter Musas loqui in suo choro.
165 Hoc etiam Propertius attigit lib.2. loquens cum Virgilio:

Tale facis carmen docta testudine, quale

Cynthius impositis temperat articulis.

Adducam versus eiusdem Scaligeri, in quibus, etiamsi multa alia praeconia Virgilii insint, sed
pars magna in dulcedinem poematis inclinat. Quod aliquando soleo facere, ne abrumpan
170 testimonia. Ait itaque Scaliger:

Dulcis Virgilius, Latina Siren,

Duplex Maeonides, triplex Apollo,

Unus omnia, quae ambiunt Poetae.

O Cycne, o Philomela, ver Latinum,

175 *Mel merum Latii, Latinae Athenae.*

O monstrum vitio carens. Quid ergo?

O caelum sine nube, lux serena,

O pontum sine fluctibus profundum.

Men' tecum trahis, incitamque mentem

180 *Ignoto attonitam rapis furore!*

O si in te penitus migro, meique

Tuis nescius inseror medullis:

Cur ab te doleam me abesse tantum,

Quantum frustra alii prope esse credunt.

185 Quid Politianus? Vide ut politissime de suavitate Maroniani carminis in Manto:

Cui dulci semper ab ore

Rosida mella fluunt, cuiusque Acheloia Siren

Gestiet innocuo divina poemata cantu

Flectere, cui blandis insidit suada labellis.

190 Et interiectis aliis,

O Vatum pretiosa quies, o gaudia solis

Nota piis, dulcis furor, incorrupta voluptas,

Ambrosiaeque deum mensae quis talia cernens

Regibus invidet? Mollem tibi prorsus habeto

195 *Vestem, aurum, gemmas: tantum hinc procul esto malignum*

Vulgus. Ad haec nulli perrumpant sacra profani.

Auson. In Ectyl. *dulcedo Maronis*, dixit. Ad quam respexit M. Antonius Casanova, cum loquens de Virgilio sermonem dirigit ad olores suavissimos avium ex vulgi opinione.

Dicite qui Minci ripas coluistis olores,

200

Mortua vobiscum est gloria Virgilio?

Dic mihi Parthenope: sic sis pulcherrima semper,

Virgiliusne tuo concidit in gremio?

Et meruit, cui contigerat nasci inter olores

Inter Sirenumque occubuisse choros.

CAPVT III

DE VARIIS ARTIBUS

Absolvi tria bonorum genera, quae mihi de hoc Vate proposui praedicanda. Nunc priusquam quicquam de poetica eius facultate loquar, dicam doctrinas alias, multiplicemque sapientiam, qua hic vir imbutus. Incipio a Philosophia, quae mater artium.

Elogia a PHILOSOPHIA

Versatum apprime fuisse Virgilium in omnibus Philosophis, & Philosophiae generibus, 5 proclamant omnes eius encomiastae. Macrob.1.Sat. *Philosophiam operi suo nusquam reprehendendus aspersit.* Serv.5.Ecl. in rebus naturalibus *peritus.* Et in 6.Aen. *Dicuntur multa per illam scientiam Philosophorum.* S.August.lib.4.civit. annumerat Virgilium inter doctos, & sapientes, atque locutum ex libris Philosophorum. Hieronymus quoque *cap. 3.* in Nahum una cum Philosophis coniungit Maronem, Sicut & Capitolinus loquens de Gordiano 10 Imperatore: *Hic enim vita venerabilis, cum Platone semper, cum Aristotele, cum Tullio, cum Virgilio, ceterisque veteribus agens, alium, quam merebatur exitum passus est.* Crinitus lib.5. *Pro comperto apud omnes est, P.Virgilium omnium Philosophorum decreta, atque opiniones egregie calluisse: quod ipsum cum locis multis probavit, tum in libro maxime Aeneid.6. in quo satis abundeque videtur asseruisse, quantum videlicet humanas omnes atque divinas 15 disciplinas didicerit.* Vives: *Summe omnibus Philosophiae numeris absolutus.* Scaliger, quem in re Virgilii nefas est praeterire: *Ex Philosophiae veritate locutus est. Est optimus Philosophus. Cum Poesi adiungit Philosophiam. Excutit vir admirabilis Philosophiae penum. Bonus Philosophus. Loquitur ex adytis Metaphysicae.*

Vidisti praecones Virgilianae Philosophiae in communi: age vero, quibus Philosophis
20 peculiariter deditus fuerit. Fuit versatissimus in Aristotele, ut satis indicant Interpretes, &
omnium (credo) ego latissime. Nam vix credas, quae ab eo loca accepit, praesertim
lib.4.Georg. Hausit integrum Theophrastum Aristotelis ipsius discipulum, ut liquido apparet
lib.1.&2.Georg. Deditus fuit variis Sectis. Nam de doctrina Pythagoreorum abunde docet
lib.6. Aen. ubi de transitione animarum in alia corpora. Admonetque hoc Serv. in 8.Ecl.
25 insistit Sectae Epicureorum in describendis rerum principiis, quod Servius scribit in 6.Ecl.
Sed nullam magis Sectam, quam Platoniam celuit, ut ferme a doctis omnibus fiebat eo aevo,
in quo Plato fuit in magno pretio. Profero tibi testes luculentos, Auctorem eius vitae: *Quamvis
diversorum Philosophorum opiniones libris suis inseruisse de animo maxime videatur, ipse
tamen fuit Academicus, nam Platonis sententias omnibus aliis praetulit.* Augustinum, qui
30 lib.10.civit. ait, Virgilium locutum fuisse *Platonice*. Et lib.13. laudat illum, quod locutus
fuerit *ex Platonis dogmate*. Et lib.14. ait, Virgilium explicare Platoniam sententiam versibus
luculentis. Comprobat extremum testimonium Augustini Coelius lib.6.Antiq. sed quid
Coelius ipse? Lib.2.&10. *Platonicus Poeta*. Lib 7. *Maroni scientissimo, & Platonis
mysteriis non leviter imbuto*. Lib.10. *Platonici Maronis*. Lib.17. *Affatim Platonis imbutus*
35 *sacris*. Lib.22. *reconditoris scientiae Poeta nobilis Platonis mysteriis ampliter imbutus*.
Scribit Lamprid. Virgilium vocari solitum ab Alexan. Severo *Platonem Poetarum*. Et Pierius
lib.23. ait, a Virgilio currum cum Platone ad palmam agitari. Indicat certe ita Platonicae
Philosophiae studiosum Virgilium, ut cum illo certet de victoria. Quod hic indicat, clare
scribit Abulens. Parad.5.c.80. ubi ait, Virgilium rectius Platone ipso veritati adhaesisse in
40 opinione animarum post mortem, atque illo melius disseruisse de re ista. Ab hac Platonis
doctrina, cui tam enixe deditus Virgilius, natum fortasse, ut ab Auctoribus Theologus quoque
dicatur. Nam Serv.6.Ecl. *sileni Theologia*, dicit. Et 6.Aen. loquens de rebus, quas continet hic
liber, ita: *Dicuntur multa per altam scientiam Theologorum Aegyptiorum*. Et Abulens. in c.3.

Iudic.c.23. ait, credidisse Virgilium, fuisse Deum unicum. Porro cum Platonica re vicinum, ut
45 a multis inter Philosophos Morales nominetur. Eo spectant ista Donati in Praefat. *Habet
multa, quae discant patres & filii; mariti, & uxores; Imperator, & miles; civis optimus, &
patriae spectatissimus cultor. In laboribus optimum quemque Reip. causa fortunam &
salutem debere contemnere. Magisterio eius doceri possunt, qui se ad Dei cultum & futura
noscenda conferunt: qui illaesas amicitias amat: item, quid metuat, qui fluxam fidem gerit:*
50 *quales debeant esse homines, quorum praefidia necessitate postulatur, ne arrogantiae, aut
inhumanitatis crimen incurrant.* Et ista Anton. Mintur. *Quae praeterea pars virtutis, quae
ratio morum est, quam ille plenissime non expresserit?* Ideo fortasse Seneca de Brevit. Vitae
c.9. *Divino furore instinctus salutare carmen canit.* Ubi signate *salutare*, quia Virgilius
praeceptor morum. Quin non alia causa dictus est Auctor *locuples* ab Ioviano, & *dives* ab
55 Augusto, eo versu, *ah, scelus indignum solvetur littera dives?* & ab omnibus *eminentissimus*,
praesertim ab Nascimbaeno passim, aliquando ab Hortensio, semel a Coelio lib. 15 aliquoties
ab Scaligero. Quasi omnia eminenter contineat, & eius sermo adeo sit *locuples* & *dives*, ut
referri possit ad plures virtutes. Nam occulte, cum minus putes, latent in hoc Vate officia boni
principis, ducis, militis, patrisfamilias: praeterea, religionis, pietatis, iustitiae, fortitudinis,
60 temperantiae, prudentiae, demum virtutum omnium exempla mira. Huius rei longissimum
Elogium est in Landino, ubi ait, res omnes, tam quae ad virtutem, quam quae ad naturam
pertinent, eminentissime contineri in hoc Vate. Sed a Philosophia tam naturali, quam morali
pergo ad alias artes.

Fuit ASTROLOGUS. Hanc rem firmat Macrob.1.Sat. *Astrologiam parcus & sobrius*
65 *operi suo nusquam reprehendus aspersit.* Et lib.5. ait, *Peritissimum fuisse in Astronomia.*
Audiavi ego a viro quodam artis huius peritissimo, *Virgilium supra mortales omnes assecutum
scientiam siderum:* Dicebatque se existimare, *Virgilium in hac arte, doctore daemone,*

*profecisse: Quod videret, nullo errore, in hac arte, illum involvi. Hoc satis indicavit Macro-
cum dixit, nusquam reprehendus.*

70 Fuit MEDICVS, & MATHEMATICVS. Auctor eius vitae: *Omni cura, omnique
studio indulsit Medicinae & Mathematicis.* Hoc etiam scripsit Vives.

Fuit ingeniosissimus rerum ARTIFEX; adeo, ut Abulen. In Ep.D.Hieron.ad Paulin.
non dubitet *recensere illum inter eos, qui Necromantiam didicerunt;* Idque ex Helinando
I.16.Chronicor, adduco argumento *a musca aenea, quam fecit Neapoli ea ratione, ut muscas*
75 *reliquas ab urbe expelleret: Et a macello, tali ingenio fabricato a Virgilio, ut in eo carnes*
nullae putrescerent. Sed immerito *Necromanticus* dicitur, nam ista praesertim, quae pertinent
ad macellum, fieri possunt nullo adiumento *Necromantiae.*

Fuit CAVSSIDICVS. Auctor eius vitae: *Egit tantum unam causam, eamque*
semel. Hoc etiam adnotat Vives in lib.1.Civ. Neque desunt, qui verba quaequam Augustini
80 *cap. 19.lib.1.Civ. ubi declamatoris cuiusdam meminit, trahant ad Virgilium.*

Fuit scientissimus IVRIS Pontificii, & RITVVM sacrorum. Ideo a Macro.1.Sat.
vocatur *Pontifex maximus, & doctissime Ius Pontificum, tanquam hoc professus in multa &*
varia operis sui parte servavit. Iterum: *Apud hunc Poetam tantam scientiam Iuris Auguralis*
invenio, ut si aliarum disciplinarum doctrina destitueretur, haec illum vel sola professio
85 *sublimaret.* Et lib.3. *Accurate expressit diversos ritus sacrificandi. Proprietatem servavit in*
Deorum cultibus. Loquitur ex disciplina Aruspicum, & praecepto Pontificum. Nec minus de
sacrificiorum usu, quam de deorum scientia diligentiam suam pandit: fuit in rebus religionis
prudentissimus & observantissimus. Proprie usus est sacris, sacrificialibusque verbis. Tenuit
apprime vetustissimos mores, occultissima sacra. Gellius lib.3. *Loquitur recondita & quasi*
90 *operta veteris ritus significatione.* Iovian.lib.1.de Fortitud vocat Virgilium sacrorum rituum
scientissimum. Crinit lib.10. loquens de Virgilii divino carmine, ait, *in quo sacra omnia, &*

humanae leges atque ritus tanta ordinatione tractantur, ut eum mirari potius homines possint, quam pro merito satis laudare. Hinc fortasse dictus ab Augusto Maro doctiloquus.

Fuit amantissimus & scientissimus VETVSTATIS. Quintilian lib.1. *Virgilius*
95 *amantissimus vetustatis. Et lib.9. Vetustatis amator unice Virgilius fuit. Macrob.1.Sat.*
Affectat interdum vetustatem iam in versibus, iam in verbis. Et lib.6. Hausit voces ex
vetustissimis Auctoribus, non contentus vulgaribus, & qui tunc vigeant. Gel.lib.5. Virgilium
multae antiquitatis hominem, sine ostentationis odio peritum. Coelius lib.12. Vetustatis
prudentissimus Maro. Et lib.28. Mantuani Vatis interior doctrina. Ad hanc rerum vetustarum
100 *scientiam confer historias, quorum fuit peritissimus, ut testantur Macrob. Lib.5.Saturn.&*
Serv. in 1. Aen.

Didicit GRAECAS literas. Macrob.5.Sat. *Et Eusthatus. Cave, inquit, Evangele, Graecorum*
quemquam vel de summis Auctoribus tantam Graecae doctrinae hausisse copiam credas,
quantum solertia Maronis vel assecuta est, vel in suo opere digessit. Nam praeter
105 *Philosophiae & Astronomiae amplam illam copiam, de qua supra disseruimus, non parva*
sunt alia, quae traxit a Graecis, & carmini suo, tanquam illic nata conseruit. Idem Macrob.
Graecas literas non minus quam Latinas hausit. Albericus Gentilis: Virgilius vir omnium
Graecissimus.

Fuit demum generatim ARTIVUM OMNIVM doctissimus. Hoc praeconium Virgilii
110 *multi clamant. Pierius lib.14. Virgilius nullius ignarus disciplinae. Donatus Praef. Diversae*
professionis & diversarum atrium scriptoribus benevolum se, & peritissimum doctorem
praebet. Macrob.lib.1.Somn. Nullius disciplinae expers. Disciplinarum omnium peritissimus.
Ibidem ait, illum proferre sententias Ex intima disciplinae profunditate. Et lib.2 Virgilius,
quem nullius unquam disciplinae error involvit. Et 1.Saturn. Maro omnium disciplinarum
115 *peritus. Ideo ait alibi idem Macrobius, debere esse oculatissimum, qui penetrare Virgilium*
debeat. A Coelio vocatur Virgilius scientissimus libris 7.24.26.27. Et lib.7. loquens de

lib.6.Aen. ait: *Virgilianae doctrinae thesaurus*. In lib.27. vocat Poetam *multiscium*. In lib.20. ait: *Doctrina multifarius*. Scalig.lib.5. *Est in eo profunda rerum scientia*. Calcagninus lib.2. Epistolicarum Quaest. *Virgilium omnium rerum peritissimum*. Crinit.lib.10. *Satis compertum,*
120 *adeo multiplici & varia Virgilium praestitisse doctrina, ut & caelestia pariter & humana maxime intellexerit*. Anton. Mintur. lib.1. de Poet. *Iam vero, quae tam multiplicis obscuraeque investigationis disciplina, quae studia doctrinae ita mirabilis & reconditae, cuius non ille inter Poemata, quae conscripsit, principia semina asperserit?* Hadrian. Iunius lib.1. Animadvers. cap. 9. *Antiquitatis altissimus gurges Virgilius*. Landinus ait, illum
125 *investigasse mores omnium nationum. Absolvat hanc partem grande quidem Elogium Fabii Paulini Hebdomad. Virgilian. lib.1. Dii immortales, quanta est in hoc Poeta rerum omnium scientia, quanta in omni genere dicendi varietas, quanta vis, quanta copia? Non est in hoc, ut in ceteris plerisque, verborum volubilitas inanis, nulla subiecta sententia, atque materia digna Philosopho: sed ex infinita magnarum rerum & artium cognitione efflorescunt atque*
130 *redundant nervosa illa & prope divina carmina. Non modo fabularum lenociniis, & quasi cincinnis ad voluptatem tantum comparatis suum carmen exornat: sed ex abditis & reconditis omnium artium fontibus pulcherrima quaeque haurit, & in texendo carmine adeo apte, & ornate collocat, ipsarum etiam fabularum circumvestiens plerumque involucris, ut ea meditando agnoscens docti lectoris animus expleatur suavissimae lectionis voluptate. Et hoc*
135 *cogitanti mihi saepenumero permirum videri solet, quod nullus sit artifex, nemo Philosophus, nemo Mathematicus, aut illustris alicuius scientiae, & literarum peritus, nemo divinarum & sacrae doctrinae prudens, quam Graeci vocant θεολογίαν, qui non vel maxima suae artis atque scientiae monumenta in huius Poetae lectione reperiat, si paulo attentius legerit. Ex hac artium omnium peritia factum, ut Plinius lib.1. Virgilium numeret inter Auctores*
140 *clarissimos. Et lib.33. inter Auctores celeberrimos. Et omnes nuncupent doctissimum,*

absolutissimum, perfectissimum, cumulatissimum. Auctor quoque eius vitae ait, Virgilium in omni genere praevaluisse.

Dixi elogia variarum artium strictim, loquar latius de Eloquentia & Rhetorica: tum propter artis huius praestantiam, tum etiam propter comparationem Virgilii cum principe Oratorum

145 Tullio.

Elogia RHETORICAE & ELOQVENTIAE

Virgilianae.

Elogii huius Encomiastae magni sunt. Nam Quintil. Lib.1. vocat Virgilium *summum in eloquentia virum.* August.1.10. Civ. hoc praeconio insignit Maronem: *Latini eloquii magnus Auctor.* Hieronym. Epist.129. ad Dardanum: *Poeta eloquentissimus.* Macrob. Lib.5. ita ait:

150 *Post haec, cum paulisper Eusebius quievisset, omnes inter se consono murMuré, Virgilium non minus Oratorem, quam Poetam habendum pronuntiabant: in quo & tanta ornandi disciplina, & tam diligens observatio Rhetoricae artis ostenderetur.* Et lib.1. Sat. *Sunt in Virgilio nervi Oratorum validissimi.* Landin. in sua Praefat. *Quis in singulis eius verbis elegantiam? quis in orationis structura compositionem? quis in luminibus verborum,*

155 *sententiarumque dignitatem Maronis adaequavit.* Iterum: *similitudines, amplificationes, exempla, digressiones, signa rerum, argumentationes, ceteraque huiusmodi, quae quidem tum ad probandum, tum ad refutandum plurimum valent, tam multa, tam varia, tam vehementia sunt, ut neque copiosiora, neque efficaciora aliunde exempla sumi possint?*

Ludovicus Vives insigne Elogium Virgilii fecit in praefatione ad Georgica. Ubi summam laudum quae praecedunt, confert ad unam Eloquentiam. Ait enim: *Sed quid est, quod tot viri,*

160 *tot ingenia, tot aetatibus omnes tam admirati, tam venerati sunt, tam coluerunt nostrum Poetam? Ego sane quid aliud esse crediderim, quam versibus eius admirabilem esse vim*

docendi, delectandi, ac movendi? Nam hae sunt virtutes summi ac adsoluti oratoris. Multa
subdit in hanc sententiam, & addit: *Nec Poeta modo, sed oratoria virtute eminentissimus.*

Politian, in Manto dat illi *miracula eloquii*. Et Phocas, *flumina Romuleae linguae*, eo versu

165 *Moenii specimen Vatis veneranda Maronem*

Mantua Romuleae generavit flumina linguae.

Abulens. in Comment. Epist. Hieronymi ad Paulinum vocat Virgilium *totius eloquentiae*
decus. Faciunt ad oratoriam artem multa alia praeconia, quae sparsa in Auctoribus: ut quae
Macrob. scripsit lib.6. Satur. de figuris, quibus Virgilius Latium locupletavit, ante ipsum in

170 *dictis*. Ibidem ait: *Vates iste venerabilis varie modo verba, modo sensus figurando multum*

Latini leporis adiecit. Quam singularis magister fuerit Virgilius in movendis affectibus,
disces ex toto lib.4. Macrob. nihil enim aliud exsequitur perpetuus Virgilii admirator. Eadem
saepe Scalig. luculentissime praestat. Verba Vivis in Elogio Virgiliano sunt: *Quid de*

175 *movendis affectibus loquar? quibus ipse interim concitatur, ardet, rapitur illo Poetarum*
furore; fulminat, tonat, ut de Pericle dicebat ille. Quantus qualisque Virgilius fuerit in re

Eloquentiae, satis apparet ex Quintiliano, qui saepissime Virgilium advocat ad confirmanda
argumenta Rhetoricae. Neque ullo crebrius Isidorus utitur ad signandam rem Eloquentiae.

Anton. Mintur. Lib.1. de Poet. ita scribit de Virgilio: *Quod enim per Deos immortales dicendi*
genus, quae figura, qui verborum delectus, quae compositio, quae ornamenta orationis, quae

180 *lumina luculentissime in illo non apparent?* Donat. in Praefat. *Si quis carminum horum*
sensum perceperit in Poeta Oratorem summum inveniet: unde Virgilium non Grammatici, sed

Oratores praecipue explicare debuerunt. Idem artem dicendi plenissime demonstrat. Seneca
Epist.59. de Virgilio: *diserte quidem dicit*. Eodem refero illos, qui Virgilium vocant
luculentissimum. In his est Augustinus lib.14. de Civit. aliique passim plures. Martial. lib.14.

185 *facundum nominat, Accipe facundi Culicem studiose Maronis*. Sed ad oratoriam virtutem
Virgilii indicandam nulla mihi res aptior est visa, quam afferre praecones illos, qui Virgilium

faciunt Proximum, Parem, Maiorem Tullio in re oratoria. Fugiunt extremum aures, sed mihi noli credere, crede testibus, quos afferam.

PROXIMUS Tullio.

Haec est res adeo certa, ut mihi paucae lineae in ea insumedae sint. Coelius dixit lib.7.
190 Virgilium esse *post M. Tullii fulmina longe lateque coruscantia*. Qui legerit attente Orationes Virgilio, clare inveniet, nemini post Tullium tam nervosam esse eloquentiam. Superant procul dubio (nemo hoc inficiabitur) Orationes Virgilianae Livianas, argumentorum pondere, dispositionis ordine, illuminatione verborum. Idem esto de Oratoribus aliis iudicium.

PAR Tullio.

Hoc difficilius. In primis illud certum, Virgilium in re Poetica, parem esse Tullio in re
195 oratoria. Itaque, quantus qualisque orator est Tullius, tantus talisque Poeta est Virgilius. Testatur hoc & Tullius ipse & Virgilius, quod scribit Servius in 6.Ecl. his verbis: *Dicitur sexta Ecloga ingenti favore a Virgilio esse recitata, adeo ut cum ea postea Cytheris meretrix cantasset in Theatro (quam in fine Lycoridem vocat) & spectaret Cicero: stupefactus, cuius esset, coepit requirere, & cum eum tandem aliquando agnovisset, dixisse dicitur & ad suam &*
200 *ad illius laudem, Magnae spes, Altera Romae, quod iste postea ad Ascanium transtulit*. Hoc idem Donatus, & alii referent. Vides ut Tullius Virgilium vocaverit Romae spem alteram, vides ut Tullii vocem tanquam omen Virgilius acceperit. Scio ista negari ab nonnullis, qui dicunt, nondum Ciceronis aevo ita floruisse Virgilium, ut hic Vates potuerit edere opus spectandum Tullio. Sed hoc nihil me impedit coniungentem Virgilio elogia. Nam, ubi verum
205 est, Tullium & Virgilium fuisse Romae spes duas, quid ambigam de Auctore? Sed produco

alios testes. Certe omnes, qui de Virgilio simul & Tullio loquuntur; ita loquuntur, ut pares omnino faciant. Plinius in Prologo operis comparans Virgilium cum Cicerone, quantum attinet ad imitationem, priori dat virtutem, qua certavit cum antiquis; posterior simplicitatem, qua se in libris de Republ. Platonis esse comitem profitetur. Seneca Rhetor. lib.3. Controvers. 210 dat Virgilio *felicitatem* ingenii, ad eum modum, quo Ciceroni *Eloquentiam*. Politian. in Manto ait, fastum Graecum & arrogantiam partier a Virgilio & Tullio compressam: Compressit Cicero, ---*ardenti fulmine linguae*. Compressit Virgilius. *Seu sylvas seu rura canit, sive arma virumque*. Quintil. lib.12. veluti pares faciens, dixit: *Quantum Poesis ab Homero & Virgilio, tantum fastigium accepit eloquentia a Demosthene atque Cicerone*. Ait 215 Iovianus in Actio, probatque exemplis, Virgilium usum pari verborum structione, qua usus est Tullius. Demum, est nemo, qui aliter sentiat. Obiicies. Pares sunt suo quisque genere, sed pares esse in Eloquentia nondum ostensum. Reservo hoc ad sequentem rem. Nam si maior Tullio in re Eloquentiae Virgilius, quid anxius sim in probanda paritare? Ergo fuit Virgilius in Eloquentia.

MAIOR Tullio.

220 Est hoc temerarium dictu, & insolens: sed parcite Lectores, nam mihi coniungenti praeconia Virgilii, cur non fas sit ea dicere, quae ante me alii? Ergo, superatum in Eloquentia Tullium a Virgilio expresse scribit Macrobius libro 5. Satur. magnus alioquin Tullii admirator, laudator, praeco. Adducam verba integra, etiamsi plurima, quoniam ad litem istam (qua nulla fortasse maior in humanioribus literis) necessaria. Ait itaque: *Post haec, cum paulisper Eusebius* 225 *quievisset, omnes inter se consono murMuré Virgilium non minus Oratorem, quam Poetam habendum pronuntiabant: in quo & tanta ornandi disciplina, & tam diligens observatio Rhetoricae artis ostenderetur. Et Avienus. Dicas mihi, inquit, volo, Doctorum optime, si quis*

nunc velit orandi artem consequi, virum magis ex Virgilio, an ex Cicerone proficiat? Video quid agas, inquit Eusebius, quid intendas, quo me trahere coneris: eo scilicet, quo minime volo, ad comparationem Maronis & Tullii. Verecunde enim interrogasti, uter eorum praestantior: quandoquidem necessario is plurimum collaturus sit, qui ipse plurimum praestat. Sed istam mihi necessitatem altam & profundam remittas volo: quia non nostrum inter illos tantas componere lites: nec ausim in utramvis partem talis sententiae auctor videri. Hoc solum audebo dixisse, quia facundia Mantuani multiplex, & multiformis est, & dicendi genus omne complectitur. Ecce enim in Cicerone vestro unus eloquentiae tenor est, ille abundans & torrens & copiosus. Oratorum autem non simplex, nec una natura est: sed hic fluit & redundat: contra, ille breviter & circumcise dicere affectat: tenuis quidam, & siccus & sobrius amat quamdam dicendi frugalitatem: alius pingui & luculenta & florida oratione lascivit. In qua tanta omnium dissimilitudine, unus omnino invenitur Virgilius, qui Eloquentiam ex omni genere conflaverit. Respondet Avienus. Apertius vellem, me has diversitates sub personarum exemplis doceres. Quattuor sunt (inquit Eusebius) genera dicendi: copiosum, in quo Cicero dominatur: breve, in quo Salustius regnat: siccum, quod Frontoni ascribitur: pingue & floridum in quo Plinius Secundus quondam, & nunc nullo veterum minor noster Symmachus luxuriatur. Sed apud unum Maronem haec quattuor genera reperies. Hactenus Macrobius, quae ego in brevius contraxissem, nisi vidissem summe necessaria ad rem, de qua loquor. Mox adhibet exempla Virgiliana, quibus indicat, quatuor illa dicendi genera summe enituisse in Virgilio. Post quae iterum longo intervallo erumpit in hoc divinum Elogium divini Vatis: Videsne Eloquentiam omni varietate distinctam, quam quidem mihi videtur Virgilius non sine quodam praesagio, quo se omnium profectibus praeparabat, de industria permiscuisse: idque non mortali, sed divino ingenio praevidisse: atque adeo non alium ducem secutus, quam ipsam rerum omnium matrem naturam, hanc pertexuit, velut in Musica, concordiam dissonorum. Quippe, si mundum ipsum diligenter

*inspicias, magnam similitudinem divini illius, & huius Poetici operis invenies. Nam qualiter
Eloquentia Maronis ad omnium mores integra est, nunc brevis, nunc copiosa, nunc sicca,
255 nunc florida, nunc simul omnia; interdum lenis aut torrens: sic terra ipsa hic laeta segetibus
& pratis, ibi silvis & rupibus hispida, hic sicca arenis, hic irrigua fontibus, pars vasto
aperitur mari. Ignoscite, nec nimium me vocetis, qui naturae rerum Virgilium conparavi.
Intra ipsum enim mihi visum est, si dicerem decem Rhetorum, qui apud Athenas Atticas
floruerunt, stylos inter se diversos hunc unum permiscuisse. Sunt, quibus iudicium Macrobiani
260 visum est audax. Nam quis audeat praeferre in Eloquentia Maronem Tullio? Sunt contra, qui
rectum censorem putent. In his Albericus in lib. Virgilian. lectionum, cap. 10. *Is supra
Ciceronem laudetur tibi, qui in omnibus excelluit generibus dicendi, cum Cicero praestet in
uno tantum abundanti & copioso.* Ego litem hanc meam non facio, ut qui tantum
destinaverim Virgilii praeconia adducer, quae in aliis sparsa. Sed hic tamen οὐ κατ' εἰωθος
265 dicam, animadvertisse me loca Tullii, quae omnes unice praedicant, ut quae rara, exquisita,
singularia: quibus tamen video aliquid addi posse humano ingenio, & alieno labore. Rursum
me ad Virgilium confero, & loca video adeo inaccessa, ut nullus sit locus mortali ingenio
aliquid addendi. Nam quid tu addas pugnis taurorum, quid mille comparisonibus &
orationibus, cum omnia perfectissima sint, & absolutissima. Laudo itaque Scaligerum, qui
270 Virgilium extulit Elogio isto: *Nihil omissum coelesti viro: nihil addendum, nisi ab ineptis:
nihil mutandum, nisi ab impudentibus: omnia signate, ex natura, ex arte, ex eruditione.
Sententiae, numeri, figura, simplicitas, candor, ornatus, incomparabiliae: atque, uno ut
absolvam, Virgilii.* Recte etiam visus est clamasse Iovianus in Antonio: *Quid hoc Virgiliano
monstro absolutius!* Et Scalig. *O monstrum vitio carens!* Sed redeo ad quatuor illa dicendi
275 genera, quibus Macrobius Virgilium attollit: & adiungo pariter a Platone in Phaedro Lysiam
& Gorgiam laudari, quia haberent iam brevitatem loquendi concisam, iam amplam verborum
copiam. Porro Virgilianae brevitatis meminit Hieronym. & cum elogio comment. in Ionam*

Prophetam: *Notanda brevitatis, quam admirari in Virgilio solebam.* Augustinus quoque lib.14.

Civit. dat illi *summam brevitatem.* Brevitatis & copiae Serv. 1. G. *Ingenti autem egit arte, ut*

280 *potentiam sui nobis indicaret ingenii, coarctando lata, & angustiora dilatando.* Omnium
quatuor Politianus his versibus factis ad vestigia Macrobiani:

Et quis, io, iuvenes tanti miracula lustrans

Eloquii, non se immensos terraeque marisque

Prospectare putet tractus. hic ubere largo

285 *Luxuriant segetes, hic mollia gramina tondet*

Armentum, hic laetis amicitur vitibus ulmus,

Illic muscoso tollunt se robora trunco,

Hinc maria ampla patent, bibulis hoc squallet arenis

Littus, ab his gelidi decurrunt montibus amnes,

290 *Huc vastae incumbunt rupes, hinc scrupea pandunt*

Antra sinus, illinc valles cubuere reductae.

Et discors pulcrum facies ut temperat orbem,

Sic varios sese in vultus facundia dives

Induit, & vasto nunc torrens impete fertur

295 *Fluminis in morem, sicco nunc oret in alvo,*

Nunc sese laxat, nunc exspatiata coerces,

Nunc inculta decet, nunc blandis plena renidet

Floribus, interdum pulcre simul omnia miscet.

Quatuor ista de quatuor generibus dicendi Virgilii dicta sunt nobis ex occasione Tullianae

300 comparationis. Lege etiam grande Elogium Landini in Praefat. de his quatuor dicendi

generibus Virgilianis. Et de iisdem Ludovicum Vivem in Praefat. ad Georgica; atque etiam

Iona. Fungerum in Etymologico.

CAPVT IV

ELOGIA SVMPTA EX COMPARATIONE

VIRGILII cum Poetis aliis, Graecis & Latinis.

Expeditum me iam ab eloquentia, & reliquis artibus, quibus floruit Virgilius, Poesis ad se vocat, cuius ille est princeps. Cum vero pars maxima & potissima Elogiorum Virgilianae Poeseos posita sit in victoria, qua Homerum obruit, coniungam in unum Auctores (eo modo, quo feci in Tullio) qui Virgilium faciunt Proximum, Parem, Maiorem Homero. Duo prima
5 falsa sunt. Non Homero Virgilius proximus, nisi tempore, quod necesse fuit: nulla re par: omnibus maior. Sed, quamvis prima duo (ut dixi) falsissima sint, mihi tamen recitanda verissime Doctorum Elogia, etiamsi in his non docti.

PROXIMUS Homero.

Hoc expresse Quintilianus sentit lib.10. Ait enim, Virgilium Homero haud dubio fuisse proximum omnium Poetarum, Graecorum, Latinorumque, ita ut secundus sit post Homerum,
10 atque ita secundus, ut tertius longe distet a Virgilio, qui perinde propior est primo, quam tertio. Affert hoc Quintilianus ex Domitio Afro. quam sententiam Alcinous reddidit istis versibus,

De numere vatum si quis seponat Homerum,

Proximus a primo tunc Maro primus erit.

15 *Et, si post primum Maro seponatur Homerum,*

Longe erit a primo quisque secundus erit.

Hoc testimonio efficitur Sophoclem, Pindarum, Euripidem, Aeschylum, demum Graecos longe distare ab Homero, si conferantur cum Virgilio, qui Homero proximus. Summa Elogii haec est: Homerus vicinum sibi admodum habuit Virgilium: uterque reliquos omnes Graecos & Latinos longe distantes. Politianus proximitatem hanc scrupulose agnoscit, & quasi invitus ac nolens, cum ait:

Proximus huic autem, & ni veneranda senectus

Obstiterit, fortasse prior.

PAR Homero

Hanc paritatem videtur agnoscere Seneca in consolatione ad Polybium: *Homerus & Virgilius bene de humano genere meriti*. Hieronym. Epist. 151. ad Algasiam quest. 10. *Virgilius alter Homerus apud nos*. Et comment. in Michaeam. capit. 7. *Poeta sublimis, non Homerus alter, ut Lucilius de Ennio suspicatur, sed primus Homerus apud Latinos*. Iovianus ex persona Antonii ita decernit: *Censebat igitur duos hos in duabus nobilissimis linguis Graeca Romanaque summum iure principatum tenere, & alterum Graecae, alterum Romanae Poeticae regem esse: horum dicta inventaque locum, vim, auctoritatemque legum habere. Hos venerandos, hos patres patriae publicis privatisque honoribus prosequendos, his ubique atque ab omnibus assurgendum. Qui contra sentirent, rebellium atque hostium in numero habendos esse: atque uti subiectis populis popularibusque nullum ius, nulla iurisdictio esset in Regibus, quorum praescriptis, imperiis, decretisque ab illis pareretur: sic a literatis omnibus, quae duo hi Reges decernant, iis ubique parendum esse. Qui aliter sentiret, contrave auderet, aqua & igni interdendum, atque in loca deserta exterminandum, ferisve obiciendum statuebat*. Idem Iovianus lib. 1. de Fortuna: *Homerus, ac Virgilius duo Poeticae duabus in linguis lumina, ab innato eiusmodi ad poetandum impetu, id uterque consecuti*

sunt, ut si Dii ipsi Graece, aut Latine heroicis cantare velint numeris, non alia nec voce, nec
40 cantu, nec numeris, nec suavitate, dignitate, magnitudine, quam quibus illi modulati sunt,
canerent. Ex hac fortasse paritate natum, ut Virgilius dicatur a Macrobio *Mantuanus
Homerus*, ut ab aliis *Romanus Homerus*. Incertus Poeta ex persona Virgilio:

Moenium quisquis Romanus nescit Homerum,

Me legat, & lectum credat utrumque sibi.

45 Iuvenal. Sat. 11. haerens, quis maior, & veluti pares faciens *dubiam palmam*, dixit:

Conditor Iliados cantabitur, atque Maronis,

Altisoni dubiam facientia carmina palmam.

Coelius etiam lib. 7. *In nostris litteris Maronem veneramus, colimus, in oculis gestamus, ex
aequo cum Homero suo stantem.* Politian. de Virgilio, *Magno contendit Homero.* Ad hanc
50 paritatem videtur spectasse Quintilianum, cum lib. 1. ait, lectionem incoandam ab Homero &
Virgilio, ut animus puerilis assurgat sublimitate heroici carminis, ut ex magnitudine rerum
spiritum ducat, ut optimis imbuatur. Hoc idem de uno Virgilio, non de Homero scripsit
August. lib. 1. Civ. & ex eo Abulens. in Genes. cap. 18.

MAIOR Homero

Negent hoc coeci, & vere Homerici, non alii. Ex Macrobio ista collegi, multis omissis:
55 *Virgilius Homero ditior est, locupletior, cultior, clarior, fortior vi argumentorum, diligentior,
observantior, uberior, pulcrior.* Praeterea, *defuit Homero, quod adiecit Virgilius.* Et: *si
quando deest copia in Latino sermone ad exprimendum Homerum, rem compensat varietate
descriptionis.* Lege cap. 11.lib.5.Satur. ubi multa loca adducit, in quibus Virgilius Homerum
superat. Quae vero idem Macrob. scripsit cap. 13.& aliis eiusdem libri, quibus ait, Virgilium
60 superari ab Homero, aspersa sunt mille nugis. Est enim (ait Scalig.) pessimus lancinator

Macrobius. Sed redeo ad pensum. Eloquium, in quo sum, attigit Politian, ore Mantus loquentis ita cum Virgilio:

*Euge beate puer, sanguis meus, horreat ortus
Graecia tota tuos laurumque habitura secundam,
65 Ascra, Arethusa suis metuant et Smyrna coronis.*

Dicit Hesiodum, Theocritum, Homerum vincendos a Virgilio, & habituros non primam, sed secundam laurum. Et infra de solo Homero:

*Nec iam supremi certent de sanguine Vatis
Smyrna, Rhodos, Colophon, Salamis, Chios, Argos, Athenae:
70 Quippe Bianoream manet haec Victoria gentem.*

Auctor eius vitae de Aeneide: *Argumentum varium & multiplex, & quasi amborum Homeri carminum instar.* Itaque unico opera complexus est bina Homerica, quod in Victoria pono. Muret. in Orat. quapiam. *Aeneis poema est, non tantum inter omnia Latina sine dubitatione praestantissimum, sed etiam Graeciae gloriam in magnum discrimen vocans.* Quod propter
75 Homerum dici, certum. Hier. Vid.lib.1.Poet.

*Unus hic ingenio praestanti gentis Achivae
Divinos vates longe superavit & arte
Aureus immortale sonans, stupet ipsa, pavetque
Quamvis ingentem miretur Graecia Homerum.*

80 Expende verba. Dat Graeciae stuporem, pavoremque de opere Virgiliano, de Homericum tantum admirationem. Matthaeus Toscanus ita cecinit:

*Virgilium caelo Phoebus demisit, ut esset
Maeoniam posset qui superare tubam.
Se vinci ut sensit, tunc aemulus ipse canorum
85 Ante diem stygio mersit in amne cap. .*

Sed quis explicet uberem eloquentiam Scaligeri in hoc praeconio Virgilii decantando? Nemo illo ornatus, exquisitius, singularius, doctius. Ex illo convulsim excerpti ista. *Virgilius artem ab Homero rudem acceptam lectionis naturae studiis, atque iudicio ad summum extulit fastigium perfectionis: quodque perpaucis datum est, multa detrahendo fecit auctiorem.*

90 Quibus ait, Poesim rudem relictam ab Homero, perfectam a Virgilio: & causam, quia Latino lectionis natura & iudicium. Pergit Scaliger: *Fudit Homerus, collegit Virgilius: ille sparsit, hic composuit.* Huius subiungit rationem hanc: Quia, cum Homerus vitae nostrae duas instituerit rationes, civilem prudentiam in *Ulyssea*, militarem in *Iliade*, easque tanquam duas species in duobus viris ostendisset, in uno utramque *Aenea* composuit Maro: cui etiam pietatem

95 *addidit:* quia videlicet caret pietate Homerus. Redeat Scaliger: *Homeri res re Virgiliana longe minor est. Superat nitore Homerica. Est maiore mole & ornatu. Pictior est, atque numeris astrictior. Quae sunt magna in Homero non aequant magnitudinem Virgilii. Homerici versus in terra, Virgiliani inter Musas a Phoebus facti videntur. Ille Graeculus circulator, is regiae orationis auctor. Quae in illo sunt exsanguia, hic animata. In illo mortua*

100 *est vox, in hoc viva. Interdum coarctat effusam Homeri dictionem, interdum ditat. Nudum Homeri subtegmen divina trama pingit. Persequitur Virgilius omnia non sine illa sua divinitate, ut tam imitatus Homerum, quam nos docuisse, quo modo ille dicere debuisset, videatur. Est longe maiore sono & efficacia. Virgilius magister est, Homerus discipulus. Videas in illo materiam, in hoc formam: in illo congeriem, in hoc dispositionem: illum satis*

105 *habere, si narret, hunc rem ipsam formare verbis. Tanto prior est suavitate, gravitate, varietate, quanto posterior est tempore, facit divina ex humilibus Homeri. Est Homero circumspicior, explicatior, illustrior, accuratior, grandior, cultior, exactior, felicior, dispar: loquitur numerosius, elegantius: coercet Homerica melior brevioraque orationis gyro. Homerus humilia & humiliter: Virgilius grandiora & magnifice. Ille pauca, nuda, rudia,*

110 *infelicia: hic divina, numerosa, varia, inexpectata. Nudis Homeris adiicit incomparabilem*

amicium. Alius sonus Virgilianus, alius ardor. Opprimit & obruit Homerum, relinquit illum post se. Narratio alterius aurea, alterius plumbea. Hic versus Poeta, ille foraneus narrator. A natura proposita Homero argumenta, quasi dictata discipulo emendat Virgilius tanquam magister. In Virgilio animata oratio, in Homero mortua. Est feliciore cantu, apparatu
 115 *magnificentiore. Concludit rotundius. Fluminum Homerus multas fecit comparationes: Noster semel tantum illis omnibus unam anteponendam. In caedenda arbore Homerus eandem operam point, quam Carpentarius: in Virgilio Musa loquitur. Haec & plura Scaliger, fertilis in ornando Virgilio, in vituperatione Homero. Quin addit ad rem explicandam comparationes istas. Quantum a plebeia, incomtaque muliercula matrona distat, tantum*
 120 *summus ille vir a divino viro nostro superatur. Quanto barbara Polyphemi persona inferior est regia maiestate, tanto versus Virgilii Graecis compositiores. Tantum superatur, quantum pastorum dapes a regiis ferculis. Tanta est differentia, quanta inter discipulum meditantem, & praeceptorem suum consilium, atque operam apponentem. Homerus moles quidem est, sed rudis, & indigesta: Virgilius autem Deus, & melior natura. Alludit videlicet ad Ovidianos*
 125 *versus 1. Met. Pulcre ergo Lucanus Paneg. ad Pisonem facit provocantem Virgilium, quasi is praesentiat futuram victoriam, nemo enim provocat, nisi qui putat se victorem fore. Versus sunt:*

Iste per Ausonias Aeneia carmina gentes
Qui sonat, ingenti qui nomine pulsat Olympum,
 130 *Maeoniumque senem Romano provocat ore.*

Pari ferme sententia Silius lib.4.

Mantua Musarum domus usque ad sidera cantu
Evecta Andino, & Smyrnaeis aemula plectris.

Praeclare incertus Poeta sub persona Maronis:

135 *Illius immensos miratur Graecia campos:*

At minor est nobis, sed bene cultus ager.

Qui plura velit de hac victoria, legat nostram in Virgilium operam, ubi saepe comparo
utrumque Vatem, & fere cum victoria Latini.

DE HOMERO

Abrumpo hic Virgilii Elogia rediturus post longum excursum. Destinavi enim interserere
140 Homeri vitia, quae reperi, non omnia, nam hic labor infinitus, sed aliqua. Ad hanc rem triplex
me ratio movet. Prima, ut appareat liquidior laus Virgilii, praestansque illius supra Homerum
virtus. Altera, ut videant Poetae, non posse se tuto Homericis credere; decipientur enim, &
inanem reddent Poesin, si nimium Homero fidant: opus est forti iudicio, quale habuit Maro,
ne abripiantur impetu Graecae orationis, & carmen perdant. Tertia, ut me a calumnia liberem,
145 aliosque viros aevi huius: immerito enim reprehendimur, quod Homerum reprehendamus.
Rem totam confero ad ea, quae scripsere contra illum Plato, Dio Chrysostomus, Scaliger.
Quanti, & quales viri!

Ineptire igitur Homerum in fabulis, quas fingit, latissime probat Plato lib.2. Polit. cum
ait, minime recipiendas in civitate pugnas Deorum, quas ille finxit, nec vincula Iunoni a filio
150 iniecta, neque Vulcanum e caelo a patre deiectum, & similia: sive illa dicta sint per
allegoriam, aut sine illa. Eadem repetit & serio praecipit lib.3. ubi uberius aperit Homeri vitia.
Reprehendit enim illum, quod fecerit Achillem muliebriter eiulantem, plusquam deceret
hominem fortem, & filium Deae: Priamum animo consternatum contra regiam dignitatem:
Iovem, Deorum maximum, quiritantem ignaviter, dolentemque pro Sarpedone filio occiso,
155 neque potentem obsistere Patrocli occisoris viribus: eundem flagrantem intemperanti, &
immodica libidine, atque ita hoc vitio perculsum, ut visa Iunone, non sustinuerit domum
venire ad concubitum, sed statim ibi humi cubans libidinem expleverit: Deos in risum

immodicum, & cachinnum diffuentes: fabulam indignam de Venere & Marte vinctis a Vulcano: Achillem accipientem pecunias pro cadavere Hectoreo, quod indignum tanto viro: 160 eundem iactantem in Apollinem, unum e magnis Diis, θεων ὀλοωτατε παντων, *o Deorum omnium perniciosissime*: eundem duobus vitiis immanibus laborantem, quae duo vitia non fingenda erant de eo, qui educatus a sapientissimo Chirone, qui Deae filius, & Pelei viri iustissimi, & tertii a Iove; vitia in Platone lege. Demum, quod Achillem superbe, iuveniliter, stulte, in principem suum istis debacchantem induxerit, οἶνοβαρές, κυνὸς ὄμματ' ἔχων, 165 κραδίην δ' ἐλάφοιο, : *vinolente, habens canis oculos, cor cervi*. Additque Plato, neminem ita posse inserere, aut solutae orationi, aut versibus prae indignitate, amentia, stultitia illorum. Inde est, ut velit exulare ab urbe, quam ipse constituit, Homerum tanquam perniciosum, inutilem, nugatorium. Neque enim verum est, quod aliqui dicunt, Platonem voluisse Poetas omnes exulare a sua urbe, Tantum Platonem legimus, & nihil tale reperimus. Totum 170 amandat perniciosus & fuites, & in his principe loco Homerum: prudentes vero amplectitur. De qua re legenda, quae ille scribit lib.8. Leg. & quae libat lib.2. Polit. & lib.10. in extremo loco admittit Hymnos Deorum, quia illa sobria est, & prudens Poesis. Omiseram ab eodem Platone in Phaedro versum quendam Homeri vocari οὐ σφόδρα τι ἔμμετρον *non admodum concinnum*.

175 Pergo ad Dionem Chrysostomum. Is Orat.11. de excidio Ilii gravissime in Homerum invehitur, aperitque eius vitia. Ait de illo, χαλεπωτατα ψευσαμενον, *mentitum enormia*. Effudisse καταρας, *exsecrationes*, fuisse mendicum in Graecia, atque in gratiam praebentium stipem multa mentitum. Habuisse μανιαν, *insaniam*. Deinde, μηθεν ὑγιες εἶναι των ειρημενων ὑπ' αὐτου, *nihil unquam sanum dixisse*. Fingere inepte 180 peierantem Autolycum, & hoc datum Autolyco a Mercurio, qui unus e Numinibus. De Diis μηδεν ἀληθης λεγειν, *nihil vere dicere*. Reprehendit illum, quod Deos fecerit dolentes,

suspirantes, vulneratos, adulteros. Is est Homerus, qui non putavit ψευδος ἐχθρον *turpe esse mendacium*. Quae maior hac insania? Scripsit de Diis δεινα, *intoleranda*. Arguit illum stultitiae, quod ea finxerit, quae sunt ultra omnem rationem, probatque hoc late ab rebus, quae
185 sunt in isto Homero. Inculcat iterum de mendaciis illius his verbis: ἀνδρειοτατος ἀνθρώπων ἦν προς το ψευδος Ὅμηρος *fuit audacissimus mortalium ad mentiendum Homerus*. Attende lector ad sequentia vulnera. Ait, illum nescivisse dare suae Poesi bonum initium, non finem, omnia tenebris offudisse, omnia perturbasse. Probat ista late. Procedit. Nescivit proponere, ut benevolum, & promptum¹²⁵ auditorem haberet. Nescivit affectus
190 movere docetque late quos affectus debuisset excitare. Adiicit, caruisse Homerum iudicio, (quod hoc vulnus, lector?) in sua Poesi: quia maxima & gravissima aliis reliquit; elegit sibi minora & abiectiora. Signata verba sunt, τὰ ἐλάττω καὶ ταπεινότερα αἰρεῖσθαι. Pergit Dio, & dat Homero verba contumeliosa. Qualia sunt, φλυαρει *nugatur*. Et εὐηθειαν λόγου *fatuitatem sermonis*. Et την ὑπερβολην της ἡλιθιοτητης *nimia stoliditatem*. Praeterea, de
195 illo, εἰς ἀδυνατα ἐπιπτων και ἀσεβη πραγματα *incidit in res impossibiles, & impias*: παντα συνεχεε *omnia confudit*. Ait, illum narrare pugnas, ὡς ἐν ὄνειρατι *tanquam in somno*. Est hoc ferme, quod Scaliger dixit, *proelia tanquam ad cyathum formabat*. Redeo ad Dionem. Dicit rem quampiam scripsisse Homerum πανυ γελοιως *valde ridicule*. Et ἐν ὑπνιοις ἐοικοτα *somno similia*. Hactenus Dio, cuius infinita pene omisi. Nihil enim tam
200 absurdum, fatuum, impium, indignum, ridiculum, praeposterum excogitari potest, quod ille in hunc Vatem non coniiciat. I nunc, & Homerum lauda, proba, intuere, imitare, venerare. Volui (ut vidisti) adiicere aliqua Graeca Dionis, quia is non ita in promptu, ut Plato.

¹²⁵ promptum (1642)

Restat Scaliger, qui non tam in Homerum, quam in hostem aliquem videtur exarsisse.

205 Superavit Dio Platonem in iactandis contumeliis, superat utrumque Scaliger. Ergo, Homerum in multis ineptire istis ferme ostendit. *Nam quae ille de suis Diis infamia, infandaque prodidit? Adulteria, incestus, odia in se? Quod si allegorias trahunt ad Physica, nunquam quicquam comminisci queant, quo Venus atque Mars a Vulcano in natura rerum comprehendantur? Quae sit Leucothea, quae invito Neptuno Rege suo Ulyssem servare*

210 *audeat? Quis putet, non esse puerile illud? Solis boves interficiunt Ulyssis socii, ac vorant: hoc Sol ipse non, nisi per nuntium, rescivit. & nisi dixisset Lampetie, etiam non ignoraret ille, ac miscellae boves inultae errarent in Elysiis. Ast alibi, sane recte, dictum est, ἥελιος, ὅς παντ' ἐπακουει, Saltem, cum torrerent eas, nidore Solem oportuit expergefatum, si in oriente noctu dormiebat. Haec ille. Sed ne cogar transcribere omnia,*

215 *quae fuse Scaliger in Homerum; tantum signata verba adducam, quibus illum impetit, aperitque eius vulnera. Ait, illum confingere orationes longas & nugatorias. Turpiter & foede Martem gementem induci. Venerem mortali manu, & quod insanius Martem vulnerari. Achillem fortissimum perferre minas deterioris. & flere apud matrem. Confinigi ab illo mendacia putida, ineptire in epicediis. Stulte induci Priamum post decem annos quaerentem*

220 *quis sit hic, aut ille Dux: & Ulyssem interficientem arcu procos, cum omnes possent simul in illum irruere. Queritur Nestor interemptum¹²⁶ filium Antilochum, qui postea vivit, & vincit Menelaum in curuli certamine. Queritur Achilles, quod Patrocli vulnera muscae vorent: conduceret servulum, qui eas abigeret: Fulgurat Iuppiter, cum ningit, quod nunquam visum. Movet risum, cum res inferorum persequitur. Evocat animas sine ulla arte. Canit Demodocus*

225 *in convivio foeditates Deorum. Sententiae Sirenum sunt molles, vulgares, futiles. Homeri epitheta saepe frigida, puerilia, locis inepta. Fingit inepte primum motorem dormire. Est impudicus in vocibus, nam de Iunone ὀπώειν. Proponit nuda, plebeia, quovis ingenio*

¹²⁶ interemtum (1642)

parabilia, simplicia, incoata tantum & non perfecta, mollia, tenuissima, levissima, ineptissima, ieiuna, pessima, fatua, falsa, puerilia, languida, sine arte, sine affectu, nugas
230 anicularum, verbula sicca, vasta, sententias aridissimas, apparatus sine apparatu, futilia, loquacia, orationem miseram & tabernariam, dictionem coactam & insuavem, figuras barbaras. Ineptit repetendo, insanitque. Plenus est fatali Graecorum nugacitate. Agit saepe Grammaticum. Facit in caelo officinam Vulcani, quo nihil stultius. In re atroci temere lascivit. Fluit more suo sine ullo apparatu. Dicit interdum sententias contra naturas rerum,
235 nam in mari quis vidit nivem? Apud Homerum Nestor 11. Il. loquax est, in 7. non minus, in 4. odiosus, in 11. obtundit, in penultimo etiam nugatur. Homericam fuge licentiam, & laxum dicendi genus, nihil non probat ille, quod semel meditatus est. Omitto Libanium in Progymn. ubi Homeri multa vitia aperit, etiamsi alibi defendat. Sed certe si expendatur Libanius, videbitur validior in oppugnando, quam in defendendo.

240 Obiicies pro Homero pretium illud, quo habitus est a veteribus & magnis viris Platone, Aristotele, Strabone, Plutarcho. Demum est nemo ex omni antiquitate, qui non illum colat & veneretur. Ita sane est, neque hoc inficiari aliquis queat. Peperit sibi ille hoc nomen, quia antiquissimus, quia primus ferme Poetarum, quia enituit rudi seculo, quia protulit sententias aliquas cum genio, quia scripsit de bello Troiano, quo nullum heroicis temporibus
245 excellentius, grandius, sublimius. His causis iure meruit nomen, quod nactus est. Neque mirum Graeci Graecum laudarent, egregii suarum rerum praedicatores. Sed certe illis Auctoribus oppono pro Virgilio alios gravioris auctoritatis. Cur non contendat cum Aristotele Augustinus, cum Platone Hieronymus, cum Strabone Plinius, cum Plutarcho Seneca? Saepius isti ad rem suam Virgilium advocant, quam Graeci Homerum suum, nunquam illum in ore
250 assumunt, nisi cum magno elogio. Taceo plures alios (sanctitatis & doctrinae lumina) qui versatiores fuerunt in Virgilio legendo, quam Graeci in Homero. Quem crebrius Quintilianus advocat, quem Isidorus, quem Ambrosius? Qui extremi huius legat *cap.* 21. lib. 5.

Hexaameron. Agnoscet Virgilium. Totum enim illud Ambrosii caput exspirat Virgilianam
orationem, sententiam, phrasim. Possem multa alia huius loca advocare. Quem ex tota
255 antiquitate conferas doctrina cum Tertulliano, qui Virgilium plurimi fecit. Obiicies mihi
Principes, & in his exhibebis mihi fortasse Alexandrum Magnum, qui magni Homerum fecit:
exhibeo tibi Iustinianum & Alexandrum Severum, & Augustum ipsum, qui magni fecerunt
Virgilium. Vere enim Plinius dixit lib. 7. maximam laudem contigisse Virgilio ex testimonio
Augusti. Neque enim Augustus solum in bello sapiens, ut Alexander, sed in re omni sapiens.
260 Itaque neminem Alexandro melius opponas, quam Augustum. Ad haec Hadrianus,
Gordianus, senex, Antoninus Diadumenus, Clodius Albinus, Tetricus, Imperatores Virgilii
versus advocabant ad rem suam, non minus quam Homerum Graeci Principes. Et sane plures
sunt Principes Latinorum, qui Virgilium magni fecerint, quam Graeci, qui Homerum. Omitto
Principes, pergo ad Poetas. Pro Sophocle, Euripide, Pindaro, Apollonio, qui Homerum
265 venerati, offero Horatium, Papinium, Silium, Lucanum, qui Virgilianos cineres habuerunt pro
magistro, quibusque incalebant ad carminis sublimitatem. Si proferas Latinum aliquem, qui
cum elogio locutus est de Homero; profero tibi Eusebium Caesariensem, qui in vita
Constantini assumit nomen Virgilii cum grandi semper elogio. Dixi, quo in pretio habuerint
Virgilium Sapientes, Principes, Poetae. Addam hic ab ipsis Diis in honore habitum, nam eius
270 versibus sortes sunt datae magnis Principibus, & Dii ipsi locuti sunt Virgilianis versibus. De
fortibus exemplum est in Hadriano, & Alexandro Mameae filio. Primo sors imperii exiit illis
versibus, *Quis procul ille autem ramis insignis olivae, & reliquis. Alteri, illo;*

--*Si qua fata aspera rumpas* *Tu Marcellus eris:* Inde sortes Virgilianae in
proverbium abiire; nam, aperto Virgilii codice, occurrentes versus assumebantur in omen. De
275 qua re lege Ioannem Fungerum in Etymologico. De oraculis in Clodio Albino, cui Baianus
Apollo respondit:

Hic rem Romanam magno turbante tumultu

Sistet eques, sternet Poenos, Gallumque rebellem.

Aurelius Claudius consulens de filiis, responsum accepit versu illo:

280 *His ego nec metas rerum, nec tempora pono.*

Possem, quae dixi, probare pluribus, sed horum sententias iam partim adduxi, partim reservo ad reliqua elogia, quae supersunt, & in quae digero Virgilii praeconia, ad quae post longum excursum redeo. Et quoniam ostendi iam, maiorem fuisse Homero, restat, ut consequenter dem illi victoriam supra reliquos Graecorum.

MAIOR reliquis Graecis Poetis

285 Superavit Pindarum, Heisodum, Apollonium, Theocritum. De Pindaro testes Iovianus, & Scaliger: ille in Actio, hic in Critico. De Hesiodo Scaliger, & Politianus. Ille in Critico ita ait: *universa opera Hesiodi ne cum uno quidem versu Georgicon sunt comparanda: hic in Manto: Hesiodum premit. Vives etiam: In Georgicis Hesiodum sine controversia superavit, & in cursu multis stadiis post se reliquit.* De Apollonio Delrius & Scaliger. Ille in Agam. ubi loquitur de tempestate, deque his Poetis, qui tempestatem descripserunt, de Virgilio ita ait: *Virgilium excipio, qui nil molitur inepte.* De Apollonio vero: *Apollonius vero sui similis est, hoc est, totus plebeius, & vilis, & non meo, sed doctorum quorundam iudicio, fere indignus qui legatur.* Hic in Critico: *Lux est in Virgilio, fumus in Apollonio: indignus Apollonius, qui legatur, ubi adest Maro: auget, & superat, quae accipit ab Apollonio: relinquit longe post se*

295 *Apollonium: aspirat minime Apollonius ad nitorem Virgilii, & efficaciam.* De Theocrito plures. Nam Auctor vitae Virgilianae; *Fuit Virgilius circumspectior Theocrito.* Polit.

Virgilius cui rure sacro, cui gramine pastor

Ascraeus, Siculusque senex cessere volentes.

Servius ad 1. Ecl. *Theocritus ubique simplex est, Virgilius figuras perite, pleraque etiam ex*
300 *Theocriti versibus facit, quos ab illo constat dictos esse simpliciter. Scalig. Virgilius*
Theocrito rotundior est, rector, vegetior, efficacior, lepidior, comitor, cultior, venustior,
divinior. Pharmaceutria Virgiliana longe castigatior est, & prudentior Theocritia. Sic
exprimit Theocritia, ut vincat. Tractat eadem feliciter, & supponit meliora. Gulielmus etiam
Modicius conferens Virgilium cum Theocrito, ita ait: *in carmine Bucolico Theocritus*
305 *laudatur, qui pastoriciam simplicitatem diligentius est imitatus: Virgilius autem, cui*
propositum erat, hoc etiam poematis genere Latinam linguam locupletare, pastoriciae
simplicitatis allegorias immiscuit, & res alias quasdam, quae maiorem eruditionem, &
sensum altiorem habent, quam ut humili figurae convenire videantur. Homo prudens &
necessitate, & certo consilio hoc fecit sapienter. Et postea: Affert igitur Virgilius plus
310 *utilitatis, & solidae delectationis, quam Theocritus, qui res alicubi turpissimas loquitur*
aperte: quas Virgilius aut praeterit, aut tecte, parce, & dissimulanter attingit. Vide multa alia
apud eundem libello, quo Virgilium vindicat a calumniis *cap. 7. unde haec sumpta sunt.*

Demum superavit Graecos omnes. Ait Rhodig. lib. 7. Virgilium natum *adversus*
Graecae gentis fremitum nimio plus saepe insonantem. Phocas dixit:

315 *Quis fecunda tuos toleraret Graecia fastus?*
Quis tantum eloquii potuisset ferre tumorem,
Aemula Virgilium tellus nisi Tusca dedisset?

Manto apud Polit. ita vaticinans:

Euge, beate puer, sanguis mur, horreat ortus
320 *Graecia tota tuos.*

Et in Praefat.

Romulae voci decus adrogavit carmine sacro.

Possem signate Auctores adducere, qui Virgilium faciunt superiorem Sophocle, Euripide, Aeschylo, Aristophane. Quoties enim Interpres in loca horum incidunt, semper dant palmam
325 Virgilio. Nicandrum, Pisandrum, Euphorionem, tunc etiam alios, superatos fuisse a Virgilio Landinus censuit.

MAIOR Latinis Poetis

A Graecis victis pergo ad Latinos, a quibus brevissime me expedio, nam quis hoc neget? Quintilianus lib. 10. comparat Virgilium cum Macro, Lucretio, Ennio & aliis: istisque vitium aliquod assignans, omnium principem facit Virgilium. Eadem lib. 12. Iovianus in Actio vocat
330 Horatium Virgilio minorem, cum tamen in suo genere abunde sit clarus. Idipsum Vives. De Ovidio vivendus Quintil. lib. 10. & Iovianus dicto loco. Ovidius quoque ipse:

Quantum Virgilius magno concessit Homero,

Tantum ego Virgilio Naso Poeta meo.

Pergo ad alios. Comparat Iovianus Virgilium cum Claudiano, productis utriusque locis satis
335 longis, datque Virgilio palmam singularem; idem scribit Scaliger. De Papinio, ipsum produco testem, qui ita loquitur cum sua Thebaide:

Vive precor, nec tu divinam Aeneida tenta,

Sed longe sequere, et vestigia semper adora.

Et lib. 4. Syl. vocat Virgilium *magistrum* suum. De Lucano res clara. De Pacato Ausonius ait
340 fieri pluris quam cunctos alios *Marone demto*.

Demum Latinos omnes superavit, ne singulos cogar narrare. Et pro his, quos adduxi, & qui supersunt, produco sequentia Elogia. Ovid. 3. Artis:

Et profugum Aeneam, altae primordia Romae:

Quo nullum Latio clarius exstat opus.

345 Fabius Paulin. Hebdomad. Virgilian. lib. 1. *Sed admirabile est, (ut de ceteris nunc sileam) quam unus inter omnes Latinos emineat in omni genere laudis noster Maro: in quo tot sunt congesta bona atque virtutes, ut nihil putem cogitari posse divinius: cuique tantum abest, ut quemquam anteferendum putem, ut nullum arbitrer Poetam fuisse tam impudentem, qui plura, quam in hoc sunt, tacitus auderet optare: aut tam sui amantem, tantoque opinionis*
350 *errore & mente captum, ut cum eo existimaret se posse conferri. Scaliger: Quemadmodum Antonius apud Ciceronem de Poetis, videntur ipsi alia lingua, quam Latina, locuti: ita a nobis de Virgilio dici solet, ceteri alia lingua, quam Poetica, mihi usi videntur. Alibi: Illius versus nemo mortalium aequare valeat. Sunt illius carmina inaccessa. Imitandi sui spes omnium exstinxit. Et, Poetae omnes, qui post Virgilium fuere, declamatoribus similes mihi*
355 *videntur: qui, dum argute aliquid dicunt, nihil pensi habent, quid cuique parti maiestatis vel incommodet, vel obsecundaretur: quare & numeros laedi necesse est, & perire gratiam ex affectatione. Muret. Praefat. Comm. in Catul. Quo viro statuo, nihil fieri posse divinius. Alibi: Ad Virgilii gloriam pertinet, alios Poetas legere, ut intelligamus, quantum is praestet.*

Sed quis ego immoror in comparationibus? loqui volo extra omnem comparationem,
360 & adducere testimonia illorum, qui in attollendo Virgilio utuntur superlatiore gradu, quasi indignentur illum admiscere aliorum faecibus. Ergo fuit

Virgilius MAXIMVS Poetarum

Produco primo testimonium Mureti, qui Praefat. in Catul. loquens de Virgilio: *cui videar iniuriam facere, si eum ullo modo cum ceteris comparem.* Inde signatissime Scaliger saepe ait, *vir incomparabilis.* Quia vere est extra omnem aleam. Ergo, si incomparabilis, erit utique
365 Maximus omnium, non tantum Maior omnibus. Gradu itaque superlativo in attollendo Virgilio utuntur multi, qui tibi passim obvii. Ego hic tibi signo paucos, videlicet Senecam, qui

Epistolis, & cap. 9. de Brevit. vitae, *Maximus vates*. Lactantium lib.2 Div. Inst. *Poeta maximus*. Plinium, qui lib.14. *Praecellentissimum vatem*. Ammianum, qui *excelsum, eminentissimum*. Augustinum, qui lib. 1. Civit. *Poeta magnus, omniumque praeclarissimus*
370 *atque optimus*. Et in lib. 4. *Poeta nobilissimus*. Ovidium, qui 3. de Pont. El. 4. *Summo Aeneidos Vati*. Macrobius, qui *doctissimum, peritissimum, scientissimum*. Quintilianum, qui lib. 1. *Auctor eminentissimus*. Eusebium Caesariens. qui in vita Constantini
ἐξοχωτάτων τῶν κατ' Ἰταλίαν ποιητῶν. & σοφωτάτων ποιητῆν *praestantissimum*
Poetarum Italiae: sapientissimum Poetam. Obiicies: Nonne ista loquendi forma in Latio
375 comparationem etiam indicat? Non Lector. Sed quaestio ista Scaligerum appellet in Theophrastum, & doctos alios, qui vere sentiunt, contra vulgares grammaticos non induci comparationem gradu superlativo, solum indicari eminentiam quandam extra omnem comparationem. Porro ab hac supra omnes excellentia Martial. Lib. 14. *Immensum Maronem* dixit.

CAPVT V

Elogia POESEOS Virgilianae

Hactenus dicta sunt quatuor genera encomiorum. Primo, de natali Maronis: deinde, de bonis honesto, utili, iucundo: tertio, de variis artibus, quibus floruit: quarto, de comparatione illius cum Graecis & Latinis: persequar iam virtutes Poeseos illius, quas sparsas in Auctoribus reperi. Incipio ab imitatione.

5 Fuit Virgilius egregius IMITATOR. Macrobius lib.6. *Iudicio transferendi , & modo imitandi consecutus est, ut quod apud illum legimus alienum, aut illius esse malimus: aut melius hic, quam ubi natum est, sonare miremur.* Et lib.4. *Feliciter Graecos interpretatur, pulcerrime aemulatur.* Et libri 5. *Omne opus Virgilianum veluti de quodam Homerici operis speculo formatum est.* Seneca Rhetor lib.7. Controv. ait, versus Varronis a Virgilio imitandos
10 susceptos, expressos in melius, etiamsi Varoniani optimi essent. Turneb. lib.19. *Maro quantus, quantus est, imitatione & iudicio evasit. Ac cum plerique imitatores putidi & inepti sint, & pene ridiculi, solum Maronem imitari nunquam dedecet. Id enim tam apte & accommodate facit, ut sua afferre, non aliena usurpare videatur.* Victorius Prolegom. in Poeticen Aristot. *Quin tanquam apis quaedam singulos Homeri flores, ut Tragicorum etiam,*
15 *reliquorumque optimorum, & Graecorum, & Latinorum Poetarum lustraverit, indeque suavissimum mel confecerit, dubitari non potest.* Nannius 2. Miscel. *Graecorum fontium latices hausit pleno ore Virgilius.*

Habuit excellens & acre IUDICIUM. Huius virtutis, quae admodum necessaria ad Poesin, encomiastes est Quintilianus, qui lib. 8. ait: *acerrimi iudicii P. Virgilius.* Iovianus in
20 Actio multa suppeditat de iudicio divini viri in condendis carminibus, & captandis artificiose auribus. Ait enim, condi ab illo versus graves, selectos, generosos, honestissimos, iam

magnificos, iam sedatos, ut res postulabat. Habuisse aures consummatissimas, non ignoravisse suas aures: fluxisse, cum opus fuit: intonuisse, superciliumque erexisse, cum opus: temperavisse celeritatem cum tarditate: miscuisse vocales iam sonoras, iam exiles, iam
25 claras cum subobscuris: habuisse rerum & verborum delectum admirabilem. Plura his ille. Inde ab Lactantio hic Vates dicitur lib. 2. Div. Instit. *prudens: ut & ab aliis multis. Iovian. in Actio: in delectu verborum, ac selectione iudicari potest & studiosus & prudens. Scaliger lib. 5. Rerum quoque delectum eiusmodi habuit, e quorum splendore luculentus ille nitor suis scriptis adiungeretur. Alibi: habet lectissima verba & numerous. Ad iudicium pertinent verba*
30 *ista Auctoris vitae Virgilianae: cum Georgica scriberet, traditur, quotidie meditados mane plurimos versus dictare solitum, ac per totum diem retractando ad paucissimos redigere: non absurde carmen se ursae more parere dicens, & lambendo demum effingere. Idem scribit (vide qua sobrietate voluit carmen condere) tradi a quibusdam diligentiam singularem Virgilii, videlicet, prius integram Aeneidem prosa oratione formatam, digestamque in libris*
35 *duodecim, quam carmine conditam. Itaque astrinxit carminibus, quae soluta oratione fecerat, nec flatu Poeseos raperetur in aliquid indignum, ac minus prudens. Recte ergo admonet Quintilianus libro 1. opus esse firmiore iudicio ad intelligendam virtutem Virgilii. Et Turneb. lib. 22. ait, in Virgilio nihil esse otiosum aut temerarium: & ideo requiri in hoc Vate lectorem non expeditum, & cursorem, sed cunctatorem, & in singulis haerentem. Pari elogio Velserus*
40 *libr. 1. Rerum Boicarum: Virgilius, cui nullum temere verbum excidit. Ex hoc tam acri iudicio optime mihi videtur pronuntiasse Scalig. Equidem unum illum censeo scivisse, quid esset, non ineptire.*

Iudicio affinis mira PROPRIETAS, qua usus in omnibus. Observarunt hac virtutem luculenti testes. Macrob. 3. Satur. *Verborum proprietas tam Poetae huic familiaris est, ut*
45 *talis observatio in Virgilio esse iam desinat. Quintil. lib. 1. loquens de re quapiam dubia, quae pertinet ad formam Latini sermonis, ita ait: Quorum neutrum quidem reprehendo, cum*

sit utriusque Virgilius auctor. Scaliger: Elucet in verbis eius puritas vetus Romana. Eo fortasse respectum a Politiano: Ipsa en Roma tuo sese quoque iactat alumno. Loquitur Manto cum Mantua. Ad proprietatem refero laudem illam nunquam satis laudatam de distinctione stylorum in Bucolicis, Georgicis, Aeneide. Quantum est (Deus immortalis!) observari a
50 *divino viro potuisse, ut horum operum stylus perpetuo quodam tenore distinctus esset? Itaque in tanta versuum multitudine nunquam se tenuis stylus cum mediocri, nunquam hic cum sublimi commiscuit: & tamen nihilominus servata est mira varietas, & iucunditas. Hoc quoties cogito, obstupesco. Hanc rem satis celebrant Interpretes ad prooemium Aeneidos, Ille*
55 *ego, qui quondam &c. Hoc ita admiratur Christoph. Land. in Praefat. Quid obsecro, aut in maximis rebus sublimius, aut in mediocribus temperantius, aut in humilibus pressius excogitari hoc Poeta potest. Et Vives: Idem laetus, & depressus: iucundus & gravis: tum copia, tum brevitate mirabilis. Quid etiam dicam de tribus aliis scribendi characteribus Exegematico, Dramatico, Misto? De his Servius loquitur ad 3. Eclogam.*

60 *Inter virtutes Virgilianae Poeseos non minimum locum obtinet SVBLIMITAS oris, spiritus carminis. De ea hic loquar. Politianus vocat Maronem, grande sonantem. Iuven. Sat. 11. Maronis altisoni. Vt & Ausonius in edyl. Altisonumque iterum fas est didicisse Maronem. Iovianus dicit eius versum gravem, numerosum, generosum, spectabilem, admirabilem, honestissimum. Iterum: Cum summis blanditiis nunquam recedit a gravitate. Assurgit*
65 *mirifice. Idem, Virgiliana numerositas. Vives lib. 3. Discipl. Aeneis Virgilii grande opus, & plenum gravitatis ac rerum bonarum. Hier. comment. in Mich. c. 7. Poeta sublimis. Serv. in 1. Ecl. de stylo Virgilii, grandiloquum. Scalig. de hac re, ut neque de aliis, parce: est magnificus, numerosus, augustus, luculentus, grandiloquus, vehemens, supra humanum captum. Amplificat cum maiestate, utitur grandi oratione. Habet multa magni momenti.*
70 *Assurgit magna laude. Vives Virgilio dat principem locum inter Poetas, propter gravitatem & sententias. Deinde Horatium locat, mox alios. Et iterum: Hunc nemo in magnis rebus*

sublimitate superavit. Propter hanc rem fortassis vocatur Virgilius a Ioviano in Anton. *heros.*
Et Scaliger dixit: *Est in eo heroica phrasis.* Inde quoque dictus a Martiali *magnus*, libr. 11 &
12. *Silius haec magni celebrat monumenta Maronis.* Et, *Qui magni celebras Maronis dus.*
75 Sed quis dubitet, quin ad sublimitatem Vatis huius idem ipse Martialis respexerit lib. 5. eo
versu: *Grande cothurnati pone Maronis opus.* Annectam huic encomio aliquid de Tragoediis
Virgilianis, quando a Martiali *cothurnatus* dicitur, & sum in sublimitate, quae propria
Tragicorum. Sunt itaque aliqua vestigia, Virgilium fuisse Poetam Tragicum. Auctor eius
vitae: *Fertur Thyestes tragoedia, quam Varius pro sua edidit, fuisse Virgilii.* Hoc si est, non
80 minimum excelluit Virgilius inter Tragicos, nam Quintil. lib. 10. *Varii Thyestes cuilibet*
Graecorum comparari potest. Eandem Tacitus celebrat in claris Orator. Adduxi vestigium
unum. Alterum est, scribi a Tertul. lib. advers. haeret. *Ovidius Geta Medeam tragoediam ex*
Virgilio plenissime expressit. Porro Medeam tragoediam Ovidii attollit Tacitus loco adducto:
Nec ullus Asinii, aut Messalae liber tam illustris est, quam Medea Ovidii, aut Varii Thyestes.
85 Tertium est, dici Virgilium a Martiali, *cothurnatum*, versum iam attuli. Phocas etiam:

Inde cothurnato Teucrorum proelia versu,

Et Rutulum tonuit.

Ista omnia pertinent ad styli sublimitatem.

Ab hac laude pergo ad PICTVRAM, qua graphice Virgilius res omnes pingit. Scalig.
90 *Efficit vivam orationem.* Godescal. in cap. 24. lib. 2. Veget. *Descriptiones Virgilianas*
videmur spectare, non legere. Quintil. lib. 8. ait, Virgilium ita faciem rei, quam depingit,
ostendere, *ut non clarior futura fuerit spectantibus: & postea, rem subiicit oculis.* Minturnus:
Deinde quis unquam in pictura excellere visus est, quin tempora, loca, eventa, permotiones
animi multo is melius, multoque evidentius ob oculos posuerit? Vives: *Virgilius cum narrat,*

95 *perinde ducit nos in rem praesentem, ac si oculis contueremur.* Sed taceant hic omnes encomiastae, ubi adiri potest Vates ipse.

Est praeterea Virgilius Elegans, Facetus, Ingeniosus. Coniunxi haec tria Elogia, qui ad idem videntur spectare. Primum ostendit Quintil. qui lib. 8. Virgilium vocat *elegantem*: & lib. 6. illud Horatii Satyra 10. lib. 1. *molle atque facetum Virgilio*: explicat de exculta elegancia, quam Vates habuit: sicut illud Tulli: *ne illi sunt pedes faceti, ac delitiis ingredienti molles*. A. Gellius lib. 20. *Elegantissimus Poeta*: & lib. 10 dat illi adverbia *scitissime, elegantissime*. Macrob. lib. 3. *Aequae in rebus doctrinae, & in verbis sectator elegantiae*. Scalig. *Elegantissimae locutionis auctor*. Alterum Horatium *molle atque facetum Virgilio*. Serv. in 1. *Ecl. poetica urbanitate*. Macrob. lib. 3 *Est non solum doctus, sed argutus*. Hic supersedeo, quia de hac re satis multa in Elogio Iucunditatis. Tertio Politian. qui Virgilii opera vocat *Daedala monumenta*, id est, ingeniosa. A Voviano in epitaphio dicitur *nobilis ingenio*: a Ioviano *artificiosissimus*. Ingenium eius declarant opera illa artificiata, quae visebantur Neapoli, de quibus iam sum locutus inter Elogia variarum artium. Cesso hic. Nam persequi virtutes omnes Virgilianae Poeseos infinitum sit, & pergam sexto loco ad Elogia, quae petuntur ex variis attributis (Graeci epitheta vocant) quibus auctores Virgilium afficiunt. Neque vero omnia adducam. Posset (& ita est vere) integer liber conflari ex solis attributis Virgilii. Nam nihil est tam gloriosum, magnificentum, excellens, quod non in illum auctores conferant. Adducam itaque insigniora. Incipio autem a divinitate.

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CAPVT VI

Elogia ab ATTRIBVTIS

- Fuit Divinus. Vsitato gentilium honore, qui praestantes viros elogio isto afficiebant, & maiore adhuc, nam non divinos solum, sed Deos vocabant. Macrob. lib. 5. *Non mortali, sed divino ingenio Maro.* Iovian. *Romanae Poeticae Deum.* Papin. *divinam Aeneida.* & postea eodem spiritu iuducit verbum *adoro.* Veget. Lib. 4. *Virgilius divino ingenio.* Scal. *Divinus Poeta.*
- 5 *Est in eo divinorum sonus numerorum, & divina phrasis. Nusquam Musa Maronis mortale quicquam sonat.* Inde est, ut Scaliger idem admiratus divinitatem Virgilianam, perinde atque fastigium quovis humano ingenio altius, illi aras statuatur, ut Poetarum Deo. Huc pertinet dici ad Seneca Epist. 108. carmen Virgilii debere placere, *tanquam missum oraculo.* Caelestis dicitur ab Scaligero, Plinio, Macrobio, Quintiliano. Inde Politianus, *Mens caelo cognata.*
- 10 Sacer ab multis. Inde ait Caelius lib. 20. Virgilium a literatis omnibus, & adprobis coli veluti *τεμενων ιερα, templorum sacra.* Et quia *sacer*, ideo nominat Phocas *mucronem sacrilegum* illum, quo petitus est Virgilius a milite. Augustus quoque: *Tam sacrum solvetur opus?* Cornel. Gallus sive quispiam alius: *Aeneam condidit ore sacro.* Tacitus Dial. de Orat. Virgilii *sacrarium* dixit. Sidereus ab Columel. & Politiano. Ille lib. 10. *Siderei vatis referens*
- 15 *praecepta Maronis.* Hic in Mant. *Sidereus vates.* Insignis ab sanctis Doctoribus Hieronymo lib. 1. adversus Iovian. & Augustino lib. 5. Civit. Immensus a Martiali lib. 14.

Quam brevis immensum cepit membrana Maronem,

Ipsius vultus prima tabella gerit.

Felix ab Ovidio 2. Trist. *Et tamen ille tuae felix Aeneidos Auctor.*

- 20 Politian. -- *quo non felicius alter.* Plin. lib. 14. vocat *beatum, felicem:* ut etiam Propertius. Nobilis ab Augustino lib. 21. Civ. & *nobilissimus* lib. 10. & 15. quo epitheto infinitis locis

illum afficit Caelius. Admirabilis passim ab Scaligero. Et ab Eusebio in vita Constantini
θαυμαζος. Quintil. de re Virgiliana loquens lib. 8. *miramur*. Eodem pertinent ista Politiani
loquentis ad Augustum,

25 *cerno te maxime Princeps*

Purpureos inter proceres sanctumque Senatum,

Pendentem stare ad numeros, atque ora tenentem.

Supra etiam dixerat, ea cantanda a Virgilio, quae mirarentur Linus, Orpheus, Musae, Apollo.
Magnus bis a Martiali lib. 11. & 12. Iam cur Maximus appelletur, alibi a me dictum. Illustris
30 ab S. Hieronymo Epist. 139. ad Cyprianum, & *cap.* 1. in Ioel. & lib. 1. *commen.* Zachar. *cap.*
1. PAR Naturae, ita vocatur ab Scaligero, imo Natura ipsa. Eo spectat Macrob. cum ait, 1.
Somni, *Poeta naturae ipsius conscius*. Et haec, quae adduxit ex Donato Servius in 1. Ecl. *In*
scribendis carminibus naturalem ordinem secutum Virgilium. Primo enim pastoralis fuit in
montibus vita, post agriculturae amor, inde bellorum cura successit. Auctor quoque vitae
35 Virgilianae: *Secutus est naturam ipsam in scribendo. Nam prima hominum vita fuit*
pastoricia, hanc secuta est agrorum cultura, demum pro agris defendendis & possessionibus
suscepta sunt bella: ideo ergo primum Bucolica, mox Georgica, tertio Bella suscepit. Haec,
quae attuli (ut hoc obiter dicam) probant Auctorem vitae Virgilianae, quae circumfertur,
fuisse Donatum. Flos & Caput Poetarum ab Abulensi in Epistolam S. Hieronymi ad
40 Paulinum. Princeps carminum a Velleio lib. 1. ab Ioviano in Antonio, ab omnibus. Merito
habuit hoc nomen. Nam, ut ait Iovian. *Romanam illustravit Poeticam:* ut Scaliger, *Poeticam*
ad summum extulit fastigium perfectionis. Demum dicitur antonomastice ab omnibus
POETA. Quae laus, magna. Ex multis signo aliquos, Senecam lib. 6. Nat. Quaest. *cap.* 17. &
18. Augustinum lib. 4. Civit. Apuleium lib. 1. de Mundo, Hieronymum Epist. 9. ad
45 Salvianum, & Epist. ad Cromatium, Iovinum, Eusebium, & *cap.* 7. Comment. in

Ecclesiastem. Alii addunt, *Poeta noster*, quasi discriminantes ab Homero, in his est Augustin.
lib. 3. contra Academ. *cap.* 4. Lactantius lib. 1. Divin. Inst. & Seneca Epist. 59. & 86. &
Patricius lib. 3. de Regno, ac multi alii. Et ideo Caelius lib. 5. *Poeta Latinus*. Omitto alia
attributa, tum quia ex supradictis Elogiis multa possunt hauriri. tum, quia non est animus
50 omnia persequi: nullum enim est caput horum elogiorum, quod non potuissem duplo aut
triplo, interdum quadruple augere: & illud, in quo sum, verissime centuplo, verissime
millecuplo.

CAPVT VII

Restat iam pars extrema Elogiorum. Haec continebit honores, qui habiti Virgilio viventi, qui habiti mortuo: demum testimonia illorum, qui dicunt eius nomen duraturum in omnem aeternitatem.

Honores, qui habiti Virgilio VIVENTI

Irrepsit vi tantum ingenii ad familiaritatem Augusti, quo Principe nemo maior, potentior, 5 felicior. Auctor vitae Virgilianae: *Quaecunque ab Augusto peteret, repulsam nunquam habuit.* Visus est saepissime Virgilius cum hoc Principe familiarissime loquens: imo cum eo potentissimum, an imperium deponeret, communicavit: & eius consilio confirmatus retinuit. Hunc Augusti amorem in Vatem Horatius attingit Epist. 1. lib. 2. *Dilecti tibi Virgilius, Variusque Poetae.* Scripsit saepe ad illum Augustus, mittebatque literas, quibus petebat, ut 10 aliquid ad se carminum transmitteret. Scribit hoc Claudian. Epist. ad Olibr. *Dignatus tenui Caesar scripsisse Maroni.* Et Tacitus dialogo de Orat. (quod opus alii Quintiliano attribuunt) adducam verba, quia nonnulla alia attingit de honoribus Virgilii: *Malo severum & secretum Virgilii secessum, in quo tamen neque apud D. Augustum gratia caruit, neque ad populum Romanum notitia. Testes Augusti epistolae, testis ipse populus, qui auditis in theatro Virgilii 15 versibus, surrexit universus, & forte praesentem aspectantemque Virgilium veneratus est sic, quasi Augustum.* Quod hoc Elogium! Sed omitto Augustum. Proceres omnes, qui aulam Augusti frequentabant, mire sibi devinxit Maro. Phocas ait:

Tum tibi Sironem, Maro, contulit ipsa magistrum

Roma potens, proceresque suos tibi iunxit amicos:

20 *Pollio, Mecaenas, Varius, Cornelius ardent,*

Et sibi quisque rapit per te victurus in aevum.

Ait Serv. 2. Ecl. Virgilium exceptum fuisse prandio a Pollione, & accepisse dona a magnis principibus: nam Alexandrum puerum a Pollione, a Leria femina nobili Cebetem. Assinius quoque Gallus Assinii Pollionis filius amicissimus fuit huic Vati, quod in 10. Ecl. scribit
25 Servius. Favorem hunc Poeta ipse attingit 2. Ecl. *Pollio amat nostrum, quamvis sit rustica, Musam.* Quam carus Maecenati Virgilius fuerit, nemo est, qui ignoret: ad huius Principis favorem refert Martialis Musam Maronianam, nam illo flante haec divinos sumsit spiritus. Sed, omissis Principibus, pergo ad populum, cui carissimus fuit Virgilius. Dicunt Auctores eius vitae, adeo illum fuisse in pretio, ut Romae semper in via digito indicaretur a populo,
30 clamarentque omnes illo viso, DELITIAS ROMAE. Studium hoc populi, mirumque affectum in illo amando indicat Phocas his versibus, attingens historiam Centurionis illius, qui pene Virgilium interfecisset,

cum pene nefando

Ense perit. Quid dextra furis? quid viscera Romae

35 *Sacrilego mucrone petis? tua bella tacebit*

Posteritas, ipsumque ducem, nisi Mantua dicat.

Non tulit hanc rabiem doctissima turba potentum.

Itur ad Auctorem rerum: quid Martius horror

Egerit, ostendunt; quid tum miseranda tulisset.

40 Sed hunc amorem erga se suavissime expressit Poeta ipse 9. Ecl.

Heu, cadit in quenquam tantum scelus! heu, tua nobis

Pene simul tecum solatia rapta Menalca!

Quis caneret Nymphas? quis humum florentibus herbis

Spargeret? aut viridi fontes induceret umbra?

45 Iam quis amor, quis ille plausus, quo assurrectum est Virgilio ab universo populo? Datus est enim illi idem honos, qui Augusto. Adduxi iam hoc ex Tacito, ad quem alludit Polit.

Ipsa illi, quem vix ducibus largiris honorem,

Sponte feres, totoque assurges Roma theatro.

Quis ille favor, quo eius versus recitati in theatro sunt, admirantibus omnibus, atque uno, qui
50 instar omnium, Tullio, exclamanteque in suam & Virgilii laudem, MAGNAE SPES ALTERA ROMAE. Iam, quas sibi divitias vivens paravit? quod non modicum argumentum pretii, quo habitus est. Nam certe Plato & Dio Chrysostomus colligunt, Homerum in nullo pretio fuisse, cum in vivis esset. quia fuit pauperrimus & egentissimus. Budaeus lib. 3. de
Asse ex Auctoribus vitae Virgilianae: *Possedit Virgilius prope centies sestertium ex*
55 *liberalitatibus amicorum. Habuitque domum Romae in Aesquiliis, quamquam secessu Campaniae, Siciliaeque plurimum uteretur. quaecunque ab Augusto petiit, repulsam nunquam tulit. Parentibus quotannis aurum ad abundantem alitum mittebat, quos iam grandis amisit. Heredem fecit ex quadrante Augustum. Centies sestertium ducenta quinquaginta aureorum millia valet: quare non frustra iuvenalis eius meminit, ut copiosi,*
60 *Satyra septima.* Haec Budaeus. Idem ait, Virgilium pro versibus uno, & viginti, quibus laudat res Marcelli, accepisse ab Octavia supra quinque millia aureorum. Sed pergo ad gloriam, quae secuta est mortuum.

Honores, qui habiti Virgilio MORTVO

Hoc satis explicat grande illud Augusti Elogium, vetantis comburi Aeneidem, nam hoc
65 iusserat Vates ipse. Versus Augusti sunt:

Ergo ne, supremis potuit vox improba verbis

Tam dirum mandare nefas! ergo ibit in ignes,

Magnaque doctilioqui morietur Musa Maronis?

Ah, scelus indignum! solvetur litera dives?

70 *Et poterunt spectare oculi? Nec parcere honori*

Flamma suo? dignumque oculis servare decorem?

Pulcer Apollo veta, Musae prohibete Latinae, &c.

Hoc sensit magnus ille Princeps. Quid illi pene par Alexander Severus? Lampridius in eius
vita: *Virgilium Platonem Poetarum vocabat, eiusque imaginem cum Ciceronis simulacro in*
75 *secundo Larario habuit, ubi & Achillis, & magnorum virorum.* Quis hic honor? Quis etiam
ille, qui est apud Iovianum lib. 5. de Obedientia, Mantuanos adhuc insigne gentis suae
praeferre caput Virgilii in aedificiis & monumentis publicis, sicuti Sulmonenses Ovidianum
illud, *Sulmo mihi patria est:* & Brodaeus in lib. 3. Anth. ait, adhuc a Mantuanis insculpi in
nummis effigiem Virgilii, sicut a Chiis Homeri, a Lesbiis Sapphus. Quid si ad doctos imus,
80 qui mortuum Virgilium summopere coluerunt? De Silio Italico ita scribit alter Plinius lib. 3.
Epist. *Multum ubique librorum, multum statuarum, multum imaginum, quas non habebat*
modo, verumetiam venerabatur: Virgilii ante omnes, cuius natalem religiosius, quam suum
celebrabat: Neapoli maxime, ubi monumentum eius adire, ut templum, solebat. Et Iovian. in

lib. de liberalitate: *Silius Italicus sepulcrum eius quotidie pene invisebat, atque adornabat*
85 *muneribus.* Martial. lib. 11.

Silius haec magni celebrat monumenta Maronis. Et infra,

Iam prope desertos cineres, & sancta Maronis

Nomina, qui coleret pauper, & unus erat.

Fatebatur enim Silius latens in sepulcro Maronis ex frigidis eius ossibus, & cineribus
90 incalescere ad divinum spiritum, & ad effundendum carmen. Idem de se fatetur Hieron. Vid.
lib. 3. Poetic.

Virgilii ante omnes laeti hic super astra feremus,

Carminibus patriis laudes, decus unde Latinum,

Vnde mihi vires, animus mihi ducitur unde.

95 Paria de se Papin. lib. 4. Syllu.

Maronaeoque sedens in margine templi

Sumo animum, & magni tumulis accanto Magistri.

Iovianus quoque ait, ab Actio Sannazaro locum, in quo iacuit sepultus Virgilius,
religiosissime & cum veneratione coli, adiri que frequentissime. Adeo hic mos colendi, &
100 pene adorandi Maronis enituit aevo Martialis, ut dicat ipse lib. 12.

Maiae Mercurium creastis Idus.

Augustis redit Idibus Diana.

Octobres Maro consecravit Idus.

Idus saepe colas & has & illas,

105 *Qui magni celebras Maronis Idus.*

Parem facit Mercurio, & Dianae: nam, ut ille Maium mensem, illa Augustum consecrarunt, ita Maro Octobrem suo natali. Pari gloria Ausonius in ed.

Sextiles Hecate Latonia vindicat Idus,

Mercurius Maias, superiorum adiunctus honori,

110 *Octobres olim genitus Maro dedicat Idus.*

Iam, quo pretio habitus est hic Vates a magno doctore Augustino? cuius lectioni illum fuisse deditissimum satis liquet ex libro 2. eiusdem contra Academicos. & lib. 1. de Ordine ita scribit: *Ante coenam dimidium volumen Virgilii audire quotidie solitus eram.* Narrat Gellius lib. 2. librum secundum Aeneidos emptum¹²⁷ a viro quodam docto *viginti aureis.* adeo in pretio hic Vates habitus. Huic par illud, accepisse Virgilium ab Octavia pro singulis versibus Marcelli dena sestertia. Summam conficit Budaeus de Asse. Lege illum. Transeo ab his rebus ad alias. Fuerunt Principes versatissimi in lectione Virgiliana, hoc enim pertinere arbitror ad honores, in quibus sum. Exemplum sit Nero apud Suetonium, Diocletianus apud Vopiscum in vita Numeriani, Gordianus apud Capitolinum. Iam vero, cuius Poetae versibus magis gaudent Principes illustrandis suis stemmatibus, & insignibus, quam Virgilianis? Est hic honos peculiaris datus Virgilio. Exemplum huius rei nullum adhibeo, quia alio loco de Hieroglyphicis Virgilianis laborem instituo. Absolvam hunc locum recitatis aliquibus Elogiis Mantuae urbis, quod in ea natus sit Virgilius, nam hic honos totus redundant in Poetam. Ait Iovianus lib. 2. de Fortuna: *Illustravit Mantuam seu viatoris seu figuli filius Virgilius Maro.*

125 *Cur natura non hoc ipsum concessit primario civium alicui.* Silius lib. 4.

¹²⁷ emptum (1642)

Mantua Musarum domus, usque ad sidera cantu

Evecta Andino, & Smyrnaeis aemula plectris. Phocas:

Maeonii specimen vatis veneranda Maronem

Mantua Romuleae generavit flumina linguae. Martial. lib. 1.

130 *Marone felix Mantua est.*

Manto apud Politian. ita cum Mantua loquitur:

Surge, paremque astris contende educere molem,

Pyramidum supra sumptus¹²⁸ proh, quanta manet te

Gloria, quam longum senibus celebrabere seclis?

135 *Nascetur, video, supera tibi missus ab arce*

Sidereus vates, alti cui numinis¹²⁹ haustum

Mens caelo cognata ferat, &c.

Caelius lib. 7. *Debet multum Latina res Mantuano caelo, sub quo eloquentiae specimen longe clarissimum & natum, & parte quadam educatum est.*

Honor Virgilii futurus AETERNVS

140 Huius rei praecones sunt Martialis lib. 11.

Rura vel aeterno proxima Virgilio. Ovid. 1. Amor.

¹²⁸ sumtus (1642)

¹²⁹ nominis (1642)

Tityrus, & segetes, Aeneiaque arma legentur,

Roma triumphati dum cap. orbis erit. Hilasius,

Lucis damna nihil tanto nocuere Poetae,

145 *Quem praesentat honos carminis, & plutei. Maximianus,*

Carminibus pecudes, & rus, & bella canendo,

Nomen inextinctum Virgilius meruit. Politian.

Cui decus omne suum cedit stupefacta vetustas.

Iterum, *Perpetui vatis*, id est, duraturi semper. Et ad finem grandi Elogio:

150 *At manet aeternum, et seros excurrit in annos*

Vatis opus, dumque in tacito vaga sidera mundo

Fulgebunt, dum Sol nigris oriatur ab Indis,

Praevia Luciferis aderit dum curribus Eos,

Dum ver tristis hiems, autumnum proteret aestas,

155 *Dumque fluet spirans, refluetque reciproca Tethys,*

Dum mista alternas capient elementa figuras:

Semper erit magni decus immortale Maronis,

Semper inexhaustis ibunt haec flumina venis,

Semper ab his docti ducentur fontibus haustus,

160 *Semper odoratos fundent haec gramina flores;*

Unde pie libetis apes, unde inclyta nectat

Serta comis triplici Iuvenalis gratia dextra.

Macrob. lib. 6. Sat. opus Virgilii *aeterno mansurum est*. Magnus Imperator in laudem sui Vatis proclivis ita canens:

165 *Imo sit aeternum tota resonante Camoena*

Carmen, & in populo Divi sub nomine nomen

Laudetur, vigeat, placeat, relegatur, ametur.

Demum Virgilius ipse ait, tubam suam diutissime audiendam. Quae res peti debet ex historia. Ea est talis. Philistus rabula contumeliis Virgilium proscindebat coram Augusto. Tacebat
170 Vates. Philistus illum elinguem appellabat, tum demum Maro: *Tace rabula, haec mea taciturnitas Augustum defensorem meae causae fecit; eaque tuba, cum qua loquor, ubique & diutissime audietur. Tu loquacitate tua non tantum aures hominum, sed & muros rumpis.* Historiam hanc Hartungus Decuria 3. adducit ex Tiberio Claudio: attigit illam Erasmus in Proverbio *columnas rumpere*. Ergo, modo per *tubam* intelligat sua carmina, modo Augustum
175 ipsum; certe diutissime illa audienda est.

FINIS ELOGIORUM

Absolvat tot Elogia Macrobianae sententia illa 1. Sat. *Haec est Maronis gloria, ut nullius laudibus crescat, nullius vituperatione minuatur.* Itaque nihil hic a me dictum est pro meritis Virgilianis, praesertim cum magnam partem amputaverim causa evitandi fastidii.

Salve iam divinissime Maro, Phoebi soboles, decus Musarum, orbis gloria, assertor
5 Latii, ingeniorum altor, naturae idea: cum Poetam alium, praetor te, legi video, laudari, probari, mentem statim amoveo, totus oscito, totus torpeo; si tu legeris, laudaris, probaris, mentem illico adhibeo, excitor, succeditque quicquid instituo.

AD LECTOREM

Divido, ut vides, Lector humanissime, has in Virgilium lucubrationes meas in *Argumenta*,
Explicationes, *Notas*.

In ARGUMENTIS breviter comprehendo partem illam carminum, quam declarandam
suscipio: & ita, ut interdum annectam verba superioris argumenti cum praesenti. Itaque, si
5 quando videatur desiderari verbum in aliquo argumento, quaerendum est ab superiore.

In EXPLICATIONIBVS non solum sententias singulas explano, sed universas
annecto, expendens interdum mentem Poetae: interdum (inquam) & ut visum aptius, nam si
id semper, iusti Commentarii vicem haberet. In explicando autem hanc saepe rationem teneo,
ut synonymo aliquo (& saepe intra parenthesin incluso) mentem Poetae aperiam. In hac parte
10 (si quando est necesse ad captum novitii lectoris) literam ordino, sed id perquam raro, nam
Virgilius perquam raro indiget hac diligentia: cum illi, quantum est rebus ipsis profunditatis,
& reconditae doctrinae, tantum sit in verbis claritatis.

In NOTIS multa est rerum varietas pro ipsa rerum varietate, quibus Poeta est plenus.
In his enim iam Explicationem meam firmo, adductis aut Auctoribus, aut testimoniis, quibus
15 innitor. Iam profero alias aliorum explicationes, sed id raro, una, ut plurimum, contentus: iam
vim vocum, iam etymologiam persequor, si haec praesertim conducere ad sententiam potest.
Saepissime patefacio Graecorum & Latinorum loca, quibus Poeta institit: saepissime item
illorum loca, qui post Virgilium fuere, & qui institere illius vestigiis. Quod cur faciam,
quaeso diligenter attende. Destinaveram aliquando Poesin docere, & hac de re laboris aliquid
20 in lucem dare, sed abstinui ab his praeceptis, & satius duxi ipsa exercitatione praecepta
patefacere. Quid? Dices. Audi. Solet Virgilius saepissime ita Graecorum loca imitanda
suscipere, ut, quae in Graecis desunt, addat; quae in illis redundant, adimat; quae in illis sunt

imperfecta, & parum culta, perfectiora & nitidiora labore suo, & industria reddat. Haec res ita est efficax ad docendam Poesin, ut nulla fortasse magis. Fiet enim, ut Maroniano ductu
25 quisque doceatur, res omnes aut narrare graviter, si narratione utendum, aut luculenter
amplificare & exornare affectibus, iam ad persuasionem, iam ad commiserationem. Haec res
indicari nullo modo potest, nisi exemplorum copia, visisque testimoniis Graecae & Latinae
eloquentiae. Iam vero, quanta est utilitas scire, uti posteriores post Virgilium Poetae versus
suos illustraverint, arrepto ab hoc Principe aut attributo aliquo, aut sententia, aut locutione.
30 Non dubium, quin novitius Poeta intendat acrius ad imitationem Virgilii, si videat uti
Horatius, Papinius, Silius, & plures alii Virgilium sibi imitandum susceperint. Ex eodem
docendae Poeseos studio natum, ut saepissime coniungam varios aut Poetas, aut auctores
alios, qui rem eandem vario flexu extulerunt: ut locutionem perficiat, qui ad Poesin adspirat,
atque ita haereant animo maiorum monumenta pulcerrima. Pergo ad alia, quae in Notis
35 habeo. Interdum insero locos communes de re, quam Poeta attingit, ut de obedientia, de fluxu
rerum humanarum, de aliis item: idque multorum precibus vexatus, nam quantum in me fuit,
amputare hos locos voluissem. Fabulas porro, & historias multi enixe, ut narrarem, petierunt:
sed vicit nemo, quid enim fabulas narrarem, quae vel in ipsis Dictionariis Latinis abunde
exstant? Itaque, tantum de fabulis assumo, quantum necessarium est ad Vatis explicationem
40 novam & indictam hactenus. In illustrandis praeceptis Georgicorum parcus non fui, in qua re
indicabit contra me aliquis, qui sentiat, pauciora interdum testimonia sufficere: sed, ut plura
coniungerem, movit me aliorum Interpretum inopia, videbam enim non satis hanc Virgilii
partem esse illustratam. Ex Interpretibus Virgilii, qui ante me Commentarios ediderunt, uni,
ut plurimum, adhaereo Germano Valenti, Guellio P.P. cuius iudicium mihi visum est
45 gravissimum. In convertendis Auctoribus e Graeco sermone in Latinum, sequutus sum
probatissimos Interpretes, huius rei litem meam non faciens, nisi quid illi peccent, tum enim
adhibendae sunt manus vulneribus Interpretum. Haec sunt fere, quae te Lector scire volui in

ipso aditu. Tu diligentia nostra frueri, & labores nostros in Aeneidem exspecta multo istis
breviores: nam pars illa Poetae iam multis pervagata ingenii minore eget labore; Georgica,
50 quia parum trita, uberius fuerunt explicanda atque illustranda.

TRANSLATION

To the most Illustrious

Count of Salinas

His Holy Father Juan Luis de la Cerda

Should I congratulate Myself, or You, or the whole of Spain, for your life, o Most Illustrious Count? Myself: being lucky enough to have been able to select you as the sole Patron for my labours. You: whose life has been made illustrious by examples of the great virtues and is itself an example to other Leading Citizens. Spain: who has the benefit of you for her own adornment, for the preservation of the good, for alleviating the dire circumstances of the poor, for supporting a concern not insignificant to your King, when the whole burden of the kingdom of Portugal (in the accession to which by [5] Philip II we now rejoice), which had been placed on your shoulders, was being run most successfully. I congratulate them all at once. Certainly nothing more fortunate could have happened to me than dedicating this work to You and your name, whether to provide a defence against the attacks of ill-wishers, or to pursue the continuance of your name, which, with You as a promoter, I do not doubt. For the things I could have longed for in my Patron are uppermost in You: the civilised learning to scrutinise those Commentaries; the judgement to weigh up the greatest Poet [10]; the scholarship to grasp whatever is hidden in this Bard. “What are the grounds for those praises?” someone may ask. In the loftiest Prince, in our most Illustrious Count, in the most respected Equestrian, you find nothing other than what is necessary for turning the pages of the monuments of literature. Certainly there are many things in You alone which would on their own adorn many, whether I were to consider the very noble SYLVA family, as the greatest amongst the Princes of Portuguese name; or the blood-relatives and kinsmen [15] together with virtually the entire front-rank of Spain, to whom bound by a connection, you lack the splendour of no family; or the riches, which are inferior to none, though it is with

public support and domestic splendour, rather than with the magnificence of royal palaces that you excel far and wide; or the degrees of honour which Your Excellence joined with your most lofty Nobility has given birth to. It is due to this that now, in the Royal Court of Philip III, you, with the greatest merit and integrity, have charge over the Portuguese Council, than which none are more important or more inviolate in the place of your King [20]. Finally, I am to ponder the splendour of your many Virtues with which you shine forth before all others. I see that You are the Greatest amongst the Very Great. Yet though there are all these great things in You, there are indeed greater things than the sum of these affairs, which for You, on a daily basis, your talents beget. I shall speak clearly: you love literature, you cultivate the literati, you flourish in the praise of the Poets, you rejoice in the company of learned men, you have very successfully begun the glory of your writing [25], joining the subject of literature with equestrian training. This neither calls You away from literature, nor does literature call you away from equestrian study, the most learned amongst the most learned, a Prince amongst Princes. Here I could have complained about the arrogance and superciliousness of many Nobles. Thus, o Noble men, does literature seem so disgraceful to you that you think its study is not connected with the most respected forms of training? Terrible to say, dreadful to hear, to think that the Muses, literature, academic training pertains [30] to humble men, or at least to those who are less conspicuous in the nobility of their birth! Clearly Literature is unseemly and something unworthy to be seen in the hands of the very noble. Another age of the ancients is far away. Books used to accompany Leaders as they were going to war, and those who brandished swords in their right hands, used to carry the books they had set aside in their precious store-chests, so that after the ardour of the day's fighting they might dedicate the night time to reading them, and thus they might rest from the din of war. What age can be compared [35] with the age of Augustus, or the gravity of the Leading Men he employed, or with the magnitude of the wars by which the nature of the

whole world was changed, with all the resources of the state redirected towards one man, or with the zeal for peace after long wars? And yet Literature was held in such honour that on its own it rendered that age happier: an age in which a most abundant crop of writers, orators, Poets and Philosophers burst forth. This crop was so great that, from that age to our own, almost anything [40] that flourishes greatly now, overflows with the Classics. And, from the riches of that age, though we have countless others, we should hold P. VIRGIL as the prince of all Poets. And just as he has adorned his own age, so do you adorn yours, o Most Illustrious COUNT, You who do not think that the Muses are foreign to others from the inborn nobility of your Ancestors. Truly, You alone and your most noble Brothers, frequently attended these schools of the SOCIETY OF JESUS, as soon as we opened them, with incredible zeal [45]. This was by the order of the very great RUI GOMES de SILVA, your father, PRINCE OF EBOLI, DUKE OF PASTRANA, whose most happy memory Spain still nurtures: a man who was held in very close friendship by PHILIP II, of all the Kings there have been up to this point, the most prudent and he admired your father's prudence. I very gladly credit You, the son of so great a father, well-deserving in the opinion of our SOCIETY, marked out by a particular affection [50] for me myself (how unworthy!), as the champion of this Work. By this gift, whatever its quality, I wish to testify to my disposition towards You.

Madrid, 7th June 1608

**Gaspar Sanctius of the Society of Jesus to Father Juan Luis de la
Cerde on the Eclogues and Georgics of Publius Virgil Maro
Illuminated and Made Illustrious in an Outstanding Commentary**

Rich countryside, ample enough for his Virgil, Caesar granted, and, with his championing right hand, a grove rich in flocks. The learned Virgil, for his part, expertly tamed with the curved plough the land he had been given, but he tilled the earth to a greater extent with his Ascræan ploughshare. He nurtured the sheep of his homeland by the glassy waves of the river; [5] but he nurtured his sheep better with his Sicilian song. No-one ever tended more happily the fields they had been given, no-one better led their wandering flock into the plough lands. But the plough lands which rustic Maro once carefully tended and the woodland, unkempt with dull inactivity, were overgrown. [10] The rough blackberry bristled in the rich field that had been neglected, and the blocked path delayed the eager flocks. But, Luis, the unkempt fields flourish under your cultivation; fertile grass covers the broad ground. With your sickle you open up once more the entangled wood and the pastures shaggy with brambles, [15] once again you furrow with the plough: that same plough with which rustic Maro gave us the riches and delights of Ceres. Undoubtedly, Luis, you have made the Spirit of great Maro your own, otherwise (one may surely say this) no-one possesses it! [20] Believe me, Maro has returned to this countryside and a Virgilian hand has cleared away the brambles and the thorns. The countryside had once again, I think, escaped the Latin bard but once again he seizes it, Luis, this time with you as his champion. Caesar granted plough lands, and those unkempt plough lands of Caesar [25], neglected as they are, you renew: you restore them to their Lord. It is Caesar's role to grant woodlands and plough lands to Maro: to return what had escaped, this is yours, Luis. It is Caesar's gift to heap resources on the

deserving: returning lands that have been taken away, this too is the gift of Caesar. [30] But it is a greater thing for Caesar's gift to pertain to long stretches of time, which violence may neither seize nor time devour. For that reason you have given to Virgil things far greater than the gift which he received from Augustus Caesar. That gift first given to him by Caesar has been lost for a long time now: [35] but, Luis, yours does not fear that same loss.

**On Publius Virgil Illuminated and Made Illustrious by Juan Luis
de la Cerda of the Society of Jesus By Andreas Schott of Antwerp
of the Same Society**

It is a delight, Cerda, that, with Camena breathing upon you, you have illuminated the bard from Andes, the immortal glory of the sisters; he who always holds the name of flourishing Homer in Latium, and never was there another poet more outstanding than this, whether he sings of woodlands or the countryside or arms and the man [5]: for whom Phoebus and the chorus of Muses got to their feet, Italy and Rome applauded in every theatre. May Greece deservingly transfer her green palms to this poet and may he reap the rewards in the Olympic contest with a crown. Therefore may they no longer fight about the birthplace of the Maeonian [10], all those cities, all those towns and races and peoples of Greece. For MARO has conquered (and so support with your spirits and your tongues) the writer of the Trojan War: make way, you Greeks. And, he has surpassed the poems of the old Ascrean bard, and he has substituted the writings of the Syracusan poet [15]. Am I deceived? Or am I in Elysium? Is he now sitting on the plains between Homer and Orpheus, lofty on his ivory throne? Turning over in his mind, in manifold ways, your verses, Carus, and the ancient sayings of his forbears: it was his custom to draw out remarkable gems from the *Annals* of Quintus Ennius (I sing of miraculous things) [20].

These sayings might have been the preludes of your lofty talent, LUIS: may the renown yielded to you flourish likewise throughout the lands. You thunder grand words with grandiloquent mouth, ah, what glory awaits you? Already you see that monuments grow grey in the countless generations. Learned men will turn your pages, and their late-born descendants [25], where Titan rises, where he is bathed in the ocean, among the far-flung Morini and the Britons cut off from the world. Now may mighty rocks cause Neptunian Troy

laid waste by fierce flames to redouble, and may pine trees give voice. So it was pleasing to the gods above that Mantua in Italy should carry off the palm of victory [30], though it is soon to be among the learned Iberians. But too fortunate the farmer, if he knew his blessings! since it is pleasing to have sung amongst the snub-nosed goats, and may he call again “Daphnis” and the echo give back “Amaryllis”.

And so, you keen young men, engage your academic stamina [35], and henceforth grasp the palm and the monuments of so great a Poet. The work of the Bard will always stand firm, more lasting than solid bronze. The immortal glory of MARO shall live on.

And furthermore, if the distinction of such great praise touches you, is it also pleasing to contemplate? Behold, in that first light [40], on this side, Phoebus Apollo, his forehead wreathed in green laurel, who strikes the lyre and the tortoise shell with a golden plectrum. On that side, an Etruscan knight who, born from royal forefathers, had given on the authority of Augustus, leisure welcome to the Muses. To have seen him once is not enough. Ah, it is pleasing to linger for a long time.

Elogia

of P. Virgilius Maro

Preface

Some commentators, at the beginning of their works, place a Life of Virgil. Others join together the accounts of those who have spoken about this poet. I have departed from both these types of commentators. I have departed from the former because I can show nothing more finely than they themselves have shown it. For why repeat what others divulge already? Certainly, many have written a Life of the Poet and all have come to know them: whether the one edited (as is believed) by Donatus or the one [5] by Servius was first, or ones arranged by other learned men and propagated from Virgil's time right up to our own. I have departed from the latter, because there is no order to their accounts, and anyway that undertaking is of scant fruit for getting to know the prestige of the Great Poet: for from such a great accumulation of accounts, certain shadows appear that are unworthy of Virgilian splendour. And so, a more preferable thing from this seemed to be to restore a certain order to the praise of Virgil, by which it might be recognised just how much in [10] his individual works this man alone is superior. Indeed, I bring the whole matter down to seven chapters. In the first instance, I shall speak about the praise of his birth and about his origins. Then I shall speak about the threefold nature of his excellence characterised as; morally correct, useful and delightful: virtues which are very powerful in every type of praise. For when a work which is praised obtains these three virtues, what more could you look for? In the *third* chapter, I touch upon various skills in which the Poet has flourished; among these is eloquence: passages where Virgil is compared with Cicero; the Prince of Poets with the Prince of Orators. In the *fourth* chapter, I compare Virgil with Homer and the rest [15] of the Greeks

along with all the other Latins. And I give him the palm over them all. In the *fifth* chapter, I adduce *Elogia* of Virgilian poetry, namely those which shine out clearly in his work. In the *sixth* chapter, I course over some of his other attributes. In the *seventh*, I pursue the honours which Virgil held when he was alive and those he held when he died. And I adjoin the testimonies of those men who say that this Bard will endure eternally. But before I come to the chapters, I shall place for you a list of authors from whom those praises [20] have been drawn:

Alonso Tostado, Aulus Gellius, Alexander Severus, Alcinous, Saint Ambrose, Ammianus Marcellus, Poliziano, Casaubon, M. Antonius Maioragius, Antonio Minturno, Martin Delrio, Apuleius, The Author of Virgil's *Life*, Saint Augustine, Augustus Caesar, Ausonius, Budé, Caelio Calcagnini, Calvus, Capitolinus, Cicero, Claudian, Tiberius, [25] Tacitus, Gallus, Dio Chrysostom, Domitius Afer, Donatus, Erasmus, Eusebius Caesariensis, Fabius Paulinus, Fungerus, Germanus, Godescalcus, William Modicius, Helinand, Saint Jerome, Girolamo Vida, Hilasius, Horace, Hortensius, Jean Brodeau, Johann Hartung, Pontano, Saint Isidore, Scaliger, Justinian, Juvenal, Lactantius, Lampridius, Landino, Lucan, Luis Vives, Macrobius, [30] Martial, Matthew Toscanus, Maximian, Muré, Nannius, Nascimbaenus, Ovid, Patricius, Pedianus, Pietro Crinito, Pietro Victorio, Phocas, Pierio Valeriano, Plato, Both Plinys, Unknown Poets, Propertius, Quintilian, Ricchieri, Sannazaro, Seneca the Philosopher, Seneca the Rhetorician, Servius, Silius Italicus, Stadius, Suetonius, Tertullian, Turnebe, Vegetius, Velleius Paterculus, Velserus, Vopiscus, Vovianus [35]

Chapter 1

Elogia of Virgil's Birth

One may begin his praises from the very beginning of his life. Those who have written a life of Virgil, and others too, proclaim this man's birth to be full of miracles. Phocas calls his birth *a miraculous state of affairs*. And he demonstrates, when speaking about Virgil's mother Polla, (whom some call Maia and others Melissa on account of the portent of the bees, I believe) in these verses:

When she was burdened by her belly's mature weight [5], in her dreams her anxious mind was picturing things to come, accustomed as it is to take its joys from wakeful care, so she thought that she had given birth to a branch from the grove of Phoebus Apollo. O sleep, you discloser of the truth! The gate of horn never brought anything more certain. As she interpreted the laurel branch [10], she, his mother, was made certain and had learnt of the skill of her burden. Brought out into the life-giving breezes when Pompey and Crassus were consuls, he touched the earth, at that time, Phaethon, now mild, had been received into the arms of the Scorpion behind the face of the Maiden. They say that the child did not cry. For with serene brow [15] he looked upon the earth to which he was bringing such delightful things. The world itself, more joyful, smiled at the birth. The land served up flowers and, growing green with Spring's duty, placed beneath the boy grassy cushions. Moreover, (if it is true, and yet true it is judged to be) [20] suddenly a happy squadron of bees swarmed through the countryside and covered with honeycomb his lips muttering sweet words as he lay there. Renowned antiquity, having once marvelled at these events only in the case of sacred Plato, recalls the indication of the spoken art. But Mother Nature, hurrying to extol Rome [25], granted this to Latium so that it should concede nothing

to any other. Moreover, his father, whilst seeking to know the fate of his son, committed a poplar twig to the sterile sand, which, in a brief time, was nourished until it grew into an omen, and sprang up higher than all the rest whom age had made large [30].

Behold how many miracles there were at his birth. The mother of the future poet is warned in her dreams for she sees that she is giving birth to a laurel branch which is sacred to Phoebus Apollo; the child does not weep when born: something perhaps familiar to kings themselves; bees swarm together in front of his face: an omen occurring to Pindar, Plato and Ambrose; on the same day on which the child is born, a poplar tree is planted which swiftly grows to an amazing height; the tree is dedicated with the offerings of pregnant women and decorated with gifts. Pontano also writes about the omen of the bees at *Urania* book 2 [35] and he also adds some other things on the birth of Virgil. These are his verses:

Mincius produced this boy whom he had conceived with an Andian nymph. This nymph was a companion of Diana and, dulled by the wound of a snake, he entrusted her to the river Manto. But, furtively, the bluey-green river filled up the nymph as she idled, lying beneath the lonely cliff [40]. When the child now came forth from her womb, in which offspring hides, the father himself, hiding in a densely-packed willow field (as, by chance, he used to live in such places) entrusted dear promises to the worried Melissa. She, taking the child to her bosom, drops yellow honey [45] on the boy and smears his face with sweet dew. He, drawing the delicate sap from the honeycomb's nectar, was gradually seized by sleep and, crowding around him, bees swarmed about his face and dabbed onto his lips the liquid collected from flowers and, soaked through with this moisture, they moulded them into shape [50]. The daughters of Nereus snatched up this boy that they had been gazing upon whilst he was swimming towards the famous waters of his bluey-green parent (for, by chance,

they were swimming far from the River Po). At that time there had been a beautiful siren who, with the kindness of her voice and with the measure of her charming tongue, took the handsome boy as a gift. Thence across the deep [55], raised up on her shoulders, she carried him, as the ocean lapped around them, seeking again the shores joined to neighbouring Vesuvius. She instructed the boy in song and soon, captivated by his sense of modesty, she was aflame and, barely sane, consecrated him beneath her accustomed caves: from the maiden the name Parthenias stayed with the young-man [60].

The matters he touches upon about Mincius, the father of Virgil, and about the daughters of Nereus and the siren, have been spoken of in legend and in poetry commending Virgil. Similarly, in *Urania* book 1, describing the river Eridano, he says the following things about Virgil's childhood:

The kindly Melissa received this boy and, having embraced him in her warm bosom, she tends to him and wins him over with charming jests. The bees saw this boy, glorified with leaves of laurel and heavy with sleep [65], and they smeared his lips with honey. From here the Muses taught him beneath the quiet shade of the Willow trees, where fertile Sebethus flows with its clear waters.

Poliziano also celebrates the birth-place of Virgil in the following way in the *Manto*:

As you were born, Maro, Calliope was absent from Parnassus' summit [70], hastening among her Aonian sisters, and she raised you into her tender arms, and cradled you, and soothed you, stroking you with her hand, and she gave you three kisses, sang prophecies three times, three times encircled your temples with laurel. Soon the others give whatever little gifts they may at your birthplace [75], especially plectrums, a lyre, a fleece and a crook; they give a piece of lotus-wood pierced in many places to play songs upon and reeds close-packed in shrinking rows.

Read the rest for yourself. You will say, “Surely these are legends and pure lies and only concocted for the praise of Virgil?” You should know, reader, that those three things at least about the dream of laurel, about the bees and about the poplar twig are told by [80] all those who have written a life of Virgil and are acknowledged by other learned men and I have discovered no-one who rejects them.

Indeed, from that final marvel the name of the poet was formed, for from “virga” comes “Virgil”. On which matter Calvus jokes:

And the poet to whom the laurel branch gave a memorable name.

He differs from others who call it a poplar. Even Donatus in his *Life* of Virgil (if it is Donatus’ [85] *Life* which is being passed around) speaks in the following way: *Another omen occurred. When a poplar branch was at once planted in the same place by pregnant women according to the custom of the region, it quickly flourished in such a way that it became equal to poplars sown long before. On that account it was called the “tree of Virgil” and consecrated with prayers for childbirth and safe-delivery with the greatest reverence by pregnant women and new mothers.*

Indeed, Germanicus and Nannius and also Donatus say that the poet has alluded to this story of his poplar tree in the following verse of his fourth *Eclogue* [90] [E. 4.23]:

For you the cradles themselves shall pour forth smiling flowers.

And, in fact, since similar things are done in childbirth amongst many races, why should I not believe the like about Virgil? Eternal divinity wants to make clear to mortals just what sort of prodigy was born.

Chapter 2

From here I shall course over into other *Elogia*. It is pleasing to start with the threefold nature of his excellence which can be characterised as morally correct, useful, and delightful.

Elogia of Virgil taken up from what is morally correct.

Since honourableness marks out what is morally excellent and morally correct, I shall speak here of the honesty of his spirit and the embellishments of his virtues which are found in those praises of Virgil which relate to his excellence.

Decency

I begin with decency because Virgil was called Parthenias on account of this. I present Donatus [5] as a witness on this matter: *certainly, the rest agree that in life, in speech and in thought he was so excellent that at Naples he was commonly called "Parthenias". And if ever he was seen at Rome (to where he went very reluctantly) in public, he would hide in the nearest house from those following him and pointing him out. And Servius who in his Life says: but he was so very shy that according to custom he received a nickname: for he was called "Parthenias" and this remained with him for the rest of his life. And Ausonius, who writes the following: what should I say of Parthenias, so-called [10] because of his decency, who at book 8 of the Aeneid [A. 8.404-6], when he was describing the coupling of Venus and Vulcan, gracefully blended in "avoidance of obscenity"? Further, in the third book of the Georgics [G. 3.123-37], on the movement into the herd in order to mate, surely he concealed an obscene meaning in a respectable metaphor?* On account of this decency, it has passed into custom that nothing shameful has ever stained his works. He who reads the fourth book

of the *Aeneid* or the second *Eclogue* will see that nothing on the matter of love is said more modestly [15]. Pliny assigns *decency* to this poet at book 7 [HN. 7.30.114]. Quintilian at book 9 [Inst. 9.] says that for the sake of decency he had occasionally left out words with decency in mind. Seneca in letter 86 [Ep. Mor. 85.15] says that he speaks: *most gracefully*. Gellius at book 9 [NA. 9.10] says that he, on the passion of Vulcan and Venus [A. 8.404-6]: *used restraint in a certain metaphor*. Servius on the third *Eclogue* says that he: *modestly suppressed* the shameful things of Theocritus. And on that passage at *Eclogue* 6 [E. 6.26]: *for her there will be another type of reward*, he says that Virgil had modestly referred to rape. Scaliger at book 5 of the *Poetics*, gives to this poet: [20] *the greatest decency*. On the same matter he says: *his modesty is restrained*. Similarly: *he includes things of the highest elegance which he takes from others less chaste*. And: *those things which are foul and horrible in Theocritus he alters most sweetly and transforms into something more elegant*. Elsewhere: *in telling of the gluttony of Polyphemus, our Parthenias used restraint*. Homer, as if he were stating his case before a judge, *used the most awful and frightful words*. For Virgil did not want to depict butchery [25] *which is off-putting and not befitting heroic greatness but rather smacks of satyr-like wantonness*. You will contend: but surely he indulged in love affairs, even with boys? So it is commonly thought, but wrongly so. The author of his *Life* says: *although certain people may say that he had had a love affair with Plotia Hieria* (others call her Aleria), *a prostitute*. Yet Pedianus declares that, afterwards, Virgil himself was accustomed to say that he had resisted very stubbornly an invitation from Varius to a similar love affair, and that he did not approve of lust. He was also [30] *interested in boys, for whom he had a propensity*, says Donatus, and this is the judgement of men who were alive at the time for they used to say that boys were loved honestly and purely by Virgil, just as Socrates loved Alcibiades and Plato loved his boys.

Humanity

This is the next *Elogium* of his morally correct life. The author of his *Life* writes: *Pedianus reports that he was kind, a cultivator of all good and learned men.* And after some other remarks: *that his humanity [35] was such that only the perverse did not esteem him greatly, or love him in fact. His library was open to other learned men no less than to himself. And he often used to apply that ancient phrase of Euripides "the common interests of friends" i.e that everything of friends was shared. Therefore he had all the Poets of his generation bound to him in such a way that when jealousies were burning amongst them, as often happened, they would all cherish him as one: Varius, Tucca, Horace, Gallus, Propertius.* Long before this, Homer, who whilst he was alive was loved by [40] no-one, indeed he was held in contempt, a fact which Plato wrote clearly in *Republic* 10 [*Rep.* 10.600b]. But on the contrary, behold how Virgil was valued for his humanity since he is called by Phocas: *the vitals of Rome* and by Horace in *Odes* 1.3 [*C.*1.3. 8] as: *half of my soul* as he is at *Satires* 1.5 [*Sat.*1.5.40-2]. He gives to this same poet a candour of spirit [*Sat.*1.5.41]. Virgil had this characteristic of humanity from boyhood. For the author of his *Life* says that he, from his first years, had been possessed of so gentle an expression that without doubt at that time it already indicated the hope of a more prosperous future [45].

Practical Wisdom

Often Augustus was found sitting between Virgil and Horace debating mighty affairs with them. The following narrative also reveals the practical wisdom of Virgil. He had such great personal influence with Augustus that when he was pondering whether to hold onto power or

indeed to return the Republic to its ancient state of freedom, he followed the advice of Virgil who persuaded him to hold onto power by means of the following reasoning: *all tyrants are troublesome because so many of them are unjust. However, they love and adore you and yours because you are just* [50]. *For there is a certain condition amongst humankind that if ever they obtain a just king, they would rather be put under the rule of that man than be free, even if the king becomes a tyrant. Therefore you ought to be ruler for the sake of yourself and the world.* This reasoning was so effective with Augustus that he, agreeing with him, confirmed his intentions of holding onto power. But what is the purpose of this story? Certainly, his obviously learned opinions show the practical wisdom of Virgil and the maturity of his judgement, and these are sprinkled throughout his divine works. Also, behold [55] the maxims, full of good judgement, which the collator of his *Life* is assembling. Scaliger says [*Poetices* 5]: *in Virgil, Aeneas does not blurt out his praises at random.* What is this if it is not pure practical wisdom? Elsewhere he says: *he is, by far, much more urbane than Homer. He is more refined too. He moderates those things in Homer which are too much and checks those things in him which just pour forth.* Lactantius in book 2 [*DI.* 2.4.4] calls him: *a prudent poet.*

Decency

The author of his *Life* says: *he was such a despiser of glory that, when some people ascribed some of his verses to themselves* [60] *and were held to be wise for the result, not only did he not take it badly, but it was even a pleasure to him.* The same author writes that this man was of such great decency that when he was pointed out at Rome by those passing by he immediately fled to the nearest house. Those words of that same author pertain to this decency: *Pedianus reports that he was kind, a cultivator of all good and learned men and*

that he was so free from jealousy that if he looked upon some learned saying of another he would rejoice no [65] less than if it had been his own. He also reports that he was accustomed to criticise no-one and to praise good men. He makes known that shunning of glory which Saint Augustine talks about in book 21 of his *City of God* [*de Civ. Dei* 21.21]. He says that Virgil offered that example which Christians and common men most frequently use. Scaliger explores the same matter very fully on that issue of decency: *so much I sang in addition to the tending of the fields and the herds* [70]. And comparing other poets with him, deservingly he calls them arrogant. But, that event in particular, which one reads about in his life, makes very clear to me this decency of spirit: namely that he refused to accept from Augustus the goods of a certain exile which the *princeps* was offering to him.

Duty

Pontano in his *Aegidius* says: *Virgil was most devoted to piety*. Scaliger in book 5 says, *Virgil had added to his work a piety which Homer lacks*. However, it is not necessary to show this virtue by [75] quoting authors when there survives the divine *Aeneid*, breathing piety from its whole; when Aeneas himself is the most pious of the most pious and the singular example of this virtue. You will say, this virtue belongs to the poem it is not the Poet's. True. But just as the sentiments which have been sprinkled on the *Aeneid* indicate the wisdom of this man, just so does the piety of the work indicate the piety of the man. Hence it is that I am able to judge that there was also in this man a singular reverence due to the devotion and care with which he moulds his gods and about [80] whom he never mentions anything foul or unworthy. Not so Homer who sinks shamefully low and fashions them most sordidly. Equally, Fortitude, Temperance, Justice; the most clear examples of these virtues stand out throughout the *Aeneid* which commentators on different passages make clear, Scaliger above all, always

most effusive in his praises of Virgil. By Celio at book 20 of his *Antiquae Lectiones* Virgil is described as: *excelling in the sanctity of his customs*. Martial at book 11 [11.50. [49] 1-2] says [85]: *the sacred names of Maro*. Horace at *Satires* 1.5 [Sat. 1.5.41] gives to him: *candour of mind*. In the end there is virtually no virtue which I have not seen ascribed to this poet.

Elogia from his Usefulness

Usefulness, so that it might attend all mortals in their reading of Virgil, is extensively pursued by Marcus Antonius Maioragio in the most elegant words of his preface to book 6 of the *Aeneid* which I quote below since they contain the most wonderful *Elogia* of Virgil. He says the following: *Who is [90] so ignorant as not to understand just what usefulness these works have in themselves? For if someone puts forth Aeneas' life for imitation in their own, will he not see a likeness of every type of virtue, not shadowed but made clear? For where better will you find just what virtue and what wisdom is possible, than in this divine work of Virgil? For does he not show how pious, how devout, how just, how prudent, how brave, how temperate his Aeneas was? Does he then not sow in how sacred, how wise his thoughts in all directions [95]? How many precepts of wisdom ought one to collect? Certainly, that which Horace says about Homer, we too say about Virgil and indeed we can say it most deservingly [Sat. 1.2.3-4]:*

He who tells us what is fair, what is foul, what is helpful, what is not, more fully and better than Chrysippus or Crantor.

I also add "better than Plato and Aristotle." For the things which the Philosophers [100] teach by means of rules and theories, our Poet offers through the examples he has expressed. But why should I recollect the varied and manifold doctrines which are gathered from

reading Virgil? In whom there is such clear and candid diction, and such admirable structure to his poems, such a sweet measure of rhythm, so many accounts established worthy of recollection, so many eloquent speeches crafted with the highest oratorical skill, so many passages stand out, recalled for their exacting intimacy on questions of nature, that it must be very greatly admired [105] that in one man there was such great learning that certainly he ought to be regarded as divine rather than mortal. For no-one of any importance ever finds error in this author. Therefore what more useful reading can be found than of this author in whom there is nothing one can possibly rebuke and in whom there is every type of knowledge shining like blazing lights.

What is grander than this *Elogium*? What is more excellent in praise of Virgil? [110] But since he is exploring the usefulness of reading Virgil from the point of view of those things which are the most useful to know about in Virgil, I shall quote the testimonies of others on these matters. I give the following edited comments from Macrobius: he says at book 1 [*Sat.* 1.3.10]: *there is in him a hidden and veiled allusion to ancient custom. He is the most observant of definitions. In him the poem is sacred, the thoughts are hidden.* Indeed, in book 3 [*Sat.* 3.2.7] he says: *often you will find the profound learning of this poet in only a single word which the common man [115] thinks has been said by chance.* He proves this with many examples from the works of Virgil. I return to Macrobius [*Sat.* 3.2.10]: *by his very nature his learning is as profound as it is delightful. This poet must be admired with regard to both our own sacred learning and that of foreigners. It is not possible that Virgil's depth can be understood without knowledge of divine and human law.* Servius on *Aeneid* 6 says, *certainly the whole of Virgil is full of learning.* Seneca, letter 95 [*Ep. Mor.* 95.68-9] says that: *Virgil is useful for readers,* and he adds an example. For the marks of the horse which he writes about at *Georgics* 3 [*G.* 3.75-85] [120], anyone can apply to learning about the idea of the brave man. For if anyone trusts Cato, he will see [*Ep. Mor.* 95.69-70]: *he does not bristle*

at empty noises. Read the rest for yourself. What Seneca indicates with words in one place, he confirms with his subject in another. For how often does he turn the verses of Virgil to another subject? At letter 108 [*Ep. Mor.* 108.24-30] in particular he says that the wise man ought to turn to Philosophy things which Virgil has said about other matters. I would be very longwinded if I report all the things which others have said on this matter. Investigate [125] the usefulness of reading Virgil from his supreme talent. Those who have flourished after him whose whole virtue and excellence lay in imitating Virgil. You would have lacked Statius, Silius Italicus, Sannazaro, Fracastorio, Bembo, Pontano, and other learned poets who, roused by their passion for Virgil, published divine verses. For granted that they founded their poems on him (a fact which I could perhaps safely deny) but certainly I could not deny the practical wisdom and charm which they employed. You would have lacked the excellent commentators who, unless [130] Virgil had lived, would have been in the shadows. You would have lacked the profound learning of the Greeks which Virgil everywhere weaves into his works. And you would not know why you ought to imitate Homer, Euripides, Sophocles, Pindar, Apollonius, unless this poet had revealed it to you. In the end, if Virgil had not existed, you would have lacked Virgil. What would be greater than this hurt?

Elogia from his Delightfulness

No-one may fully pursue this matter with enough dignity. Yet since it is my great undertaking to collect together in one body of work the commendatory comments scattered throughout authors [135], I shall put myself forward for the task. And yet not every single one, for who could do this? Horace, *Satires* 1 [*Sat.*1.10.44-5]:

the Muses, delighting in the countryside, granted to Virgil tenderness and grace.

Quintilian at book 8 [*Inst.* 8.6.18] says that Virgil spoke: *most happily*. Saint Augustine book 3 *Against the Academics* [c. *acad.* 3.1.1]: [140] *you have delighted yourself with the poems of Virgil*. Macrobius at book 3 gives to him a pleasantness of character; elsewhere, a beauty. Pliny book 17 [*HN* 17.2.14]: *the fruitfulness of an abounding character*. And in the same author at book 8 [*HN* 8.65.162] Virgil speaks: *most beautifully*. Virgil himself in *Eclogue* 9 [*E.* 9.18] calls his own verses: *consolations*. But no-one broods more on this *Elogium* than Pontano. I shall conjoin the attributes with which he adorns this topic in his *Actius*. He calls the verses of Virgil: *melodious, rhythmical, remarkable, not over-flowing, not puffed out, syllables* [145] *and accents marching along in regular order, sonorous, leaping skilfully, verses flowing and gliding, not uneven, not staccato, not dashed together, so that they almost seem to be created with no craft and ordered with no care; admirable and fluctuating in tone, in which are his greatest charms*. These are about his verses but this is about Virgil: *the most skilful caresser of the most skilful ears*. Those comments are in the *Actius*. But in the *Aegidius* much is said about the jests, the pleasantness, the humour, the playfulness, with which [150] Virgil begins and ends his books. In this matter he makes Lucretius equal to him. At Scaliger book 5 this Poet is: *the most delightful, the most resplendent, the most beautiful, the most splendid, the sweetest, the most delicate. He glitters with a marvellous picture, he decorates his works with varying pictures, he paints his works. Eloquence and rhythm shine in him. Not even ambrosia is sweeter than Theocritus, he elegantly says: the things which he changes are wiser: the things he adds, more graceful and more tender. He is sharper than Theocritus, more pleasant, more polished, more elegant* [155], *more embellished, more refined, more charming*. This is about Theocritus. Gellius said before Scaliger, most clearly in the ninth book [*NA* 9.9.4-7], that of those things which he omits from Theocritus, he replaces them with something more pleasant and more charming. I return to Scaliger [*Poetices* 5]: *Jewels glitter in his poetry, he puts together honeyed and nectared things. He adds as many charms*

as words. He joined together the splendour of words with the most delightful variety. With all these things Scaliger adorns the pleasantness of Virgilian poetry. Pertaining to this same matter are those things he says when drawing comparison with [160] Apollo, the Gods, the Muses, as when he says [*Poetices* 5]: *let us now hear Apollo himself speaking, for that man, although he may have been a farmer, did not sing with more pleasant or more well-rounded rhythms. There is in him a regal diction worthy of the mouth of Apollo himself. I think that those foremost amongst the gods speak in this way in their heavenly councils. Not if Jupiter himself were a poet would he speak better.* Elsewhere he says that the Muses in their chorus do not speak any differently. Propertius also touches on this at book 2 [2.34b.55-6] when speaking with Virgil [165]:

Learned in the lyre, you make such a song as Cynthian Apollo might measure once he has applied his fingers.

I shall adduce the verses of the same Scaliger in which, even though there may be many other commendations of Virgil within them, the great part inclines towards the delightfulness of his poetry. I am accustomed to do this sometimes in case I interrupt the testimonies. And so Scaliger says [170]:

Sweet Virgil, Latin Siren, double Homer, triple Apollo, the one who is everything Poets strive for. O Cynus, O Philomela, Latin spring, pure honey of Latium, Latin Athens [175]. O marvel lacking fault. What, then? O sky without cloud, serene light, O deep ocean without waves. Are you carrying me with you? You seize hold of my mind roused up and astonished by unknown madness! [180] O if I depart deep into you, forgetful of myself, I am sown into your marrow. Why should I grieve that I am distant from you when others vainly believe that they are close to you?

What about Poliziano? See how very delicately he speaks about the delight of Maronian poetry in the *Manto* [185]:

From whose mouth dewy honey always flows, a Siren, daughter of Achelous, will eagerly desire to sing his divine poems in an un-harmful song. The goddess Persuasion will sit upon his charming lips.

And elsewhere [190]:

O precious tranquillity of poets, O joys known to the pious alone, sweet madness, unspoiled pleasure, and the ambrosial tables of the gods. Who, on seeing such things, would be envious of kings? By all means may the malignant mob have soft clothing, gold, jewels: but let them be far off from here! [195] Let no profane persons invade these sacred precincts.

Ausonius said: *the delight of Maro in Epigrams*. To which M. Antonio Casanova looked back, when, speaking about Virgil, he composed a speech on swans, the sweetest of birds, according to popular opinion:

Speak, O you swans who inhabited the banks of the Po, did the glory of Virgil [200] die with you? Tell me, Parthenope. May you always be the most beautiful; did Virgil collapse into your lap? And, he whom she had touched, deserved to be born amongst the swans and to have lain amongst the choruses of Sirens.

Chapter Three

On Various Arts

I have explained the three types of moral virtues which I established I must mention about this poet. Now, before I say anything about his poetical ability, I shall speak of the other learning and the manifold wisdom with which this man is imbued. I shall begin with Philosophy, the mother of the arts.

Elogia from Philosophy

Firstly, all of his encomiasts proclaim that Virgil was well-versed in all the philosophers and in all branches of philosophy. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1 [Sat. 1.24.28]: *He, never [5] open to criticism, sprinkled philosophy throughout his work.* Servius on *Eclogue* 5 calls him: *skilled in natural matters.* And on *Aeneid* 6 says: *many things are said through that knowledge of the philosophers.* Saint Augustine at book 4 of *City of God* [*de civ. Dei* 4.10] counts Virgil amongst the learned and the wise and regards what he says as coming from the books of the philosophers. Saint Jerome at *Nahum* chapter 3 also joins Maro together with the philosophers, and similarly Capitolinus speaking about the emperor Gordian [*SHA. Gord.* 1.7]: *This man, venerable in his life, always spending his days with Plato, Aristotle, Cicero,[10] Virgil, and the rest of the ancients, suffered an end other than he deserved.* Critino book 5: *it is on good authority amongst all that Virgil was outstandingly well-versed in the principles and beliefs of every philosopher. He proved this in many passages, but especially in the sixth book of the Aeneid in which he seems to have implanted abundantly enough all the human and divine teachings he learnt.* Vives says: *absolutely unrestrained by any category of philosophy.* Scaliger, whom [15] it is wrong to pass over in matters

concerning Virgil, says: *He spoke in accordance with the truth of philosophy. He is the best philosopher since he joined philosophy to poetry. The admirable man shakes out the innermost sanctuary of philosophy. He is a good philosopher. He speaks from the entrance halls of metaphysics.*

You have seen the heralds of Virgilian philosophy in general: but come now to those philosophers to whom he was particularly devoted. He was very well-versed in Aristotle, as commentators show clearly enough, but which [20] I (so I believe) treat most comprehensively of all. For you may scarcely believe which passages he took from Aristotle, especially the fourth book of the *Georgics*. He drank up Theophrastus whole, a pupil of Aristotle himself, as is clearly visible in books one and two of the *Georgics*. He was devoted to various schools. For he teaches the principle of the Pythagoreans most abundantly in the sixth book of the *Aeneid* where he deals with the transmigration of souls into other bodies. Servius on *Eclogue* 8 suggests this. Servius writes on *Eclogue* 6 [25] that he follows the Epicurean school in describing the origins of things. But he cultivates no school more than that of Plato as was done by almost every learned man in that age in which Plato was of great value. I present distinguished witnesses to you; the author of his *Life: although the teachings of different philosophers seem to have been sown into his books, especially those about the soul, he himself belonged to the Academy; for he had regard for the opinions of Plato above all others.* Saint Augustine, at book 10 of *City of God* says that Virgil had spoken [*de civ. Dei* 10.30]: *Platonically*. And at book 13 he praises him because he had spoken [30] [*de civ. Dei* 13.19]: *according to the doctrine of Plato*. And at book 14 [*de civ. Dei* 14.3] he says that Virgil explained Platonic thought in distinguished verses. Celio Calcagnini at book 6 confirms this final testimony of Saint Augustine. But what does Celio himself say? Books 2 and 10: *a Platonic poet*. Book 7: *I am deeply imbued in wisest Virgil and the Platonic mysteries*. Book 10: *of the Platonic Virgil*. Book 17: *sufficiently imbued in Platonic secrets*

[35]. Book 22: *a noble poet of recondite learning amply imbued in the mysteries of Platonism*. Lampridus writes that Virgil was accustomed to be called by Alexander Severus [SHA. Alex. Sev. 31]: *the Plato of poets*. And Pierio at book 23 says that the chariot is steered to the palm by Virgil in competition with Plato. He clearly shows that Virgil was so devoted to the philosophy of Plato that he contends with him for victory. What Pierio indicates, Alonso Tostado clearly writes at *Genesis* 5, chapter 80 where he says that Virgil had clung to the truth more correctly than Plato himself in his opinion of souls after death and that he had examined that matter better than him. Perhaps it is due to this teaching of Plato [40], to whom Virgil was so earnestly dedicated, that it has come to be that he is also called a theologian by writers. For Servius on *Eclogue* 6 says: *the theology of Silenus*. And on *Aeneid* 6, speaking about the matters which this book contains, he says the following: *many things are said through deep knowledge of Egyptian theologians*. And Alonso Tostado in book 3 of *Judges* at chapter 23 he says that he had believed that Virgil was simply a god. Henceforth his proximity to Platonic matters means that many name him amongst the moral philosophers. On that they regard those words of Donatus in his preface: *he has [45] many things which fathers and sons, husbands and wives, commander and soldier, best citizen and the most watchful supporter of a country might learn. What is best in their labours and what fortune and welfare they ought to shun for the sake of the state. By his tutorship, those who unite for the worship of God and knowledge of the future can be taught, as can he who loves unimpared friendships. And similarly, what one who holds a weak faith may fear. He can teach what sort of men they ought to be, those whose treacheries are necessarily called for in case should incur a charge of arrogance or [50] inhumanity*. And those of Antonio Minturno: *moreover, what part of virtue, what account of morals is there which he has not expressed most clearly?* Similar, perhaps, is Seneca at chapter 9 *On the Brevity of Life* [De Brev. Vit. 9.2]: *fired by divine madness he sings a saving verse*. Where one must take note of *saving*,

because Virgil is the instructor of traditions; but indeed for no other reason was the author called *opulent* by Pontano and *rich* by Augustus in that verse: *ah, ill-fitting crime, will the rich work be lost?* And *most eminent* [55], by all, especially by Nascimbaenus in several places, occasionally by Hortensius, once by Celio at 1.25., several times by Scaliger. As if, in an eminent fashion, he embodies all things and his expression is so opulent and rich that it can be applied to several virtues. For in secret, since you may consider it to be less important, there lies hidden in this poet the duties of the good prince, commander, soldier and father. And moreover, those of religion, duty, justice, fortitude, temperance, prudence: in truth, wonderful examples of every virtue. The longest [60] *Elogium* of this matter is in Landino where he says that all matters which pertain as much to virtue as to nature are contained most eminently in this poet. But I proceed from natural as well as moral philosophy to other arts.

He was an ASTROLOGER. Macrobius *Saturnalia* 1 confirms this matter [*Sat.* 1.24.18]: *he, economically and soberly, and beyond all criticism, sprinkled in his work knowledge of astrology*, and in book 5 he says that [*Sat.* 5.2.2]: *he was most skilled in astrology* [65]. I have heard from a certain man very skilled in this art that: *Virgil above all mortals assiduously followed the science of the stars*. And he used to say that he judged that: *Virgil, o that learned spirit, had made progress in this art* because he saw that he was involved in this particular art without any error. Macrobius indicated this enough when he said that he was [*Sat.* 1.24.18]: *beyond all criticism*.

He was a DOCTOR and a MATHEMATICIAN. The author of his *Life* says: *with every care, with every* [70] *enthusiasm he applied himself to medicine and mathematics*. Vives also wrote this: he was the most able CREATOR of things; to such an extent that, in the Letter of Saint Jerome to Paul, he does not hesitate: *to count him amongst those who have learnt necromancy*. I adduce this from Heliand's argument at *Chronical* 1.16: *from the*

bronze fly which he made at Naples for the purpose of driving the rest of the flies out of the city. And from the meat-market that had been made with such talent by Virgil that no meats [75] rotted in it. But he is called a necromancer undeservingly. For especially those things which pertain to the macellum can be achieved without the help of necromancy.

He was an ADVOCATE. The author of his *Life: he pleaded but one case on a single occasion*. Vives also notes this in book 1 of his commentary on the *City of God*. That those who apply to Virgil [80] some words of Saint Augustine at chapter 19 book 1 of *City of God*, where he recalls a certain declaimer, are not found wanting.

He was very well-versed in PONTIFICAL LAW and SACRED CUSTOMS. So much so that he is called by Macrobius at *Saturnalia* 1 [Sat. 1.24.16]: *supreme pontiff and he very learnedly observed pontifical law in many different parts of his work, as if he had made this his specialism*. And again, *I find in the works of this Poet such great knowledge of augural law that if his learning in other branches of knowledge deserted him, this expertise alone would be enough to make him preeminent*. And book 3 [Sat. 3.1.5-9.1] *he accurately expressed the different customs of making sacrifice. He protected the individual nature of [85] the worshipping of the gods. He speaks according to the teaching of soothsayers and the rule of priests. He revealed his attentiveness no less about the use of sacrifices than about knowledge of the gods. In matters of religion he was very well-versed and most observant. He used sacred and sacrificial terminology appropriately. He had especial grasp of the most ancient customs and the most secret rites*. Gellius book 3 [NA 3.2.14]: *he speaks with a recondite and, as it were, hidden reference to ancient customs*. Pontano book 1 on *Fortitude* calls Virgil most knowledgeable of sacred customs [90]. Crinito book 10, speaking about Virgil's divine poem, says: *in which all sacred matters and human laws and customs are dealt with in such great order that men are wont to marvel at him rather than to praise him*

enough as he deserves. Due to this perhaps he was called by Augustine [: the learned-speaking Maro.

He was very fond of and very knowledgeable about ANTIQUITY. Quintilian book 1 [*Inst.* 1.7.18]: *Virgil was very fond of antiquity.* And book 9 [*Inst.* 9.12.14]: *Virgil especially was a lover of antiquity.* Macrobius *Saturnalia* 1 [95] [*Sat.* 1.24.19]: *from time to time he affects antiquity sometimes in his verses, at other times in his words.* And book 6 [*Sat.* 6.4.1ff]: *he drank the language of the ancient authors, not content with the common ones and those flourishing at that time.* Gellius Book 5 [NA 5.12.13]: *Virgil, a man with knowledge of much of antiquity but without the hatefulness of ostentation.* Celio book 12: *Maro, most knowledgeable about antiquity.* And book 28: *nearer the learning of the Mantuan bard.* To this knowledge of ancient matters, compare the stories, in which he was very skilled, as Macrobius *Saturnalia* 5 [*Sat.* 5.14.11] and [100] Servius on *Aeneid* 1 testify.

He learnt GREEK literature. Macrobius *Saturnalia* book 5 [*Sat.* 5.2.2-3]: *and Eusebius said: take heed, Evangelus, believe that any one of the Greeks had drained as great an abundance of Greek learning from the loftiest authors, as the skill of Maro has attained or distributed in his own work. For besides that ample abundance of philosophy and astronomy, which we have discussed earlier, he borrowed many [105] other things from the Greeks which he implanted into his own poem as if they had originated there.* Similarly Macrobius says [*Sat.* 5.19.23]: *he has drunk deep of Greek literature no less than Latin.* Alberico Gentili: *Virgil was the most Greek man of all.*

Finally, of every art generally, he was most knowledgeable. Many shout this praise of Virgil. Pierio book 14: *Virgil was not ignorant of any learning.* Donatus in his *Preface* says: [110] *he offers himself as a kind and very skilful teacher of diverse profession and diverse arts.* Macrobius *on the Dream of Scipio* [*Comm. Som. Scip.* 1.6.44]: *there is no learning Virgil was not privy to. He was very knowledgeable of all learning.* In the same place he says

that he put forth his ideas [*Comm. Som. Scip.* 1.7.4]: *from a profound depth of learning*. And at book 2 [*Comm. Som. Scip.* 2.8.1]: *Virgil, whom no error in learning ever enfolded*.

And at *Saturnalia* book 1 [*Sat.* 1.16.12]: *Maro was skilled in every discipline*. For this reason Macrobius says a similar thing elsewhere, that one who is obliged to study Virgil closely, [115] ought to be very keen-sighted. Virgil is called *most knowledgeable* by Celio in books 7, 24, 26, 27 and at book 7 when speaking about *Aeneid* 6 he speaks of: *a treasure house of Virgilian learning*. In book 27 he calls the poet *much knowing*. In book 20 he says: *multifarious in learning*. Scaliger book 5: *there is in him a profound knowledge of things*. Calgagnino book 2 *Epistolicarum Quaestiones* says that: *Virgil was the most knowledgeable in all matters*. Crinito book 10: *it has been made clear enough that Virgil stood out to such an extent in manifold and various disciplines and that he had equally great knowledge of both the heavenly and the human* [120]. Antonio Minturno in *De Poeta* book 1 says: *now indeed, what learning from enquiry so manifold and obscure, what study of doctrine so strange and recondite, has he not scattered the first seeds of among the poems which he has written?* Hadrianus Junius at book 1 chapter 9 of *Animadversiones*: *Virgil was a very deep pool of antiquity*. Landino says that, he had investigated the customs of every nation. Let the *Elogium* of Fabio [125] Paulino from his *Hebdomades Virgilianae* book 1 bring this section to a close grandly: *Immortal gods, how great is this poet's knowledge of all matters, how great is the variety, the power, the richness in every style? There is not in this poet, as is so common in all the rest, an empty verbosity, but subjects and material worthy of a philosopher; yet from the boundless understanding of great affairs and arts those vigorous and almost divine poems flourish and overflow. He decorates his verse not only with the ornaments of stories and oratorical tropes arranged as if [130] only for pleasure, but also he draws off the most beautiful things from the secret and recondite fonts of each art which, in so weaving his verse, he collects aptly and elegantly, even cloaking most of those stories with*

coverings, so that the mind of the learned reader, recognising these things by careful thought, might be filled up with the pleasure of the most delightful reading. And in my opinion this wonder can be seen very often, as there is no craftsman, no philosopher [135], no mathematician, or illustrious fellow skilled in some science or literature, no man knowledgeable about the gods and sacred doctrine, whom the Greeks call a theologian, who will not find the very greatest monuments of his own particular art and learning in his reading of this poet, if he has only read a little more attentively. From this skill in every art it has come about that Pliny in book 1 counts Virgil amongst: *the most illustrious authors* and in book 33 amongst: *the most renowned authors*. And all vow that he is: *the most learned* [140], *the most complete, the most finished and the fullest of authors*. The author of his *Life* says that Virgil was foremost in every style.

I have mentioned briefly the *Elogia* of various arts. I shall speak more broadly about Eloquence and Rhetoric. In the case of Eloquence I shall speak about the excellence of this art and in the case of Rhetoric I shall speak in comparison of Virgil with the prince of the orators, Cicero [145].

Elogia of Virgilian Rhetoric and Eloquence

The encomiasts of this *Elogium* are great. For Quintilian at book 1 calls Virgil [*Inst.* 1.6.2]: *the foremost man in eloquence*. Saint Augustine at 1.10 of *City of God* marks out Virgil with this commendation [*de Civ. Dei.* 10.1]: *the great author of Latin eloquence*. Saint Jerome, *Epistle 129 to Dardanus* calls him: *The most eloquent poet*. Macrobius book 5 says the following [*Sat.* 5.1.1]: *After these things, when Eusebius had grown quiet for a short while, all were pronouncing amongst themselves in an accordant whisper that Virgil should be regarded no less an orator than a poet. In him there is shown such great learning of how to*

adorn verse [150] and such careful observation of the art of rhetoric. And Saturnalia book 1 [Sat. 1.24.8]: in Virgil there are the very strongest sinews of Orators. Landino, in his Preface, says: who equalled the elegance in his individual words? Who equalled the composition in the structure of his speech? Who equalled the dignity of Virgil in the clarity of his words and his thoughts? Again: the similes, amplifications, examples, digressions, the indications of topics, the plots, and the rest of this type of thing, are indeed [155] strong enough for at one time proving and at another disproving a great deal. So many, so varied, so forceful are they that neither richer nor more efficacious examples could be taken up from elsewhere. Luis Vives made a distinguished Elogium of Virgil in his preface to the Georgics, where the very highest of the praises which proceed, he confers to eloquence alone. For he says: but why is it that so many men, so many talents, so many who are all so admired and venerated by their age, so cultivated our [160] poet? Should I really have believed that there is something else in his verses to admire than the power of teaching, delighting and moving? For these are the virtues of the most distinguished and complete orator. He puts many other things into this judgement and adds: not only a poet but also most eminent in the virtue of oratory. Poliziano, in his Manto gives to him: the wonders of eloquence. And Phocas: the river of the Romulean tongue, in that verse:

Mantua begot that river of the Romulean tongue that ought to be worshipped, our Maro [165], that model of the Maeonian bard.

Alonso Tostado, in his commentary on the letter of Saint Jerome to Paul calls Virgil: *the glory of eloquence in its entirety*. They make many other commendations of his oratorical skill, which are scattered amongst writers, such as those which Macrobius wrote in book 6 of the *Saturnalia* on the figures of speech with which Virgil enriched Latium more than himself by means of what he said. In the same place he says [Sat. 6.6.2]: *by moulding words in various ways at one time and at another their meanings, that venerable poet added much*

[170] *of the charm of the Latin language.* That Virgil was the sole teacher in the art of moving the emotions, you will learn from the whole of book 4 of the *Aeneid*. For Macrobius, a perpetual admirer of Virgil maintains nothing else. Often Scaliger very splendidly shows the same. The words of Vives in his *Virgilian Elogium* are: *What might I say about moving the emotions? From time to time he himself is stirred, he blazes, he is seized by that madness of Poets; he sends lightning bolts, he thunders, as used to be said about Pericles.* How great and what Virgil was like in the matter [175] of eloquence, enough appears from Quintilian, who very often calls on Virgil to confirm matters of rhetoric. Isidorus uses him no less frequently to exemplify the matter of eloquence. Antonio Minturno in book 1 of *de Poeta* writes the following about Virgil: *for, by the immortal gods, what style of diction, what figures, what choice of words, what composition, what embellishments of speech, what ornaments do not appear most splendidly in him?* Donatus in his preface: *if anyone has understood the sense of these poems [180], he will find in this poet the most distinguished orator. Hence it was the duty not of grammarians but of orators especially to explain Virgil. Similarly, Virgil shows very clearly the art of oratory.* Seneca at letter 59 says about Virgil [*Ep. Mor.* 59.3]: *he speaks eloquently indeed.* On that same matter, I refer you to those who call Virgil *very splendid*. Amongst these is Saint Augustine at book 14 of *City of God* [*de civ. Dei* 14.3] and several others in many different places. Martial at book 14 names him [14.185.1-2] *fluent in speech: eagerly accept the Culex of Virgil fluent in speech.* But for the purpose of showing the oratorical excellence [185] of Virgil there seems to me nothing more appropriate than to bring forth those heralds who make Virgil very close to, equal to or greater than Cicero in the matter of oratory. Ears recoil at the final claim, but don't believe me, believe the witnesses which I shall bring forth.

VERY CLOSE to Cicero

This matter is so certain that I must devote few lines to it. Celio said at book 7 that Virgil was: *second to the thunderbolts of Cicero which flash far and wide*. He who has read the speeches [190] of Virgil attentively will clearly find that after Cicero no-one's eloquence is of so vigorous a style. Without doubt (no one will deny this) Virgilian speeches overcome Livian in weight of arguments, in order of arrangement, and in the illustriousness of words. It shall be the same judgement on the other Orators.

EQUAL to Cicero

This is more difficult. Firstly, it is certain that Virgil in the matter of poetry is equal to Cicero in the matter of oratory. And so, as great and outstanding an orator as Cicero is, so great and outstanding a poet is Virgil [195]. Both Cicero himself and Virgil testify to this because Servius writes on *Eclogue 6* with these words: *the sixth Eclogue is said to have been recited with great success by Virgil, to such an extent that, when afterwards the actress Cytheris (whom in the end he calls Lycoris) had sung it in the theatre and Cicero was watching, stunned, he began to enquire whose it was, and when at last he had eventually recognised it as Virgil's, he is said to have said in praise of both himself and Virgil, "the other hope of great Rome", which Virgil later applied to Ascanius*. [200] Donatus and others report this same matter. You see that Cicero called Virgil the other hope of Rome, you see that Virgil took the utterance of Cicero as an omen. I know those matters are refuted by several people who say that Virgil had not yet flourished in this way in the age of Cicero, in order for this poet to present his work for Cicero to see. But nothing stops me joining this to the *Elogia* of Virgil. For when it is true that Cicero and Virgil were the two hopes of Rome, why should I

argue about the author? But I produce [205] other witnesses. Certainly all who speak about Virgil together with Cicero speak in such a way as to make them equal in every respect. Pliny, in the prologue of his work, when comparing Virgil with Cicero, in as much as he is dealing with imitation, grants courage to Virgil, with which he rivalled the ancients, and he grants to Cicero an openness, with which he declares himself in his *de re publica* to be a companion of Plato. Seneca the Elder at *Controversiae* book 3 gives to Virgil a [*Contr.* 3.8] *felicity* of talent and in that way gives to Cicero *eloquence*. Poliziano says in [210] his *Manto* that Greek pride and arrogance have been held in check by Virgil and Cicero equally. Cicero held it in check: *with the blazing thunderbolt of his tongue*. Virgil held it in check: *whether he sings of woodlands or the countryside or arms and the man*. Quintilian book 12, even as he is making them equals, said [*Inst.* 12.11.26]: *Poetry took its high point as much from Homer and Virgil as eloquence did from Demosthenes and Cicero*. Pontano says in his *Actio*, and he proves with examples, that Virgil employed a verbal [215] structure equal to that which Cicero used. Finally, there is no-one who feels otherwise. You will object: each is equal in terms of his own genre, but it has not yet been shown that they are equals in eloquence. I reserve this for the following section. For if Virgil is greater than Cicero in the matter of eloquence, why am I concerned with proving their parity? Thus was Virgil superior in eloquence.

GREATER than Cicero

This is inadvisable to say, and contrary to custom. But bear with me, readers, for why might it be improper to say those things which others have said before me, when I am joining together the commendations [220] of Virgil? Thus, Macrobius, an otherwise great admirer, praiser and commender of Cicero, clearly writes at *Saturnalia* book 5 that Cicero had been

overcome in eloquence by Virgil. I shall put forth his words in full, even though they are many, since in terms of that controversy (of which there is perhaps none greater in humane letters) they are necessary [Sat. 5.1.1-7]: *Afterwards, when Eusebius had rested a little, all were declaring amongst themselves in an accordant whisper that Virgil ought to be regarded no less as an orator than as poet [225]. That in him there is revealed such great training in the art of rhetorical adornment and such careful observation of the art of rhetoric. Avienus: tell me, o best of learned men, he said, for I want to know, if anyone now wants to pursue the art of rhetorical adornment, might he make better progress from Virgil or from Cicero? I see what you are driving at, replied Eusebius, I see what you're pointing out, and where you are trying to drag me. Naturally, I am to go on to a comparison of Virgil and Cicero, which I don't want to do. For in actual fact you discreetly asked which one [230] is the more outstanding of the two. Since, by necessity, it comes about that one who is himself the most outstanding, will be studied the most. But I want you to relieve me of that deep and profound constraint because it is not our place to pronounce on such great debates involving those two, nor would I dare to be seen as the author of such an opinion either way. This alone will I dare to have said, because the Mantuan's ability to write eloquently is many-sided and multifarious and comprises the whole question of style. For, behold, in your Cicero there is one course of eloquence that [235] is overflowing, torrential and plentiful. But the nature of orators is neither simple nor singular: the former flows and resurges whilst the latter aspires, on the contrary, to speak briefly and concisely. One, being free from ornamentation and being dry and sober likes a certain frugality of style; the other indulges in rich, beautiful and florid speech. In such great differences of every type, Virgil is the only one commonly found to have embraced eloquence from every kind of style. Avienus replies: I wish that you would teach me these [240] differences more clearly by way of examples from these individuals. There are four kinds of style (says Eusebius): the copious, of which Cicero is master; the*

*concise, in which Sallust is supreme; the dry, a term applied to the style of Fronto; and the rich and ornate, formerly indulged in by the younger Pliny and today by our friend Symmachus, who is second to none of the men of old in its use. But Virgil is the only writer in whom you will find all of these four kinds represented. Up to this point Macrobius, which I would have compressed into a shorter passage if I had not seen absolute [245] essentials pertaining to the matter about which I am speaking. Soon he introduces examples from Virgil with which to indicate those four styles that had shone forth so outstandingly in Virgil. After a long interval he erupts again into this divine *Elogium* of the divine Bard [Sat. 5.1.18-20]: you see (Eusebius says) – do you not?- that the use of all these varied styles is a distinctive characteristic of Virgil’s language. Indeed I think that it was not without a kind of foreknowledge that he was preparing himself to serve as a model for all, that he intentionally blended his styles, acting with a prescience born of a disposition divine rather than mortal [250]. And thus it was that with the universal mother, Nature, for his only guide he wove the pattern of his work – just as in music different sounds are combined to form a single harmony. For in fact, if you look closely into the nature of the universe, you will find a striking resemblance between the handiwork of the divine craftsman and that of our Poet. Thus just as Virgil’s language is perfectly adapted to every kind of character, being now concise, now copious, now dry, now ornate, and now a combination of all these qualities, sometimes flowing smoothly or at other times raging like a torrent; so it is with the earth itself, for here it is rich with crops [255] and meadows, there rough with forests and crags, here you have dry sand, here, again, flowing streams, and parts lie open to the boundless sea. I beg you to pardon me and not charge me with exaggeration in thus comparing Virgil with nature, for I think that I might fairly say that he has combined in his single self the diverse styles of the ten Attic orators, and yet not say enough. There are those to whom the judgement of Macrobius seemed bold. For who would dare to prefer Virgil in eloquence to*

Cicero? There are, on the contrary, those who [260] think that the critic is correct. Alberico is one of them who writes in his book of *Virgilian readings* at chapter 18: *let him, who has excelled in every style, be praised above Cicero, I beg you, since Cicero is outstanding in only the abundant and the copious styles*. I am not making this dispute my own, because I have set out only to adduce the praises of Virgil which are scattered in other authors. But I shall however say, against custom, that I have noticed passages of Cicero, which everybody makes particularly special mention of, that are rare, exquisite [265], special but to which I see that something could be added by human talent and the work of others. I go back again to Virgil and I see passages that are so far from reach that there is no place for mortal talent to add anything: for what do you add to the fights of bulls, what to the thousand comparisons and speeches, when everything is absolutely perfect and complete. And so, I praise Scaliger who has extolled Virgil in the following *Elogium*: *nothing has been left out by that celestial man: nothing should be added except by those who are foolish [270]: nothing should be changed except by those who lack judgement: clearly everything, from his nature, his skill, his learning, his opinions, his rhythms, his composition, his openness, his clarity, his decoration, is beyond compare. To sum up briefly, they are Virgil's*. Pontano also seemed to have cried out correctly in his *Antonius*, *what is more complete than this Virgilian marvel?* And Scaliger, *o marvel lacking fault!* But I return to those four styles with which Macrobius exalts Virgil, and I add in for praise side by side Lysias [275] and Gorgias in Plato's *Phaedrus* because they already have the terse brevity of speech and an ample abundance of words. Moreover, Saint Jerome recalled Virgilian brevity with his *Elogium* in his commentary on the prophet Jonah [*Comm. Ion.* 1:8]: *a brevity that ought to be noted and which I was accustomed to admire in Virgil*. Of brevity and abundance Servius on *Georgics I* says: *he worked with great skill to show us the power of his talent by narrowing what is*

broad and amplifying what is narrow. Poliziano has all [280] four in the verses that he made which follow in the footsteps of Macrobius:

And who, my young men, contemplating the wonders of such great eloquence, would not think that he is surveying the immense expanses of land and sea? Here crops flourish in great abundance; here the flock browses on tender grasses [285]; here the elm is adorned with flexible vines; there the oaks rise up with their mossy trunks; here vast seas unfold; this shoreline lies barren with thirsty sands; from these mountains frozen streams flow down; here huge rocks loom up; here rocky caverns reveal their recesses; there secluded valleys open up [290]; and thus the discordant aspect creates the beautiful harmony of the world. So rich eloquence assumes different appearances: now it is a torrent borne along by a powerful impetus like a river, now it lies parched in a dry river bed [295]; now it releases itself; now after overflowing its bounds it hems itself in; now an unpolished style is fitting, now it is resplendent, filled with charming embellishments; and sometimes it combines them all beautifully together.

Those four things about the four types of Virgilian style were told to us under the pretext of a comparison with Cicero: you should also read the grand *Elogium* of Landino in his *Preface* about these four types of Virgilian style [300], and on the same matter, Vives, in his preface to the *Georgics* and also John Fungerus in his *Etymologicum*.

Chapter 4

Elogia taken from a comparison of Virgil with other poets, Greek and Latin.

Now that I have extricated myself from the question of eloquence and the rest of the arts in which Virgil flourished, Poetry, of which he is the prince, calls me to itself. Indeed, since the greatest part and the most potent of *Elogia* of Virgilian poetry have been placed in the victory in which he overwhelmed Homer, I shall conjoin into one the authors (in the same way as I did with Cicero) who make Virgil closest to, equal to, and greater than Homer. The first two are false. Virgil is not the closest to Homer, except in time, which was inevitable. In no part is he an equal [5]. He is greater in all respects. But, although the first two (as I have said) are most false, I must still recite very faithfully the *Elogia* of the Learned, even if in these matters they are not learned.

VERY CLOSE to Homer

Quintilian clearly feels this at book 10. For he says that Virgil without doubt was the closest to Homer of all the poets, Greek and Latin, and that in this way he might be second after Homer, and a second in the sense that third is a long way distant from Virgil, who in like manner is closer to first than [10] third. Quintilian takes this from Domitius Afer. Alcimus delivered this opinion in these verses:

If anyone places Homer apart from the number of poets, then very close to first place will be the distinguished Maro. And if Virgil is placed apart, after Homer [15] in first place, whoever follows will be a long way off first place.

By this testimony it is made out that Sophocles, Pindar, Euripides, Aeschylus, all the Greeks in fact, are far distant from Homer if they are compared with Virgil, who is the closest to Homer. This is the *Elogia* in sum: Homer has Virgil as his neighbour: yet both are far distant from the rest of all the Greek and Latins: Poliziano scrupulously recognised this proximity, though it is as if he is reluctant [20] and unwilling, when he says:

Yet Virgil was very close to Homer and, if venerable old age had not thwarted him, perhaps he might have been first.

EQUAL to Homer

Seneca seems to have recognised this parity in his consolation to Polybius [*Ad Polyb.* 8.2]: *Homer and Virgil who deserve so much from human kind.* Saint Jerome, letter 151 to Algasia, enquiry 10: *Virgil is a second [25] Homer to us.* And *Commentary on Michael* chapter 7: *a sublime poet, not a second Homer as Lucillius suspects about Ennius, but the first Homer among the Latins.* Pontano, according to the character of Antonius, decides the following: *therefore he considered that these two rightly held the highest position in the two most noble tongues, Greacian and Roman, and that one is the king of Greek poetry, the other of Roman: the sayings of these two and the findings from their passages have the force and authority of laws [30]. These two must be venerated, these fathers of the homeland must be honoured with tributes by public and private citizens: for these two everyone, everywhere, should get to their feet. Those who may feel to the contrary should be numbered among rebels and enemies. As there was no law for conquered peoples and populations, no administering of justice among Kings whose rules, orders, and decrees they were to obey, thus, from their writings, the things which these two kings decided, people were to obey everywhere. For he who may feel differently [35], or who may dare to the contrary, it was decided that he must be forbidden*

the use of fire and water and driven out into deserted places or exposed to wild beasts. Similarly, Pontano book 1 *on Fortune: The two poets, Homer and Virgil, luminaries in both languages, were so impelled to poetry from birth, a course which both closely followed, that if the gods themselves wish to sing in heroic measure, in Greek or Latin, they would sing in no other way, neither in terms of voice, nor music, nor measure, nor sweetness, dignity, or magnitude, than with which those two played* [40]. It is perhaps born from this equality that Virgil is called by Macrobius [Sat. 1.16.43] *the Mantuan Homer*, and by others *the Roman Homer*. An unknown poet in the persona of Virgil:

Whichever Roman does not know Maeonian Homer, let him read me and think that he has read both.

Juvenal *Satire* 11, lingering on who is greater, but, as if both are equal, granting a *doubtful palm*, said [45] [11.180-1]:

The composer of the Iliad and the poems of the high-sounding Maro which make the palm of victory a doubtful one shall be sung of.

Celso too at book 7: *Let us venerate Maro in our writings, we worship him, in our eyes we have him standing equal with his Homer*. Poliziano on Virgil says: *he strives with great Homer*. Quintilian seems to have looked toward this parity when he says at book 1 [Inst. 1.8.5] that reading must begin with Homer and [50] Virgil so that the young mind might rise with the sublimity of heroic verse and so that it might guide the spirit from the greatness of its subject matter, and so that it might be imbued with all that is excellent. Augustine wrote the same thing about Virgil alone, not about Homer, at book 1 of *City of God* as did Alonso Tostado, based on this, at *On Genesis* chapter 18.

GREATER than Homer

Let the blind and those devoted to Homer deny this, but not others. I have gathered the following from Macrobius, though much has been left out [5.3.2-11.25]: *Virgil is richer than Homer, more opulent, more refined, more distinguished, stronger in the force of his plots, more careful* [55], *more observant, fuller, more handsome*. Moreover: *Virgil added what was lacking in Homer*. And: *if ever Latin lacks richness for translating Homer, he makes up for this in the variety of his description*. Read chapter 11, book 5 of the *Saturnalia* where he adduces many passages in which Virgil surpasses Homer. But in fact the things which Macrobius has written at chapter 13 and in other passages of the same book, in which he says that Virgil has been overcome by Homer, have been sprinkled with nonsense a thousand fold. For (as Scaliger says) Macrobius is the very worst vandal [60]. But I return to the task. Poliziano has touched upon the eloquence with which I am concerned. The following is from the mouth of Manto speaking with Virgil:

Bravo, handsome boy, my blood, may the whole of Greece bristle at your birth, and let Ascræ, Arethusa, and Smyrna, destined to take the laurel of second place, fear your crown [65].

He speaks of Hesiod, Theocritus, and Homer as being conquered by Virgil, and receiving not the first place but the second place laurel. And below he speaks about Homer alone:

May Smyrna, Rhodes, Colophon, Salamis, Chios, Argos and Athens dispute the birthplace of the supreme poet no more, because this victory now belongs to the race of Bianor [70].

The author of his *life on the Aeneid: a varied and complex plot similar to both of the poems of Homer*. And so in one work he has embraced that pair of Homeric poems for which I make him victorious. Muret in one of his *Orations: the Aeneid is a poem not only preeminent*

among all Latin works (this is without doubt), but it also calls into great decision the glory of Greece. It is certain that he means Homer here. Vida, Poetics book 1 [75]:

This one has far surpassed the divine bards of the Achaean race in outstanding talent, golden, and speaking with immortal skill. Greece herself, though she marvels at mighty Homer, is struck dumb and is afraid.

Ponder these words. He gives to Greece bewilderment and fear about Virgil's work but about Homer's [80], only admiration. Matthew Toscano has sung as follows:

Phoebus sent Virgil down from heaven to be the one who could surpass the Maeonian trumpet. As he sensed that he was conquered, at that time a grey haired rival, he sank his head in the Stygian River before his time [85].

But who may unfold the rich eloquence of Scaliger in his repeated singing of the commendation of Virgil? No-one is more embellished than him, more enquiring, more individual, more learned. I have plucked the following excerpts from him: *Virgil has raised the rough art he took from Homer to the very summit of perfection by his judgement and by his zeal for a more selective nature. By taking away many things he has made his art greater. This is a skill that has been given to very few.* He is saying that the rough poetry left behind by Homer has been perfected by Virgil and that this is due to the Latin author's [90] more selective nature and judgement. Scaliger goes on: *Homer pours out, Virgil collates; the former sprinkles, the latter carefully fits together.* For this he adds the following reason: *Homer has constructed two accounts of this life of ours, namely the practical wisdom of the citizen in Odysseus, and that of a soldier in the Iliad, as if he is showing those two qualities in the two men. Maro carefully arranged each in Aeneas alone to whom he also added piety (because Homer clearly lacks piety). Let Scaliger return: The work of Homer is far less than the work of Virgil [95]. He overcomes the Homeric poems with his splendour. He is greater in mass and in decoration. He is more of a painter and more observant of rhythms. The*

things which are magnificent in Homer are not equal to the magnitude of Virgil. Homeric verses seem earthy, the verses of Virgil have been made by Phoebus among the Muses. That little Greek is a pedlar; Virgil is the author of regal speech. The things in Homer which are bloodless, Virgil gives soul to. In Homer the language is dead, in Virgil it is alive. From time to time he compresses the effusive diction of Homer, from time to time he enriches it. He weaves the bare [100] thread of Homer with a divine needle. Virgil achieved all those things with his own divine nature so that he seems not so much to imitate Homer as to have taught us how he ought to have spoken. He is far greater in sound and efficacy. Virgil is the teacher, Homer the pupil. In Homer you might see the raw material, in Virgil the finished form: in Homer is a careless mass, in Virgil a regular arrangement: For Homer it is enough if he simply narrates, Virgil fashions the very matter with his words. He is as much superior in sweetness, gravity [105], variety as he is later in time. He makes divine from what, in Homer, is lowly. He is more circumspect than Homer, clearer, more vivid, more accurate, grander, more cultivated, more precise, more fruitful, different: He speaks more rhythmically, more elegantly: He encompasses the works of Homer with a better and briefer circle of speech. Homer speaks humbly and of humble things: Virgil magnificently and of grander things. Homer is scanty, bare, raw, infelicitous: Virgil is divine, rhythmical, varied, unexpected. He adds an incomparable [110] cloak to the bare works of Homer. One has Virgilian sound, the other, ardour. He crushes and overwhelms Homer, he leaves him far behind. The narrative of one is golden, the other's is leaden. Virgil is a true poet, Homer an itinerant storyteller. Like a teacher, Virgil emends the assertions proposed by Homer from nature as if they had been spoken by a pupil. In Virgil discourse is living, in Homer it is dead. He is more fruitful in song, more magnificent in his plotting. He concludes more elegantly. Of rivers, Homer has made many comparisons [115]: our poet makes one only once and this must be put before all of those. In cutting a tree, Homer exerts the same effort as a carpenter: In Virgil the Muse

speaks. These and more Scaliger says, rich in his adornment of Virgil and in his criticism of Homer. Indeed he adds these comparisons in order to explain the matter. *As much as a respectable woman stands apart from a common and inelegant little woman, so that great man is overcome by our divine man. As much as the barbarous character of Polyphemus is inferior [120] to royal majesty, so the verses of Virgil are better ordered than the Greek's. He is overcome as much as the feasts of farmers by royal banquets. The difference is as great as between a pupil thinking and a professor applying his advice and attention. Indeed Homer is a mighty bulk, but raw and undigested. Yet Virgil is a god and better by nature.* Clearly he alludes to the verses of Ovid at *Metamorphoses*.¹ Thus, beautifully, Lucan, in his panegyric to Piso, makes Virgil issue a challenge, as if he [125] foresees future victory, for no-one issues a challenge unless he thinks he will be victorious. These are the verses:

That man who sounds the verses of the Aeneid throughout the Ausonian races, who strikes Olympus with his mighty name and with a Roman mouth challenges the old Maeonian [130].

Silius at book 4 with equal good sense [8.594]:

Mantua, home of the Muses, continually raised to the stars by the song of the man from Andes, and a rival to Smyrnaean plectrums.

Famously, an uncertain poet under the guise of Virgil:

Greece marvels at the vast plains of that man: but though inferior to ours it is a well cultivated field [135].

Those who want more on this victory may read my work on Virgil where I often compare each Bard and usually this results in victory for the Latin.

ON HOMER

Here I break off from the *Elogia* of Virgil to return after a long excursus. For I have determined to weave in the flaws of Homer which I have found, though only a few and not every one of them, for this is an infinite labour. A three-fold [140] reason compels me to this end: first, so that a clearer praise of Virgil might appear as well as his excellence which stands forth over Homer; secondly, so that Poets might see that they cannot trust the supporters of Homer with any safety; for they will be deceived and they will reproduce empty poetry, if they put too much faith in Homer: there is need for strong judgement, such as Maro had, lest they be carried away by the power of Greek expression and they ruin the poem. Thirdly, so that I might free myself and other men of this age from an unfair charge: for we are criticised undeservingly because we criticise Homer [145]. I bring the whole matter together in respect to the things which Plato, Dio Chrysostom and Scaliger have written against him. What men! How mighty!

Therefore, Plato at *Republic* book 2 extensively proves that Homer is inept in the stories which he fashions, when he says that the battles of the Gods must certainly not be retained in the city state which he has fashioned nor the chains cast onto Juno by her son, nor Vulcan cast out of heaven by his father, and such similar stories: whether these were told with [150] or without allegory. He repeats the same things and fiercely begins book 3 where he fruitfully uncovers the faults of Homer. For he criticises him because he made Achilles loudly wail like a woman, more than was befitting a brave man and a son of a goddess; Priam was perplexed in his mind contrary to the dignity of a king; Jupiter, the greatest of the gods, grunted lazily and grieved for the son of Sarpedon who had been killed and he was unable to check the violence of the murderer of Patroclus. Similarly, Jupiter, blazing with intemperate and [155] immodest lust, and having been struck in this manner by this fault, when he had

seen Juno, he did not venture to come home to his bedfellow, but immediately satisfied his lust, reclining there on the ground; the gods pour out immodest laughter and cackling; an inappropriate story about Venus and Mars bound by Vulcan; Achilles accepted money for the corpse of Hector, which is unworthy of such a great man; similarly he hurls at Apollo, one of the great gods, *oh of all the gods [160] most pernicious*; similarly, he labours with two mighty faults, two faults which should not have been formed about the man who had been brought up by the very wise Chiron, who was the son of a goddess and Peleus, a very just man, and third in descent from Jupiter; read the faults in Plato. Finally, because he had proudly, childishly, foolishly introduced an Achilles who was raving without control against his commander with the following words, *drunkard, you have the eyes of a dog and the heart of a deer*. Plato adds that no one [165] can weave in such things either to casual speech or to more formal verses on account of their vileness, senselessness and foolishness. It is due to this that he wanted to exile Homer from the city which he himself had set up because he is, as it were, pernicious, useless and worthless. For it is not true what some men say that Plato had wished to exile all poets from his city. We read the whole of Plato and we find no such thing. He only sends away the pernicious and worthless and in chief position amongst these is Homer. Indeed, he embraces the prudent [170]. On this matter we must read the things which he writes at *Laws* book 8 and the things which he offers at *Republic* book 2 [2.378dff] and in book 10 [10.606e-607a], in the final passage, he allows the hymns of the gods because that is temperate and prudent for poetry. I had omitted that a certain verse of Homer is described by that same Plato in the *Phaedo* as: *not perfectly metrical*.

I move on to Dio Chrysostom. He inveighs very weightily against Homer [175] in *Discourse* 11 which concerns the destruction of Troy and he makes his faults clear. He says about Homer [*Or.* 11.4]: *the freest use of falsehood*; that he poured out [*Or.* 11.4] *curses*; that he was a beggar in Greece and greatly deceived the grace of those offering alms [*Or.* 11.15];

that he [Or. 11.16] *was held to be a mad man; that he never said anything trustworthy*; that he foolishly fashioned Autolycus as a breaker of oaths and that this had been given to Autolycus by Mercury, who was one of the gods [Or. 11.17]. Concerning the gods [180] [Or. 11.17]: *he said nothing true*. He criticises Homer because he has made the gods as suffering pain, groaning, being wounded, committing adultery [Or. 11.18]. It is Homer who does not think that *he is a foul liar*. What is greater than this madness? He writes of the gods that they are [Or. 11.19] *terrible*. He shows the foolishness that Homer has fashioned, things which are beyond all reason and he proves this extensively from things which are in Homer himself. Again, he presses us about the lies of Homer with these words [Or. 11.23]: *Homer was the very boldest [185] of mortals in his lying*. Listen carefully, reader, to the following wounds. He says that he did not know that he ought to give a good beginning to his poetry, nor an end, he obscured everything with darkness, confused everything [Or. 11.24]. He proves those things extensively. He goes on. He did not know to set forth his work so that he might have a well disposed and open audience [Or. 11.28]. He did not know how to set in motion literary effects, and he teaches extensively which effects he ought to have roused [Or. 11.29-30]. He adds that Homer lacked judgment (what a wound this is [190], reader?) in his poetry because he left the greatest and most serious matters to others and chose for himself the lesser and more abject [Or. 11.33]. His words are clear [Or. 11.33]: *that he selected the more unimportant and trivial things*. Dio goes on and insults Homer in words such as the following [Or. 11.37]: *he babbles* and [Or. 11.54] *a foolish story* and [Or. 11.56] *excessive absurdity*. Later on he says about Homer [Or. 11.87]: *he enters upon impossible and impious matters* [195]: *he mixed up everything*. He says that he narrates battles [Or. 11.108]: *as if you were in a dream*. This is entirely what Scaliger has said: *he fashioned his battles as if he had been at the wine*. I return to Dio. He says that Homer wrote any matter [Or. 11.109]: *very ridiculously, and similar to one in sleep*. And so that is Dio, of whom I have omitted an

almost infinite amount. For nothing so absurd, fatuous, impious, unworthy, ridiculous, preposterous, could be thought of which Dio does not cast against [200] this Bard. Now go, and praise Homer, judge him, examine him closely, copy him, worship him. I wanted (as you have seen) to include some more of Dio's Greek because he is not as at hand as Plato.

Scaliger remains, who seems to have blazed not so much against Homer as against some enemy. Dio surpassed Plato in hurling insults, Scaliger surpasses both of these. Thus he clearly shows that Homer is ridiculous in many of the following ways: *For what disreputable and unspeakable things [205] does he put forth about his gods? Adulteries, incests and hatreds amongst themselves? If they are taken as allegories pertaining to the natural world, could they never devise something by which Venus and Mars might be caught by Vulcan in accordance with the nature of things? What about Leucothea, who dares to protect Odysseus though her own king, Neptune, was against it? Who thinks that is not puerile? The companions of Odysseus kill the cattle of the Sun and eat them: the Sun himself did not learn of this except through a messenger and unless Lampetie had spoken he would not have known [210] and the assorted cattle would be wondering unavenged in Elysium. But elsewhere, clearly correctly, it was said "Helios, who sees all", at least, since they were roasting them, it was fitting that the Sun had been roused by the smell as, if he was sleeping, night was coming on.* He says these things but I, lest I am compelled to transcribe everything which Scaliger copiously amasses against Homer, shall adduce only the clear words with which he attacks and brings his wounds to light. He says that he fashions long and worthless speeches. A Mars groaning foully and disgustingly [215] is introduced. Venus and Mars are wounded by a mortal hand, which is ludicrous. The very brave Achilles endures the threats of an inferior, and he weeps in the presence of his mother. Fetid lies are fashioned by him, he is absurd in his laments. Priam is foolishly introduced after ten years as questioning who this or that commander is. And Odysseus kills the suitors with a bow when they could have all

rushed upon him at once. Nestor grieves for his dead son, Antilochus, who is later alive, and beats [220] Menelaus in a chariot race. Achilles grieves because flies devour the wounds of Patroklos. He should employ a little slave to drive them off. Jupiter flashes lightning when it is snowing, which has never been seen before. He smiles when he follows closely the affairs of those beneath him. He raises spirits without any skill. Demodocus sings at a banquet of the filthy behaviour of the Gods. The sayings of the Sirens are weak, common and useless. The epithets of Homer are often cold, childish and inappropriate to the passage. He absurdly makes it that the Prime Mover sleeps. He is [225] immodest in his words, for about Juno he says: *to wed*. He puts forth things that are bare, common, easily attained by any talent, simple, incomplete and unfinished, weak, very thin, very light, very unsuitable, jejune, very bad, fatuous, wrong, childish, sluggish, without skill, without effect, the trifles of a one year old, insipid little words, empty, very dry sayings, the preparation without the equipment, futile, verbose, speech that is wretched and belonging to the bar room, forced and unpleasant diction and barbarous figures of speech [230]. He is absurd and mad in his repeating. He is full of the fatal trifling of the Greeks. He often agitates a grammarian. He makes heaven Vulcan's workshop, than which there is nothing more stupid. He is rashly wanton in hideous subject matter. He flows just as he fancies without any forethought. From time to time he utters phrases contrary to the nature of things, for who has seen snow on the sea? According to Homer, Nestor, at *Iliad* 11 is talkative, in book 7 he is no less so, in book 4 he is hateful, in book 11 he is annoying, in the penultimate book he talks nonsense. Take flight Homeric licence and loose [235] style of speech, there is nothing upon which he has reflected at one time, that he does not prove. I omit Libanius in the *Progymnasmata* where he reveals the many faults of Homer, even though elsewhere he defends him. But, certainly, if Libanius is weighed up, he will be seen to be stronger in his attacking than in his defending.

On Homer's behalf you will object that he was held in value by the ancients and by great men such as Plato, Aristotle, Strabo, Plutarch. In fact there is no one from the whole of antiquity who does not [240] worship and venerate him. This is so clear that no one can deny it. He created this name for himself, because he was the most ancient, because he was certainly the first of Poets, because he shone out in a crude age, because he offered some pithy sayings with his wit, because he wrote about the Trojan War than which there was nothing more excellent, more grand, or more sublime in the Heroic Age. For these reasons he has justly deserved the name he has obtained. Not surprisingly the Greeks, outstanding advocates of their own affairs, would praise the Greek. But, certainly, to those [245] authors I put forward others of weightier authority on Virgil's behalf. Why should Augustine not vie with Aristotle, Saint Jerome with Plato, Pliny with Strabo, Seneca with Plutarch? These men more wisely support their Virgil in this matter than the Greeks do their Homer, and he is never on their lips other than with great praise. I am silent about several others (lights of purity and learning) who were more versatile in reading Virgil than the Greeks in reading Homer. Whom does Quintilian [250] advocate more freely, whom does Isidore or Ambrose? Let he who reads chapter 21, book 5 of the *Six Days of Creation* of this final author recognise Virgil. For that whole chapter of Ambrose breathes Virgilian speech, thought and phraseology. I could have called upon many other passages of this author. Whom from the whole of antiquity might you compare in learning with Tertullian, who valued Virgil the most. You will cast before me leading men, and amongst these perhaps you will exhibit Alexander the Great, who made much of Homer [255]. I exhibit to you Justinian and Alexander Severus and Augustus himself, who made much of Virgil. For truly, Pliny said at book 7 that Virgil had obtained the very greatest praise from Augustus' testimony. For Augustus was wise, not only in war like Alexander, but wise in every matter. And so, you may bring forth none better than Alexander, but we Augustus. In addition to these authors,

Hadrian, Gordian (the old man), Antonius Diadumenus, Clodius Albinus, Tetricus and the emperors used to call forth the verses of Virgil [260] on their own affairs, no less than the Greek chiefs did with Homer. And clearly, there are more emperors of the Latins who made much of Virgil than there are Greeks who did so with Homer. I now pass over the emperors and move on to the Poets. In the place of Sophocles, Euripides, Pindar, Apollonius, who all venerated Homer, I bring forth Horace, Statius, Silius, Lucan, who had the ashes of Virgil as their teacher, and with which they warmed to the sublimity of his poem. If you proffer some other Latin, who [265] spoke in praise of Homer, I offer to you Eusebius Caesariensis, who, in the *life of Constantine*, takes up the name of Virgil always with the grandest praise. I have told of the value in which the wise, the emperors, and the Poets held Virgil. Here, I shall add that he was held in honour by the very Gods. For prophecies have been given with his verses to great princes and the Gods themselves spoke in Virgilian verse. Concerning prophecies, there is an example in Hadrian and Alexander, the son of Mamea. In the first author, a prophecy for the empire issued forth in these [270] verses [A. 6.808]: *but who is that man in the distance marked out by the olive branch?* and the verses that come after. In the second author, by that verse [A. 6.882-3]: *if you break your bitter fate, you will be Marcellus*. From there the *Sortes Virgilianae* have passed into proverb. For when a manuscript of Virgil was opened, the verses met with were taken as an omen. On this matter read John Fungerus in the *Etymologicus*. On oracles in Claudius Albinus, to whom Apollo of Baiae responded [A. 6.857-8] [275]:

Let this knight stand firm while the Roman state is troubled by mightier people, let him lay low the Carthaginians and rebellious Gaul.

Aurelius Claudius while deliberating about his sons received a response in the form of the following verse [A. 1.278]:

On these I place no limits of time or space.

I could, as I have said, prove the case with more but I have now adduced in part the opinions of these men, part I reserve [280] for the rest of the *Elogia* which remain, and in which I divide up the praises of Virgil, and to which I return after a long excursus. And since I have now shown he is greater than Homer, it remains, consequently, for me to grant him victory over the rest of the Greeks.

GREATER than the rest of the Greek Poets

He has surpassed Pindar, Hesiod, Apollonius, Theocritus. Pontano and Scaliger are witnesses on Pindar: the former in the *Actius*, the latter in the *Criticus*. On Hesiod there is Scaliger and Poliziano: the former says the following in the *Criticus* [285]: *the works of Hesiod in their entirety must not be compared with even one verse of the Georgics*. The latter in the *Manto*: *he presses hard upon Homer*. Vives also: *in the Georgics he has without argument surpassed Hesiod, and in his step he has left him many miles behind*. On Apollonius we have Delrio and Scaliger: the former in his *Agamemnon* where he speaks about a storm and about these Poets who have described a storm. About Virgil he says the following: *I make an exception of Virgil, who undertakes nothing foolishly*. On Apollonius indeed: *Apollonius is truly a parody of himself* [290], *that is, wholly common, and cheap, and, not in my judgement but that of several learned men, altogether unworthy to be read*. The latter says in the *Criticus*: *there is light in Virgil, smoke in Apollonius. Apollonius does not deserve to be read, when we have Maro. He becomes greater than and surpasses the things he takes from Apollonius. He leaves Apollonius far behind him. Apollonius least of all inspires the splendour and efficacy of Virgil*. On Theocritus there are several. The author of the *Life of Virgil*: *Virgil was more circumspect than Theocritus*. Poliziano [295]:

Virgil, to him the Ascrean and the Sicilian shepherd alike gladly cede, in the sphere of sacred countryside and the meadows.

Servius on *Eclogue 1*: *Theocritus is everywhere uncomplicated, Virgil skilfully fashions figures of speech and very many other things from the verse of Theocritus which, as is undisputed, were said simply by him. Scaliger: Virgil is more rounded than Theocritus, more correct, more lively, more efficacious, more elegant, more adorned, more cultivated, more charming [300], more divine. The Virgilian sorceress is far more restrained and prudent than the Theocritan. He forces out the Theocritan with the result that he is victorious. He handles the same things more felicitously and puts them in place better. William Modicius also compares Virgil with Theocritus and says the following: Theocritus is praised in his bucolic, and he has imitated pastoral [305] simplicity with great care. But Virgil, to whom it has been proposed that with even this genre of poem, he enriched the Latin language. He blended allegories of pastoral simplicity, and certain other matters, which have greater learning and a loftier learning, so that they seem appropriate to a humble form. The prudent man has done this wisely and out of necessity and definite intention. And later: therefore Virgil brings more that is useful and the delight in reading him is total. More so than Theocritus, who everywhere openly speaks of the most foul matters, which Virgil either avoids or covertly and frugally touches upon in secret. Behold the many other things [310] in that same little book, with which he protects Virgil from malicious charges at chapter 7 from where these words have been taken.*

Finally, he has surpassed all Greeks. Ricchieri at book 7 says that Virgil was born: *in complete contrast to the roar and all too frequently the din of the Greek race. Phocas said:*

Who could bear your pride, eloquent Greece, who could endure such swollen speech [315], had the rival land of Tuscany not produced Virgil.

Manto, by Poliziano, prophesizes in the following way:

Brave, blessed child, my blood! May all of Greece shudder at your birth.

And in the *Preface* [320]:

with his sacred poem he has brought glory to the Romulean voice.

Clearly I could have adduced authors who make Virgil superior to Sophocles, Euripides, Aeschylus, Aristophanes. For as often as commentators come upon the passages of these authors, they always give the palm to Virgil. Landino has resolved that Nicander, Pisander, Euphorion and others also have been surpassed by Virgil [325].

GREATER than the Latin Poets

With the Greeks conquered, I move on to the Latins, from whom I extricate myself with very few words, for who does not know this? Quintilian book 10 compares Virgil with Macer, Lucretius, Ennius, and others and, assigning some fault to each of these, makes Virgil the prince of them all. Similarly, Pontano at book 12 of the *Actius* calls Horace inferior to Virgil, yet he is brilliant in his own genre. Vives says this very thing. On Ovid, Quintilian book 10 and Pontano in the passage I have just quoted, must be looked at. [pseudo] Ovid himself also writes [330]:

As much as Virgil conceded to great Homer, I, the poet Naso, have conceded to my Virgil.

I move on to the others. Pontano compares Virgil with Claudian. Having offered up long enough passages of each of them, he gives the sole palm to Virgil. Scaliger writes the same. On Statius, I offer up as witness the author himself who converses in the following way with his own *Thebaid* [335] [*Theb.* 12.816-17]:

Live, I pray, but do not envy the divine Aeneid, but follow it from afar, and always adore its traces.

And at *Silvae* book 4 he calls Virgil his [S. 4.4.55] *teacher*. On Lucan the matter is clear. On Pacatus, Ausonius says that he accomplished more than all the others [*Praef. Variarum* 4.12] *Maro aside*.

In the end he has surpassed all the Latins, lest I am forced to tell of them one by one. And on behalf of these writers whom I have adduced [340] and who remain, I offer the following *Elogia* from Ovid *Ars. Am.* 3 [A.A. 3.337-8]:

And the exiled Aeneas, the origin of lofty Rome; no work more famous stands out in Latin.

Fabio Paulino, *Hebdomades Virgilianae* book 1: *but it is admirable (so that I may now be silent about the rest) how our Maro shines forth alone among all the Latins in every type of praise. In whom there are so many [345] excellences and virtues that I can think of nothing more divine. But each of them is so far removed that I think any of them should be given preference so that I may judge that no poet has been so impudent (though they are more than just this) that, not uttering a sound, he dares to make a choice, or so beloved of himself and his own work and seized with great error of opinion and thought, that he thinks that he can be compared with him. Scaliger: as for instance Anthony in Cicero concerning the poets, they themselves seem to have spoken with another tongue other than Latin and so [350] it is accustomed to be said by us of Virgil that the rest use another tongue other than the poetic one. Elsewhere: no mortal is strong enough to equal his verses. His poems are unattainable. All our hopes of imitating him have died. And: all the Poets who came after Virgil seem to me like mere declaimers, who, though they are saying something ingeniously, have nothing of weight to either trouble any part of his greatness or that should be followed implicitly. And therefore it is unavoidable that their rhythms are harmed and that their charm is lost due to [355] this affliction. Muré in his preface to his commentary on Catullus: nothing more divine*

could be accomplished by that man. Elsewhere: to read other poets pertains to the glory of Virgil, as we understand by just how much he presides over them.

But why do I linger on comparisons? I want to speak beyond every comparison and to lead forth the testimonies of those men who, in elevating Virgil, use the superlative degree, as if they are indignant at mixing him up with the dregs of others. Thus was [360]

Virgil the GREATEST of Poets

First, I bring forth the testimony of Muré, who, when speaking about Virgil in his Preface to his commentary on Catullus says: *to whom I seem to do an injury if I compare him in any way with the rest.* Whence Scaliger most distinctly often says: *a man without compare*, as, beyond all doubt, he truly is. Therefore, if *without compare*, he surely will be the greatest of all and not only greater than all. And so, in elevating Virgil, many, who have been presented to you throughout, use the superlative degree. Here, I mark out a few for you: namely, Seneca, who [365] in his *Letters* and at chapter 9 of *On the shortness of life* says [*Brev. Vit.* 9.2]: *the greatest bard*; Lactantius *Divine Institutions* book 2 says: *the greatest Poet*; Pliny book 14 says [*NH.* 14.7]: *the most excellent Bard*; Ammianus, who says: *lofty and most eminent*; Saint Augustine, *City of God* book 1 says [*de Civ. Dei* 1.3]: *the great Poet, the most excellent and the best of them all*; and in book 4 [*de Civ. Dei* 4.11], *the most noble poet*; Ovid, *Letters from Pontus* 3.4 [*Ep.* 3.4.83-4]: *to the loftiest bard of the Aeneid*; Macrobius, who calls him: *the most learned, the most skilled, the most knowledgeable*; Quintilian [370] book 1 calls him [*Inst.* 1.10.10]: *the most outstanding author*; Eusebius Caesariensis in his *Life of Constantine*, calls him : *the most outstanding of the Poets of Italy; the finest Poet.* You will object: surely that form of speech in Latin also indicates a comparison? It is not so, reader. But that question drives Scaliger into Theophrastus and other learned men who truly

feel that, contrary to grammarians in general, a comparison is not brought [375] about by the superlative degree, but that a certain eminence is indicated beyond all comparison. Furthermore, from his superiority above all, Martial says, in book 14 [14. 186.1]: *the mighty Maro*.

Chapter 5

Elogia of Virgilian Poetry

Up to this point four kinds of praise have been spoken of. The first, concerned Maro's birth; the second, his excellence, characterised as morally correct, useful and delightful; the third, the various skills with which he flourished; the fourth, a comparison of him with the Greeks and Latins. Now I shall pursue his poetic virtues which I have found scattered in authors. I begin with imitation.

Virgil was an outstanding IMITATOR. Macrobius book 6 says [*Sat.* 6.1.6]: *he followed with discernment when copying and imitated in such a manner [5] that when we read the work of another in his own, either we prefer his version or we marvel that it sounds better here than where it originated from.* And book 4: *he translates the Greeks successfully and emulates them very beautifully.* And book 5 [*Sat.* 5.2.13]: *the whole of Virgil's work was fashioned as if from a mirror of Homer's work.* Seneca the Elder *Controversiae* book 7 [*Contr.* 7.27] says that verses of Varro taken up by Virgil for imitation had been expressed better, even though those of Varro were excellent. Turnebe book 19: *Maro [10] has surpassed as much in his imitation as in his judgement. And though a great many imitators are disgusting and tasteless and clearly ridiculous, yet it is never unbecoming for Virgil to imitate. For he does it so aptly and so suitably that he seems to be bringing forth these things as his own and not usurping those of others.* Victorius in his *Prolegomena* to the *Poetics* of Aristotle says: *indeed, like a bee, he has examined the individual flowers of Homer, as he has those of the tragedians also, and the rest of the very best of the Greek and Latin Poets and from them [15] he has made the sweetest honey, there can be no doubt.* Nannius *Miscellany* book 2: *Virgil has drunk with a full mouth draughts from Greek fountains.*

He had exceptional and acute JUDGEMENT. Quintilian, a praiser of this virtue, which is a particular necessity of Poetry, says at book 8 that [*Inst.* 8.3.24]: *Virgil had the acutest judgement.* Pontano in the *Actium* supplies many things about the judgement of the divine man in putting together his poems and in skilfully capturing [20] the ear. For he says that he puts together verses that are weighty, carefully chosen, noble, very honourable, at one time sumptuous, at another sedate, as circumstance required. He had the most accomplished ear and he did not disregard his own ear; he flowed when there was need to; he thundered and he raised an eyebrow when there was need to; he tempered speed with slowness; he blended sounds at one time sonorous, and at another slender, at one time clear, at another somewhat obscure; he had an admirable ability for choosing words and themes. He has more than just these [25]. Hence this Bard is called by Lactantius at book 2 of *Divine Institutions*, *prudent*, as he is by many others. Pontano in the *Actium*: *he can be judged as careful and prudent in his choice and selection of words.* Scaliger book 5: *he also had such an ability for selecting themes that out of the Leideniance of these that resplendent lustre was applied to his writings.* Elsewhere: *he has the choicest words and rhythms.* Those words of the author of the *Life* of Virgil pertain to judgement: *when he was writing the Georgics, it is said, that every day, in the morning [30], he was accustomed to compose a large number of carefully considered verses, and throughout the whole day, by revising them, he reduced them to just a few, cleverly saying that he was producing his poem in the manner of a bear, licking it finally into shape.* Similarly he writes (behold the temperance with which he wanted to compose his poem) about the singular diligence of Virgil, reported by certain men, that it is clear that the entire *Aeneid* was fashioned in prose and divided into twelve books before it had been composed as a poem. And so he tied together in verse what he had fashioned in language free from constraint [35], so that he would not be snatched up by the gust of Poetry into something unworthy and less thoughtful. Therefore Quintilian at book 1 [*Inst.* 1.8.5] correctly

reminds us that there is need for stronger judgement to understand the excellence of Virgil. Turnebe at book 22 says that in Virgil there is nothing idle or thoughtless: and on account of this, the Bard requires a reader who is not disengaged and hasty but one who lingers and cleaves to individual things. With equal praise Velserus at book 1 of *Rerum Boicarum* says: *Virgil, for whom no word slipped out thoughtlessly*. Scaliger seems to me to have pronounced brilliantly on his acute judgement [40]: *truly I am of the opinion that that one man knew what it was not to write absurdly*.

Next to judgement is his miraculous PROPRIETY which he employed in all matters. Distinguished witnesses have observed this excellent quality. Macrobius *Saturnalia* book 3 says [Sat. 3.2.1]: *propriety in vocabulary is so familiar to this Poet that observation of this kind on Virgil is now redundant*. Quintilian book 1, when speaking about some doubtful matter [45] pertaining to a linguistic form of Latin speech, says the following [Inst. 1.5.35]: *neither of which I refute since for each the authority is Virgil*. Scaliger: *Ancient Roman purity shines out in his words*. In addition perhaps this had been looked back on by Poliziano: *Behold, Rome itself boasts of your son*, when Manto is speaking with Mantua. In addition to his propriety, I repeat that praise which has never been praised enough, that of the distinction of styles in the *Eclogues*, *Georgics* and *Aeneid*. How much is there (immortal God!) that could have been brought to attention from [50] that divine man such that the style of these works has been separated out into a career path that will last forever? And so, in such a great multitude of verses, the slender style has never mixed itself with the moderate, and the moderate never with the sublime, and yet the miraculous variety and delightfulness has none the less been preserved. As often as I ponder this, I am astonished. Commentators celebrate this matter enough on the proemium of the *Aeneid*: *I am that man who once etc, etc*. Landino marvels at this in the following way in his *Preface*: *I beseech you, can a Poet be thought of who is more sublime in [55] the greatest matters, or more temperate in lesser ones, or more*

concise in base ones, than this one? And Vives: *at the same time happy and depressed; delightful and serious; at one time marvellous in his abundance, and at another marvellous in his brevity.* What also shall I say about the three other characteristics of writing, the exegetical, the dramatic, and the mixed? Servius discusses these on *Eclogue 3*.

Among the virtues of Virgilian poetry, SUBLIMITY of expression [60], the life of the poem, holds no lesser place. I shall speak about this here. Poliziano describes Maro as: *resounding grandly.* Juvenal, *Satire 11* speaks of [11.180-1]: *the sonorous Maro*, as does Ausonius in the *Idylls [Ep. 22.56-50]: once again it is right that I learn the sonorous Maro.* Pontano says of his verse that it is: *weighty, rhythmical, dignified, remarkable, admirable, and worthy of the highest honour.* Again: *even with the highest flattery he never falls short of a dignified seriousness. He rises up magnificently. Similarly: Virgilian rhythm.* Vives de *Disciplinis Book 3: the Aeneid of Virgil is a mighty work and [65] full of dignity and good deeds.* Saint Jerome in his *Commentary on the Gospel of Michael* chapter 7 calls him: *the sublime Poet.* Servius on *Eclogue 1* on the style of Virgil uses the word *grandiloquent.* Scaliger comments on this matter, unlike on others, sparingly: *he is magnificent, rhythmical, majestic, splendid, grandiloquent, vigorous, beyond human comprehension. He amplifies with majesty, he employs grand diction. He has many qualities of great weight. He towers high with mighty praise.* Vives gives first place amongst the Poets to Virgil on account his: *gravity and [70] his judgements.* He places Horace next and others soon after. Again, he says: *no-one has surpassed this man in terms of his sublimity in great matters.* Perhaps on account of this Virgil is called by Pontano in the *Antonius, a hero.* Scaliger has also said: *there is in him a heroic diction.* He has also been called by Martial *great* and in books 11 and 12 [11.48.1]: *Silius honours these monuments of great Maro* and [12.67.5] *you who honour the Ides of great Maro.* But who would doubt that Martial himself similarly looked back to the sublimity of this Bard at book 5 in the following [75] verse [5.5.8]: *place the great work of*

the buskined Maro. I shall weave into this praise something about Virgilian tragic writing, since he is called [5.5.8] *buskined* by Martial and since I am dealing with the concept of sublimity which is a characteristic of Tragedies. And so, there are traces of evidence that Virgil was a Tragic Poet. The author of his life says: *Thyestes is held to be a tragedy of Virgil's which Varius published under his own name*. If this is so, Virgil excelled no less amongst the Tragedians, for Quintilian book 10 says [10.1.98]: *Varius' Thyestes [80] can be compared to any one of the Greeks'*. Tacitus praises the same things in well-known words in the *De Oratore* [Dial. 12]. I have adduced one trace, the second is written by Tertullian in *De Praescriptione Haereticorum* [De prae. haer. 39.4]: *Ovid at Getae squeezed out his tragedy, called Medea, to the fullest extent from Virgil's example*. Moreover Tacitus elevates Ovid's tragedy *Medea* in the passage I have adduced here [Dial. 12]: *no book of Asinius or Messala is so illustrious as the Medea of Ovid or the Thyestes of Varius*. The third is that Virgil is called by Martial [5.5.8], *buskined*, but I have already quoted this verse. Phocas also says [85]:

thence in tragic verse he thundered forth the battles of the Teucrians and the Rutulians.

All those things pertain to the sublimity of his style.

From this praise I move on to PAINTING, with which Virgil vividly draws all matters. Scaliger says: *he fashions living speech*. Godescalus at book 2, chapter 24 of his edition of Vegetius says: *we seem to watch Virgil's descriptions [90], not read them*. Quintilian book 8 [Inst. 8.3.63] says that it is in this manner that Virgil shows the form of the thing he is painting: *so that it could not be clearer to those looking on*. Later he says [8.3.79]: *he lays the matter before our eyes*. Minturno: *who, then, has ever seemed to excel in painting, not least moments of time, places, occurrences, feelings of the heart, much better than this man, and who has placed them far more clearly before our eyes?* Vives: *When*

Virgil narrates, it is as if he is leading us into the very matter at hand, and we are looking upon it with our own eyes. But all [95] his encomiasts ought to fall silent when we can go to the Bard himself.

Moreover, Virgil is Elegant, Fine, Ingenious. I have joined these three *Elogia* together as they seem to look toward the same thing. Quintilian has shown us the first of these, calling Virgil, *elegant*, at book 8 [8.2.21] and book 6 [6.3.20]. Horace, *Satires* 1.10 [*Serm.* 1.10.44-5]: *tenderness and grace granted to Virgil.* He is explaining the carefully tended elegance which the Bard had, just as in that line of Cicero [*Inst.* 6.3.2]: *her feet are graceful and soft as she goes delicately on her way.* Aulus [100] Gellius book 20 calls him [NA 20.1.54]: *the most elegant poet*, and at book 10 he gives him the adverbs [NA 10.11.6-7] *very tastefully* and *very elegantly*. Macrobius book 3 says [*Sat.* 3.11.9]: *an adherent to matters of learning as much as to words of elegance.* Scaliger: *an author of the most elegant speech.* Horace for a second time [*Serm.* 1.10.44-5]: *tenderness and grace granted to Virgil.* Servius on Eclogue 1: *with poetic refinement.* Macrobius book 3 says [*Sat.* 3.10.6]: *he is not only learned but also melodious.* Here I refrain from further discussion because there is more than enough on this subject in the *Elogia* on his delightfulness. Thirdly, there is Poliziano who calls the works of Virgil [105]: *Daedalean monuments*, meaning they are ingenious. He is called by Vovianus in his funeral oration: *noble in character* and by Pontano: *a consummate artist.* The works that he crafted, which were seen at Naples, make his talent known, though I have already spoken about these in the *Elogia* dealing with his various skills. Here I am stopping for it may be an infinite task to pursue all the virtues of Virgilian Poetry. I shall move on to the sixth chapter and the *Elogia* which are sought from the various attributes (which the Greeks call epithets) which authors bestow upon Virgil [110]. But I shall not adduce them all. A whole book could be created (truly so) from these attributes alone. For there is nothing glorious,

magnificent or excellent which authors do not ascribe to him. And so I shall adduce the more notable ones. I begin with his divine nature.

Chapter 6

Elogia from his attributes

He was divine. This is the usual practice of races who honour outstanding men with this *Elogium* and with greater still, for they used to call them not only divine but gods. Macrobius book 5 [Sat. 5.1.18]: *Maro, not of mortal but divine talent. Pontano: the god of Roman poetry.* Statius [Th. 12.816]: *the divine Aeneid.* Thereafter, in the same spirit, he introduces the verb [Th. 12.817] *to worship.* Vegetius book 4 [de Re Mil. 4.41]: *Virgil's divine talent. Scaliger: the divine poet. In him there is the sound of divine measures, and divine diction. Virgil's Muse never produced anything mortal* [5]. Whence it is that Scaliger, having similarly admired Virgilian divinity, as a rank loftier than human talent anywhere, sets up altars to Virgil as if to the God of Poets. Pertaining to this point is that remark of Seneca at *Epistle* 108, that a poem of Virgil ought to please [Ep. 108.26]: *as if it had been sent by an oracle.* It is called *heavenly* by Scaliger, Pliny, Macrobius, Quintilian. Whence Poliziano: *a mind kindred with heaven.* The term "sacred" is used by many. Whence Celio says at book 20 that Virgil is worshipped by all who are learned and morally excellent like [10]: *the shrines of temples.* And because he is *sacred*, for that very reason Phocas terms the sword-point, with which Virgil was attacked by a soldier, as *sacrilegious.* Augustus also says: *will so sacred a work be lost?* Cornelius Gallus or some other: *he created Aeneas from his sacred mouth.* Tacitus, *de Oratore*, spoke of Virgil [Dial. 20]: *as one who has been rendered sacred.* He is *to belong to the stars* according to Columella and Poliziano. The former at book 10 says: *bringing back the precepts of Maro, the starry bard.* The latter in the *Manto* calls him: *the starry bard.* He is called remarkable by the holy men of learning; Saint Jerome [15] at book 1

[*cont. Io.*], then Pontano and then Saint Augustine at *City of God* book 5 [*De civ. Dei* 5.12]. He is called mighty by Martial at book 14 [14.186]:

How thin the cover which contained the mighty Maro! The first page bears his very face.

He is called *fortunate* by Ovid at *Tristia* book 2 [2.533]: *and yet that man is the fortunate author of your Aeneid*. Poliziano: *than whom no other is more fortunate*. Pliny book 14 calls him [*HN* 14.1.7]: *blessed, fortunate*, as does Propertius [20] also [34b. 47-9]. He is called *noble* by Augustine at *City of God*, book 21 [*De civ. Dei* 21.6] and *very noble* at book 10 [*De civ. Dei* 10.1] and book 15 [*De civ. Dei* 15.9]; an epithet Caelius applies to him in countless passages. He is called *admirable* everywhere by Scaliger and *wondrous* by Eusebius in his *life of Constantine*. Whilst speaking about the work of Virgil, Quintilian says [*Inst.* 8.3.30]: *we are amazed*. Those words of Poliziano, whilst speaking to Augustus, refer to the same idea:

I see that you, greatest prince [25], are standing among the purple-clad leading citizens and the holy Senate, weighing up his rhythms and holding his face.

I had already spoken earlier about those recitals by Virgil which Linus, Orpheus, the Muses and Apollo used to marvel at. He is called *great* on two occasions by Martial at books 11 [11.48.1] and 12 [12.67.5]. Why he is now called *the greatest* has been said by me elsewhere. He is called *illustrious* by Saint Jerome at *Epistle 139 to Cyprian*, and at chapter 1 in *Joel* and at book 1 chapter 1 of his commentary on *Zacharias* [30]. He is called *equal to Nature* by Scaliger, and indeed *Nature itself*. Macrobius sees this when he says at book 1 of the *Dream of Scipio* [*Comm. Som. Scip.* 1.16.5]: *the Poet is a confidant of nature herself*; and the following things, which Servius on *Eclogue 1* has adduced from Donatus: *in writing his poems Virgil has followed the natural order. For firstly life in the mountains was pastoral, and later came love of agriculture, and then succeeded interest in warfare*. The author of the

life of Virgil also says: *he followed nature itself in his writing. For the life of men was at first* [35] *pastoral, cultivation of the fields followed this, and finally wars were undertaken to defend lands and possessions. And so he undertook the Bucolics first, then soon after the Georgics, and thirdly the Aeneid.* The things which I have brought forth (though I shall say this only in passing) prove that the author of the *life of Virgil* which is being passed around at the moment, was Donatus. He is called *the flower and head of Poets* by Alonso Tostado in the letter of Saint Jerome to [40] St. Paul. He is called *Prince of poets* by Velleius at book 1 [2.36.3], by Pontano in the *Antonius* and by everyone else. He deserves to have this name for, as Pontano says: *he made Roman poetry illustrious*; as Scaliger says: *he carried poetry to the highest peak of perfection.* Finally, he is antonomastically called *the Poet* by everyone. What great praise this is! From many more, I single out some others; Seneca book 6 *Natural Questions* chapters 17 and 18, Augustine book 4 *City of God*, Apuleius book 1 *on the earth*, Saint Jerome *Epistle 9 to Salvianus*, and his *Epistle to Cromatius*, Pontano, and Eusebius chapter 7 of his commentary on [45] *Ecclesiastes*. Others add, *Our Poet*, as if distinguishing him from Homer. Amongst these is Augustine at book 3 chapter 4 *Against the Academics*, Lactantius book 1 *Divine Institutions*, and Seneca *Epistles* 59 and 86, and Patricius book 3 *on Kingship*, as well as many others. Celio at book 5 calls him: *the Latin Poet*. I am omitting other qualities attributed to him, partly because many can be gleaned from those I have already mentioned, and partly because I do not have the spirit to pursue them all. For there is not a chapter of these *Elogia* which I could not have increased by twofold or [50] threefold, and sometimes even by fourfold. The chapter, on which I am currently, I could most certainly have increased by a hundredfold or even a thousandfold.

Chapter 7

There now remains the final part of the *Elogia*. This will contain the honours which were held by Virgil whilst he was alive and those granted to him when he had died; and finally, the testimonies of those who say that his name will endure for all eternity.

HONOURS held by Virgil WHILST ALIVE

By the force of his talent alone he crept into the intimacy of Augustus, the *Princeps* than whom no-one was greater or more powerful or more fortunate. The author of the *Virgilian Life: whatever he sought from Augustus was never refused* [5]. Virgil was very frequently seen with this *Princeps* speaking in a most familiar manner. Indeed, he discussed with him in preference to all others whether he should put down his power and, convinced by his advice, he held on to it. Horace touched on this affection of Augustus' for the Bard at *Epistles*.2.1 [Epist. 2.1.247]: *Virgil and Varius are your beloved poets*. Augustus wrote to him often and he used to send him letters in which he entreated him to send him something of his poems. Claudian writes this in his *Epistle to Olybrius* [*carm. min.* 40.23]: *Caesar deemed it worthy to have written to slender* [10] *Virgil*. And Tacitus in his dialogue *de Oratore* (a work which others attribute to Quintilian) - I shall put forth his words because he touches upon several others matters concerning Virgil's honours [Dial. 13]: *I prefer the strict and isolated seclusion of Virgil in which he lacked neither the favour of the divine Augustus nor popularity amongst the people. The letters of Augustus bear witness, as do the people themselves; for on hearing a quotation of some verses of Virgil in the theatre, they rose to their feet as one, and venerated Virgil, who happened to be present at the play* [15], *just as they would have done Augustus himself*. What an *Elogium* this is! However I am passing over

Augustus. Maro marvellously conquered for himself all the leading men who frequented the palace of Augustus. Phocas says:

Then mighty Rome herself, Maro, brought you to Siro as a teacher and joined her nobles to you in friendship. Pollio, Maecenas, Varus, and Cornelius blaze [20]; each one grasps you for himself, gaining eternal life through you.

Servius on *Eclogue 2* says that it was accepted that Virgil was received at lunch by Pollio and that he accepted gifts from great princes: for he received a boy, Alexandrus, from Pollio, and Ceber from Leria, a noble woman. Also, Asinius Gallus, the son of Asinius Pollio, was very friendly with this Bard, which Servius writes on *Eclogue 10*. The Poet himself touches upon this good-will in the second *Eclogue* [*E.* 3.84]: *Pollio loves my Muse though rustic she may be* [25]. There is no-one who does not know how dear Virgil was to Maecenas. Martial refers to the good-will of this leading man as *Virgil's Muse*, for with him inspiring Virgil's achievements, he has gained divine inspiration. But, with other leading men omitted, I move on to the public, to whom Virgil was most dear. Authors of his life say that man was of such great repute that he was always pointed out on the street at Rome by the public, and they all shouted out to that man "o delight of Rome!" This enthusiasm of the public and the miraculous effect [30] on him of their love is indicated by Phocas in these verses which touch upon the account of that centurion who had nearly killed Virgil:

When he almost was felled by a wicked sword. Why do you rage, hand? Why do you strike at the heart of Rome with your unholy blade? Your wars and your leader himself posterity will keep silent [35] if Mantua does not tell of them. The very learned crowd of the powerful did not bear this savagery. Going to the source of it all, they showed what the horror of Mars had done and what sort of man had suffered such lamentable things.

But the Poet himself has very sweetly expressed this love toward him in the ninth *Eclogue* [E. 9.17-20] [40]:

*Alas! can any man be guilty of such a crime? Alas! was the solace of your songs,
Menalcas, almost torn from us, along with yourself? Who would sing the Nymphs?
Who would sprinkle the earth with flowery herbs, or veil the springs with green
shade?*

Now what is the love, what is that applause with which the people as one got to their feet for Virgil? For the same honour was given [45] to him as to Augustus. I have already adduced this from Tacitus, to whom Poliziano has alluded:

*You yourself, Rome, of your own accord, will give to him an honour which you
scarcely bestow upon military chiefs, and you will get to your feet with the whole
theatre.*

What is that acclaim with which his verses have been recited in the theatre, with everyone admiring them, and with one, Tullius, like them all, shouting out his own praise of Virgil, *THE OTHER HOPE* [50] *OF GREAT ROME*? Now, what riches has he prepared for himself whilst he was alive? There is no modest evidence of the wealth in which he was kept. For certainly Plato and Dio Chrysostom conclude that Homer was worth nothing when he was alive because he was very poor and in great need. Budé book 3 *De Asse*, based on the authors of the *Life of Virgil*: *Virgil possessed near ten million sestertii from the generosity of his friends. He had a house in Rome on the Esquiline, though in retirement [55] he often spent his time in Campania and Sicily. Whatever he sought from Augustus, he never suffered rejection. Every year he used to send gold to his parents to increase their support, though now grown up he has lost them. He made Augustus an heir to one quarter. Ten million sestertii strengthened to two hundred and fifty thousand aurei: thus the seventh Satire of Juvenal has not vainly recalled him as being rich.* This is what Budé says. Similarly he says

that Virgil received over five thousand *aurei* from Octavia for the twenty one verses [60] in which he praises the deeds of Marcellus. But I now move on to the glory which followed his death.

HONOURS held by Virgil WHEN HE HAD DIED

That grand *Elogium* of Augustus explains this well enough when he forbade the *Aeneid* to be burnt, though the Bard himself had ordered this. The verses of Augustus are as follows:

So then, could that wicked voice, with the loftiest of words [65], have demanded such a terrible crime? So will his work go into the flames and will the great Muse of the wise-speaking Maro perish? O ill-fitting crime! Will his rich work be lost? Could eyes see? Could the flame not spare his honour and protect a great achievement worthy of laying eyes upon? [70] Handsome Apollo forbid, Latin Muses prevent!

So felt that great *princeps*. What of Alexander Severus, almost Augustus' equal? Lampridius says in his *Life [in Alex. Sev. 31.4]*: *he used to call Virgil the Plato of Poets, and he had a bust of him along with an image of Cicero in a second household shrine, where he also used to keep an image of Achilles and of other great men.* What of this honour? And what of the following too, which is in Pontano book 5 *On Obedience*, that the Mantuans still, as a mark of their race [75], place a bust of Virgil on buildings and public monuments, as the inhabitants of Sulmo do with that Ovidian phrase [*Tr. 4.10.3*]: *Sulmo is my homeland.* Brodeau in book 3 of his *Anthology* says that an image of Virgil is still inscribed on coins by the Mantuans, as one of Homer is by the Chians, and Sappho by the Lesbians. What if we go to the learned men who worshipped the dead Virgil with utmost care? The Younger Pliny writes the following about Silius Italicus at *Epistles* book 3 [*Ep. 3.7.8-9*]: *everywhere there were many books, many statues, many busts, which he not only possessed [80] but*

worshipped too; Virgil's before all others, whose birthday he celebrated more devoutly than his own, especially at Naples, where he was accustomed to approach his tomb like a temple.

Pontano in his book *On kindness: Silius Italicus used to look on his tomb almost everyday and adorn it with offerings*. Martial book 11 [11.58.1]:

Silius reveres the monument of great Maro. Later [85] [50. (49) 1-2]: now there was but one, a poor man, who would worship the lonely ashes and sacred reputation of Maro.

For Silius confessed that, whilst hiding in the tomb of Virgil, he was roused by Virgil's cold bones and ashes to divine spirit and to pouring out poetry. Vida confessed the same about himself at *Poetics books 3* [90]:

Here, before all others, we shall bear beyond the stars the praises of the joyous Virgil for his poems of his homeland, from which Latin glory, my strength and my soul is drawn.

Equally Statius says of himself at *Silvae* book 4 [S. 4.54-5]:

Sitting at the threshold of a temple to Virgil [95], I take heart and sing at the tomb of the great master.

Pontano also says that there is a passage from the *Actius* by Sannazaro in which Virgil lay buried and was worshipped most devoutly and with veneration and he was visited most frequently. This custom of the worshipping and the virtual reverencing of Virgil is so conspicuous in the age of Martial that he himself says at book 12 [12.67.1-5]:

The Ides of May created Mercury [100]. Diana returns on the Ides of Augustus. Maro made sacred the Ides of October. May you often keep these Ides and those, you who celebrate great Maro's Ides.

He makes him equal to Mercury and Diana; for as the former makes the month of May sacred, so the latter makes August sacred [105] and thus Virgil October by virtue of his birthday. Ausonius speaks with equal glory at *Genethliacos* 9 [*Genth.* 9.22-5]:

Hecate, Leto's daughter, claims the Ides of Sextilis; those of May, Mercury, who was raised to the rank of the Gods. Maro, born long ago, hallows the Ides of October.

Now, at what price was this Bard held by the great teacher Saint Augustine? It is clear enough from book 2 *Against the Academics* that he was [110] very dedicated to the reading of Virgil. At book 1 *de Ordine*, he writes the following [*ord.* 1.8.26]: *I was accustomed to listen to half a book of Virgil every day before dinner.* Gellius book 2 tells the story of a copy of the second book of the *Aeneid* that had been bought by a learned man for [*NA.* 3.2.5] *twenty gold coins.* At such a price was this Bard held. Equal to this is that report that Virgil received ten sesterces from Octavia for each of the individual verses on Marcellus. Budé completes the sum in the *de Asse*. Read him. I now cross from [115] these matters to others. There have been emperors very well versed in Virgilian reading and I consider that this is relevant to the honours upon which I am currently engaged. An example might be Nero in Suetonius, Diocletian in Vopiscus in the *Life* of Numerianus, Gordian in Capitolinus. Truly, nowadays, in the verses of which Poet do leading men rejoice more than those of Virgil for marking out and making illustrious their own pedigree? This is an honour given particularly to Virgil. I am not applying an example of this matter because I am undertaking this task on [120] Virgilian inscriptions in another passage. I shall complete this topic with some *Elogia* of the city of Mantua that have been recited because it was the place in which Virgil was born, for this honour as a whole flows back to the Poet. Pontano says at book 2 *de Fortuna: Virgil, whether the son of a traveller or a potter, has made Mantua illustrious. Why has nature not yielded this very thing to one of its front-rank of citizens?* Silius book 4 [8.593-4]:

Mantua, home of the Muses, carried all the way to the stars by the song [125] of Andes and rivalling the plectrum of Smyrna.

Phocas:

Revered Mantua brought forth a likeness of the Maeonian bard, Maro, a stream of the Romulean tongue.

Martial, Book 1 [1.61.2]:

Mantua is fortunate in Virgil.

Manto in Poliziano speaks with Mantua in the following way [130]:

Rise up and strive to raise an edifice equal to the stars, greater than the splendour of the pyramids. Oh! what great glory awaits you! How long you will be celebrated in the centuries to come! There will be born, I see it, a heavenly poet, sent down from the citadel of heaven, whose mind, divine by nature, will give him a draught of the divine essence [135].

Celio book 7 says: *Latin matters owe much to the sky of Mantua, beneath which the most distinctive model of eloquence by far was born and raised in a certain part.*

Honour of Virgil that will be ETERNAL

Heralds of this matter are; Martial book 11 [11.52.18]:

Or the ploughlands closest to the eternal Virgil.

Ovid, *Amores* 1 [140] [Am. 1.15.25-6]:

Tityrus and crops and the arms of Aeneas will be read so long as Rome is the head of a triumphant world.

Hilasius:

The loss of light has done no harm to so great a Poet, whom the honour of his poetry and his wealth place him at the forefront.

Maximianus:

By singing of herds, the countryside, and wars in his poems [145], Virgil has deserved his indelible name.

Poliziano:

To whom dumbstruck charm concedes all her grace.

Once again he is the *everlasting bard*, that is, he will endure forever. And so to end with a grand *Elogium*:

But the work of the bard will remain forever, and run on into ripe years. As long as the wandering stars shall blaze in silent heaven [150], as long as the sun shall rise from the dark Indies, as long as Dawn leading the way shall come with her light-baring chariots, as long as sad winter shall drive off autumn, and summer drive off spring, and as long as seething Tethys shall flow, and turning back on herself, flow back once again, as long as the elements, mixed together shall make new forms [155], the immortal glory of great Maro will always be, these rivers will always flow in inexhaustible streams, learned draughts will always be drunk from these springs, these grasses will always pour out sweet-smelling flowers, from which, o bees, you will sip piously, from which the youthful grace with three-fold hand may bind [160] splendid garlands to her hair.

Macrobius *Saturnalia* book 6 on the work of Virgil [*Sat.* 6.1.5]: *it will remain forever*. The great emperor inclining to praise of his own Bard sings thus:

Truly, with Camena wholly re-echoing, may his song last forever, and may his name [165] be praised in public as that of a god. May he thrive, may he delight, may he be reread, may he be loved!

Finally Virgil himself says that his trumpet is to be heard for a very long time. This matter is to be pursued from a particular story. It is as follows: the shyster Philistus cut Virgil to pieces in the presence of Augustus. The Bard was silent. Philistus called him tongueless, then, finally, Maro said: *quiet, you shyster! This silence of mine has made Augustus the champion of my cause, and that trumpet, with which I speak, will be heard everywhere and [170] for a very long time. You, with your constant chatter, burst not only the ears of men, but also the very walls.* Hartungus, *Decuria* 3, has adduced this story from Donatus. Erasmus touched on it in his *Proverbs: to shatter columns*. Therefore, at one time by “trumpet” he means his own poems, at another, Augustus himself. It is certainly to be heard for a very long time.

END OF THE *ELOGIA*

That opinion of Macrobius at *Saturnalia* book 1 [*Sat.* 1.24.8] brings to a close so many *Elogia*: *this is the glory of Maro; that he neither grows with praise, nor lessens with criticism.* And so, I have said nothing here of benefit to the merits of Virgil, especially since I have cut a great part in order to avoid contempt.

Now farewell, most godly Maro, offspring of Phoebus, splendour of the Muses, glory of the world, advocate of Latium, nourisher of talents, archetype of nature. When I see another Poet other than you being read, being praised [5], being judged, I stop concentrating at once, I yawn entirely, I dose off completely. If you are being read, if you are being praised, if you are being judged, I concentrate instantly, I am excited, and it takes over whatever I am doing.

To the Reader

I divide, as you see, most humane reader, these nocturnal studies of mine on Virgil into *Argumenta*, *Explicationes* and *Notae*. In the *Argumenta*, I briefly grasp the part of his poetry which I am undertaking to explain; and I do this in such a way that I may occasionally connect the words of an earlier *Argumentum* with the present one. And so, if ever a word seems to be required in some *Argumentum*, it must be sought from the earlier one [5].

In the *Explicationes*, I not only explain individual opinions, but I also tie together collective ones, occasionally weighing up the Poet's intention. I stress "occasionally" and only as seemed appropriate, for if I were to always do this it would take the place of the commentary proper. However, in explaining I often hold to this principle: to reveal the intention of the Poet by some synonym (often confined in a parenthesis). In this section (if it is ever necessary for the understanding of the novice reader) I give the order of the line, but I do it very rarely, for [10] Virgil very rarely requires such care: since he has as much depth and recondite learning in his writing as there is clarity in his words.

In the *Notae* there is a great variety of subjects, reflecting the great variety of subjects of which the Poet is full. For in these *Notae* I now support my *Explicatio*, with either added authors or testimonies, which I rest on. At one time, I offer the alternative explanations of others, but I do this rarely, as I am often content with one. At another [15], I follow closely the force of words and at another, their etymology, if this is especially helpful to the sense. Very frequently I bring to light the passages of Greeks and Romans in which the Poet has trodden: and very frequently again of those who were after Virgil and who trod in his footsteps. To hear why I do this, please pay keen attention. I had at one time determined to teach poetry, and to bring some of my labour on this activity to light, but I refrained from these instructions and considered it more than adequate to reveal my instructions by this very

exercise [20]. “What?” you will say. Listen then. Virgil is very frequently accustomed to undertake the imitation of passages of Greek authors in such a way as to add things which are lacking in the Greeks, to remove things in them which are redundant, and to render more perfect and resplendent things in them which are imperfect and too little cultivated by his labour and industry. This activity is so effective for the teaching of poetry that there is perhaps none greater. For it will happen that someone who is taught by the Maronian master [25], either narrates all matters gravely, if using narrative, or brilliantly enlarges and decorates with feelings, now for persuasion, now for consolation. This matter can be shown in no other way than by an abundance of examples, and by having seen the testimonies of Greek and Latin eloquence. Indeed, so useful is this knowledge that later Poets after Virgil made their own verses illustrious, by some attribute, or opinion, or speech that has been snatched from this Prince. Without doubt, the novice Poet turns his attention more keenly to the imitation of Virgil, if he sees how [30] Horace, Statius, Silius Italicus, and several others have undertaken imitating Virgil for themselves. From that same zeal for teaching poetry it originated that I would very often join in addition either various Poets or other authors who have undertaken that same thing with various alteration: so that he who aspires to poetry might perfect his speech and thus the most beautiful memorials of our literary ancestors might stick in the mind. I go on to others matters which I treat in the *Notae*. Sometimes, I work in general passages about a matter which the Poet touches on, like obedience, or the flux [35] of human affairs, or other similar things: and troubled by the imprecations of many people, how great that was on me, I had wanted to cut those passages. Moreover, many men have earnestly attacked the stories and enquiries that I was relating: but none has won, for why would I relate stories which exist abundantly in Latin *Dictionarii* themselves? And so, I take up as much about these stories as is necessary for new and as yet untold analysis of the Bard. In illustrating the precepts of the *Georgics*, I have not been sparing. In relation to this

[40], some-one will testify against me, who feels that sometimes fewer testimonies suffice. Yet, the poverty of other interpreters has moved me to add more in addition, for I saw that this part of Virgil had not been illustrated enough. Out of the interpreters who have edited commentaries before me, I stick to one, as much as possible, by Father William Germanus Valens, whose judgement seemed to me the weightiest. In rendering authors from Greek speech into Latin, I have followed [45] the most approved translators, not bringing my own action on this matter, unless they commit some wrong, for then have my hands been applied to the wounds of translators. These are nearly all the things which I wanted you, the reader, to know at the very start. Enjoy my attentiveness and wait for my labours on the *Aeneid* which are much briefer than the ones here: for that part of the Poet, already widely broadcast by multiple talents, is wanting of a lesser labour. The *Georgics*, because they have been too little studied, have, by necessity, been explained and illustrated copiously [50].

Notes

Dedicatio

Note on Addressee: Diego de Silva y Mendoza (1564-1630).

This long dedicatory epistle is addressed to the Count of Salinas, Diego de Silva y Mendoza, the noble amateur poet, born in Madrid in 1564 (for biographical details see Dadson (2013); (2011) pp79-102; (2009) pp823-38; (1995) pp5-38; (1994-5) pp181-216). He was the second son (to survive) of Ruy Gómez de Silva and Ana de Mendoza y de la Cerda. Contrary to La Cerda's assertion at *Ded.* 44-7, scholars suggest that Diego was educated at home, in the Palace of Pastrana, where he lived with his mother and brothers and sisters after their father's death in July 1573. A Pedro de Mendoza appears to have acted as tutor to his two elder brothers - Rodrigo (the future Duke of Pastrana) and Diego (the future Duke of Francavila). From December 1564 (when Mendoza was born) to July 1573 (when Ruy Gómez died) Mendoza probably lived in Madrid, in the houses the family owned or rented near the Royal Palace (Alcázar Real). After Ruy's death the family moved to their palace in Pastrana, where they stayed until the early months of 1575, when they returned to Madrid. They spent the next four years there before Ana's arrest on charges of treason in July 1579. If Diego did study at a Jesuit school, as *Ded.* 44-7 suggests, then it must have been when he lived in Madrid, while his father was alive, and thus up to the age of 8 years.

Diego was certainly very well educated, as was his mother (see Dadson (2011) pp79-102). By the early 1580s he was writing poetry, and by the mid to late 1580s he was well known as a poet both in Madrid and elsewhere and counted Luis de Góngora (1561-1627) and the prose writer Luis Gálvez de Montalvo (1549-1591) amongst his friends at this time. Mendoza's professional life was as a politician; he was appointed President of the Council of Portugal in 1606, having joined the Council the year before (August 1605), Viceroy and Captain General of Portugal (1617-1622) and, finally, advisor on Portuguese affairs to Count

–Duke Olivares, the prime minister of Spain between 1621-1643. Mendoza died in Madrid on 15 June 1630.

His reputation in Madrid was as an educated, well read and very well thought of poet, and a number of works are dedicated to him, especially once he began to acquire government posts (see Dadson (1995) pp5-38). His mother frequently referred to his writing, calling him on one occasion "Garcilaso" (Dadson (2013) p518 doc. 337, *carta XI*). He was, of course, a Mendoza: the noble family who prided themselves on their learning and who intimately associated themselves with the introduction of the Renaissance into Spain (see Nader (2000) pp77-100). Curiously, Mendoza had no copy of Virgil listed in his library (see Dadson (1994-5) pp181-216).

His father, Ruy Gomez de Silva (1516-1573), was one of the central figures in the Spanish court in the sixteenth century. Despite humble origins in Portugal, he rose to become a favourite of Philip II and was briefly his chief minister (see Boyden (1995) for a detailed study of his life and career).

His mother's distinguished branch of the La Cerda family was quite distinct from our commentator's.

1. Mihine...Tibi...Hispaniae: La Cerda begins with a rhetorical tricolon highlighting his own good fortune at having secured the patronage of Mendoza, Mendoza's own particular virtues, and Spain's enjoyment of such a citizen.

2-3. magnarum virtutum: the humanistic tradition of the morally instructive power of the *studia humanitatis* goes back to Cicero's original discussion of the phrase and its association with *humanitas* at *Pro Archia* 2-3. For an account of Cicero's use of these terms see Nauert (1995) pp12-13; Von Martels and Schmidt (2003) pp87-98.

3. illustrata: picking up *illustrissime* (*Ded.* 1). Note La Cerda’s language of praise. *illustro* and its related forms are employed specifically to praise Virgil and his poetry as presented by La Cerda in his commentary cf. the titles of the two dedicatory poems: *AD P. IO. LVDOVICUM DE LA CERDA BUCOLICI, ET GEORGICIS P. VIRGILII MARONIS EGREGIO COMMENTARIO ILLUSTRATIS, GASPAR Sanctius Societatis IESV / IN P. VIRGILIUM A IOAN. LVD. CERDA SOCIETATIS IESV illustratum* AND. *SCHOTTVS ANTVERPIENSIS eiusdem Soc.;* also: *In illustrandis praeceptis Georgicorum parcus non fui* (*Ad lect.* 40); *videbam enim non satis hanc Virgilii partem esse illustratam* (*Ad lect.* 43).

Illustro evokes the twin sense of “make clear” and “make illustrious”. Thus Virgil is well explained (“made clear”) and hence praise falls to La Cerda himself for this achievement. Virgil is also “made illustrious” by La Cerda’s work thereby provoking some sense of competition between commentator and text.

illustrata here of course describes Mendoza’s life and the great examples it provides to other *Principes* (*Ded.* 3: *Principibus aliis exemplo est*). Note La Cerda’s employment of language reserved for the praise of Virgil himself. Mendoza becomes the patron *par excellence* because of his deeply Virgilian qualities of *humanitas...iudicium...doctrina* (*Ded.* 10-11), terms used explicitly in praise of Virgil himself cf. *cap.II.34; 54; cap.III.passim; cap.V.18*.

La Cerda goes on to describe Mendoza’s riches *opes* (*Ded.* 17), whilst being inferior to none, find seemly expression via their deployment in a civic context: *sive opes, quae nullis inferiores sunt, cum potius quam regiarum magnificentia, comitatu publico, nitore domestico longe lateque superes* (*Ded.* 17-8) [or the riches, which are inferior to none, though it is with public support and domestic splendour, rather than with the magnificence of royal palaces that you excel far and wide]. This accords with La Cerda’s praise of Virgilian *modestia* at *cap.II.60* and his exculpation of Virgil’s wealth via Budé’s anecdote at *cap.VII.54*. La Cerda also says of

Mendoza at *Ded.* 22: *video Te inter Maximos esse Maximum*. The deployment of praise as a mode of criticism, chiefly through the language of ranking, as here, is a common feature of La Cerda's method throughout the *Prolegomena* to suggest the powerfully educative force of Virgil and his poetry (cf. *Ded.* 27; *cap.*IV.361; for the language of ranking cf. *cap.*III.189ff; *cap.*IV.8ff).

La Cerda's description of Mendoza via the language of Virgilian praise ought to be read in relation to the polemical thrust of the *Dedicatio*. La Cerda's intention here is not simply to praise his patron (though of course formality dictates that this must be offered) but to make a more serious assertion of the civic impact of his poetic humanistic educational model. Thus the *Dedicatio* offers a powerful rejoinder to the traditional aristocratic aversion to institutionalised classical learning (cf. *Ded.* 27-23) (see Kagan (1974) pp36-40 for an account of the attitude of the Spanish aristocracy to classical education in early-modern Spain). Mendoza becomes a living example of La Cerda's idealised Virgilio-Spanish statesman, tempering traditional aristocratic training with the deep study of (Virgilian) literature: *coniungens rem literariam cum disciplina equestri* (*Ded.* 26) [joining the subject of literature with equestrian training].

Such an image resonates with Castiglione's projection of the idealised Renaissance gentleman in *Il Libro del Cortegiano* (1528). He advocated the blending of the medieval skills of chivalry with the Renaissance humanist qualities of learning in Latin and Greek, drawing heavily on Cicero's model of the ideal orator-citizen who participates actively in a life of service to the state, whether in politics or war, as expressed in *De Officiis* (itself an important model for La Cerda (see *cap.*II.1-2 and notes ad. loc.) and *De oratore* (for Castiglione's use of Cicero see Richards (2001) pp460-86). It is precisely the blending of these gifts suggested by Castiglione that La Cerda presents Mendoza as exemplifying.

Both *De oratore* and *Il Libro del Cortegiano* deal with the question of whether eloquence can be taught or whether it is dependent upon inborn talent. For Cicero, in disagreement with his brother, eloquence, the defining quality of the ideal orator-citizen, is dependent upon the trained skill of highly educated men cf. *De Oratore* 1.2.5: *quod ego eruditissimorum hominum artibus eloquentiam contineri statuam, tu autem illam ab elegantia doctrinae segregandam putes et in quodam ingeni atque exercitationis genere ponendam*, [since I consider that eloquence is contained in the achievements of the most learned men, but you think that it must be separated from the elegance of learning, and that it must be attributed to a certain kind of talent and practice].

However, for Castiglione, the Renaissance courtier must conceal this training via the art of *sprezzatura* (Castiglione 1.26 in Opdyke p34-8), a sort of nonchalance that conceals the assiduous practice and cultivation of moral and spiritual elegance through immersion in the chivalric arts and humane study (for a discussion of this term see Burke (1996) p31; Richards (2001) p460, n.1). For Castiglione, *sprezzatura* can only be achieved through the imitation of the best models from life and literature. La Cerda is thus challenging the Spanish aristocracy via the cultural authority of Castiglione to find in the poet Virgil a guide to the cultivation of *sprezzatura* and thus the successful practising of courtly politics.

La Cerda also begins a playful interchange of personae between patron, poet and commentator. Mendoza becomes both Virgil via the language of the *Elogia* and more explicitly at *Ded.* 43: *ille suum saeculum exornavit, tuum Tu Illustrissime COMES* [And just as he has adorned his own age, so do you adorn yours, o Most Illustrious COUNT] and Augustus via his role as literary Virgilian *Patronus* (*Ded.* 2; 9) and political *Princeps* (*Ded.* 27). Thus La Cerda himself adopts the alternate roles of an Augustus to Mendoza's Virgil and a Virgil to Mendoza's Augustus (cf. *Nimirum Genium magni Ludovice Maronis / Nactus es* (GS. 19-20) [Undoubtedly, Luis, you have made the Spirit of great Maro your own]). Santius' dedicatory poem also casts La Cerda in the role of an Augustus granting the poetic landscape back to Virgil

(GS. 13-18) recalling the traditional material associated with the land confiscations transmitted at *VSD* 63. cf. also his use of *vindice* (GS. 2, 24) which confirms the comparison and La Cerda's surpassing of Augustus at GS. 33-5 (see also note on GS. 1).

Principibus: La Cerda's use of this term is broadly in line with Ciceronian usage to denote superiority in sequence or rank in both politics and literature (see "Princeps" in Philologus 91 (1936) pp207-13 reprinted in Wagenvoort (1956)). La Cerda tends to capitalise when denoting an overtly political sense (Prince, Leading Citizen(s), Emperor(s)): cf. *Ded.* 12: *Principe*; *Ded.* 27: *inter Principes Princeps* (both of Mendoza); *Ded.* 36 *aevo Augusti,..aut gravitate Principum*; *cap.II.73: Princeps* (of Augustus); *cap.IV.255, 260-5: Imperatores Virgilio versus advocabant ad rem suam, non minus quam Homerum Graeci Principes* (note the distinction here between *Imperatores* and *Principes*); *cap.VII.1-2: Augusti, quo Principe nemo maior, potentior, felicior*; *cap.VII.6: Principe* (of Augustus); *cap.VII.26-7: ad huius Principis favorem* (of Maecenas); *cap.VII.28: Sed, omissis Principibus, pergo ad populum*; *cap.VII.73: Hoc sensit magnus ille Princeps* (of Augustus); *cap.VII.117: Principes* (of the Emperors).

For La Cerda's use of *princeps* as a literary rank cf. *Ded.* 42: *P. VIRGILIUM...Poetarum omnium principem*; *cap.III.144-5: principe Oratorum Tullio*; *cap. IV.1-2: Poesis... cuius ille [Virgilius] est princeps*; *cap.IV.328: omnium principem facit Virgilium*; *cap.V.70: Vives Virgilio dat principem locum inter Poetas*.

It is interesting to note La Cerda's apparent fusion of these two distinct uses of *princeps* cf. *Proem.* 14-15: *Princeps Poetarum cum Principe Oratorum*; *Ad lect.* 29: *ab hoc Principe* (of Virgil) where the capitalisation usually denotes a civic rather than a literary ranking. There may be some implicit sense of the utility of Virgilian poetry in crafting the idealised Spanish nobleman. Kagan (1974) p38 notes: "The Spanish grandee was a courtier, soldier, statesman, and royal councillor...In many respects, the informal, Latin, typically

“Renaissance” education obtained from his tutor and from his books failed to fit his many roles, a problem of which the crown was soon well aware.” Philip II organised a court academy in 1583 to consider the importance of educating this class for its presumed natural tasks on the battlefields of imperial Spain (Kagan (1974) p38). cf. *cap. III.58-9: latent in hoc Vate officia boni principis, ducis, militis, patrisfamilias* [there lies hidden in this Poet the duties of the good prince, commander, soldier and father].

4-6. ad...administratur: note the imperial context evoked here by La Cerda as he refers to Mendoza’s role as President of the Council of Portugal following its annexation under Philip II in 1580. The annexing of Portugal was hugely significant to Spanish imperial endeavours both in terms of territory gained (Portugal itself controlled a vast empire) and an improved military, specifically naval, capability.

8. ad defensionem parandam contra impetus malevolorum: the *imptus malevolorum* may refer to the *arbitristas* within Spanish society who were questioning the role of Latin education and poetic instruction during such dire economic times (see introduction pxxxix-xlii) and who advocated a redirection of education towards more practical occupations that were perceived to have a direct economic benefit to Spanish society. Consequently, the *Junta de Reformation* led a campaign for a reduction in Latin schooling in the early seventeenth century citing its widespread growth as being responsible for shortage of productive manual labour (See Kagan (1974) pp43-5). Philip IV responded to this growing pressure in 1623 by issuing tight controls over the towns allowed to have a grammar school (*colegio*) and hence provide instruction in Latin. La Cerda’s intervention here in contemporary educational debate suggests that the figure of Mendoza, the idealised civic nobleman, is answer enough to those who question the utility of Latin study. For La Cerda, his concern with the teaching of Latin

(and specifically Virgilian) poetry lies in the civic value of this humanist training and its ability to restore Spain's imperial glory.

8-9. ad perennitatem nominis consequendam: the desire for immortality conferred by a work is a topos of classical poetry. See note at *GS*. 28 for a discussion of the commentary's claims to immortality and its classical models.

10. humanitas...iudicium...doctrina: the Virgilian credentials of Mendoza. For La Cerda's characterisation of Mendoza see note on *Ded.* 3.

12. Principe...Comite...Equite: the tricolon is significant. La Cerda is keen to display the nobility of his patron but the stress on *Equite* as the climax of the tricolon followed by the assertion: *nihil aliud reperis, quam ea quae necessaria ad literarum monumenta versanda* (*Ded.* 13) [you find nothing other than what is necessary for turning the pages of the monuments of literature] may be read as a continuance of La Cerda's polemic against traditional aristocratic aversion to learning (see Round (1962) pp203-15) and those who question the utility of humanist training. For *Illustrissimo* (*Ded.* 12) see note on *Ded.* 3.

13-15. Multa... maximum: a carefully crafted sentence. Note the juxtaposition of *multa* (13) and *uno* (14) which in turn picks up *singula* (14); the polyptoton of *multa* (13), *multos* (14); the doublet of *nobilissimum* and *maximum* positioned at respective ends of the clause; the hyperbaton of *inter* separated from the noun which it governs in order to suggest further praise of Mendoza's family (*Principes maximum*). Note also the deployment of the language of ranking once again (see note *Ded.* 3).

16. quibus...implicatus: an enigmatic comment. The answer may lie in his mother, Ana de Mendoza y de la Cerda, the Princess of Eboli and Duchess of Pastrana, who was arrested in 1579 for allegedly betraying state secrets. La Cerda's coyness would be explained by the

ignominy of having a mother imprisoned by the King (see Dadson (2008) p286). Perhaps there is also a more playful self-referential flavour to point the La Cerda connection?

18. longe lateque superes: the language of ranking and the use of praise as a mode of criticism is typical of La Cerda's method throughout the Prolegomena: Mendoza overcomes his rivals in nobility just as Virgil has overcome Hesiod: *Et senis Ascraei superavit carminavatis* (Schottus 14); Livy: *Superant procul dubio (nemo hoc inficiabitur) Orationes Virgilianae Livianas, argumentorum pondere, dispositionis ordine, illuminatione verborum* (cap.III.191-3); Cicero: *superatum in Eloquentia Tullium a Virgilio* (cap.III.221-2); Homer: *Virgilius Homerum superat* (cap.IV.58-9); Pindar, Hesiod, Apollonius, Theocritus: *Superavit Pindarum, Heisodum, Apollonium, Theocritum* (cap.IV.284); all the Greeks: *Demum superavit Graecos omnes* (cap.IV.312); all the Latins: *Demum Latinos omnes superavit* (cap.IV.340). Here once again La Cerda foreshadows his deployment of praise as a mode of criticism within the *Elogia*. Note also how La Cerda moves from the issue of the praise of Virgil to the praise of others in the same critical mode cf. *Superavit Dio Platonem in iactandis contumeliis, superat utrumque Scaliger* (cap.IV.204).

The imperial context has some influence on La Cerda's conception of his own critical method as he seeks to harness humanist scholarship to contemporary Spanish concerns. The influence of Jesuit agonism is also discernible. Note the use of *supero* detailed above as being indicative of the language of colonialism transferred to the landscape of poetry. On this same topic cf. *GS*. 1-4; 13-18; *Schottus* 8-15; 30-32.

18-19. gradus honorum: Mendoza's political success is equated with his fusion of *Virtus* and *Nobilitas* (*Tua Virtus coniuncta cum summa Nobilitate* (*Ded.* 19)). cf. Cicero, *Plan.* 60: *etenim honorum gradus summis hominibus et infimis sunt pares, gloriae dispares...etenim in virtute multi sunt adscensus, ut is maxime gloria excellat qui virtute plurimum praestet* [in

truth the degrees of honour are equal for men of the highest and the lowest rank, but their glories are unequal...in truth there are many steps in virtue, so that he who excels very greatly in glory, is he who is the most outstanding in virtue]. cf. Cicero's discussion immediately before this passage which concerns the education of his own son in respect of the attainment of honours (Cic. *Planc.* 59): *vigilandum est semper; multae insidiae sunt bonis. id quod multi invideant— Nostis cetera. nonne, quae scripsit gravis et ingeniosus poeta, scripsit non ut illos regios pueros qui iam nusquam erant, sed ut nos et nostros liberos ad laborem et ad laudem excitaret?* ["He must always be vigilant; there are many traps for good men. That which many men envy – you know the rest. Surely, what that grave and ingenious poet wrote, he wrote not to rouse those regal boys who were no longer in existence, but to rouse us and our children to hard work and praise?].

Cicero is quoting the poet Attius in support of his decision merely to point his son towards the road to glory rather than simply obtain it for him (cf. *Planc.* 59). The passage offers a clear example of the moral utility of poetry and its application to civic success. La Cerda conceives Mendoza's *virtus*, combined with his inbuilt *nobilitas*, as being of particular importance to his political success. Indeed, La Cerda appears to connect Spanish imperial success with *virtus* in his note on *Georgics* 1.234, *Nota* 3:

Hanc [terram] magno errore putaverunt veteres esse inhabitabilem. Otiosi sit contrarium probare in tanto luce huius aevi, cum praesertim constant omnibus navigationes Hispanorum, qui vere nonc terrarum domini, perlustro ab ipsis et perdomito orbe novo, enavigatis novis aequoribus et usque in hoc aevum inaccessi: adeo gens nostra labore pertinax, praestans virtute, cui qui invident virtuti invident.

[The ancients to their great error thought this land was uninhabitable. It is otiose to prove the contrary in the light of this great age, when all agree that the voyages of the Spaniards, who are really masters of the earth, have thoroughly illuminated and thoroughly subdued the new world, navigating seas utterly unreached right up to this

age: our people so persistent in their endeavour and excelling in *virtus*. Those who envy that envy *virtus* itself] (trans. Laird (2003) p34).

Thus La Cerda utilises the tools of humanist scholarship to identify the crucial elements of Spanish imperial masculinity and it is Virgilian poetry that he places at the heart of such endeavour. When read against the contemporary backdrop of a difficult imperial period for Spain coupled with her acute introspection of the role of Latin education, La Cerda appears to be offering a powerful and resonant educational argument for the study of Virgil and his poetry, encapsulated in the idealised figure of the poet/patron-statesmen, Mendoza.

Laird (2002) p33 also notes La Cerda's conception of Virgil's own *virtus* in his reading of Aeneas' slaying of Turnus at the end of the *Aeneid*. Laird discusses La Cerda's styling of the poet himself as a kind of epic hero who has successfully navigated between the Aristotelian demand to arouse pathos and the Homeric faults of the *Iliad*: *Vide, ut ab utro scopulo Virgilius caverit* (La Cerda on *Aen.* 12. 950ff) [see how he has been careful to avoid either of these two crags] (trans. Laird (2002) p32). Such shifting personae are visible elsewhere in the Prolegomena (see note on *Ded.* 3).

20. quo nullus aut gravior, aut sanctor: high political office as the result of *virtus*. For La Cerda, this is empirical evidence of the efficaciousness of such a quality that can be learnt from Virgil.

22. Te inter Maximos esse Maximum: for La Cerda's use of ranking as a mode of criticism see note at *Ded.* 3; see also note at *Ded.* 18. cf. *Ded.* 27: *doctissimus inter doctissimos, inter Principes Princeps* echoing and amplifying the (political) praise here with successive polyptota further reinforcing the fusion of the political (*Maximos ... Maximum*) with the literary (*doctissimus ... doctissimos*) to create the idealised imperial official (*Principes Princeps*).

24-7. Clare loquar...auspicatus es: La Cerda now details the critical parts of Mendoza's *multae Virtutes* (*Ded.* 21) having explained that these constitute the greater part of his *virtus* (*maiora quidem sunt accessione earum rerum*) (*Ded.* 23). Note the literary elements that La Cerda details: *litteras amas, literatos colis, Poetarum laude flores, gaudes doctorum consortio, scriptorum tuorum gloriam felicissime auspicatus es* (*Ded.* 24-5) [you love literature, you cultivate the literati, you flourish in the praise of the Poets, you rejoice in the company of learned men, you have very successfully begun the glory of your writing]: further evidence of La Cerda's mission statement of investing (Virgilian) poetry at the heart of successful political practice. *scriptorum tuorum gloriam* (*Ded.* 25): for Mendoza's career as a lyric poet see Dadson (2011).

26-7: disciplina equestri... studiis equestribus: in complement to rather than in competition with *rem literariam* made conspicuous by the polyptoton at *Ded.* 26. The traditional education of the Spanish aristocracy in early Renaissance Spain was delivered by private tutor and comprised initially of a grounding in a variety of academic subjects including Latin grammar as well as moral and natural philosophy. Training in horsemanship and the use of arms was also emphasised and gave aristocratic education its unique character. Assumed within this training was the natural superiority of the aristocrat reinforced by the hierarchical conception of Spanish society that placed the equestrian above the scholar. Certainly, aristocratic attitudes towards literary activity warmed under the more cultured climate of Ferdinand and Isabella and some of the earlier disdain for literature and culture dissolved, but formal literary training in the classics was never fully embraced by the Spanish aristocracy and the traditions of Latin humanistic education in Spain tended to be associated with the mobile middle classes. See Kagan (1974) pp32-50; Elliott (2002) p129; Nauert (1995) pp122-3.

28. multorum Nobilium arrogantiam & supercilium: See note on *Ded.* 26-7 for the traditional aristocratic aversion to literary training. *supercilium* is used figuratively here to

mean “pride” or “arrogance” as, for example at Seneca, *Ben.* 2.4.1 *qui beneficia asperitate verborum et supercilio in odium adducunt* [there are those who, by harsh words and arrogance, bring their kindnesses to odium].

Viri nobiles: a provocative address underscored by the vivid physicality of *deformes* (*Ded.* 29).

As noted above, the traditional medieval attitude of aristocratic aversion to learning, based upon the stigma of lineage and a strict conception of social hierarchy, appeared to soften to some degree in Spain under the influence of Renaissance Italian attitudes. The propaganda of Italian humanists who advocated the noble, civic virtues of Latin influenced a series of poet-patrons (marquis of Santillana, Juan de Lucena, Alfonso de Cartagena) who complained vigorously about the lack learning amongst Spanish noblemen. However, according to Round, this relatively small body of noble scholars did not “succeed in creating a class of nobles either literate in Latin or favourably disposed to learning.” (Round (1962) p205). Indeed the weight of aristocratic tradition and custom worked against any such disposition until at least the beginning of the sixteenth century. The more cultured figure of Isabella who tried to raise the social prestige of letters (through, for example, taking up Latin herself and having her children schooled in the classics (see Kamen (1991) p58) met with partial success. Indeed Round (1962) p214 goes on to note that: “The traditional Spanish attitudes – a doctrinally inspired pragmatism where learning was concerned, and a socially motivated contempt or indifference towards the practice of it – remained the most frequent, well into the sixteenth century.”

30. Dirum dictum, deforme auditu: note the polypoton of *deformis* and the alliterative *Dirum dictum, deforme*. There is also a studied *variatio* in the consecutive use of the supine following an adjective. cf. *Dirum dictum* in particular where one might expect the supine in *u*

after an adjective indicating an effect on the senses or feelings (see Allen & Greenough (1903) p320, n. 510). Clearly the tone here is highly rhetorical. Though Jesuit education came to be associated with the instruction of the wealthy, largely through the Jesuits' growing reluctance to admit illiterate students to their schools or those without at least rudimentary knowledge of Latin and the increasing number of fee-paying Jesuit boarding schools, Jesuit instruction was free and in theory they would teach all who came to their schools (see Grendler (1989) p372; see also introduction pp xxvii-xxxviii).

32-3. Longe aliud antiquorum aevum: La Cerda's resonant appeal to Augustan Rome frames his contribution to this established educational debate within Renaissance Spain. He asserts the link between imperial greatness and literary training legitimised through the humanistic recourse to the cultural and political authority of ancient Rome: *Euntes ad bellum Duces libri comitabantur & qui in dextris gladios gerebant, libros in pretiosis scriniis repositos portabant* (*Ded.* 33-4) [Books used to accompany Leaders as they were going to war, and those who brandished swords in their right hands, used to carry the books they had set aside in their precious store-chests]. This provocative appeal to the aristocracy to combine the traditional martial arts with literary accomplishment is an expression of Castiglione's idealised courtier (see note at *Ded.* 3 above). Castiglione discusses the great martial figures of antiquity and their taste for literature at Castiglione (in Opdyke) 1.43.

35: Quod aevum conferri potest cum aevo Augusti: clearly La Cerda is inviting the comparison with contemporary Spain. Note the threefold point of comparison: *gravitate Principum* (*Ded.* 36); *bellorum magnitudine* (*Ded.* 36); *studiis pacis* (*Ded.* 38) and their application to contemporary Spain: La Cerda is conceiving Philip III as Augustus and thus implicitly praising Mendoza as indicative of the *gravitate Principum, quibus ille usus est* (*Ded.* 36); Spanish imperialist endeavours are clearly echoed in *bellorum magnitudine, quibus status universi terrarum orbis mutatus est* (*Ded.* 36-7) where the perfect tense

implicitly acknowledges the limits of expansionism and *publicis omnium opibus in unum hominem conversis*, a projection of the royal power of Philip III through a comparison with Augustus' extraordinary constitutional position; contemporary desire for peace driven by acute economic necessity following decades of rapid imperialism is suggested by *studiis pacis post longa bella* (*Ded.* 38) and is evocative of Rome's own situation upon Augustus' victory at Actium following the turbulent periods of civil war.

38-9: Et...reddiderint: the crucial point upon which La Cerda's argument hinges. It is the institutionalising of literature at the heart of the ruling elite, as typified by the perceived success of the Augustan regime of imperial Rome and its relationship with the flowering of poetic talent, notably Virgil himself, which justifies La Cerda's undertaking in the publication of his monumental Virgil commentary and makes the work itself a provocative humanist projection of Spanish imperialist identity.

39-40. amplissima...seges erupit: a vivid contemporary Spanish conception of the *Siglo d'Oro*.

40. ut ab illo ad nos: a clear projection of La Cerda's equating of contemporary Spain with Augustan Rome.

41. redundarit: used figuratively here. A favourite word of Cicero in this tropical sense. cf. Lewis and Short "*redundo*". La Cerda is asserting the role of classical literature (*humanis Literis*) in this period of cultural flowering. The cultural hegemony of Castilian in Golden Age Spain, as forecast by Nebrija's fifteenth-century view of the imperial role of the language, did have its roots in Italian humanism as the vernacular poetry of Juan Boscan (1490-1542) and Garcilaso de la Vega (1501-1536) shows. Kamen (1991) p193 sees the triumph of the Castilian language as being "one of the foremost characteristics of the Golden

Age” and thus La Cerda conceives of the Latin language itself in imperial terms, competing with Castilian for the claiming of the cultural landscape.

42. Poetarum omnium principem: the language points Virgil’s connection with the political and the literary, in turn reinforcing La Cerda’s suggestion that Virgil is the paragon of civic educational utility. See note at *Ded.* 3.

43: Neque...COMES: for the comparison of Mendoza with Virgil see note at *Ded.* 3. For *Illustrissime* see also note at *Ded.* 3. Note the playful *tuum tu* to point the comparison (*Ded.* 43).

Musas: picking up *Ded.* 30.

44. nobilitate... nobilissimis: the repetition confirms Mendoza’s and his brothers’ nobility despite their untypical taste for learning.

Fratribus tuis: Diego’s brothers were all of similar age to him: Rodrigo (b. 1562), Pedro (b. 1563), Ruy (b. 1565), and Fernando (b. 1570). See Boyden (1995) pp87-8; Dadson (2011).

45. SOCIETATIS IESV Scholas: the first Jesuit college in Spain opened in 1547 at Gandia, near Valencia. By 1600 the Jesuits had established colleges in most of the major cities and towns, maintaining 118 colleges and 20 seminaries for the training of priests. (Kagan (1974) p53). For Mendoza’s possible attendance at a Jesuit school see note on addressee above.

46. RODERICI GOMESII A SYLVA: Ruy Gomez de Silva (1516-1573), the influential courtier and friend of Philip II (see note on addressee above). The special relationship between Ruy and Philip is alluded to explicitly by La Cerda: *quem virum in intimis habuit PHILIPPVS II* (*Ded.* 48) (see Boyden (1995) pp39-62; Elliott (2002) pp261-2).

49. prudentissimus...prudentiam: alluding to the nickname of Philip II, *Felipe el Prudente*. *Prudentia* is also a component element of Virgil's own *virtus* cf. *cap.II.46ff.* where Virgil offers advice to Augustus on the restoration of the Republic. The careful dispensation of advice to political superiors is a key part of the courtier's role as described by Castiglione (in Opdyke) at, for example, 4.7-10.

Te ... tanti patris filium: note the chiasmic arrangement. The juxtaposition of *Te ego* points the close relationship between commentator and patron.

51. vindicem: cf. *GS. 2, 24*. See also note at *Ded. 3*.

hoc dono, quaecunque illud est: cf. *Catull. 1.1, 9*.

Dedicatory poems

Gaspar Sanctius (1554-1628) (Sanchez), a Spanish Jesuit and Biblical commentator. Not the famous Sanctius (Franciscus), or, El Brocense, a Jesuit senior of La Cerda's and author of the well-known treatise on the Latin language, *Minerva*, first published at Salamanca in 1587.

1-8: The poem appears to begin with a traditional division between the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics* though the traditional chronological reading is reversed: *rura* (line 1) picks up Virgil's supposed epitaph: *Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc / Parthenope; cecini pascua rura duces* [Mantua gave birth to me, the Calabrians snatched me away, Parthenope now holds me; I sang of pastures, countryside, and leaders] (VSD 36) (whence the chronological order of *Eclogues* (*pascua*), *Georgics* (*rura*), and *Aeneid* (*duces*)) whilst *gregibus...pingue nemus* (line 2) alludes to the rustic shepherds of the *Eclogues*. The division continues into lines 3-4 with praise of Virgil's *Georgics* and lines 5-6 with praise of the *Eclogues*. In each case the hexameter lines establish the idyllic rustic existence of Virgil whilst the pentameter describes the improvement to this existence achieved by the respective work. Both couplets show a careful rhetorical balance (note the repeated *sed* and the comparatives *magis* and *melius*, as well as the proper nouns *Ascraeo* and *Siculo* denoting the source of Virgil's inspiration) and are marked by alliteration and anaphora (note the repeated *d* of line 3 and the *v* of lines 4-5, as well as the repeated *pavit oves* of lines 5-6). Lines 7-8 succinctly summarise the judgements of the previous lines. Note again the use of the comparative adjective (*felicius* line 7, *melius* line 8) in this summary, picking up lines 4 and 6, and again referring to the *Georgics* (*coluit...agros*) and *Eclogues* (*vagum...duxit...pecus*) respectively. Haskell (2010) p215 has noted the Jesuit predilection for Virgil's *Georgics* which she explains by its correspondence to "the values of Jesuit apostolic spirituality, which sanctified labor and utility."

The opening of the poem is also highly political. Lines 1-4 articulate the relationship between poetry and imperialism. Sanctius equates poetry with land: *Pinguia rura suo Caesar dedit ampla Maroni*, and land (the flourishing of it) with poetry: *Ille datam curvo domuit bene doctus aratro, / sed magis Ascraeo vomere vertit humum*. This theme continues at lines 13-18 where Sanctius pictures La Cerda as a second Augustus granting the poetic landscape back to Virgil in a Spanish *Reconquista* of Virgilian scholarship. The comparison reaches its climax at lines 33-5 where La Cerda becomes greater than Augustus. Thus Spanish intellectualism via the pursuits of classical philology rivals the cultural as well as the military achievements of ancient Rome. The *translatio studii* matches the *translatio imperii*.

1. pinguia: literally “fat” though of land or soil denoting richness or fertility. The adjective occurs three times in the first eleven lines of the poem (lines 1, 2, 11) and, importantly, over twenty times in the *Georgics* (see Thomas (1988) p70 n.8). There may be an echo of Lucretius 5.1248: *inducti terrae bonitate volebant / pandere agros pinguis et pascua reddere rura* [led by the goodness of the soil they wished to clear the fat fields and make the countryside fit for pasturage].

suo...Maroni: the possessive adjective and use of Virgil’s cognomen suggest a close bond. There may also be a reminder of the political dimension to the relationship between *princeps* and poet.

Caesar: by mentioning Augustus Caesar the poet seems to have in mind VSD 19 “he switched to the *Bucolics*, primarily in order to honour Asinius Pollio, Alfenus Varus, and Cornelius Gallus, because they had kept him from being penalized in the distribution of lands after the victory at Philippi, when the lands on the other side of the Po were divided among

the veterans by order of the triumvirate.” Hence Caesar’s “granting” (*dedit*) of lands to Virgil when others around him were losing theirs. It is impossible to weigh up the truth behind the suggestion in *VSD* and subsequent ancient *Vitae* that Virgil had lost his lands in the confiscations beginning in 42BC. *VSD* may well be trying to reconcile supposed autobiographical material in *Ecl.*5.86f and *Ecl.*9. See Horsfall (1995) p12f for discussion of *VSD* 19f.

2. dextra...vindice: most likely as compliment to *Caesar* (line 1). However, one is also mindful of Virgil’s other great champion, Gaius Maecenas and an episode related in *VSD* 20: *Deinde scripsit Georgica in honorem Maecenatis, qui sibi mediocriter adhuc noto opem tulisset adversus veterani cuiusdam violentiam, a quo in altercatione litis agrariae paulum afuit quin occideretur* [then he wrote the *Georgics* in honour of Maecenas, who lent him aid, when the poet was still but little known, against the violence of a certain veteran, by whom he was nearly killed in an argument over his farm land].

vindice is picked up in line 24 and confirms the comparison of La Cerda to Augustus Caesar.

4. Ascraeo: a reference to Hesiod, supposedly born in Ascrea. The *Works and Days* forms part of the literary ancestry of the *Georgics*. The adjective is sufficient to identify him as it is at *Ecl.* 6.70, *Georgics* 2.176 and Prop. 2.10.25. *Ascraeo vomere* is picked by *Siculo carmine* at line 6.

Sanctius’ poem should also be read as literary criticism of Virgil. Virgil’s literary achievement is evoked through the language of Roman imperial dominance (*domuit*) (3) and through the traditional idealised Roman image of agricultural labour *curvo aratro* (3). His refinement of the uncultivated, rough art of Hesiod (cf. the traditional Renaissance view of

Homeric poetry refined by Virgil as exemplified by Scaliger at *Poetices* 5.2: *Virgilius vero artem ab eo rudem acceptam lectoris naturae studiis atque iudicio ad summum extulit fastigium perfectionis* [Indeed Virgil, having inherited a crude art from Homer, by his zeal for a more choice nature and by his judgement, raised it to the very summit of perfection]) is evoked through the pastoral metaphor of *Ascraeo vomere vertit humum* (4) and is contrasted with the greater complexity and intellectual nourishment of the Roman poet in relation to his Greek counterparts: *sed Siculo melius carmine pavit oves* (6). Virgil's triumph in his reworking of Greek models is stressed again at line 7: *nemo datos umquam coluit felicius agros* and then recast in line 8 to praise Virgil's marshalling of a disparate range of Greek authors (*vagum pecus*) into a body of sublime Virgilian poetry (*nemo...melius duxit in arva*).

The same trope of literary criticism is also deployed in relation to La Cerda's achievement in writing his commentary on Virgil: cf. e.g. *cultu...tuo* (13); *tegite latum fertilis herba solum* (14); *falce aperis ...vomere...aras* (16). Here, the similar semantic range of the language used in relation to both Virgil and La Cerda suggests a comparison of their respective achievements: La Cerda is to commentary what Virgil is poetry. Put another way, La Cerda himself is a second Virgil in the field of commentary. For the shifting personae of the paratexts see note at *Ded.* 3.

5. pavit oves: the poet-shepherds of pastoral poetry are equated with the pastor-shepherds tending their congregational flock. The poet seems keen for us to notice this, repeating it in a significant position in consecutive lines (5-6). Sanctius may have in mind the educational utility of Virgil whose pastoral poetry was important to the grammar and humanities classes of the Jesuit schools. For *pavit* as literary criticism see note above at *GS.* 4.

vitreas: “glassy” in the sense that the waves (*undas*) of the river are bright or shining and that the water itself is reflective of light. cf. Horace’s famous description of the *Fons Bandusiae* at *Odes* 3.13.1 as: *splendidior vitro*. The image is used both by Virgil at *Aen.*7.759 (*vitrea...unda*) and by Ovid at *Met.*5.48 (*vitreis...sub undis*).

6. Siculo: refers to Theocritus, a native of Sicily whose *Idylls* were the literary ancestor of Virgil’s *Eclogues*.

9-12: the poet describes the neglect of Virgil’s once carefully tended *arva*. The fields have been neglected and the lands are covered with brambles, hindering the flocks keen to graze in them.

9. quae quondam: picking up the *ille ego qui quondam* of the lines supposedly removed by Varius from the beginning of the *Aeneid*. (see *VSD* 42).

coluit: picking up line 7.

Maro rusticus: i.e. Virgil as the author of *Eclogues* and *Georgics*. For *rusticus* see note at *GS*. 17.

10. hebeti: literally “blunt” or “dull” i.e. not sharp. Here the adjective is applied to *situ* which is being used in the sense of “neglect” or “lying idle” cf. *Georgics* 1.72: *et segnem patiere situ durescere campum* [and let the idle plain grow hard with neglect] and also Ovid, *Am.*1.8: *canescunt turpi tecta relicta situ* [the abandoned dwelling grows grey with corrupting neglect].

squallida silva: the adjective (repeated at lines 13 and 25) recalls Catullus’ description of the neglect of agriculture as the farmers leave their land to go to the wedding of Peleus and

Thetis at 64.38-42: *rura colit nemo, mollescunt colla iuencis, / non humilis curvis purgatur vinea rastris, / non glebam prono convellit vomere taurus, / non falx attenuat frondatorum arboris umbram / squalida desertis robigo infertur aratris* [no-one tends the countryside, the bullocks' necks grow soft, the low-growing vine is not cleared with curved rakes, the bull does not turn over the clod of earth with the downward-pointing ploughshare, the pruners' hook does not thin out the shade of the tree, and a filthy rust spreads over the abandoned plough] and also Virgil, *Georgics* 1.505-7: *tam multae scelerum facies, non ullus aratro / dignus honos, squalent abductis arva colonis, / et curvae rigidum falces conflantur in ensem* [there are so many faces of crime, no worthy honour is paid to the plough, the fields lie untended as the farmers have been removed, and the curved sickles are bent into the stiff sword]. *squaleo* is used by Cicero at *Mil.* 20: *squalent municipia* [the municipalities wear the clothes of mourning] in the sense of "to wear mourning" and thus Page *ad. loc.* (1898) suggests Virgil represents the fields as mourning for their husbandmen who have been carried off to the civil wars. Sanctius may also be exploiting this sense of the woodland in mourning for its current neglected state. Note the chiasitic arrangement of the line *hebeti squallida silva situ*. The polished appearance of the line is in pointed contrast to the envisaged scene.

11. neglecto: emphatically positioned at the beginning of the line and following closely on the sense of *situ* at the end of the previous line. The participle is used in conjunction with *pingui* to highlight the tragedy of leaving land so rich in potential to the weeds and brambles.

rubus asper: cf. *Ecl.*3.89: *ferat et rubus asper amomum* [may the rough bramble bear spices] and *Georg.*3.315: *horrentisque rubos*.

12. Literally in the sense that the already narrow path now blocked by unchecked growth means that the flocks, eager to graze, cannot easily gain access to the fields. But perhaps there is also a metaphorical image at work. The poet is perhaps connecting the literal effect of

the passing years on Virgil's lands to the metaphorical effect of the lack of the adequate maintenance or pruning of the abundant scholarship on the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*. Just as time causes the weeds to grow and the lands to be obscured by neglect, so the lack of a suitably cultivated guide to the pastoral poetry of Virgil causes the eager reader's path through his poetry to be obscured. It is worth noting La Cerda's own comments explaining his rationale for his prefatory material at *proem.* 6-10: *Ab istis, quia nullus est ordo in illis testimoniis ac perinde illa opera exiguae est frugis ad cognoscendam dignitatem Magni Poetae: nam ex tanta testimoniorum acervatione tenebrae quaedam existunt indignae Virgiliano splendore. Itaque potius e re visum fuit redigere ad certum ordinem Virgilii praeconia quibus cognoscatur quantam in rebus singulis vir hic singularis praevaluerit* [I have departed from the latter (commentators who simply join together accounts of authors who have spoken about Virgil), because there is no order to their accounts, those works are of rather scant value for getting to know the merit of the Great Poet: for from such a great accumulation of accounts, certain shadows appear that are unworthy of Virgilian splendour. And so, a more preferable thing from the work seemed to be to restore a certain order to the praise of Virgil, by which it might be recognised just how much in his individual works this man alone is superior].

13-26: the heart of the poem. The poet praises La Cerda's commentary on the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* by way of an extended pastoral image. He imagines La Cerda as the husbandman the fields have been lacking. Armed with the pruning tool of his commentary, he clears away difficulties that have obscured poetry and revives the field of Virgilian poetry with true Virgilian spirit [13-20]. Praise of the faithfully Virgilian spirit of his commentary continues [21-22] until La Cerda is then cast in the role of a second Augustus who has once again helped to reunite Virgil with the lands that had been lost to him [23-26].

13. squallentia: the present participle is used with adjectival force and picks up line 10.

fertilis: with La Cerda's attention, the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* are able to flourish again.

15. pascua: picking up Virgil's supposed epitaph (see introductory note) where *pascua* refers to the *Eclogues*.

16. falce...vomere: both symbolic of agriculture (see Catullus 64.38-42 and Virgil, *Georgics* 1.505-7 quoted above) and used figuratively of La Cerda's commentary. The *falx* was a pruning knife with a curved blade, the *vomer* a ploughshare for tilling the earth in preparation for planting. For the language of literary criticism see note above at GS.4.

17. Recalling the activity of *Georgics* 2.203: *nigra fere et presso pinguis sub vomere terra / et cui putre solum (namque hoc imitamur arando), / optima frumentis* [land that is almost black, and rich beneath the share's pressure and with a crumbly soil – for such a soil we try to rival with our ploughing – is best for corn]. *frumentis* = *divitias Cereri deliciasque*. *Maro rusticus* occupies the same metrically convenient position as line 9. *rusticus* is used only twice in the *Eclogues* at 2.56 and 3. 84 where *rustica* again occupies the fifth metrical foot.

19. Genium: a sort of guardian spirit attending a man throughout his life (Apuleius, *Deo. Soc.* 15, Censorin.3: *genius est deus cuius in tutela ut quisque natus est vivit* [*genius* is a god, in whose protection each person lives when they are born]). Murgatroyd has a useful note on this at Tib.7.49-50ff. The poet is perhaps also exploiting the sense of *ingenium*. Note how La Cerda's and Virgil's names are placed side by side to suggest the close relationship between commentator and poet.

23. exciderant iterum...rura: the perceived neglect of Virgil's pastoral poetry is seen as a second loss (the first being the confiscation of his lands during the civil war).

Vati...Latino: dative of disadvantage.

24. vindice: picking up line 2. La Cerda himself is presented in the role of Augustus having returned his lands to him through his outstanding commentary on his pastoral poetry. For the political overtones of this comparison see the introduction to Sanctius poem.

25. Note the balance of *arva* at the beginning and end of the line reminding us of what Virgil was once given and has now had returned. *squallida* is repeated again (see line 10).

26. Domino restituisque suo: *domino* may have the more general religious sense of “Lord” though it may also refer to the Reverend Father of Toledo’s granting of the Imprimatur for the first volume of his commentary in 1607. If this is correct, one is tempted to read lines 25-6 as praise for bringing Virgil in line with Catholic orthodoxy.

27-36: The poem ends with a comparison between the gifts granted to Virgil by Caesar Augustus and those granted to him by La Cerda in the form of his new commentary. Caesar’s good service (*officium*) to Virgil entails the giving of woodlands and plough lands (*silvas...arva*), the lending of his support (*opibus*) and the return of the lands lost in the confiscations (*sublatas*). However, Caesar’s gifts perished long ago (*iamdudum interiit*). La Cerda’s gift of his Virgilian commentary is found to be a greater offering as the poet anticipates that it will live on far longer.

28. exciderant: recalling line 23 and reminding the reader of La Cerda’s good service to Virgil. A similar sentiment is expressed at line 27. There may be an echo of Prop.3.2.19-26: *nam neque pyramidum sumptus ad sidera ducti, / nec Iovis Elei caelum imitata domus, / nec Mausolei dives fortuna sepulcri / mortis ab extrema condicione vacant. / aut illis flamma aut imber subducet honores, / annorum aut tacito pondere victa ruent. / at non ingenio quaesitum nomen ab aevo / excidet: ingenio stat sine morte decus* [For neither the costly pyramids soaring to the skies, nor the temple of Jove at Elis that mimics heaven, nor the sumptuous magnificence of the

tomb of Mausolus are exempt from the ultimate decree of death. Either fire or rain will steal away their glory, or they will collapse under the weight of the silent years. But the fame my genius has won shall not perish with time: genius claims a glory that knows no death].

Note line 19 and poet's proclaiming of La Cerda having obtained the spirit of Virgil (*Genium...Maronis*) and the similar sentiment of the intellectual outlasting the physical (expressed in our poem at lines 31-36). Horace expressed a similar sentiment at *Odes* 3.30.1-5: *exegi monumentum aere perennius / regalique situ pyramidum altius, / quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens / posit diruere aut innerabilis / annorum series et fuga temporum. / non omnis moriar, multaue pars mei / vitabit Libitinam* [I have finished a monument more lasting than bronze, more lofty than the regal structure of the pyramids, one which neither corroding rain nor the ungovernable North Wind can ever destroy, nor the countless series of the years, nor the flight of time. I shall not wholly die, and a large part of me will elude the Goddess of Death] and later Ovid at *Am.*1.15.41-2: *ergo etiam cum me supremus adederit ignis, / vivam, parsque mei multa superstes erit* [I, too, when the final fires have eaten up my frame, shall still live on, and the great part of me survive my death]. See also note on *GS*. 32 below.

29. Caesareum donum: mirroring *Caesaris officium* at line 27 and punning on the words of Jesus at Mark 12.17: *reddite igitur quae sunt Caesaris, Caesari: et quae sunt Dei, Deo* [thus return to Caesar the things that belong to Caesar, and to God those things that belong to God]. The repeated *reddere* of lines 28 and 30 make the allusion clear. The poet may also be alluding to material in Phocas' verse *vita Vergilii* cf. Phocas, 113 on Caesar's returning of Virgil's lands: *Caesaris huic placido nutu repetuntur agelli* and 116 for the bestowing of this gift *praeda dat Caesar*. Phocas also draws attention to the transitory nature of Caesar's gift and the enduring quality of Virgil's verse at 116-117: *[praeda] quorum brevis usus habendi: / obtulit hic laudes, quas saecula nulla silescent*.

30. sublatas: presumably we are to supply *terras*.

31. mage: archaic form of *magis*, here used in the sense of rejecting one idea in favour of another (OLD *magis* 6) cf. Virgil, *Ecl.*1.11: *non equidem invideo; miror magis* [well, I do not grudge you, rather I marvel]. *ergo* (line 33) affirms the poet's assertion.

32. tempus edat: recalling Ovid *Met.*15.234-6: *tempus edax rerum, tuque invidiosa vetustas, / omnia destruitis, vitiataque dentibus aevi / paulatim lenta consumitis omnia morte* [Time, devourer of things, and you, envious age, you destroy all things, and having blighted them with the teeth of age, little by little you consume everything in slow death].

33. dedisti: the perfect suggests confidence in the poet's assertion of the quality of La Cerda's gift to Virgil (i.e. the now completed commentary on the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*). Note similar perfects at Horace, *Odes* 3.30.1: *exegi monumentum* and Ovid *Met.*8.871: *iamque opus exegi*.

36. tuum non timet: a gentle personification of La Cerda's work and the final assertion that it will not be subject to the same fate as the more ephemeral gifts of Augustus Caesar.

Andreas Schottus (1552-1629). Schott, a native of Antwerp, and a Jesuit, was initially professor of Latin at Louvain before subsequently spending several years in Spain as a professor of Greek at Toledo and Saragossa. He then entered the Society of Jesus in 1586, teaching rhetoric in Rome at the Collegio Romano. In 1597 he returned home to Antwerp where he remained until his death in 1629. See Sandys (1908) p305 and Lord (1825) p603. Spanish control of the Netherlands led some Spanish humanists to teach and publish in Louvain and Antwerp. This led, incidently, to the prominent diffusion of Erasmianism in Spain (see Mack (2011) p176).

1. Andinum vatem: Andes (modern Pietola), a village near Virgil's reputed birthplace of Mantua.

sorum: the Muses.

2. illustrasse: the perfect infinitive picks up *illustratum* of the title. See note at *Ded.* 3.

aspirante Camoena: Camena, originally a Roman fountain goddess, but also associated with poetic inspiration, especially epic cf. Livius Andronicus. *Od.* 1: *virum mihi, Camena, insece versutum* [tell me, O Goddess of song, of the clever man] modifying Homer's ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, μουῖσα, πολύτροπον and Ennius, *Ann. sed. inc.* fr. 487: *Musas quas memorant nosces nos esse Camenas* [you will know we are Camenae whom (the Greeks) call Muses] (see Soldevila (2006) p182, n. 10). For a discussion of *Camena/Musa* as the appropriation of Greek culture into Latin see Hinds (1998) pp56-63.

The image of a god(s) breathing inspiration upon the author can be traced back to Hesiod cf. *Th.* 31-32: ἐνέπνευσαν δέ μοι αὐδὴν θεόσπιν [and they breathed a divine voice into me].

For *aspiro* with the sense of “lending favour to”, “assisting” or “inspiring” see Virg. *Aen.* 2. 385: *adspirat primo fortuna labori*, Ov. *Met.* 1. 3: *di, coeptis adspirate canenti*.

4. praestantior alter: cf. *Aen.* 6. 164: (of Misenus) *quo non praestantior alter / aere ciere viros Martemque accendere cantu* [surpassed by none in stirring men with his trumpet’s blare, and in rousing with his clang the god of war].

5. A direct quotation of Poliziano, *Manto* 30: *seu silvas seu rura canit sive arma virumque* referring to the *Eclogues* (*silvas*), *Georgics* (*rura*) and *Aeneid* (“*arma virumque*” echoing *Aen.* 1. 1) and ultimately based on the final line of the famous Virgilian epitaph *cecini pascua rura duces* [I sang of pastures, plough lands and leaders] (*VSD* 36).

6-7. Referring to an anecdote told in Tacitus, *Dialogus.* 13. 2 relating how, in a theatre in which some verses of Virgil were read, the audience rose to its feet bestowing on the poet, who was present, honours normally reserved for the Emperor.

8-15. a cyclical conception of the *translatio studii* whereby Greek poetic supremacy, embodied by Homer, passes to Latin poetry and Virgil. Spain, in turn, will become the conqueror of Rome: *Sic placitum Superis, victricem Mantua palmam / ut ferat, Hesperia; mox doctos inter Iberos* (Schottus 30-1). Clearly there is also an anxiety at the heart of this concept that sees great empires eventually fade and die, hence Schottus’ insistence on the enduring nature of Virgilian poetry at lines 37-8. If Virgil’s poetry lives for ever, so does La Cerda’s commentary on it and thus Spanish literary cultural achievement is preserved even when its physical empire fades. For this relationship between land and poetry see notes at *GS.1-8*.

8. cf. *Manto* 25: (describing Cicero's pre-eminence in oratory) *sponte tibi virides transcribens Graecia palmas* [Greece conferring voluntarily upon you the green palm of victory]. According to Livy the custom was introduced into the Roman world in 293 BC: *palmaeque tum primum translato e Graeco more victoribus datae* (Livy 10. 47. 3) For palms awarded as a symbol of victory see Virg. *Aen.* 5. 70: *meritaeque espectent praemia palmae*, Hor. *Carm.* 1. 1. 5: *sunt quos...palma...nobilis...evehit ad deos*, Prop. 3. 9. 17: *Eleae...palma quadrigae*.

9. **in Olympiaco...dona corona:** cf. *Manto* 180: *rudis...equus...Olympiacae rapturus dona coronae* [the untamed horse, destined to carry away the Olympic prize] itself recalling *Georg.* 3. 49-50: *seu quis Olympiacae miratus praemia palmae / pascit equos* [whether a man aspires to the prize of Olympia's palm and breeds horses] in reference to chariot victories in the Olympic Games (one of the reasons for the breeding of horses as described at *Georg.* 3. 49-71). The triumphant imagery foreshadows Virgil's victory proclaimed at line 12. For *decerpo* used of attaining glory see Silius Italicus 4. 138: *primae decus decerpere pugnae* [to reap the glory of the first battle].

10-11. Seven cities claiming to be the birthplace of Homer are named by Antipater of Sidon in the Planudean Appendix, 296. *Greek Anthology*. Poliziano reproduces them in the same order at *Manto* 199-201: *nec iam supremi certent de sanguine vatis / Smyrna Rhodos Colophon Salamis Chios Argos Athenae, / quippe Bianoream manet haec Victoria gentem* [May Smyrna, Rhodes, Colophon, Salamis, Chios, Argos and Athens dispute the birthplace of the supreme poet no more, because this victory now belongs to the race of Bianor] (see Fantazzi (2004) p168, n. 48).

10. de sanguine certent: cf. *Manto* 199: *nec iam supremi certent de sanguine vatis* [may they no longer dispute the birthplace of the supreme poet] probably echoing *Aen.* 12. 765 *sed Turni de vita et sanguine certant* [but they strive for Turnus' life and blood] describing not a battle between cities but individuals: Aeneas and Turnus. The language also evokes the competitive element (*aemulatio*) of the ancient conception of imitation cf. Plin. *NH. Praef.* 22-3: *non illa Vergiliana virtute, ut certarent*. See Russell (1979) p16 for the five principles of successful literary imitation as conceived by "Longinus".

12-13. Just as in the passage from *Manto* 199-201 quoted above, Schottus grants pre-eminence in poetry to the Roman Virgil over the Greek Homer. Poliziano had done the same though more allusively; *Bianorem...gentem* seems to refer to Ocnus, the founder of Mantua. Servius on *Aen.* 10. 198 says: *OCNVS iste est Ocnus, quem in bucolicis <ix 59> Bianorem dicit, ut "namque sepulchrum incipit apparere Bianoris." hic Mantuam dicitur condidisse, quam a matris nomine appellavit: nam filius Tiberis et Mantus, Tiresiae Thebani vatis filiae, quae post patris interitum ad Italiam venit* [Ocnus: this is the Ocnus whom he calls Bianor in the *Eclogues* when he says "for the tomb of Bianor begins to appear": for he was the son of Tiber and Manto, the daughter of the Theban prophet Tiresias, who came to Italy after the death of her father].

Scaliger is decisive in his judgement of Virgil's superiority to Homer at *Poetices* 5 and La Cerda follows him in his essay *De Homero*, at *cap.IV.139ff*, in which he gives an account of Homeric flaws. It is interesting to note his threefold rationale for this criticism, which is, in part, simply to make the praise of Virgil clearer (*ut appareat liquidior laus Virgilii*), but which also reveals the programmatic intentions of his commentary, namely, successful poetic *imitatio*, as well as his contemporary academic concerns: *Altera, ut videant Poetae, non posse se tuto Homericis credere; decipientur enim, & inanem reddent Poesin, si nimium Homero fidant: opus est forti iudicio, quale habuit Maro, ne abripiantur impetus*

Graecae orationis, & carmen perdant. Tertia, ut me a calumnia liberem, aliosque viros aevi huius: immerito enim reprehendimur, quod Homerum reprehendamus (cap.IV.142-5)

[secondly, so that Poets might see that they cannot trust the Homeric poems safely; for they will be deceived and they will reproduce empty poetry, if they trust Homer too much: there is need for strong judgement, such as Maro has, lest they be carried away by the rush of Greek eloquence and they ruin the poem. Thirdly, so that I might free myself and other men of this age from an unfair charge: for we are criticised undeservingly because we criticise Homer].

aliosque viros aevi huius may refer to the Melanchthonian Lutheran scholars like Joachim Camerarius (1497-1558) and Martin Crusius (1526-1607) who advocated the study of Greek antiquity and in particular the utility of reading Homer (see Ben-Tov (2009) pp168-185). Thus for La Cerda the rejection of Homer takes on a much more urgent contemporary dimension as a rejection of Homeric studies comes to be understood as a rejection of Lutheranism. By implication, Virgil, as the conqueror of Homer, comes to be a model for Catholicism's defeating of Protestantism.

12. *linguisque favete*: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.1.1-4: *odi profanum volgus et arceo / Favete linguis: carmina non prius / audita Musarum sacerdos / virginibus puerisque canto*. [I hate the profane mob and keep them at a distance. Maintain a holy silence. As priest of the Muses I sing for girls and boys songs never heard before.] [trans. West (2002)]. cf. also Ov. *Am.* 3.43.

Favete linguis is a religious formula commanding silence among the initiate (Quinn (2001) p241). West (2002) p14 refers to the Orphic mysteries cf. *Orphea* at *GS.* 16. Nisbet and Rudd (2004) p7 explain the original meaning of the phrase as “make favourable utterance” but the safest way of avoiding ill-omened words was to say nothing; cf. Serv. *auct. Aen.*5.71: *praeco magistratu sacrificante dicebat favete linguis, favete vocibus, hoc est bona omina habete aut tacete*. The quasi-religious tone well evokes the reverence for Virgil expressed in relation to his defeating of Homer.

13. Troiani belli scriptorem: cf. Horace, *Ep.* 1. 2. 1: *Troiani belli scriptorem, Maxime Lolli, / dum tu declamas Romae, Praeneste relegi* [while you, Lollius Maximus, declaim at Rome, I have been rereading at Praeneste the writer of the Trojan War].

cedite Graii: echoing the praise of Virgil at Prop. 2. 34. 65: *cedite, Romani scriptores, cedite Grai! / nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade* [Make way, you Roman writers, make way, you Greeks! Something greater than the *Iliad* is coming to birth]. The *translatio imperii* via a *translatio studii* in which Latin culture champions Greek. La Cerda's constant assertion of the inferiority of Greek literature to Latin, most clearly evoked by Virgil's defeating of Homer, could be explained by La Cerda's investment in the cyclical concept of the *translatio*. Latin culture must be seen clearly to triumph over Greek if the *translatio* is to reach fulfilment, with literary accomplishment matching military achievement, and pass over in turn to Spain. Viewing the *translatio* as a Latin-Italian inheritance also serves to place La Cerda within contemporary cultural and religious controversy. German humanists' rivalry with their Italian counterparts and Protestant anti-Roman polemics led to a conception of Germany as the heir to Greek antiquity and thus a rival claim to a cultural *translatio imperii* (see Ben-Tov (2009) p2-3).

Greek studies, especially in sixteenth-century Spain, had the taint of Lutheranism. Indeed, the appetite for Erasmianism (and by implication Lutheranism) amongst the intellectual elite of Spain in the sixteenth century led to many prosecutions for Lutheranism by the Inquisition. The University of Alcalá suffered several losses to its academic staff including its leading Hellenist and professor of Greek, Juan de Vergara (1533), the university librarian Miguel de Eguia (1533), its former chancellor Pedro de Lerma (1535), and its former rector Mateo Pascual (1537). In a letter from December 1553 Rodrigo Manrique, son

of the Inquisitor General, complained to Vives that the Inquisition was trying to uproot the study of Greek at Alcalá completely (Kamen (1991) p117).

Though Jesuit education differed from the standard Italian humanist model by granting the study of Greek a secure place in the curriculum of Jesuit schools, La Cerda may be seeking to avoid possible charges of Lutheranism by publically and consistently denigrating Greek culture, chiefly through its embodiment in Homer.

14. senis Ascraei: for the use of the adjective identifying Hesiod see *Ecl.* 6. 70: *Ascreo...seni*, *Georg.* 2. 176: *Ascraeum...carmen*, *Prop.* 2. 10. 25: *Ascraeos...fontes*, 2. 34. 77: *Ascraei veteris poetae*.

15. Syracosii...poetae: Theocritus of Syracuse whose *Idylls* were a model for the *Eclogues*. Note the quieter *sublegit* (as opposed to the triumphant *superavit* in the comparison with Hesiod at line 14). Poliziano had expressed a similar sentiment at *Manto* 31-33: *namque Syracosii cum vix assurgat arenis, / Hesiodum premit et magno contendit Homero* [for though he barely rivals the Syracusan piper, he surpasses Hesiod and contends with great Homer].

16. Fallor: cf. *Ov. Pont.* 2. 8. 21, *Met.* 13. 641

Elysiis: The poet imagines himself in the Fields of the Blessed in the Underworld.

Orpheus: Orpheus, the famous mythic singer of Thrace, son of Calliope (chief Muse and goddess of epic poetry), and hence the archetypal poet with the ability to charm nature with his song (see *Georgics* 4.510). Schottus' conception of his appearance in the underworld is modelled on his appearance at *Aen.* 6.645-7: *nec non Threicius longa cum veste sacerdos / obloquitur numeris septem discrimina vocum, / iamque fidem digitis, iam pectine pulsat*

eburneo [There, too, the long-robed Thracian priest matches their measures with the seven clear notes, striking the lyre now with his fingers, now with his ivory quill].

17. ipse sedet...sublimis: the poet Virgil, in pre-eminent position between the two greatest exponents of epic poetry (*Maeonidem inter & Orphea*). Petrarch had used a similar image at *Rerum familiarium libri* 24. 11: *et simul unanimes tecum spatiatur Homerus / solivagique canunt Phebum per prata poetae, / Orpheus ac reliqui* [and does Homer, who was of one mind with you, roam with you? And do Orpheus and other poets wander alone through the meadows, singing the praises of Phoebus].

sublimis is descriptive of his raised position between Homer and Orpheus but also suggests the lofty or “sublime” nature of his verse cf. *Ov. Am.* 1. 15. 23: *carmina sublimis...Lucreti*.

sella eburnea: denoting a magistrate’s chair *sella curulis* (see OLD p1728 *sella* 1) cf. *Livy* 41.20.1: *<Romano> more, sella eburnea posita, ius dicebat*. The adjective, in this underworld setting and in a metrically identical position, recalls *Aen.* 6. 898: *portaque emittit eburna*. By synizesis the final two vowels of *eburnea* are to be treated as a single long syllable.

18. Care: Titus Lucretius Carus, author of *De rerum natura* and a didactic model for Virgil’s *Georgics*. Lucretius would certainly fall foul of the Jesuit educational mandate, “the aim of our educational program is to lead men to the knowledge and love of our Creator and Redeemer” (*The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum of 1599, Rules of the Provincial I*, A.P. Farrell trans.) but our poet is clearly well aware of Virgil’s debt to him. Indeed lines 18-20 are a poetical conception of Virgil’s *Quellenforschung*. *priscaque dicta patrum* simply denotes Virgil’s antique (and from a Jesuit perspective, pagan) literary models, in particular Ennius

(cf. Prop. 3. 3. 6: *pater...Ennius*, Horace, *Ep.* 1. 19. 7: *Ennius ipse pater numquam nisi potus ad arma prosiluit dicenda* [father Ennius himself never leapt forth to tell of arms except after drinking]) mentioned by name at line 19 (see note below). For *pater* applied to especially revered poets or philosophers cf. Lucr. 3. 9, Hor. *S.* 1. 3. 126, Cic. *de Orat.* 2. 10, *Leg.* 1. 5, Petr. 132. 15. Laird notes the importance La Cerda attaches to *Quellenforschung* both in practice as well as in principle and sees the commentary as “an abundant thesaurus of models” (Laird (2002a) p181). *Imitatio* as successful as these hexameters serves as a demonstration of the ultimate aim of La Cerda’s commentary as explained in his rationalisation of the *Notae* in the *ad lectorem* of the 1642 edition:

saepissime patefacio Graecorum & Latinorum loca, quibus Poeta institit: saepissime item illorum loca, qui post Virgilium fuere, & qui institere illius vestigiis. Quod cur faciam, quaeso diligenter attende. Destinaveram aliquando Poesin docere, & hac de re laboris aliquid in lucem dare, sed abstinui ab his praeceptis, & satius duxi ipsa exercitatione praecepta patefacere. Quid? Dices. Audi. Solet Virgilius saepissime ita Graecorum loca imitanda suscipere, ut, quae in Graecis desunt, addat; quae in illis redundant, adimat; quae in illis sunt imperfecta, & parum culta, perfectiora & nitidiora labore suo, & industria reddat. Haec res ita est efficax ad docendam Poesin, ut nulla fortasse magis

[Very frequently I reveal the passages/places of Greeks and Romans in which the Poet has trodden: and very frequently again of those who were after Virgil and who trod in his footsteps. To hear why I do this, please pay keen attention. I had at one time determined to teach poetry, and to bring some of my labour on this activity to light, but I refrained from these instructions and considered it more than adequate to reveal my instructions by this very exercise. “What?” you will say. Listen then. Virgil is very frequently accustomed to undertake the imitation of passages of Greek authors in such a way as to add things which are lacking in the Greeks, to remove things in them which are redundant, and to render more perfect and resplendent things in them which are imperfect and too little cultivated by his labour and industry. This activity is so effective for the teaching of poetry that there is perhaps none greater] (trans. Laird (2002a) p180).

19-20: *Annales* refers to the martial epic of Quintus Ennius. The image of the poet “drawing out remarkable gems from the Annals of Quintus Ennius” is based on an episode related by Cassiodorus (c.480-c.575) at *Institutiones* 1.1.8: *cui illud convenienter aptari potest quod Vergilius, dum Ennium legeret, a quodam quid faceret inquisitus respondit: aurum in stercore quaero* [that remark may also be applied appropriately to him which Virgil, while he was reading Ennius, gave as answer when asked by someone what he was doing: “I am searching for gold in a heap of dung”]. The remark is reported later in *Donatus Auctus*, the Renaissance expansion of the *VSD* (cf. p.214): *cum Ennium in manu haberet, rogareturque quidnam faceret, respondit se aurum colligere de stercore Ennii. Habet enim poeta ille egregias sententias sub verbis non multum ornatis* [Once, when he was holding his Ennius in his hand and was asked what he was doing, he answered that he was gathering gold from the manure of Ennius. For indeed that poet has outstanding maxims hidden beneath words not very refined]. Poliziano made a similar judgement on the rough charms of Ennius at *Manto* 27-8: *horrida quamquam / bella tubasque rudi cantaverat Ennius arte* [although Ennius had sung of horrid wars and the blaring trumpet with his rough-hewn skill] in reference to *Ann. sed. inc. fr.* 451: *at tuba terribili sonitu taratantara dixit* [and the trumpet in the terrible tones taratantara blared]. See Skutsch (1985) p608.

23-24. cf. *Manto* 67-8: *pro quanta manet te / gloria!* [oh! what great glory awaits you!] where the exclamation refers to Mantua. Here the anticipated glory is La Cerda’s.

24-25. iam monumenta vides canescere seclis / innumeris: the line recalls Cic. *Leg.* 1. 1. 1-2: *eaque [quercus] ut ait Scaevola de fratris mei Mario, canescet saeculis innumerabilibus* [and that oak tree, as Scaevola says of my brother’s “Marius”, will grow old through the countless generations] and hence the discussion about the enduring nature of the achievements of poetic imagination. Consider the following judgements of Quintus: *nullius*

autem agricolae cultu stirps tam diuturna quam poetae versu seminari potest...multaque alia multis locis diutius commemoratione manent quam natura stare potuerunt [no tree nourished by a farmer's care can be so long-lived as one planted by a poet's verses...many other objects in many different places live in men's thoughts for a longer time than Nature could have kept them in existence] (*Leg.* 1. 1. 1-2 with omissions).

25. evolvent: descriptive of the action of unrolling a papyrus roll or reading through a book.

26: qua surgit Titan: the East. Titan was the son of Titan Hyperion and hence the Sun God.

qua mergitur aequore: the West, where the sun seems to sink down into the sea. cf. *Georg.* 2. 481: *quid tantum Oceano properent se tinguere soles / hiberni* [why wintry suns make such haste to dip themselves in Ocean] repeated at *Aen.* 1. 745-6. Here Schottus seems to be recalling a perceived philosophical interest of Virgil.

27. extremos Morinos: mentioned at *Aen.* 8. 727: *extremi...hominum Morini* [the Morini, the most far-flung of Mankind] to represent the extent of Rome's empire. The Morini were a Gallo-Germanic tribe inhabiting northern Gaul. In Schottus' poem they represent the wide reach of La Cerda's commentary.

divisos orbe Britannos: cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 1. 66: *et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos*, Catull. 11. 11-12 *ultimosque Britannos*, Hor. *Carm.* 1. 35. 29-30: *in ultimos / orbis Britannos*. Again, descriptive of the far-reaching fame of La Cerda's work. There may also be a biting contemporary political dimension to this reference given the disastrous and psychologically damaging defeat of the Spanish armada in 1588 and the acute economic necessity that dictated peace with England in 1604.

28. an almost wholesale borrowing from *Manto* 220: *et populata malis Neptunia Pergama flammis* [and Neptunian Troy laid waste by the destructive flames] (though note *feris* for *malis* in Schottus). Pergamum = the citadel of Troy whose destruction was told at *Aen.* 2. 298-729.

29. vasti scopuli pinusque loquantur: cf. *Manto* 148: *Damonis Musam scopuli pinusque loquuntur* [the rocks and pines resound with Damon's Muse] alluding to *Eclogue* 8 and the singing contest between the shepherds Damon and Alphesiboeus. Note Damon's words on Maenalus, a mountain in Arcadia sacred to Pan at *Ecl.* 8. 22: *Maenalus argutumque nemus pinosque loquentis...habet* [Maenalus has ever tuneful groves and speaking pines]. It is interesting to note Schottus' alteration of Poliziano's syntax: *scopuli pinusque loquuntur* becomes *scopuli, pinusque loquantur* with *scopuli* now governing a separate verb, *ingeminent*.

30-31. victricem Mantua palmam ut ferat: recalling *Manto* 157: *tu victricem fer, Mantua, palmam* [You, Mantua, bear off the palm of victory].

31. mox doctos inter Iberos: here Schottus evisages a *translatio studii* with the baton of poetic superiority (*victricem...palmam*) being passed from Italy (evoked through Virgil's birth-place of Mantua) to Spain.

Spanish vernacular poets were much influenced by the Italianism of Petrarch who represented the cultural superiority of Italy. Navarrete (1994) pp15-16 discusses the trope of the *translatio studii* and how Spanish humanists necessarily viewed this as lagging behind the *translatio imperii*. He suggests at p16 that the deployment of the *translatio* reveals a degree of anxiety "for as a cyclical scheme of history it implies an eventual downfall for the very nations that use it to account for their rise." Schottus himself seems to imply a belatedness to the flowering of Spanish poetic culture, cf. *mox*.

32. Agricola ast nimium felix: A clear echo of Virg. *Georg.* 2. 458-9: *o fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint, / agricolas!* [ah too fortunate the farmers, if they were to know their blessings!]. Note Schottus' substitution of singular for plural, implying that the farmer (*agricola*) is Virgil. The sense seems to be a reminder to La Cerda that, after the praise heaped upon his work by Schottus from lines 21-31, the man who remains unaware of his blessings will continue to be favoured by fortune. A similar sentiment was expressed by Poliziano at *Rusticus* 17-19: *felix ille animi divisque simillimus ipsis, / quam non mendaci resplendens gloria fuco / sollicitat* [happy in spirit and comparable to the gods themselves is the man who is not attracted by the lure of glory with its false splendours]: a passage which Schottus may well have in mind here.

ast: used by Virgil as an archaic alternative for *at* (see Harrison on *Aen.* 10. 173, Austin on *Aen.* 2. 467). It is usually followed by a pronoun or an adjective beginning with a vowel (though there are Virgilian exceptions at *Aen.* 10. 173 and *Aen.* 11. 293 when followed by a noun and *Aen.* 10. 743 when followed by a consonant). The only instance of its use before an adverb appears in Valerius Flaccus. 8. 363. The eighteen instances of its use by Virgil are all confined to the *Aeneid*. Thus the archaism appears a little out of place in a line recalling *Georg.* 2. 458-9 and the fact that there is no Virgilian precedent for its use before an adverb. It is tempting to emend to *est* but *ast* makes good sense after lines 30-1 as a warning to the farmer not to reflect upon his blessings.

33. cf. Manto 156-7: *haec sat erit simas inter cecinisse capellas pastorem* [it will be enough for the shepherd to have sung these strains among the snub-nosed goats].

simas: note Virg. *Ecl.* 10. 7: *simae...capellae*.

34. Daphnin: the idealised shepherd of Virgil's *Eclogues* and the beloved of Pan.

Amaryllida reddat imago: note *Ecl.* 1. 4-5: *tu, Tityre, lentus in umbra / formosam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas* [you, Tityrus, at ease beneath the shade, teach the woods to re-echo "fair Amaryllis"]. Amaryllis was Daphnis' beloved who pined for him at *Ecl.* 1. 36ff.

imago = "echo" is Virgilian. cf. *Georg.* 4. 50 *vocisque offensa resultat imago* [and the echo of a voice rebounds when struck].

35-38. This passage is modelled on *Manto* 319-350 which begins with an exhortation to the Tuscan youth to vie with one another in their enthusiasm for following Poliziano through the works of Virgil (lines 319-21): *vos age nunc alacres certatim, Etrusca iuventus / Aoniis operata sacris, accurrite mecum / daedala perpetui visum monumenta poetae* [Come, then, Tuscan youths, having performed the sacred rites of the Muses, accompany me, rivalling each other in enthusiasm to see the Daedalian monuments of the eternal poet]. Compare with lines 35-6 of Schottus: *ergo agite iuvenes, studiorum robora, palmam / arripite hinc alacres tanti monumenta Poetae* which also serve as a reminder of the educative force of the commentary.

In the passage from the *Manto* quoted above, Poliziano, drawing on Prop. 3. 2. 18-26, goes on to list the seven great wonders of the ancient world (lines 322-37) but all fail in comparison with the works of Virgil as they have not survived the test of time (note the similar sentiment expressed at lines 31-36 of the first dedicatory poem): *Manto* 338-9: *at manet aeternum et seros excurrit in annos / vatis opus* [but the work of the poet remains forever and lasts through the length of years]. Compare line 37 of Schottus: *vatis opus firmum, solidaque perennius aere / semper erit* which also recalls Hor. *Carm.* 3. 30: *exegi monumentum aere perennius* [I have finished a monument more lasting than bronze]. Poliziano ends this section of his *Manto* with various assertions as to the everlasting virtue of Virgil (lines 339-50). Compare *Manto* 345 *semper erit magni decus immortale Maronis* [the

immortal glory of great Maro will live on forever] with lines 37-38 of Schottus: *solidaque perennius aere / semper erit; vivet decus immortale MARONIS* which in turn recalls the passage of Hor. *Carm.* 3. 30 quoted above. For the connection of a poet's verses with *monumenta* see Prop. 3. 2. 18: *carmina erunt formae tot monumenta tuae* [each poem will be a memorial of your beauty].

39. tangit: used figuratively in the *Aeneid* in at least three distinct senses: “touch/affect/stir with emotion”: 9. 138: *nec solos tangit Atridas / iste dolor* [not only the sons of Atreus are touched by that pang]; 12. 57: *Turne, per has ego te lacrimas, per si quis Amatae / tangit honos animum* [Turnus, by these my tears, by any reverence for Amata that yet may touch your heart]; 1. 462: *sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt* [there are tears for misfortunes and human sorrows touch the heart]; “Come home to/arrive at a point of understanding”: 4. 596: *infelix Dido, nunc te facta impia tangunt?* [unhappy Dido, do only now your sinful deeds come home to you?]; “Touching upon/having experience of”: 4. 550-1: *non licuit thalami expertem sine crimine vitam / degere, more ferae, talis nec tangere curas* [I was not permitted to spend my life away from wedlock, a blameless life, like some wild creature, not experiencing such pangs of love] (distinct in meaning from this example, though employing the same phrase *tangere curas*, is 12. 932: *miseri te si qua parentis / tangere cura potest* [if any thought of a parent's grief can touch you] where the meaning is “touch/stir with emotion”). The first of these three uses is the sense here.

adoreia: used here in the figurative sense of “glory, distinction”. Thomas (2011) p142 points out its rare use in this sense in archaic or classical Latin and cites Hor. *C.* 4.4.41 and Plaut. *Amph.* 193 as the only examples.

41. Phoebum: Apollo in his guise as god of music and poetry wearing his sacred laurel leaves around his forehead.

42. barbiton: a musical instrument with a slightly lower pitch than a lyre and was associated with the performance of Lesbian poetry cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1. 1. 34: *nec Polyhymnia / Lesboum refugit tendere barbiton* [nor Polyhymnia withhold the lyre of Lesbos]. The lyre was a traditional symbol of Phoebus Apollo. For the equating of “golden” with divine cf. Pindar *O.*11.13-14.

chelyn: a Graecism not extant in Latin literature before Ovid, *Heroides* 15. 181: *inde chelyn Phoebo, communia munera, ponam* [whence I shall consecrate to Phoebus the tortoise shell, our shared gift]. Again, symbolic of Apollo as the god of poetry and music.

43: Tuscum equitem: Gaius Maecenas. Cf. Prop. 3. 9. 1: *Maecenas, eques Etrusco de sanguine regum* [Maecenas, a knight from the blood of Etruscan kings], Mart. 5. 55(56). 9: *Tuscus eques*. Here the poet reminds us of the crucial *patronus-cliens* relationship, with clear reference to Virgil’s earthly patron, Maecenas and the patron-god of poetry, Apollo. It is fitting that the dedicatory poems are brought to a close with emphasis upon the correct conditions for producing poetry, given the instructive aims of La Cerda’s commentary. The image also fuses the literary (Apollo) with the political (Maecenas – himself an embodiment of the literary-political), bringing the paratextual material to a close with the dominant theme of the importance of poetry to Spain’s imperial identity.

proavis qui regibus ortus: clearly recalling Hor. *Carm.* 1. 1. 1: *Maecenas, atavis edite regibus* [Maecenas, sprung from an ancient line of kings].

44. grata otia Musis: that is, financial security to guarantee the leisure time in which to write poetry. *VSD* 13 tells us: *possedit prope centiens sestertium ex liberalitatibus amicorum, habuitque domum Romae Esquiliis iuxta hortos Maecenatianos* [thanks to the generosity of his friends, he had almost ten million sesterces, and he owned a house in Rome on the Esquiline, next to the gardens of Maecenas]. *Donatus Auctus* adds: *quaecumque ab Augusto peteret, repulsam numquam habuit* [whatever he asked from Augustus, he never received a rebuff]. He is mentioned in similar terms at *Manto* 98-100: *iam saeva recessit / paupertas praestatque piis grata otia Musis / Tuscus eques* [already harsh poverty has withdrawn and the Etruscan knight provides the leisure agreeable to the sacred Muses]. The connection between *otium* and literary endeavour is well-attested but see in particular Cic. *Or.* 1. 1. 3; *de Or.* 2. 13. 57; 1. 6. 22; *Tusc.* 5. 36. 105; *Ov. Tr.* 2. 224; *Mart.* 4. 14. 10.

45. Echoing Virg. *Aen.* 6. 487: *nec vidisse semel satis est; iuvat usque morari / et conferre gradum et veniendi discere causas* [to have seen him (Aeneas) once is not enough; they delight to linger, to pace beside him, and to learn the causes of his coming]. The lines are used of the ghosts of departed Trojans who crowd around Aeneas on his visit to the Underworld.

Prooemium

2. **Discessi...interpretum:** La Cerda immediately stresses the originality of his undertaking.

8. **tenebrae quaedam:** i.e. when *testimonia* (*Proem.* 1) on Virgil have not been judiciously selected for transmission.

9. **redigere...praeconia:** the purpose of the Prolegomena is to offer a reassessment and re-classification of the mass of praise of Virgil, though the outcome of this undertaking is already defined as being to show Virgilian poetic superiority. Thus La Cerda's undertaking shares something with the Servian idea expressed at *Aen.* 1 *praef.* that the *Aeneid* itself was designed to praise Augustus:

intentio Vergilii haec est, Homerum imitari et Augustum laudare a parentibus. Namque est filius Atiae, quae nata est de Iulia, sorore Caesaris, Iulius autem Caesar ab Iulo Aeneae originem ducit, ut confirmat ipse Vergilius [1.288] "a magno demissum nomen Iulo."

[Virgil's intention is this: to imitate Homer and to praise Augustus by reference to his ancestors. For [Augustus] is the son of Atia, Julius Caesar's niece, while Caesar descends from Aeneas' son, Iulus, as Virgil himself confirms by referring to "the name derived from great Iulus."] [trans. Kastor (2011a) p47].

La Cerda's originality lies not necessarily in the conclusions he is to draw but in the condensed presentation and survey of existing material. Note his proud assertion at *Proem.*

10: *Reduco vero rem totam ad septem capita.*

11ff. **Primo...deinde...tertio...etc:** a *conspectus rerum* of the Prolegomena following the structure of a formal *encomium* comprising praise of Virgil's parents and birth-place, his early education and instruction, his personal qualities highlighted by comparison, the quality

of his poetry (thus reflecting the results of his excellent personal qualities) and the conclusion that his fame will be eternal.

11. incunabulis: literally “swaddling clothes” and indicative of a feeling of intimate association with the poet.

12. Honesto, Utili, Iucundo: the pairing of *utile* and *iucundus* perhaps owes something to Horace *A.P.* 3: *Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci* [He who has blended the useful with the pleasurable has won every vote] but Cicero *de Officiis* is the chief model here. See note at *cap.*II.1-2 for further discussion.

14-15. Tullio...Homero...Graecis & Latinis omnibus: the use of comparison to escalate praise of an individual is a stock component of *encomia*. The comparison with Homer follows Scaliger *Poetices* books 4 and 5 (see note at *Schottus* 12-13 and *syllabus auctorum* “Scaliger” pp272-3).

16. doque illi omnium palmam: an early indication of the provocative message of the *Elogia* which depart from accepted Jesuit educational norms and assert that Virgilian poetry is better than Ciceronian prose (see introduction ppxxxix-xxxv; for the use of *palmam* see note at *cap.*III.37). Haskell (2010) pp203-15 has discussed the Jesuit “cult of Vergil” in terms of the Jesuit production of Latin verse but Cicero occupied the preeminent place in the cultivation of eloquence.

20. syllabum auctorum: the sources from which La Cerda has drawn his material. The prominent position of this list at the beginning of the *Prolegomena* serves to remind the reader that La Cerda’s originality lies not in the addition to this material but in the reordering of it. See notes on *syllabus auctorum* pp263-81 for biographical information on individuals.

Caput I [Chapter 1]

The opening chapter deals with legends surrounding the birth and birth-place of Virgil and draws almost entirely on poetical works. La Cerda deals firstly with material concerning Virgil's mother and the portents that surrounded his birth. He goes on to deal with Virgil's father, his birth-place and early childhood. This material is handled uncritically and hurriedly (note the impatient command at *cap.I.79: lege reliqua*; the questionable analysis of *cap.I.79-82*; and the hasty conclusion of *cap.I.92-93*) and does not bear the hallmark of La Cerda's acute scholarship on Virgil's text. Laird (2002a) p177 has noted of the *Elogia* that: "In spite of the erudition displayed in these chapters, their sentiments are as generic as the form in which they are expressed."

Though this may be superficially true of, say, the material present here in *Cap.I*, Laird's judgement does not do justice to the provocative contribution of the *Elogia* to contemporary educational concerns. Proper consideration of the paratextual material is critical to an appreciation of the role of the *Elogia* which is to assert the utility of Virgilian poetry in (re)creating Spanish imperialist identity. The *Elogia* seek to unpack the liminal message of the paratexts by providing detailed evidence of Virgil's perfection as a model for Spanish imperialist education. See introduction piii n. 17.

I.1 exorsus...exortu: note the word play and the rhetorical flourish of the present subjunctive.

I.5-30 Vita Focae 37-62: The material in this life is essentially a reworking of that found in the *VSD*.

31 Vide: it is characteristic of La Cerda to continually address his reader directly. cf. note at *Cap.I.79*.

I.32-33 natus...familiare: though not reported in scripture, popular legend has it that Christ did not cry at birth.

I. 34 apes...Ambrosio: Cicero at *Div.* 1.36 notes the connection of bees with future eloquence at the birth of Plato: *At Platoni cum in cunis parvulo dormienti apes in labellis consedisent, responsum est singulari illum suavitate orationis fore: ita futura eloquente provisum in infante est* [And when bees had settled on the lips of Plato, whilst the little boy was sleeping in his cradle, it was interpreted that he would have a rare sweetness of speech]. For Pindar see Philostratus, *Imagines* 2.12. For Ambrose see Paulinus, *Vita Ambrosii* 3.

I.36 Iovianus: Latinised name of Giovanni Gioviano Pontano (1429-1503) (see *syllabus auctorum* p272).

I. 38-61: the quotation comes from Pontano, *Urania* book 2 *de Sagittario*. There is no modern edition.

I.71-79: Poliziano, *Manto* 47-55.

I.79 Lege reliqua...Dices...Scias Lector: there is a strong rhetorical flavour to La Cerda's commentary. He regularly presents his work as a conversation between himself and his reader as well as himself and his subject, Virgil. For La Cerda's addressing of his reader see, for example, *Cap.II.77: Dices*; 122: *Tu reliqua*; 125-6: *Tu rimare*; *Cap.III.220: sed parcite Lectores*; 300: *Lege etiam grande Elogium Landini*; *Cap.IV.80: Expende verba*; 187: *Attende Lector*; 201: *I nunc, & Homerum lauda, proba, intueri, imitare, venerare*; 239: *Obiicies*; 373: *Obiicies...non Lector*; *Ad lect. 1: Lector humanissime*; 19: *diligenter attende*; 21: "*Quid?*" *Dices. Audi*; 48: *Tu diligentia nostra frui, & labores nostros*; for his conversations with Virgil see, for example, his *explicatio* at *Aen.* 10. 792: *si qua fidem tanto est opera latura vetustas*:

Certe latura, o Maro. Nam quae tam deformis posteritas, quae tuam Musam in honore non habeat? Quae non Lausi facinus admiretur, te narrante? Itaque, credet vetustas, te scriptore, exstitisse filium pientissimum ab impientissimo parente.

[Of course it will bring [belief], o Maro! For what posterity could be so wrongly formed as to not hold your Muse in honour? As to not marvel at the deed of Lausus, when it is you who is telling it? And so, antiquity will believe, with you as the author, that there existed a very pious son from a very impious father.]

I. 82 imo...Virgilius: the *vitae* abound with explanations of the poet's name. Note La Cerda's juxtaposition of *virga Virgilius* to point the etymology.

I.86-87 si...circumfertur: La Cerda's questioning of the authorship would suggest that he is drawing this material from *Donatus Auctus*. Both the *VSD* and *Donatus Auctus* report the omen of the poplar branch.

I. 90 Germ. & Nannius: see entries in *syllabus auctorum*.

Caput II [Chapter 2]

II.1-2 Honesti, Vtilis, Iucundi: Cicero's moral treatise *de Officiis* exerts a considerable influence over La Cerda's methodological approach to the second chapter. In dealing with the excellence of Virgil's character, La Cerda begins from the *a priori* assumption that Virgil is a paragon of moral excellence and virtue. However, La Cerda seeks to schematise this traditional praise of Virgil by offering a reading of Virgil's moral character closely intertwined with the *de Officiis*. La Cerda begins his analysis of the Virgilian character by describing "the threefold nature of his excellence" (*cap.II.1-2*) which he will discuss under the headings of *Honestum*, *Utile*, and *Iucundus*, that is, moral goodness, utility and what is delightful. Whilst the paring of *utile* and *iucundus* owes something to Horace's judgement in the *Ars Poetica*, it is Cicero whose influence is greatest. *de Officiis* deals with the question of moral goodness and utility (*honestum/utilitas*) and seeks to analyse the relationship between them. In discussing Virgil's moral goodness, La Cerda exemplifies his *honestum* under five headings, denoting certain character traits (*pudor, humanitas, prudentia, modestia, pietas*) and in doing so follows the Ciceronian method of defining the constituents of moral behaviour through the examples of human actions and character qualities marked by virtue and duty (*de Off.* 1.11-14). Praise of Virgil is implicit within this method which judges moral goodness in the following way:

quod proprie vereque dicitur id in sapientibus est solis neque a virtute divelli umquam potest. (de Off. 3.13)

[in the true and proper sense of the term, it is said to be the exclusive possession of the wise (for Cicero, the Stoic sage) and can never be separated from virtue].

This deployment of Cicero's moral treatise may also have further implications for our understanding of La Cerda's aims within his commentary as a whole: he intends his work to

be more than simply a guide to understanding Virgil and his method. Rather, it is meant to be an exhaustive analysis of that method for the purpose of successful *imitatio*. There may be a further purpose too pertaining to the ennobling nature of learning: *de Off.* 3.15 discusses the common man's misunderstanding of true virtue:

quod idem in poematis, in picturis usu venit in aliisque compluribus, ut delectentur imperiti laudentque ea, quae laudanda non sint, ob eam, credo, causam, quod insit in his aliquid probi, quod capiat ignaros, qui idem, quid in unaquaque re vitii sit, nequeant iudicare. Itaque cum sunt docti a peritis, desistunt facile sententia.

[This same thing ordinarily occurs in the estimation of poems, paintings, and very many other works of art: ordinary people enjoy and praise things that do not deserve praise. The reason for this, I suppose, is that there is some point of excellence in those things, which captivates the uneducated, because they are not able to judge what weaknesses there are in any particular piece of work. And so, when they are instructed by experts, they readily abandon their former opinion].

Thus, for La Cerda, the job of the commentator is not only to discover weaknesses, which he often detects in accounts of the judgements of others on Virgil, those *certain shadows unworthy of Virgilian splendour* (*Proem.* 8) but also, and here we see the pervasive influence of the classic rhetorical mandate *docere et informare*, his role is to instruct and ultimately to ennoble his audience in the pursuit of moral goodness. This accords with Cicero's comments at *de Off.* 1.156ff when discussing the educative influence of wise men:

Neque solum vivi atque praesentes studiosos discendi erudiunt atque docent, sed hoc idem etiam post mortem monumentis litterarum assequuntur. Nec enim locus ullus est praetermissus ab iis, qui ad leges, qui ad mores, qui ad disciplinam rei publicae pertineret, ut otium suum ad nostrum negotium contulisse videantur. Ita illi ipsi

doctrinae studiis et sapientiae dediti ad hominum utilitatem suam intelligentiam prudentiamque potissimum conferunt.

[Not only when they are alive and present do such men educate and instruct their assiduous students; they continue the same task after their death by means of their writings, which they leave as memorials. There is no theme relevant to the laws of our country, to its customs, to its education, that they have overlooked; they seem to have devoted their leisure to our business. The very men, then, who have given their lives to the pursuit of teaching and wisdom, provide above all good sense and understanding for the benefit of mankind].

For an account of the influence of Cicero's moral philosophy on Jesuit thought see Maryks (2008).

II.3 honestas: it is instructive to compare Cicero's words at *de Off.* 1.15ff as La Cerda begins his exposition of Virgilian *honestas*:

Formam quidem ipsam, Marce fili, et tamquam faciem honesti vides, "quae si oculis cerneretur, mirabiles amores ut ait Plato, excitaret sapientiae". Sed omne, quod est honestum, id quattuor partium oritur ex aliqua. Aut enim in perspicientia veri sollertiaque versatur aut in hominum societate tuenda tribuendoque suum cuique et rerum contractarum fide aut in animi excelsi atque invicti magnitudine ac robore aut in omnium, quae fiunt quaeque dicuntur ordine et modo, in quo inest modestia et temperantia.

[Marcus, my son, you are seeing the very form and appearance, if you will, of honourableness, which, if it is discerned with the eyes, as Plato says, will arouse wonderful love for wisdom. Everything honourable arises from one of four parts: for it is situated in the perceiving of truth and in ingenuity; or in keeping safe the fellowship of men and in assigning to each his own and in good faith to affairs agreed upon; or in the greatness and strength of a

lofty and unconquered spirit; or in the order and due measure of all things which are said and done, in which modesty and restraint are included]

The Ciceronian framework of La Cerda's subsequent discussion of Virgilian *pudor*, *humanitas*, *prudentia*, *modestia*, is clear.

II.6 Pudor: cf. Cicero's advice at *de Off.* 1.122 to aspiring youth:

Maxime autem haec aetas a libidinibus arcenda est exercendaque in labore patientiaque et animi et corporis, ut eorum et in bellicis et in civilibus officiis vigeat industria.

[And this time of life is above all to be protected against sensuality and trained to toil and endurance of both mind and body, so as to be strong for active duty in military and civil service].

II.10 Ausonium: *Cento* 13-17 referring to *Aen.* 8.404-6 and *Georg.* 3.123-37.

II.27 nonne...falso: La Cerda must absolve Virgil of criticism if he is to prove a suitable model for his audience.

II. 32-33 ut Socrates amavit Alcibiadem: on the addition of this tradition to Donatus' life see Burrow, C. *Spenser and Classical Traditions* in Hadfield (2001) pp218-19.

II.34 Humanitas: this section essentially deals with Virgil's ability to form meaningful friendships with good men and reflects the second of the four constituent virtues of *Honestas* as discussed at *de Off.* 1.12. By implication, Virgil is regarded as a worthy figure for the friendship of leading men and they seek to associate with him. cf. *de Off.* 2.46:

Facillime autem et in optimam partem cognoscuntur adulescentes, qui se ad claros et sapientes viros bene consulentes rei publicae contulerunt, quibuscum si frequentes sunt, opinionem adferunt populo eorum fore se similes, quos sibi ipsi delegerint ad imitandum.

[However, young men, who attach themselves to the renowned and the wise and good counsellors in public affairs, are most easily reckoned as being amongst the best. And if they are constantly with such men, they inspire in the public the expectation that they will be like them, as they themselves have selected them for imitation].

Once again, La Cerda's deployment of Cicero's treatise is perhaps further suggestion of the political flavour of his commentary. The reader of Virgil, through this commentary, becomes the skilled statesman by the intimate association with the poet that La Cerda's scholarship provides. Homer is rejected for lacking this principal quality of statesmanship (*cap.II.40-1; 58-9: est longe civilior Homero*) and Virgil's role as a model for imperial society is asserted. cf. *cap.II. 46-59*.

II.46ff. Prudentia: defined at *de Off.* 1.153 as: *quae est rerum expetendarum fugiendarumque scientia* [a knowledge of the things to pursue and avoid] and treated distinctly from *sapientia*. However, both *sapientia* and *prudentia* are treated together at *de Off.* 1.15-16 and La Cerda may also be recalling this passage when judging Virgil as *prudens*. This episode may also serve as a demonstration of the advice at *de Off.* 1.123:

Est igitur adolescentis maiores natu vereri exque iis deligere optimos et probatissimos, quorum consilio atque auctoritate nitatur; ineuntis enim aetatis inscitia senum constituenda et regenda prudentia est.

[It is, then, the duty of a young man to show deference to his elders and to attach himself to the best and most approved of them, so as to receive the benefit of their counsel and influence. For the inexperience of youth requires the practical wisdom of age to strengthen and direct it].

The link between poetry and politics provided by Virgil is vital to La Cerda's assertion that poetic (Virgilian) literature be invested at the heart of Spanish imperialist endeavours (cf. *Ded.* 32-41). The utility of Virgilian poetry in the art of statecraft would hold a powerful

contemporary educational appeal to the Spanish nobility who can learn the requisite skills for the governing of empire through La Cerda's work.

II. 46-54 Inventus est...imperium: the episode is reported by *Donatus Auctus*.

II. 56-57 Ait...prudentia: Aeneas' considered diction is taken as evidence of Virgil's own *prudentia*. cf. the discussion of the pitfalls of the pursuit of knowledge at *de Off.* 1.18ff:

In hoc genere et naturali et honesto duo vitia vitanda sunt, unum, ne incognita pro cognitis habeamus hisque temere assentiamur, quod vitium effugere qui volet--omnes autem velle debent--adhibebit ad considerandas res et tempus et diligentiam.

[In this category, which is both natural and honourable, one must avoid two faults: first, we should not take things that have not been ascertained for things that have, and rashly assent to them. Anyone who wants to avoid that fault (as everyone indeed should) will take time and care when he ponders any matter].

II. 60 Modestia: a constituent of *honestas*. See *cap.II.3* above.

II.68 qua...utantur: the reference is explained at *de Civ. Dei* 21.21 when discussing *Aen.* 6.664: *quique sui memores aliquos fecere merendo* [and those who have made other men mindful of them by the service they have done]. Augustine comments:

id est, qui promeruerunt alios eosque sui memores promerendo fecerunt; prorsus tamquam eis dicerent, quod frequentatur ore Christiano, cum se cuique sanctorum humilis quisque commendat et dicit: "Memor mei esto", atque id ut esse possit promerendo efficit.

[that is, men who have served others, and have made those men mindful of them by their service; just as if they were saying to them, with that expression so common on Christian lips, when some humble person commends himself to one of the saints, and says, "Remember me", and secures that possibility by his service].

II. 70-71 *Haec...canebam*: *Georg.* 4.559 taken as an understated description of his poetic achievement. Note La Cerda's *explicatio* at *Georg.* 4.559 where it is Virgil's use of the imperfect *canebam* which encompasses his *modestia*:

Brevissime & modestissime complectitur opus Georgicorum. Canebam (inquit) haec. Vide modestiam, quasi imperfectum quiddam reliquerit, non enim ait, cecini, cum posset.

[He encompasses the work of the *Georgics* very briefly and very modestly. "I was singing of" (he says) "these things." Note his modesty, as if he has left behind something that is unfinished, for he does not say "I have sung", when he could have done].

II. 72-73 *Noluisse...offerebat*: this episode is recounted in the *VSD*.

II. 74. *Pietas*: understood here in an overtly Christian sense: *hinc est ut fuisse quoque in hoc viro religionem singularem possim existimare ex religione & cultu* (79-80). See Garrison (1992) pp1-8 for a succinct history of this term. See *op. cit.* p22ff for discussion of the Christianisation of *pietas*. cf. *cap.*II.67-8 for the Christian context of *modestia*.

II. 74 *Iovianus...Scaliger*: see *syllabus sutorum* pp263-81 and for notes on these authors. Scaliger's judgement on piety: *qua Homerus caret* (75) is important for La Cerda. If *Pietas* is to be regarded as a constituent virtue of the ideal Spanish imperialist and a mark of the good Christian then Homer's lacking this virtue distances him from Virgil and orthodox Christianity thus rendering his poetry redundant as an instrument of Spanish colonialism. Indeed Greek scholarship and the study of Homer in particular were associated with Lutheranism and Protestantism as challenges to Catholic orthodoxy (see note on *Schottus* 12-13; for the purging of Alcalá's Greek faculty by the Inquisition see note at *Schottus* 13). For

Scaliger's influence on La Cerda see introductory note at *cap.IV*; see also Deitz and Vogt-Spira vol. 4 (1998) for Scaliger's criticism of Homer.

II. 76 divina Aeneis: cf. *Theb.* 12.816 (cited again at *cap.IV.336* and *cap.VI.3*). cf. *cap.II.127-9* for other writers producing divine verses.

II. 78-9 Virtus...viri: for La Cerda's conception of the poem revealing Virgil's own *virtus* see Laird (2002) p33; see also note at *Ded.* 18-19.

II. 82 Fortitudine, Temperantia, Iustitia: cardinal virtues in the Christian tradition.

II. 86-87 Demum...Vati: an indication of La Cerda's sense of Virgil as a paragon of moral virtue. This brings discussion of Virgil's moral worth to an end.

II. 87 Utili: this section of the Prolegomena deals with the moral utility of reading Virgil and commends Aeneas' life as a model of imitation for our own. Note the Christianising virtues; *pium, religiosum, iustum, prudentem, fortem, temperatum*. Virgil is also put forward as the greatest of philosophers, *Platone & Aristotele melius*, and a divine font of all knowledge.

II. 88-89 Marcus Antonius Maioragius: Marc Antonio Maioragio (1514-1555), Italian humanist and Professor of Eloquence at Milan. See entry in *Enciclopedia Italiana*.

II. 127ff: La Cerda asserts the utility of reading Virgil by listing those authors who consciously imitated the poet in their works. For the classicising of Spanish vernacular poets cf. El Brocense's annotations to Garcilaso (see Navarrete (1994) pp129-31; see also note at *cap.V.5*). Statius and Silius Italicus are well known but perhaps less familiar are the Italian humanists listed by La Cerda; Giovanni Pontano (1426-1503), author of Virgilian didactic and pastoral poetry; Jacopo Sannazaro (1458-1530), author of numerous Virgilian poems including *Arcadia*, *Ecloge piscatoriae* and the Christian epic poem *De partu Virginis* which

earned him the title of the Christian Virgil; Girolamo Fracastorio (1478-1553), author of an epic poem on syphilis *Syphilis sive morbus gallicus*; Pietro Bembo (1470-1547), the literary theorist.

For an edition of Fracastorio's *Syphilis* see Eatough (1984); for Bembo see Kidwell (2004); for Pontano see Kidwell (1991). See also entries below in *syllabus auctorum* pp263-81.

II. 129-130 Nam esto...qua usi: a puzzling sentence expressed in almost note form. La Cerda appears to imply some criticism of the poets he has just listed, questioning their Virgilian credentials. There may be an irony in the carefully crafted diction of *carmina conderet* as the commentator (cf. 130: *optimis interpretibus*) delivers literary judgement on the poets.

II. 131-132 optimis Interpretibus: an acknowledgement of the literary credentials of commentators themselves. La Cerda is well aware of his own achievement cf. *Ad lect.* 48: *Tu diligentia nostra fruere*. There may also be some competition between the status of the commentator and his text as each depends on the other for their fame cf. *cap.*II.131ff: *Caruisses optimis Interpretibus, qui, nisi fuisset Virgilius, illi in tenebris fuissent*. Note La Cerda's use of poetic language through the figurative *in tenebris*. For the competition between commentator and text see introduction pxxxv ; see note at *GS*. 4 and introductory note at *cap.*IV.

II. 132-133 nescireque...aperuisset: it is Virgil's reworking of Greek literary models that, for La Cerda, lies at the heart of his poetic achievement and hence forms the ultimate criterion of *utilitas*. cf. *Ad lect.* 21-3.

II. 135 Iucundo: denotes a literary judgement based on the pleasure of reading an author.

II. 135-6 Hanc...praestabo: a good example of La Cerda's conscious rhetoric. Note the stress on the impossibility of his task: *Hanc rem nemo satis digne exsequatur* and how this is answered with the vivid image, delayed for impact: *id praestabo*, and its connotations of excellence and distinction. La Cerda conceives his own task as *tantum* and his undertaking is to be regarded as all the greater because this disparate mass of material (*praeconia*) is collected into one single body of work: *in unum corpus colligere* (cf. *Proem.* 10: *Reduco vero rem totam ad septem capita*). Note also the humour expressed in his comment: *Neque vero omnia, nam quis hoc?*

II. 144. incubit: note the figurative language employed by La Cerda once again.

II. 151 Lucretium: note the relatively uninhibited reference to a "profane" author.

II. 155ff Theocrito: *iucunditas* appears to lie primarily in Virgil's pastoral poetry. Note the comment on Virgil's use of Theocritus at *cap.II.157: quae omittit ex Theocrito, substituere iucundius, lepidiusque*. Virgil's reworking of his literary models lies at the heart of his poetic achievement. cf. *Ad lect.* 21-3.

II. 170ff. Scaliger's verse as well as his prose is liberally quoted by La Cerda as a legitimate mode of Virgilian criticism. The extensive use of Poliziano, particularly in the dedicatory poems and *cap.I - cap.II* of the *Elogia*, as well as his use of other neo-Latin poets, also demonstrates how seriously La Cerda takes the process of original composition in verse as a vehicle for the criticism of verse. Poliziano himself wrote his *Silvae* as poetical introductions to his literature courses at the University of Florence.

II. 185 Politianus...politissime: *Manto* 304-7. Note the playful pun on Poliziano's name that introduces a literary judgement on his poetry.

II. 191: *Manto* 368-73.

II. 197 M. Antonius Casanova: Marcantonio Casanova (c. 1477-1528), the Italian neo-Latin epigrammatist. See Grant (2011) p273.

Caput III [Chapter 3]

III. De Variis Artibus: the third chapter offers a miscellany designed to present Virgil as a thesaurus of knowledge on a variety of topics. Poliziano's *Lamia* (1492) had famously asserted the role of the idealised humanist *grammaticus* capable of undertaking exposition of any text, in any discipline. Nebrija had also discussed the same idea via a Latin oration delivered at the opening of the academic year of 1486 at the University of Salamanca. Here La Cerda demonstrates Virgil's ability to assume this role of the ideal humanist pedagogue.

His knowledge of philosophy is discussed first and this ranges over the sub-categories of astrology, medicine, mathematics, invention, advocacy, pontifical law, sacred customs, antiquity, Greek literature, and the arts. Rhetoric and eloquence are then discussed after which there is the provocative comparison of Virgil with Cicero where Virgil is found to be the greater.

III. 3 Philosophia: *VSD* 35 relates Virgil's intimate connection with philosophy:

anno aetatis quinquagesimo secundo impositurus Aeneidi summam manum statuit in Graeciam at in Asiam secedere triennioque continuo nihil amplius quam emendare ut reliqua vita tantum philosophiae vacaret

[in the fifty-second year of his life, to put the finishing touches to the *Aeneid*, he decided to retire to Greece and Asia, doing nothing more than revising it for three straight years so that the rest of his life would be free for philosophy only].

III. 4-19 Versatum...Metaphysicae: La Cerda provides a chronological sweep of eleven-hundred years, beginning with Macrobius and ending with the judgement of the elder Scaliger. La Cerda's attachment to Scaliger is particularly worth noting given the Jesuit's hostility to his son's Protestantism and their vigorous attempts to discredit him cf. Gaspar

Scioppius' *Scaliger hypobolimaeus* published in 1601. *nefas* (16) suggests an almost religious devotion to him.

III. 15 Vives: La Cerda is quoting from Vives' *in Georgica Vergilii praelectio* (vol. 2 *opera omnia* (Valencia, 1782) p77). For a detailed introduction to Vives' life and thought and a chronological list of his works see Norena (1970). For a collection of essay studies on his life and works see Fantazzi (ed.) (2008). No modern edition of his *in Georgica Vergilii praelectio* exists. For his entry in the *syllabus auctorum* see p274.

III. 20-64 Vidisti...artes: La Cerda quotes various testimonies from a wide range of late antique to Renaissance sources in order to highlight Virgil's particular knowledge of Aristotle, Theophrastus, the Pythagoreans, Epicureanism and Plato. He quotes *Donatus Auctus* as a source for Virgil's particular adherence to Plato, paving the way for a Neo-Platonist/Christian vision of Virgil as an instructor of moral virtue.

III.22 Hausit...liquido: the metaphor is extended via the choice of adverb.

III. 27 luculentos: the adjective is picked up via the polyptoton of *luculentis* (32).

III. 37 palmam: in addition to the well known classical uses of this topos e.g. Horace, *C.* 3.20.11; 4.2.17; Ovid, *A.A.* 2.3; Cicero, *Sen.* 6.16; *de Or.* 2.56.227; 3.35.143, the language is characteristic of La Cerda's mode of praise. cf. *Proem.* 16: *doque illi omnium palmam*; *cap.IV.323: semper dant palmam Virgilio*; 334: *datque Virgilio palmam singularem*; *Schottus* 30-31: *victricem Mantua palmam / ut ferat, Hesperia* also uses the same image borrowed from Poliziano, *Manto* 157: *tu victricem fer, Mantua, palmam.* cf. also *Schottus* 35-6: *palmam / arripite.*

The imagery of contest cf. *certet de victoria* (38) is another characteristic of La Cerda's language of praise. See note at *Ded.* 18 for discussion of La Cerda's use of *supero* and his language of ranking in denoting praise.

III. 55 *ab scelus indignum solvetur littera dives*: the verses which supposedly recount Augustus' nullification of Virgil's will are transmitted via the *Vita Vaticana* II. See Ziolkowski, Putnam eds. (2008) pp282-9 for a Latin text and English translation.

III. 59-64 *Nam occulte...Vate*: a rare instance in La Cerda of an allegorical reading of Virgil. *Cum minus putes* may say more about La Cerda's attitude than his readers'. La Cerda also refers to, though stops short of quoting, the famous Neo-Platonist and allegorical commentator on Virgil, Cristoforo Landino (see p271 for bibliography). The duties (*officia*) of the *bonus princeps, dux, miles, and paterfamilias* correspond to those roles assumed by the noble Spanish reader of La Cerda's commentary and those Spanish nobleman to whom La Cerda is affirming the educative force of Virgilian poetry cf. discussion at *Ded.* 3. *religio, pietas, iustitia, fortitudo, temperantia, and prudentia* represent the Christianised virtues of Virgilian poetry.

III.61-2 *ad virtutem...contineri in hoc Vate*: note once again the emphasis on Virgil's own *virtus*. See discussion at *Ded.* 18-19.

III. 65ff *ASTROLOGUS...MEDICUS &*

MATHEMATICVS...CAVSSIDICVS...IVRIS PONTIFICII &

***RITVVM...VETVSTATIS...GRAECAS...ARTIUM OMNIUM*:** this long section presents Virgil as a thesaurus of knowledge thus justifying his educational utility as the idealised *grammaticus*. This presentation of Virgil as a compendium of all knowledge is an extension of Macrobius' account in the *Saturnalia* of Virgil's wide-learning and erudition. He

is described at *Saturnalia* 1.16.12 as *omnium disciplinarum peritus*. For his knowledge of astrology cf. *Sat.* 1.24.18; for pontifical law cf. 1.24.16; for his knowledge (and use) of Greek models cf. 1.24.18. The inclusion of his roles as *medicus*, *mathematicus* and *Caussidicus* may be to assert Virgil's contemporary relevance to Spanish educational culture which was dominated at tertiary level by the vocational faculties of medicine and law.

III.72 ARTIFEX: at *Policratus* 1.4 John of Salisbury (c. 1110-80) provides the first documentation of Virgil the magician or necromancer with the story of Virgil's creation of a bronze fly that, when placed on the walls of Naples, prevented all flies from entering the city. (See Ziolkowski, Putnam eds., (2008) pp830-1). Helinand, via Vincent of Beauvais, reports both the story of the bronze fly and the meat-market but La Cerda is troubled by the pagan evocation of the labelling of Virgil as *Necromanticus*. cf. Servius' discussion of the distinction between necromancy and sciomancy at *in Aen.* 6. 149. On which see Wilson-Okamura (2010) pp158-60.

III.91 Crinit: Pietro Crinito (Pietro del Riccio Crinito) (1475-1507), the Florentine humanist and neo-Latin poet. The quotation comes from Book 10 chapter 6 of his twenty-five book work *De honesta disciplina* (1504). For an account of his poetry and a bibliography see Nodes (2005) pp524-37.

III. 94. VETUSTATIS: Virgil's use of archaism is dealt with here as is his respect for antiquity generally.

III. 116-26: La Cerda quotes a range of humanist sources attesting Virgil's capacity as a polymath: *Coelio* (116) and *Calcagninus* (118) are Caelius Calcagnini (1479-1541), the Italian humanist (see *syllabus auctorum*); *Anton. Mintur.* (121) is Antonio Sebastiano Minturno (1500-74) the Italian neo-Latin poet and literary critic; *Hadrian. Iunius* (123) is

Hadrianus Iunius or Adriaen de Jonghe (1511-75), the Dutch humanist Latin poet (see van Dirk (2011)). For Fabius Paulinus (125-6) see *syllabus auctorum*.

III.143 Eloquentia & Rhetorica: key concepts within Renaissance education generally and the Jesuit model of education in particular. The rhetoric class represented the pinnacle of Jesuit *ratio studiorum* with the preceding grammar and humanities classes seeking to impart to students an awareness of good Latin style as exemplified by Cicero in prose and by Virgil in verse. This was to culminate in *eloquentia perfecta* at the end of the rhetoric class. For an account of the pervasive role of rhetoric in Renaissance education see Mack (2011).

III. 147-189 Elogii...afferam: this section attests to Virgilian eloquence through the citation of familiar sources; Macrobius, Augustine, Jerome, Quintilian. Landino is again mentioned as is the Spanish humanist of the sixteenth century, Juan Luis Vives, whose work is used to confirm the educational utility of studying Virgil: *singularis magister fuerit Virgilius in movendis affectibus* [Virgil was the sole teacher in the art of moving the emotions], particularly in relation to book 4 of the *Aeneid*.

It is interesting to note La Cerda's opinion of *Aeneid* 4 as a suitable educational model for the creation of high emotion in poetry given the Jesuit attitude to its contents. However, the utility of studying such emotionally effective poetry would clearly have application to the Jesuit ministry of preaching.

III. 159-63 sed quid est...elegantissimus: Vives' *in Georgica Vergilii praelectio* (vol. 2 *opera omnia* (Valencia, 1782) p76).

III. 165-6 miracula eloqii: *Manto*, 351-2.

III. 165-6 Moenii...linguae: *vita Phocae*, 25-6.

III. 173 *luculentissime*: note again the special praise reserved for Scaliger. cf. *cap.*III. 27, 32. ***Verba Vivis*** = in *Georgica Vergilii praelectio* (vol. 2 *opera omnia* (Valencia, 1782) p76).

III. 177 *Isidorus*: Isidore of Seville (c. 560-636). La Cerda's image of Virgil as the embodiment of universal knowledge perhaps reflects the *Etymologiae (Origines)* of twenty books in which Isidore attempted to compile a *summa* of human knowledge.

III. 187 *Fugiunt extremum aures*: La Cerda, as a Jesuit and thus a devotee of Cicero, is clearly aware of the provocative nature of his judgement. The metaphorical language here draws further attention to this controversy.

III. 189ff: La Cerda's language of comparison here and at *cap.* IV. 8ff recalls Quintilian *Inst.* 10.1.85: *omnium eius generis poetarum Graecorum nostrorumque haud dubie proximus* [There is no doubt that, of all epic poets, Greek or Roman, he comes next after Homer] [trans. Russell]. cf. *par* (194) recalling *Inst.* 10.1.86: *proprior tamen primo quam tertio*.

III. 190-194 *Haec...iudicium*: the first stage in a tripartite comparison with Cicero designed to prove the supremacy of Virgilian rhetoric. Such an exercise is surprising in light of the centrality of Cicero within the Jesuit model of education. See Maryks (2008) pp83-106.

III.191 *post Tullium*: La Cerda is still careful to observe Cicero's eminence in the field of rhetoric. *nervosam* descriptive of expression is figurative and Ciceronian cf. Cic. *Brut.* 31.121: *quis Aristotele nervosior*; *Or.* 26.127: *sed aliquanto nervosius...dicentur*. For *superant* as characteristic of La Cerda's critical method see note at *Ded.* 18.

III.193 *idem...iudicium*: the future imperative implies a decisive judgement. Note the chiasmic arrangement of this terse pronouncement.

III. 194 Hoc difficilium: note the ongoing conversation with the reader cf. 189: *haec est res adeo certa, ut mihi paucae lineae in ea insumedae sint* [This matter is so certain that I must devote few lines to it].

III.194-5 Poetica...oratoria: cf. 195: *orator / Poeta* where the capitalisation may suggest an implicit judgement on the superiority of the poetic genre.

III.196ff: the famous quip of Cicero upon hearing *Eclogue 6: Magnae spes altera Romae*. cf. *Aen.* 12.168 which reproduces the phrase and which La Cerda refers to at 202: *vides ut Tulli vocem tanquam omen Virgilius acceperit*. Note how Cicero's *vocem* has become an *omen* in Virgil and thus indicative of the more profound, universal knowledge of the poet who applies the phrase to Ascanius in reference to his role in the establishment of the Roman race.

III.202-3: Scio...Tullio: La Cerda is undeterred by those who question the historicity of such an event (if the *Eclogues* were composed between 42 and 39BC, while Cicero died in 43BC, how could he have then heard one of these poems being recited?). Instead, he prefers to regard Servius on *Ecl.* 6.11 (cf. also Donatus *auctus* 41) as confirmation of an evident truth: *Nam, ubi verum est, Tullium & Virgilium fuisse Romae spes duas, quid ambigam de Auctore?* Note the cheerfully sanguine *quid ambigam de Auctore?* – an extraordinary statement in the handling of source material. His concern here is simply with praise of Virgil and the sentiment expressed by the episode. His gloss on *Aen.*12.168 appears to acknowledge the fanciful provenance of the phrase:

MAGNAE SPES ALTERA ROMAE] Quod hic iactatum de Tullio...risui exponunt docti

[THE OTHER HOPE OF GREAT ROME: learned men explain for a smile that the phrase is cast here in accordance with Cicero]

Wilson-Okamura (2010) p54ff discusses Renaissance readers' attitude to the chronology; see also Comparetti (1997) pp144-5 which discusses the appearance of the episode in Virgil's biographical tradition.

III.207 Plinius...profitetur: the passage referred to is *HN praef. 22-3*:

Scito enim conferentem auctores me deprehendisse a iuratissimis ex proximis veteres transcriptos ad verbum neque nominatos, non illa Vergiliana virtute, ut certarent, non Tulliana simplicitate, qui de republica Platonis se comitem profitetur

[For you must know that when collating authorities I have found that the most reliable and modern writers have copied the old authors word for word and without acknowledgment, not in that valorous spirit of Virgil, not with the candour of Cicero who in his *Republic* declares himself a companion of Plato] [trans. Rackham (1968)]

Russell's (1979) discussion of ancient imitation and its principles of competitive rivalry (*aemulatio*) suggests that classical authors must strive to compete as equals with their models: *imitatio* via *aemulatio* cf. "Longinus'" discussion of μίμESIS and ζήλωσις at *Subl.* 13.2-14.3. This ancient conception of the competitive aspect of successful literary imitation is important to La Cerda's understanding of Virgil's poetic achievement cf. La Cerda's *Ad lect.* 21-24:

quae in Graecis desunt, addat; quae in illis redundant, adimat; quae in illis sunt imperfecta, & parum culta, perfectiora & nitidiora labore suo, & industria reddat.

[the things which are lacking in the Greeks, he adds; things in them which are redundant, he removes and he renders more perfect and resplendent things in them which are imperfect and too little cultivated by his labour and industry.]

Here Virgil's "courage" in emulating Greek authors leads not only to his rivalling of but his improvement upon and surpassing of his models. See note at *Ded.* 18 for discussion of the language of rivalry as deployed throughout the Prolegomena.

III.210-11 Politian. in Manto: the passage is *Manto* 14-23:

*Viderat [sc. Nemesis] haec domitis tumidam te, Graecia, Persis, / signa quoque Eoum
victricia ferre sub orbem; / viderat et cantu Aonio eloquiisque superbam / ire altum
magnumque loqui caeloque supinum / insertare Cap. nec dis te ferre minorem. / Mox
fastus exosa graves, cervice coegit / ferre iugum et Latiis superatam subdidit armis. /
Nec fandi permansit honos: tu namque potenti / protinus ore tonans, ardentis fulmine
linguae / cuncta quatis, Cicero.*

[She [sc. Nemesis] saw you, Greece, swollen with pride after your defeat of the Persians, carrying your victorious standards to the lands of the East. She saw you, too, proud of your Aonian song and of your eloquence, exalted and grandiloquent, lifting your head to touch the skies, and thinking you were not less than the gods. Then, detesting your excessive pride, she forced you to bear the yoke upon your neck and subjected you in inglorious defeat to the might of Latin arms. Nor even did the honour of eloquence remain; for you, Cicero, thundering forth with powerful voice and with the lightning bolt of your blazing tongue, make all things tremble.] [trans. Fantazzi (2004)]

Note the textual variation in the excerpt quoted by La Cerda at 212 who reads *ardenti* and construes with *fulmine* rather than *ardentis* construed with *linguae* as printed in Bausi (1996).

III. 216 Obiicies...paritare?: note the oratorical display in this provocative section of the *Elogia*: the rhetorical second person address: *Obiicies*, the faintly humorous rhetorical question betraying La Cerda's anxiety in reaching such a controversial judgement: *quid anxius sim in probanda paritare?*

III. 220-222 Est...alii?: it is Cicero's preeminent position in Jesuit education which makes La Cerda cautious in delivering this decisive judgement.

III.220 temerarium dictu: for the supine cf. *Ded.* 30 and note *ad loc. parcite Lectores* continues La Cerda's performance of this controversy. *litem* (223, 263) is legalistic.

III. 224-245 Post haec...repperies: the first of two long extracts from *Saturnalia* 5. Virgil is proclaimed as master of "the four styles", namely, *copiosum, breve, siccum, pingue & floridum*. Cicero is master only of the copious. See Wilson-Okamura (2010) p91-94.

III. 245 Hactenus Macrobius: [sc. *verba dixit*] the phrasing is elliptical. *hactenus* indicating a limit of time is Virgilian cf. *Aen.* 5.630; 11.823.

III.246-7 quatuor illa dicendi genera: i.e. *copiosum, breve, siccum, pingue* and *floridum* based on Macrobius *Saturnalia* 5.1.7. The number of styles and the terminology used to refer to them was a matter of debate even in antiquity (see Kaster (2011) pp216-7 n.3). For Renaissance debate on these four styles see Wilson-Okamura (2010) p94.

III.248 divinum Elogium divini Vatis: note the polyptoton.

III.248-260 Vides...permiscuisse: the second extract from *Saturnalia* 5.1.18 further detailing Virgil's method and command of the four styles.

III. 259-261 Sunt quibus...putent: the formula arguably recalls Quintilian cf. *Inst.* 10.1.93: *sunt qui Propertium malint*. La Cerda is careful to maintain a mid-course on this provocative question. Albericus is Alberico Gentili (1552-1608), the Italian jurist who served as British advocate to the Spanish embassy from 1605 to his death in 1608. His *Hispanicae Advocationis Libri Duo* were published posthumously in 1613. He also published a *Lectionis Virgilianae variae liber* (1603).

III. 263-269 Ego litem...absolutissima: again, La Cerda is careful to frame the superiority of Virgil with praise of Cicero. Conventional though this comparison may be, the drama of the

episode clearly appeals to La Cerda: note the address to the reader *parcite* (221), the loaded *non fas* (rather than *nefas*), the daring self-confession *sed hic tamen ου κατ' εἰωθος dicam* (265-6) veiled by the Greek expression. Note the distinction between *humano ingenio* (266) and *mortali ingenio* (267). The suggestion is that Virgil is divine. The classical conception of *imitatio* thus applies to Cicero, to whom it is profitable to rival through *aemulatio* as he can be matched and improved. *aemulatio* can be strived for in relation to Virgil but for La Cerda this is an aspiration impossible to fully realise.

III. 269-70 Scaligerum: the quote is from *Poetices* 5.3. cf. also *Poetices* 3.4 and Scaliger's virtual deifying of Virgil: *haec omnia quae imiteris habes apud alteram naturam id est Virgilium* [all the things which you may imitate you have in a second Nature, namely Virgil]. Scaliger's theory of imitation is an important authority for La Cerda's conception of the centrality of Virgilian poetry.

III. 281 Politianus: the quote is from *Manto* 351-368.

III. 302 Fungerum: John Fungerus (1546-1612), the Dutch humanist and author of the encyclopaedic *Lexicon Philologicum* (1607). See p267.

Caput IV [Chapter 4]

Elogia attesting Virgil's superiority to Homer presented in a similar, arguably Quintilianic, fashion to the comparison with Cicero at *cap.III*. (cf. Quintilian's criticism of Greek and Latin authors at *Inst.* 10.1.20ff. Homer is discussed at 10.1.46-50 and other Greek poets at 10.1.51-64. Greek comic and tragic authors follow at 10.1.65-72. His criticism of the Latin poets is found at 10.1.85-100).

However, La Cerda is much bolder in his asserting of Virgil's victory over Homer than he had been in the previous chapter when dealing with Virgil's surpassing of Cicero in the field of eloquence, perhaps because this is a far less contentious issue for the model of Jesuit education. Indeed, Virgil's victory over Homer represents the traditional Renaissance attitude to the Greek poet. The primacy and pervasiveness of Latin culture during the Renaissance meant that traditional Roman prejudices towards Greek culture were inherited by many humanist critics and writers and these were transferred to the fields of literary criticism. Thus, in Scaliger, for example, Homer's faults are defined as *licentia*, *luxuria*, *prolixitas* (*Poetices* 5.3 pp245, 242, 233) all of which are cognates of *liceo* and thus denote permissiveness or "letting go." (see Wilson-Okamura (2010) pp129-32). Virgil on the other hand is chastity personified cf. *cap.II.5ff*.

The historical fact of the Roman Empire came to be equated with Roman cultural conquest which was itself similarly perceived as absolute and all-enveloping (see Sowerby (1997)). Greek also played a less prominent role in Renaissance schooling and was certainly subordinate to Latin, if it was taught at all. The Jesuit schools were atypical of Renaissance schooling in that Greek was given a secure place in the curriculum but students did not start Greek until the humanities class and thus unavoidably came to Greek literature through a Latin bias. The profusion of parallel Greek and Latin text verse translations of the *Iliad* and

Odyssey produced throughout the Renaissance also suggests the Latinising and indeed Virgilianising of Homer. For this process as an act of literary judgment cf. e.g. Sowerby (1997) pp177-79 and his discussion of Poliziano's translations from the *Iliad*. The case for attitudes to Homer in the Catholic Spain of the Renaissance is made more acute by Greek's association with Erasmianism and by implication Lutheranism (see Ben-Tov (2009) especially pp159-85 which discusses Lutheran scholars' reading of Homeric texts).

However, La Cerda's criticism of Homer in this chapter also illuminates an important aspect of his own conception of the theory of literary imitation. La Cerda's judgement on this topic rests heavily on the authority of Scaliger who, in his criticism of Homer at *Poetices* 5, accepts the standard notion which equated Homer with nature itself though as yet unrefined by art. However, for Scaliger, it is Virgil who brings the crude art of Homer to the summit of refined perfection (*Poetices* 5.1). This achievement is expressed through the famous master/teacher metaphor at *Poetices* 5.1:

*a natura proposita Homero argumenta, quasi dictata discipulo emendat Virgilius
tanquam magister*

[the arguments from Nature put forward by Homer, Virgil corrects like a teacher as if they had been dictated by a pupil].

Thus Scaliger sees Virgil's craftsmanship of his Homeric model as one of his primary poetic virtues just as La Cerda expressed his own conception of Virgil's poetic achievement at *Ad lect.* 21-24 as being defined by his reworking and improvement of his Greek poetic models.

Indeed, it is the universality of Virgil's poetry that leads Scaliger, himself influenced by the long tradition of praise of Virgil's diversity and fecundity, to regard Virgil as a second

Nature, in which the infinite variety and beauty of Nature has been distilled and perfected into one place cf. *Poetices* 3.25:

hactenus rerum ideae quemadmodum ex ipsa natura exciperentur Virgilianis ostendimus exemplis. Ita enim eius poesi evenisse censeo, sicut & picturis...Nam tametsi in ipsis naturae normis atque dimensionibus universa perfectio est: tamen utriusque parentis mistio, tempus, caelum, locus multa asserunt impedimenta. Itaque non ex ipsius naturae opera uno potuimus exempla capere, quae ex una Virgiliana idea mutuati sumus.

[Up until this point we have used examples from Virgil to show how the forms of things are to be drawn from Nature itself. For I believe that it has come about in poetry, just as in paintings....for although there is in Nature's pattern and scope a general completeness, there are also many shortcomings, brought about by the mixing of either parent, the season, the weather, or the place. And so we could not take from any single product of Nature the examples that we have borrowed from the one archetype of Virgil.] [trans. Wilson-Okamura (2010) pp99-100].

Scaliger's criticism is important to La Cerda's method in the *Prolegomena*. Scaliger regards Virgil as having created the perfect, Platonic form of the poetic landscape (cf. *idea* in the passage quoted above), that is, Virgil becomes a second Nature, improved and refined to the very form of Platonic perfection. This achievement is recognised by La Cerda in Virgil's perfection of his Greek models as expressed at *Ad lect.*21-24 where he has improved and gathered into a single whole the works of Greek authors.

La Cerda himself seeks to imitate Virgilian universality and poetic perfection in his commentary by perfecting and assembling into a single archetype all the praise of Virgil: cf. *proem.*6-10:

Discessi...Ab istis, quia nullus est ordo in illis testimoniis ac perinde illa opera exiguae est frugis ad cognoscendam dignitatem Magni Poetae: nam ex tanta testimoniorum acervatione tenebrae quaedam existunt indignae Virgiliano splendore. Itaque potius e re visum fuit redigere ad certum ordinem Virgilii praeconia quibus cognoscatur quantam in rebus singulis vir hic singularis praevaluerit.

[I have departed from the latter, because there is no order to their accounts, and anyway that undertaking is of scant fruit for getting to know the prestige of the Great Poet: for from such a great accumulation of accounts, certain shadows appear that are unworthy of Virgilian splendour. And so, a more preferable thing from this seemed to be to restore a certain order to the praise of Virgil, by which it might be recognised just how much in his individual works this man alone is superior.]

Thus La Cerda himself becomes an *altera Natura* or, indeed, an *alter Virgilius* within the landscape of commentary. La Cerda competes with Virgilian poetic perfection through the employment of the very same Virgilian poetic methods of abundance and variety. Virgil's *aemulatio* of Nature is translated into the commentator's *aemulatio* of Virgil and explains the comprehensiveness and sheer scope of La Cerda's (and Scaliger's) work as commentary seeks to rival poetry on its own terms. This trope of criticism is also played out in the dedicatory poems where Sanctius' poem in particular portrays Virgil's poetry as Nature. Interestingly, praise of the refinement of Nature, which can be regarded as careless and requiring cultivation, usually a commonplace of Virgil criticism which has its roots in antiquity (cf. Horace, *Satires* 1.10.44 *molle atque facetum*), is transferred to praise of La Cerda himself cf. e.g. GS 15-18: *Tu silvam implexam, atque hirsutis pascua dumis / Falce aperis rursus, vomere rursus aras. / Vomere non alio, quam, quo Maro rusticus olim / Divitias Cereri, deliciasque dedit* [With your sickle you open up once more the entangled wood

and the pastures shaggy with brambles, once again you furrow with the plough: that same plough with which rustic Maro gave us the riches and delights of Ceres.]

Here we have the language of Virgilian literary criticism applied to the art of Virgilian commentary.

Importantly this polemical development of the classical theory of *aemulatio*, which called for writers to compete with their models, even if they knew they could not win (see Russell (1979) p16), introduces the possibility of classical poets actually surpassing their literary forbears: in the same way in Golden Age Spain this theory accorded with Spanish perceptions of the *translatio imperii* in which ancient models were appropriated to Spanish imperial ideals (see Luper (2003)) and which provided an important cultural stimulus to Spanish imperialism. It also makes possible and legitimises the role of La Cerda's own commentary as a superior competitor in the realm of Virgilian hermeneutics and even a competitor to Virgilian poetry itself.

IV. 1 expeditum me: the metaphor is suggestive of extricating oneself from a snare or trap and thus suggests the controversial nature of the previous comparison with Cicero at *cap.III.189ff.*

IV. 2 princeps: for a discussion of La Cerda's use of this term in the Prolegomena see note at *Ded. 3.*

pars maxima & potissima: La Cerda confirms the importance of this victory over Homer to any account of Virgil's poetic achievement. The language is militaristic cf. *victoria, obruit*. Indeed, the contemporary politics of La Cerda's work support this view of the superiority of Virgilian poetics which contain not only a model of patronage but which also endorse the ideas of national unity and imperialism (see Bizer (2011) p114). Hence Scaliger's theory of *imitatio*, deployed by La Cerda, can be seen as lending cultural legitimacy to Spanish

imperialist politics through the literary authority of Virgil presented as a triumphal poetical-imperial model.

IV. 4-5 Duo prima falsa sunt: thus rendering these sections rather formulaic.

IV. 8-11 hoc...Domitio Afro: the reference is to Quintilian's criticism of Latin authors at *Inst.* 10.1.85ff. The reference to Domitius Afer is found at 10.1.86. For Alcinous see entry in *syllabus auctorum*.

IV. 18 longe distare: cf. Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.86: *ceteri omnes longer sequentur*.

IV. 22-3 Proximus...prior: Poliziano, *Nutrica* 346-7.

IV. 28-37 Censebat...statuebat: Pontano, *Antonius* 74. See Gaisser (2012) for an edition of Pontano's *Dialogues* with an accompanying English translation.

IV. 42-44 Incertus Poeta: the pseudo-Virgilian poem is reported with scepticism in the *Vita Vaticana II* (see Ziolkowski, Putnam eds. (2008) p285).

IV. 49 Magno contendit Homero: Poliziano, *Manto*, 32.

IV. 49-53 Ad hanc...cap.18: the supposed educative and morally uplifting benefits of reading classical epic, particularly Virgil. The passage of Augustine at *De Civitate Dei* 1.3 asserts, along with Quintilian, the particular benefit to the young:

Nempe apud Vergilium quem propterea parvuli legunt ut videlicet poeta magnus omniumque praeclarissimus atque optimus ebibitus animis non facile oblivione possit aboleri.

[Certainly in the case of Virgil, whom little boys read for the reason that the great poet, the most outstanding and best of all, once he has been drunk deep in their minds, cannot easily be forgotten].

Tostado at *Genesis* 18.19: *scio enim quod praecepturus sit filiis suis et domui suae post se ut custodiant viam Domini et faciant iustitiam et iudicium ut adducat Dominus propter Abraham omnia quae locutus est ad eum* [For I know him, that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the LORD, to do justice and judgment; that the LORD may bring upon Abraham that which he hath spoken of him] (trans. KJV) states:

quod primo docuerint parentes hoc tenebit & illud manebit quasi tota vota sua ut naturaliter infixum.

[that which parents first teach will take hold and remain there, as if implanted naturally, for the duration of life]

He then quotes Augustine *De Civitate Dei* 1.3 in support of this.

IV. 54 Homeric: as opposed to the *Homeromastices*, or “whippers of Homer”.

IV. 60-61 mille nugis: *Sat.* 5.13ff examines a series of passages where Virgil is judged inferior to Homer. La Cerda’s method here reveals the *a priori* assumption of the superiority of Virgilian poetry. For this traditional Renaissance view see the discussion at the introduction to this chapter.

pessimus lancinator: this view of Macrobius, supported by the authority of Scaliger at *Poetices* 5.3 [*verum ad certa loca, quorum aliqua a Macrobio observata, persimoque iudicio lancinata sunt*], explains the paucity of reference to his work within the commentary itself. See introduction pxlviii.

IV. 63-5 Euge...coronis: *Manto*, 78-80. The following quotation at 68-70 comes from *Manto* 199-201.

IV. 71-72: Auctor...pono: La Cerda is quoting *Donatus auctus* on the traditional Iliadic and Odyssean division of the *Aeneid*, supposedly visible in the *arma virumque* opening of the *Aeneid* (See Laird (2000) pp143-170). Literary judgement is also being passed on Virgil's ability to refine Homer's loquaciousness by reducing forty-eight books of Greek hexameters to twelve books of Latin hexameters.

IV. 75 Vida: Marcus Hieronymus Vida (Marco Girolamo Vida) (1485-1566). The quotation at 76-9 is from book 1.169-72 of his treatise *De Arte Poetica* (1527) (see Williams (1976) for an edition with English translation and commentary). Written with the formation of the young poet in mind, it places Virgil at the heart of poetic creativity as the supreme model of Latin eloquence for imitation. He, like Scaliger, uses the traditional criticisms of Homer's lowness, loquaciousness, his repetitiveness and his violation of the probable, as part of a wider Renaissance picture of the denigrating of Greek culture and the championing of Latin (cf. e.g. *De Arte Poetica* 2.179-88, 304-28). Given Vida's lack of Greek, his criticism probably represents a traditional inheritance rather than any direct personal response to reading Homer (Sowerby (1997) p177). See entry in *syllabus auctorum*.

IV. 80 stuporem...pavorem...admirationem: La Cerda is careful to explain the figurative mode of Vida's literary criticism. cf. *Schottus* 12-13 for a similar method.

IV. 87 nemo...doctius: La Cerda deploys the language of ranking and praise as a mode of criticism in respect to Scaliger. The method is similar to that used by La Cerda in amassing the judgements of Virgil's superiority to Homer. The following quotations from Scaliger come from *Poetices* 5.2-3.

IV. 87-124 Virgilius...natura: the start of a long account taken from book 5 of Scaliger's *Poetices* asserting the superiority of Virgil to Homer. *Poetices* 5 also presents the famous comparison of Virgil with Homer, as well as a comparison with the rest of the Greek poets.

For the influence of Scaliger's literary criticism on La Cerda see the introduction to this chapter; see also Deitz and Vogt-Spira vol. 4 (1998).

IV. 87-91 *Virgilius...auctiorem*: here, Scaliger's praise of Virgil relates to his ability to rework and improve his Homeric model. Note Scaliger's equating of Homer with uncultivated Nature at *Poetices* 5.2: *artem rudem*. Virgil becomes a more refined version of Nature due to his *iudicium* which allows him to distil and compress Greek verbosity.

IV. 91 *Fudit Homerus, collegit Virgilius*: literary criticism becomes both stylistic and moralistic. Greek spontaneity and overabundance is restrained or chastened by the modest Virgil cf. e.g. *cap.* II.58 quoting Scaliger himself: *castigatior est. Moderatur quae nimia sunt in Homero, coerces, quae diffluunt in illo.* cf. also *cap.*IV.301. For Virgil as castigator of Homer see Wilson-Okamura (2010) pp130-1.

IV. 92-95 *Huius...Homerus*: praise of Virgilian brevity which has combined the twin qualities of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* into the single figure of Aeneas. The addition of piety completes Virgil's surpassing of Homer. The quality of brevity is linked to ideals of chastity and stereotypes based upon Roman notions of Greek moral laxness.

IV. 119 *Quantum...distat*: note again how literary criticism is equated with morality: *matrona* represents the morally sound poetry of Virgil as evoked through the idealised and quintessentially Roman image of the virtuous *matrona*. This is contrasted with the assumed moral inferiority of the *plebeia incomtaque muliercula* which is to be equated with Homeric poetry.

IV. 124-125 *Virgilius...versus 1. Met*: cf. Ovid, *Met.* 1.5-7: *Ante mare et terras et quod tegit omnia caelum / unus erat toto naturae vultus in orbe, / quem dixere chaos: rudis indigestaque*

moles [before the sea and the lands and the sky which covers all, there was one form of nature on the whole of the earth, which they called Chaos: a rough and disordered mass].

In this way Homer is equated with Chaos, Virgil with order and reason. Scaliger calls Virgil a god and a better Nature (*Virgilius autem Deus, & melior natura*) at *Poetices* 5.3 following Ovid, *Met.* 1.21: *hanc deus et melior litem natura diremit* [a god and a better Nature put an end to this strife]. Thus Homer is seen as representing a crude, pre-rational form of Nature which is refined and brought to perfection by Virgil.

IV. 128-130: the quotation comes from the *Laus Pisonis* lines 230-2, here ascribed to Lucan. The *Laus* was first published in 1527 in Sichard's edition of Ovid printed at Basel. Sichard reports that in his manuscript (since lost) the poem was ascribed to Virgil but clearly he did not agree with this authorship since he chose to include it in his edition of Ovid. The poem also survives in a group of medieval *florilegia* who name its author as Lucan. Scaliger mentions the poem in his *Publii Virgilii Maronis Appendix* (1572): *Hanc Luciani Eclogam esse...in qua ita scriptum inveni: Lucani Catalecton De Laude Pisonis.* (See Ullman (1929) p124). The most recent critical edition of the *Laus Pisonis* is that of Brazzano (2004).

IV. 136 bene cultus ager: note again the language of literary criticism which equates Homer and, here, by implication, Virgil with Nature. cf. *GS* 9, 13. This pseudo-Virgilian verse is transmitted in the *Vita Vaticana II* which itself questions the authenticity of the lines:

dicitur composuisse istud Hexasticon supra suis operibus quod non credo quia nondum publicaverat Eneida pro autentica, nec vir ut erat modestus ita de se dixisset. Verum amans illius opera in nomine eius composuit.

[Virgil is said also to have composed this *Hexasticon* in addition to his own works; but I do not believe that Virgil really wrote this, because he had not yet published the *Aeneid*; and a

man as modest as he was would not have spoken like that about himself. But fond of Virgil, he composed works in Virgil's name] [Ziolkowski and Putnam (2008) p288-9].

IV. 137-138 Qui plura velit...Latini: hence the mass of parallels adduced throughout the commentary which are intended to provide practical examples of Virgil's *imitatio*.

IV. 139ff: this long digression seeks to present a selection of faults in Homer's poetry. La Cerda's analysis is built around the testimonies of three authors: Plato, Dio Chrysostom and Scaliger and is arranged in degree of the severity of their criticism. The faults presented reflect Scaliger's appetite for presenting moral judgement as literary critical analysis.

IV. 140-141 triplex me ratio movet: La Cerda seeks initially to further champion the cause of Virgil over Homer. However, his second motivation for the *excursus* is more revealing programmatically:

ut videant Poetae, non posse se tuto Homericis credere; decipientur enim, & inanem reddent Poesin, si nimium Homero fidant: opus est forti iudicio, quale habuit Maro, ne abripiantur impetu Graecae orationis, & carmen perdant

[so that Poets may see that they cannot trust the supporters of Homer with any safety. For they will be deceived and produce empty Poetry if they put too much faith in Homer. There is need for strong judgement, of the sort Virgil had, in case they are snatched away by the power of Greek expression and ruin the poem.]

Having indicated the importance of poetic education to Spanish imperial society, La Cerda is keen to stress the importance of following the Virgilian example. Homer and his supporters will prove an unsuitable guide to writers of poetry. There is a moralistic, perhaps even a Stoical or Christian, flavour to this advice, warning about the need to hold emotion in check in the face of the emotive power of Greek expression cf. Scaliger's equating of Greek stereotypes of verbosity with a lack of chastity at *cap.IV.91ff*. Thus *iudicium*, discussed at

cap.V. 18ff., whilst essentially being a poetic virtue relating to appropriate choice of subject matter, style and diction, also carries moralistic connotations of resisting the allure of the excesses of Greek authors.

IV. 148-173: Plato's criticism of Homer. La Cerda initially refers to material from *Republic* 2. 378dff (here, identified by its Greek title *Politeia*):

the narrative of Hephaestus binding Hera his mother, or how on another occasion Zeus sent him flying for taking her part when she was being beaten, and all the battles of the gods in Homer: these tales must not be admitted into our State, whether they are supposed to have an allegorical meaning or not. For a young person cannot judge what is allegorical and what is literal; anything that he receives into his mind at that age is likely to become indelible and unalterable; and therefore it is most important that the tales which the young first hear should be models of virtuous thoughts. (trans. Jowett)

and *Republic* 3.388aff. See Murray (1996). The material referred to at 151 is *Republic* 3.387b-391c.

IV. 164 οἶνοβαρές...ἐλάφοιο: the famous insult of Achilles to Agamemnon at *Il.* 1.225.

IV. 174-201: Dio Chrysostom's criticism of Homer drawn from *Discourse* 11, a show piece example of sophistic artistry which purports to prove that Troy was not captured. Consider the opening line: *I am almost certain that while all men are hard to teach, they are easy to deceive* (trans. Loeb). See Kim (2010) pp85-139 for an analysis of Dio's criticism of Homer in *Or.* 11.

IV. 202-237: Scaliger's criticism of Homer taken from *Poetices* 5.2-3. Again, much of the tone is moralising and concerned with the propriety of the presentation of certain characters. Scaliger seems to place value on naturalness as a feature of successful poetry (cf. *cap.IV.*

215-221). For Scaliger on Homer see Deitz and Vogt-Spira vol. 4 (1998); Ford (2012) pp157-60.

IV. 204 Superavit...Scaliger: La Cerda moves from the issue of the praise of Virgil to the praise of his commentator, Scaliger. Note the language of ranking used here once again (*superavit, superat*). For the use of praise and the language of ranking as a mode of criticism cf. note at *Ded.* 18. The material quoted at 205 is taken from *Poetices* 5.2. La Cerda paraphrases the remaining contents of *Poetices* 5.2 at lines 215-224 before beginning his paraphrase of *Poetices* 5.3 at 224-36.

IV. 224 Fingit inepte primum motorem dormire: in reference to *Il.* 14.231ff, at which point Hera is enlisting Sleep to aid her in her plan of distracting Zeus from noticing Poseidon's encouragement of the Greeks. Scaliger is unhappy with Homer's Ὑπνε ἄναξ πάντων τε θεῶν πάντων τ' ἀνθρώπων (*Il.* 14.233) [Sleep, lord of all gods and all men] and comments:

Iam hic nullam φύσιν Physici isti commentabuntur. Quis enim dicat primum motorem dormire? at enim inquit, πάντων θεῶν & sane cum somnus datus sit rebus materiatis ad virium reparationem: dii Homerici si dormiunt etiam pereunt.

[now the natural philosophers themselves will not hold this to be the law of nature, for who would say that the Prime Mover sleeps? Yet Homer's words are: "of all the gods." Since sleep is given to repair men's' vitality, if the Homeric gods must sleep, they are also subject to death] (trans. Padelford).

Scaliger equates Zeus with God in the language of Aquinas' First Cause and regards the power of Sleep over him as negating his immortality thus diminishing his and by implication God's divinity.

IV. 230 Agit saepe Grammaticum: the idiosyncrasies of Homeric grammar and diction.

IV. 235 licentiam, & laxum: cf. introduction to this chapter for the moralising language.

IV. 236 Libanium: Libanius (c. 314 - 393), the Greek rhetorician and author of a collection of *Progymnasmata*, or preliminary exercises in Greek prose composition. The exercises on encomium and invective contain discussion of the relative flaws and merits of Homeric characters including Diomedes, Odysseus, Achilles, Thersities, and Hector. See Gibson (2008) pp197-236, 277-282.

IV. 243-5 Neque...praedicatores: an assertion of the supremacy of Latin culture over its Greek counterpart. *rudi saeclo* recalls Scaliger's description of Homer's poetry at *Poetices* 5.2 as *artem rudem*. Note the sarcastic polyptoton: *Graeci Graecum* (245). Scaliger's comments on Virgil's relationship with Homer, delivered in the first person at *Poetices* 5.3, well evidence the prevailing Renaissance attitude:

*Non sum imitatus. Nolo imitari. Non placet. Non est verum Contentionem ponere cap.
in caelo. Ridiculum est. Fatuum est. Homericum est. Graeculum est. Virgilianum non
est. Romanum non est.*

[I did not imitate (this passage of Homer). I do not want to imitate it. It is not pleasing. It is not true that Contention places her head in the sky. It is ridiculous. It is fatuous. It is Homeric. It is Greekling. It is not Virgilian. It is not Roman.]

It appears almost tautologous to criticise Homer for not being Roman but the prevailance of Latin culture in the Renaissance led to a tendency to read Greek literature through prejudiced Roman eyes. cf. La Cerda's own hostility to Greek authors when the supremacy of Virgil may be called into question at the *Argumentum* to *Aeneid* 4:

Continet hic liber amores Didonis erga Aeneam, sed modestissime, ut decet Vatem Parthenium. Neque obtrudant Critici sumptum Apollonium ad imitationem. Hoc scilicet Graeculi.

[This book contains the passions of Dido for Aeneas, but very modestly, as is fitting for the Parthenian Bard; and so that Critics do not force it upon us that Apollonius was taken up in imitation. For this is Greekling.]

For the attitude of Renaissance Latin culture which embraced inherited Roman stereotypes and prejudices towards Greek culture see introduction to *cap.IV* above. See *cap.II.74*; *Schottus* 12-13; *Schottus* 13 for the connections of Greek culture and Greek scholarship with Erasmianism and Lutheranism.

IV. 259 Antonius Diadumenus, Clodius Albinus, Tetricus: Antonius Diadumenianus (Diadumenian) acted briefly as Caesar with his father, the Emperor Macrinus, in 218. *Historia Augusta* “*Diadumenianus*” 8.5-9, apparently preserves a letter from Diadumenianus to his father in which he quotes *Aen.* 4.272-276: *si te nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum, / Ascanium surgentem et spes heredis Iuli / respice, cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus / debetur* [if the glory of such great deeds does not move you, think of the growing Ascanius and the hopes for Iulus, your heir, to whom the kingdom of Italy and the land of the Romans is due]. This refers to Diadumenianus’ dim view of his father’s leniency in sparing the lives of a group of men who had plotted against them. Clodius Albinus, joint Emperor with Septimius Severus (193-197). *Historia Augusta* “*Clodius Albinus*” 5.1-3, reports a boyhood interest in war through his repeated chanting of *Aen.* 2.314 *arma amens capio* and at *HA* “*Clodius Albinus*” 11.7, that he even composed *Georgics*, presumably in imitation of Virgil. Tetricus was Emperor of the Gallic Empire (271-273). La Cerda is referring Tetricus’ recalling of *Aen.* 6.365 at Eutropius 9.13: *ipso Tetrico prodente exercitum suum, cuius*

adsiduas seditiones ferre non poterat. Quin etiam per litteras occultas Aurelianum ita fuerat deprecatus, ut inter alia versu Vergiliano uteretur: "Eripe me his, invicte, malis". [Tetricus himself, betraying his own army, whose constant mutinies he was unable to bear, had even by secret letters begged Aurelian, using, among other solicitations, the verse of Virgil, "Unconquered hero, free me from these ills"] (trans. Watson).

IV. 268 Dii...versibus: oracles issued their prophecies in hexameter.

IV. 284 Maior reliquis Graecis Poetis: La Cerda's method here follows Quintilian at *Inst.* 10.1.46-64 where his criticism of Homer is followed by a discussion of other Greek nondramatic poets including Pindar, Hesiod, Apollonius and Theocritus as mentioned here by La Cerda.

superavit: for the use of this language see note at *Ded.* 18. cf. also *cap.*IV. 287, 293, 312, 340.

IV. 286 universa...comparanda: quoted from *Poetices* 5.5.

IV. 287 Hesiodum premit: Poliziano, *Manto* 32. Vives = Vives' in *Georgica Vergilii praelectio* (vol. 2 *opera omnia* (Valencia, 1782) p77).

IV. 288 multis stadiis post se reliquit: recalling the judgement of Homer's superiority to Virgil but Virgil's superiority to all others as related by Quintilian at *Inst.* 10.1.86: *ceteri omnes longe secuntur.*

IV. 292 Lux...efficiam: see *Poetices* 5.6.

IV. 293-4: reliquit longe post se Apollonium: cf. *cap.*IV. 288 and *Inst.* 10.1.86. Hence La Cerda's impatient dismissal of the influence of Apollonius as related originally by Servius at the start of his commentary on *Aeneid* 4. See introduction pxlx.

IV. 295 *circumspectior Theocrito*: the judgement is moralistic as well as stylistic. Gellius *NA* 9.9.4-17 examines Virgil as a translator of Theocritus and Homer though *Aen.* 8.404-6 is the primary example invoked as evidence of Virgil's chaste creative method cf. Ausonius, *CN* 13-15. This follows Servius' comment on *E.* 2.51: *ipse ego cana legam tenera languine mala* [I myself will gather quinces pale with tender down] *Et verecunde rem inhonestam supprimit quam Theocritus aperte commemorat* [and he concealed modestly a disgraceful matter which Theocritus recalls openly]. cf. also Gellius, *NA* 9.10: *verecunda quadam translatione verborum...protexit* quoted by La Cerda at *cap.*II.18.

IV. 296-7: Poliziano, *Nutricia* 348-9.

IV. 301 *castigatior...prudentior*: again, the judgement is as much moralistic as it is stylistic and once again plays to inherited Roman stereotypes of Greek wantonness and indulgence. cf. Scaliger's judgment of Virgil in his comparison with Homer at *Poetices* 5.3: *castigatior autem pene ubique est* [however almost everywhere he is more chaste [than Homer]]; *Parthenias noster pari usus est verecundia cum Polyphemi ingluviem narraret* [our Parthenias has used equal modesty when he was telling of the gluttony of Polyphemus]; of Homer: *satyricam licentiam* [satyr-like wantonness].

IV. 309-10 *res...turpissimas loquitur aperte*: see Servius' comment at *E.* 2.51 quoted above at *cap.*IV. 295. Modicius' comment: *Virgilius aut praeterit aut tecte, parce, & dissimulanter attingit* (310) is part of a Renaissance brand of literary criticism that equated style with morality. Virgil's brevity in reducing the loquacious flood of Homer is a signal of his chastity as is his circumspect handling of potentially obscene material (cf. e.g. the comments of Servius, Ausonius and Gellius above at *cap.*IV. 295). La Cerda appears to legitimise making the same connection between style and chastity at *cap.*II.77-9 whilst acknowledging the potential controversy of this position:

Dices: Virtus haec poeseos est, non Poetae. Fateor. Sed quemadmodum sententiae, quae sparsae in Aeneide, prudentiam huius viri indicant, ita pietas operis pietatem viri.

[You will say, this virtue belongs to the poem it is not the Poet's [cf. Ov. *Tr.* 2.353-6; Cat. 16.5-6]. I acknowledge this. But just as the sentiments which have been sprinkled on the *Aeneid* indicate the wisdom of this man, just so does the piety of the work indicate the piety of the man].

This mode of criticism is routinely deployed in his commentary. cf. e.g. *Aen.* 4.160-72 *nota* 1:

Speluncam Dido &c.] Vere Parthenium, id est, virginalem Virgilium voces, qui tam verecunde amores hos tractaverit. Rem turpem tantum suspicionibus reliquit, vitans omnem ἀσχρολογία.

[**To the cave Dido etc**] Truly you may call Virgil Parthenius, that is, he is virginal, who has handled these passions so modestly. He has left the shameful matter only to suspicion, avoiding all foul language.]

Even if the discussion is relatively uninhibited: cf. e.g. *explicatio* g on *Aen.* 8.404-6: *ea uerba locutus / optatos dedit amplexus placidumque petiuit / coniugis infusus gremio per membra soporem:*

Haec cum dixisset, ruit totus in uxoris complexus, & dulcissimos somnos. Et ruit, dixit, ad vim voluptatis indicandam. Sicut Horat. Tauri ruentis in Venerem, Od. 15. Lib. 2. [C. 2.5.3-4] Puer sic ordinet litteram. Infusus, immistusque gremio coniugis (signat quippe pudentissime σύνωσταν) petivit soporem placidum per membra, id est, soporem placentem ac gratum membris.

[When he had said these things, he rushed wholly into the embraces of his wife and sweet sleep. And he said, *he rushed*, to show the force of the pleasure. Just as Horace does at *Odes*, 2.5.3-4: *of a bull rushing into Venus*. Thus might a boy construe the line: Poured and intermingled on the lap of his wife (of course he is very modestly indicating *a coupling*) he sought quiet sleep throughout his limbs, that is, a sleep pleasing and welcome to his limbs.]

IV. 313 *fremitem...insonantem*: i.e. Greek bombast and loquaciousness. For this type of literary criticism connecting style with morality and based upon received Roman prejudice see notes above at *cap.IV*. 243-4, 295, 301, 309-10. See Wilson-Okamura (2010) pp128-138.

IV. 314-16: *Vita Phocae* 27-9.

IV. 318-19: *Manto* 78-9.

IV. 320 *Praefat*: the quotation comes from the *praefatio* lines 23-4 to Phocas' *Life*.

IV. 323-4 *dant palmam*: cf. *Schottus* 8, 30, 35; *Proem.* 16; *cap.IV*.45; *cap.* V.334; cf. also notes at *Schottus* 8 and *cap.II*.37.

IV. 326 *A Graecis victis*: for the *translatio studii* see notes at *Schottus* 8-15, 13, 31.

IV. 328 *principem*: for La Cerda's use of this term see note at *Ded.* 3.

IV. 331-2: the quotation comes from pseudo-Ovid, *Argumenta Aeneidis*, *praefatio* 1-2. See Ziolkowski, Putnam eds., (2008) p22. For *sed longe sequere et vestigia semper adora* cf. *Inst.* 10.1.86; also *Aen.* 2.711.

IV. 338-9 *De Pacato Ausonius ait*: i.e. Latinus (or Latinus) Pacatus Drepanius (*fl.* 4th cen.). Ausonius dedicated several works to him and regarded his poetry (which does not survive) as inferior only to that of Virgil (*Eclogues*, *praef.* 12). See Nixen and Rodgers (1994) p438.

IV. 340 ne singulos cogar narrare: La Cerda's rhetorical display of *copia* is intended to suggest Virgil's supremacy. On *copia* in commentary see Gumbrecht (1999) pp443-53.

IV. 352-3 *Imitandi sui spes omnium exstinxit*: for the trope of the unattainability of Virgilian verse cf. e.g. Statius, *Thebaid* 12.816-7.

IV. 360 *Virgilius Maximus Poetarum*: La Cerda heralds Virgil's status as the poet *par excellence* through the unprecedented incorporation of the subtitle into his narrative, introduced by *ergo fuit*.

IV. 363 *extra omnem aleam*: cf. Pliny *HN, praef. 7: M. Tullius extra omnem ingenii aleam positus* [Marcus Tullius, who is placed beyond all competition of genius]. La Cerda applies to Virgil praise otherwise reserved for Cicero: a provocative challenge to Jesuit educational tradition. For La Cerda's provocative treatment of Cicero see introduction ppxxxiii-xxxv.

IV. Eusebium Caesariens.: cf. *cap.IV.265-6*:

Si proferas Latinum aliquem, qui cum elogio locutus est de Homero; profero tibi Eusebium Caesariensem, qui in vita Constantini assumit nomen Virgilii cum grandi semper elogio.

[If you proffer some other Latin, who spoke in praise of Homer, I offer to you Eusebius Caesariensis, who, in the *life of Constantine*, takes up the name of Virgil always with the grandest praise].

See Cameron and Hall (1999) for a translation and commentary of the *vita Constantini*.

IV. 373-7 *Nonne...comparationem*: La Cerda is referring to the debate within Renaissance linguistics which questioned the traditional three-fold degree of adjectives. The question centred on whether superlative adjectives imply a sense of comparison and should thus be treated as a type of comparative. The influence of Sanctius' *Minerva* is visible in La Cerda's terse answer: *Non Lector*

(374). cf. *Minerva* book 2, chapter 11 which denies that any sense of comparison is present in the superlative:

Praecipiant Grammatici comparativum si praecedat superlatum, plus significare; ut, Cato doctissimus est, sed Cicero doctior. Ego affero in universum, comparatum semper comparare, Superlatum minime.

[Grammarians teach that the comparative, if the superlative precedes it, signifies *more*: as in, *Cato is very learned, but Cicero is more so*. I say that in general the comparative always compares, the superlative never does so].

For an analysis of superlatives and their non-comparative value in Sanctius see Brevi-Claramonte (1983) pp129-31.

Caput V [Chapter 5]

V. 5 IMITATOR: this process of creative imitation is, for La Cerda, the very essence of Virgil's poetic achievement and hence explains his utility in the teaching of poetry. cf. *Ad lect.* 19-24.

The concept of literary imitation was a fundamental part of classical literary theory and practice. Plato applied the term *mimesis* to literature to denote the way in which literature might in some way represent the reality surrounding us, though this of course carried negative connotations in relation to the truer manifestation of reality as expressed in the theory of forms. Aristotle's *Poetics* treats the term in a similar fashion to refer to the representation of life in works of art. However, Isocrates (*Adversus Sophistas* 14-18) understood the term to denote what might be called "rhetorical imitation" (McLaughlin (1995)), that is, the conscious borrowing of one writer by another. The Roman rhetoricians specified this type of *imitatio* in their advice to young writers wishing to become proficient in the art of oratory. The *Ad Herennium* (1.2.3.) defined the methods as; *ars, imitatio, exercitatio* i.e. theory, imitation, and practice. However, Roman theorists tended to be cautious in their discussions of *imitatio* and expressed disapproval of mere servile copying (cf. Horace, *AP.* 132-4;) or dwelt at length on its dangers (cf. Cicero, *De Orat.* 2.89-90; Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.2; Seneca, *Epist.* 84). Thus successful imitation depended on something more than simply the reproduction or repackaging of one's literary forbears. As Russell (1979) p16 has shown: "the imitator must think of himself as competing with his model, even if he knows he cannot win."

Indeed, successful *imitatio* was conducted in a spirit of rivalry (*aemulatio*) and was not simply a mechanical process. Rather, it required considerable powers of critical

intelligence to understand why a particular model was good and powers of critical analysis to understand its methods as well to perceive its deficiencies.

For a succinct account of the classical concept of *imitatio* and its crossover into the Renaissance see McLaughlin (1995) pp5-7. Russell (1979) pp1-16 is the fundamental account of the classical concepts of *mimesis* and *imitatio*. See also Russell (1981), especially pp99-113.

Imitatio as a Renaissance concept differs in a fundamental way from its classical counterpart. The humanistic pursuit of linguistic “purity” gave rise to a single-model conception of *imitatio* devoted to a single author, Cicero. This cult of Ciceronianism found particular expression in Renaissance Italy at the end of the fifteenth century in the writings of Paolo Cortesi (1465-1510) and Pietro Bembo (1470-1547). However, such dogmatism was not without its critics as the famous polemical dialogue *Ciceronianus* (1528) by Erasmus well showed. Indeed, rival schools of imitation allied themselves to various models ranging from the eclecticism of Erasmus (sometimes called Quintilianism), through the denser modes of expression as practised by the so-called Taciteans, to the conscious archaising in the style of Apuleius (for the prevalence of Taciteanism and its close relation Senecanism in the Iberian peninsula in the sixteenth century see Grigera (2007) pp199). However, the Ciceronian movement enjoyed prolonged influence, due in great part to the Jesuit model of education which was built around the constant reading and imitation of Cicero. Renaissance poetics widely prescribed Virgil as the standard model for poetic imitation with the hexameters of the *Aeneid* being the guide for narrative compositions. The *Georgics* and *Eclogues* were the guides for didactic and pastoral works respectively (see Butterfield (2011) pp308-9). For Virgilian imitation in particular see Conte (1986) especially pp23-99.

The crossover of debates on *imitatio* and poetic theory to Renaissance Spain is most clearly evidenced in Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas' (El Brocense) (1523–1601) annotations to Garcilaso published in 1574. By producing a commentary on Garcilaso's text that provided textual revisions as well as the elucidation of classical source material, El Brocense immediately classicised Garcilaso: a process which he defended by reference to what he perceived as Garcilaso's consummate skill in his effective application of the doctrine of imitation. This was conceived in the manner of Virgil's own reworking of Homer and allied El Brocense with the neo-Petrarchan school of Pietro Bembo which advocated a doctrine of eclectic imitation tempered by personal addition to the written text (see Navarrete (1994) pp129-31; Grigera (2007) p200; Dellaneva (2007) pxxii). cf. La Cerda's classicising of Spanish vernacular poets at *cap.II.* 127-8. cf. also Morros (2003) which discusses the rivalry (a constituent feature of *imitatio* itself) between El Brocense and Fernando de Herrera (1534-97) with regard to the annotation of the poetry of Garcilaso (*Hispania* 88 (2005) pp295-6). Herrera's commentary on Garcilaso was published in 1580. Two years later he published a meticulous edition of his own verse: further evidence of the increasing institutionalization of vernacular Spanish verse (Weiss (2004) pp165-6; Grigera (2007) p200 considers El Brocense's commentary an elucidation of learned sources and considers Herrera a grammarian).

Darst (1985) considers the concept of *imitatio* in Renaissance Spain in relation to the spheres of art, poetry and drama. He divides imitation into the subcategories of *imitatio* (direct imitation of nature), *cognitio* (the addition of learning, morality or experience to imitation), *electio* (selective borrowing to form a superior whole), and *correctio* (the improvement of nature to create a perfect work). cf. especially chapter 2 which deals with imitation in poetry and discusses the polemic between form and content and its relationship to the imitation of nature (see *Hispania* 70 (1987) pp81-2).

The Spanish conception of Renaissance poetics was also greatly influenced by its expanding geographical horizons. Weiss (2004) p160 notes how, as Spain turned outwards: “poetry also turned back in upon itself, redefining its temporal frontiers, pushing back its traditions to antiquity, and acquiring a sense of its own history and historicity.” Thus the influence of the Renaissance rediscovery of classical texts led Spanish poets to view their work in relation to the authoritative models of the classical tradition and *imitatio* therefore became a key concept in Spanish Renaissance poetics. On this topic see Galiano (1996).

V. 7-8: I have been unable to identify the quotation from any modern edition of the fragmentary fourth book of the *Saturnalia*.

V. 18 IUDICIVUM: a constituent part of successful *imitatio*.

V. 33 sobrietate: explained by *nec flatu Poeseos raperetur in aliquid indignum (cap.V.36)*. La Cerda seems to be influenced by a Platonic notion of poetic inspiration as a kind of possession (cf. Plato, *Ion* 533eff). See *FE*. 5-7 and notes *ad loc*.

V. 34-35 prius...conditam: this theory is reported in *Donatus Auctus*. La Cerda’s interest here in the process of Virgil’s poetic composition reflects the broader aim of the commentary itself as a didactic tool for successful *imitatio*. Thus the *Elogia* themselves are intended to be instructive to some degree though they remain bound to the conventions of humanist commentary.

V. 42 PROPRIETAS: in reference to the appropriate use of poetic diction.

V. 48 Ipsa...alumno: Poliziano, *Manto*, 109.

V. 54-55 *Ille ego, qui quondam etc*: La Cerda defends the authenticity and programmatic intentions of these verses in a long note at the start of his second volume of commentary on *Aeneid* 1-6.

V. 57 Vives: La Cerda is quoting from Vives' *in Georgica Vergilii praelectio* (vol. 2 *opera omnia* (Valencia, 1782) p76).

V. 59 Exegematico, Dramatico, Mixto: explained at Serv. *Ecl.* 3.1:

novimus autem tres characteres hos esse dicendi: unum exegematicum, in quo tantum poeta loquitur, ut est in tribus libris georgicorum; alium dramaticum, in quo nusquam poeta loquitur, ut est in comoediis et tragoediis; tertium, mixtum, ut est in Aeneide: nam et poeta illic et introductae personae loquuntur.

[For we have become aware that there are these three characteristics of speaking: the first, called exegematical, in which only the poet speaks (as in three books of the *Georgics*); the second, called dramatic, in which the poet never speaks (as in comedies and tragedies); the third, called mixed (as in the *Aeneid*), for in that work both the poet and the characters he has introduced speak].

On this topic see Laird (1999) pp44-78.

V. 61 *grande sonantem*: Poliziano, *Manto*, 71

V. 70-2 Vives: from *in Georgica Vergilii praelectio* (vol. 2 *opera omnia* (Valencia, 1782) p76).

V. 76 *cothurnati*: in reference to the high shoe worn by tragic actors. cf. Horace, *Ars Poetica* 80.

V. 79 *Fertur...Virgilii*: related at *VSD* 38.

V. 82 Geta: more commonly identified as Hosidius Geta the otherwise unknown author of the Virgilian cento *Medea*. La Cerda (like Philip Hardie) seems to be suggesting, as Tom Hawkins notes in his review of Hardie's chapter: "that this is actually the work of Ovid in exile at Getan Tomis and that he had constructed a new *Medea* from a dismembered Virgilian text in the very location where he claims (in *Tristia* 1.3) she had dismembered her brother." (Bryn Mawr Classical Review 01.02.2009 of Hardie, P., *Polyphony or Babel? Hosidius Geta's Medea and the poetics of the cento* in Swain *et al.* (2007).

V. 86-7 *Inde...tonuit:* *vita Phocae*, 123-4.

V. 89 PICTVRAM: ekphrasis. Though it is surprising that La Cerda does not discuss this technique at the two most famous examples of ekphrasis in the poem (8. 626-728 and 1.446ff), his note at *Aen.* 1.455: *artificumque manus* does reveal his sensitivity to it:

Hic manus pro pictura accipitur ad eundem modum quo laudantes imaginem aliquam factam penicillo & bonis coloribus solemus dicere illam esse egregiam manum.

[Here, *hand* is taken for *painting* in the same way that we, when praising some artwork created with a brush and with pleasing colours, are accustomed to say "that is an outstanding hand"].

For *manus* cf. Prop. 2.12.1-2. The story of the Minotaur engraved by Daedalus on the doors of Apollo's temple at Cumae at 6. 20-30 is described as an *amoena descriptio rerum* by La Cerda. For ekphrasis in Virgil see Barchiesi (1997).

V. 94-5 Vives: in *Georgica Vergilii praelectio* (vol. 2 *opera omnia* (Valencia, 1782) p76).

V. 106 Daedala monumenta: Poliziano, *Manto*, 321.

Caput VI [Chapter 6]

VI. Elogia ab ATTRIBVTIS: this short chapter adduces a myriad of references to the quasi-divine status of Virgil and his poetry.

VI. 9 *mens caelo cognata*: Poliziano, *Manto*, 71.

VI. 11 *mucronem sacrilegum*: *vita Phocae*, 108.

VI. 12 *Tam sacrum solvetur opus?*: see *Anthologica Latina* 1.2, pp132-4, no. 672.

VI. 13 *Aeneam condidit ore sacro*: pseudo-Gallus. See *Anthologica Latina* 1.1, p274, no. 869.

VI. 15 *sidereus vates*: Poliziano, *Manto*, 70.

VI. 20 *quo non felicior alter*: Poliziano, *Manto*, 29.

VI. 25-7: Poliziano, *Manto*, 101-3

VI. 32-37 *Et haec...suscepit*: the traditional division of Virgil's work is given allegorical significance and is used as evidence of his harmony with Nature. On Virgil's relationship with Nature see introduction to *cap.IV*.

VI. 37-39: *Haec...Donatum*: presumably a reference to *Donatus Auctus* which reproduces the allegorical discussion of the order of Virgil's works found at *VSD 57*.

Caput VII [Chapter 7]

VII. 4-27 Irrepsit...spiritus: this opening section of chapter seven describes Virgil's association and friendship with leading citizens, namely: Augustus, Pollio, Asinius Gallus, and Maecenas. These associations are taken as evidence of the honour in which Virgil was held during his life. Such thought has much in common with the discussion of the constituent virtues of *Honestas* at *cap.II.33ff.*

VII. 6-7 Visus est...retinuit: the episode is related in *Donatus Auctus*. See *cap.II. 46ff.*

VII. 14-16 Testes...Augustum: Tactius recounts the story at *Dialogus* 13.2. Schottus refers to the episode in his dedicatory poem. See *Schottus* 6-7.

VII. 18-21: *vita Phocae*, 87-90.

VII. 28-51 Sed...ROMAE: discussion moves from Virgil's private friendship to the public affection in which he was held.

VII. 51-62 Iam...mortuum: a short and uncomfortable (*non modicum argumentum pretii*) account of Virgil's wealth.

VII. 33-39: *vita Phocae*, 106-112. Phocas is probably drawing on material at *VSD* 20.

VII. 47-8: *Manto*, 309-10.

VII. 66-72 Ergone...Latinae, &c: *Anthologica Latina* 1.2, pp132-4, no. 672.

VII. 75-78 Mantuanos...Virgilii: a Mantuan coin minted in 1257 carries an image of Virgil seated at a desk. Such use of Virgilian images on coins and public buildings was perhaps part

of Mantua's assertion of identity and independence in the mid-thirteenth century, following the death of Frederick II. See Ziolkowski, Putnam eds., (2008) pp447-8.

VII. 120-121 Exemplum...instituo: perhaps La Cerda is careful to avoid potential offence, though his remarks may suggest a dissatisfaction with such a use of Virgil's text.

VII. 121-138 Absolvam...educatum est: praise of Mantua is regarded as reflecting glory on Virgil himself.

VII. 128-9: *vita Phocae*, 25-6.

VII. 132-7: Poliziano *Manto*, 65-71

VII. 139-174 Huius...audienda est: a brief section attesting the immortality of Virgil through his works.

VII. 143-6 Hilasius...Maximianus: authors of Virgilian epitaphs. For Hilasius see Meyer (1835) pp169-173. For Maximianus see *op. cit.* p172.

VII. 148: *Manto*, 308.

VII. 149-161 At...dextra: the quotation comes from Poliziano, *Manto* 338-350.

VII. 165-7: for the text see *Anthologica Latina* 1.2, pp132-4, no. 672.

VII. 168 tubam suam: i.e. the powerful expression of his voice through his poetry. La Cerda suggest at *cap.VII.173-4* that *tubam* also represents Augustus himself. The episode is recounted in *Donatus Auctus*.

VII. 174 columnas rumpere: see *Adagiorum D. Erasmi Roterodami Epitome* (Lyon, 1553) p90.

Finis Elogiorum [End of the *Elogia*]

FE 5-7 cum...instituo: cf. the words of Ion at Plato, *Ion* 532c:

τί οὖν ποτε τὸ αἴτιον, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὅτι ἐγώ, ὅταν μὲν τις περὶ ἄλλου του ποιητοῦ διαλέγεται, οὔτε προσέχω τὸν νοῦν ἀδυνατῶ τε καὶ ὅτι οὖν συμβαλέσθαι λόγου ἄξιον, ἀλλ' ἀτεχνῶς νυστάζω, ἐπειδὴν δέ τις περὶ Ὀμήρου μνησθῆ, εὐθύς τε ἐγρήγορα καὶ προσέχω τὸν νοῦν καὶ εὐπορῶ ὅτι λέγω;

[What is the reason then, Socrates, that whenever somebody speaks about another poet, I lose attention and am not able to offer any remark at all of any value, but simply doze off; yet when somebody recalls something about Homer, at once I am awake, and am all attention and have plenty to say?].

La Cerda may also have in mind Socrates' comments on the nature of poetic inspiration which follow at 533d-e:

this is not an art in you, whereby you speak well on Homer, but a divine power, which moves you like that in the stone which Euripides named a magnet, but most people call "Heraclea stone." For this stone not only attracts iron rings, but also imparts to them a power whereby they in turn are able to do the very same thing as the stone, and attract other rings; so that sometimes there is formed quite a long chain of bits of iron and rings, suspended one from another; and they all depend for this power on that one stone. In the same manner also the Muse inspires men herself, and then by means of these inspired persons the inspiration spreads to others, and holds them in a connected chain. For all the good epic poets utter all those fine poems not from art, but as inspired and possessed and the good lyric poets likewise. (trans. W. R. M. Lamb)

For La Cerda, Virgil is the poetic force inspiring a chain of other poets and commentators.

For discussion of the *ad lectorem* see Introduction ppxliv-xlvii.

Syllabus Auctorum [List of Authors]

Abulensis: Alonso Tostado known in Latin as Tostatus Abulensis ("Tostado from Avila") (c.1400 – 1455) was a Spanish exegete and bishop of Avila, whose real name was Alonso Fernandez de Madrigal. See Gao (1993) pp1-44

A. Gellius: Aulus Gellius (c.125- 180). His *Noctes Atticae*, a compendium of his reading on a wide variety of topics, contains dozens of references to Virgil. See Holford-Strevens (2003).

Alexander Severus: Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander (205–235), last Roman emperor (222–235). His love of Virgil is exemplified in an anecdote told at *Historia Augusta. Alex. Sever.*, 31: *Vergilium autem Platonem poetarum vocabat eiusque imaginem cum Ciceronis simulacro in secundo larario habuit, ubi et Achillis et magnorum virorum* [he used to call Virgil the Plato of poets and he had a likeness of him, along with Cicero, in a second lararium, where he also kept one of Achilles and other great heroes]. For a brief biography see OCD p222.

Alcinous: or more likely Alcimus Alethius. Smith (1867) p102 identifies him as “the author of seven short poems in the Latin Anthology.” La Cerda attributes his well known verses on the canonical positions of Homer and Virgil to one “Alcinous” at the beginning of his *Proximus Homero cap.IV.11*.

S. Ambrosius: (c.339-397), the bishop and Latin theologian. See Grant (1980) pp15-16. For an account of the pervasive influence of Virgil in his writings see Diederich (1931).

Ammianus Marcellinus: (c.330-390), Latin historian of the Roman Empire from AD 98 in 31 books, the last 18 of which are extant. He shows his admiration of Virgil at *Historiae*

17.4.5., 19.9.7., 31.4.6., but, most interestingly, at 15.9.1. At the midpoint in his history, he quotes *Aen.* 7.44-45 *maius opus moveo*, forging a direct link between himself and Virgil as they both begin the second halves of their works. See Kelly (2008).

Angelus Politian: Poliziano (Politianus) or Angelo Ambrogini (1454-1494), the famous Italian scholar-poet, professor of Greek and Latin at Florence (1482-1486) and author of the Virgilian panegyric *Manto*, delivered as an introduction to lectures on the Bucolics of Virgil. See Fantazzi (2004) ppvii-xx for an introduction to his life and works. For a Latin text and English translation of *Manto* see Fantazzi (2004) pp2-29. For an edition of Poliziano's *Silvae* see Bausi (1996).

M. Anton. Cassabonae: Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614), the humanist scholar.

M. Ant. Maioragius: Marcus Antonius Maioragius, author of an outstanding commentary on Aristotle's rhetoric (1591, *de Arte Rhetorica libri tres. Cum M. Antonini Maioragii commentariis. Additis nuper Graeco textu ad ipsius Maioragii versionem, & Petri Victorii sententiam emendato*) described by Kohlius as *Thesaurus potius eloquentiae variaeque eruditionis, quam liber appellandus est hic Maioragii commentarius* see Moss (1999) pp119-120. He also wrote numerous works on Cicero.

Anton. Minturnus: Antonio Sebastiano Minturno (1500-1574), Italian poet and literary critic, author of *De Poeta* (1559) and *Arte Poetica* (1564). See *Enciclopedia Italiana*.

Anton. Delrius: Martin Antonio Delrio (1551-1608), Spanish Jesuit theologian, author of commentaries on Claudius, Ennius, Florus, and Seneca as well as biblical works on Genesis and the Old Testament. See *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (Catholic University of America, 2002).

Apuleius: Lucius Apuleius (c.125-170). His *Metamorphoses*, *Florida*, and *Apologia* survive. The famous excerpt from *Apologia* 10 discussing pseudonyms mentions the modesty of Virgil: *quanto modestius tandem Mantuanus poeta, qui itidem ut ego puerum amici sui Pollionis bucolico ludicro laudans et abstinens nominum sese quidem Corydonem, puerum vero Alexin vocat* [How much more modestly (behaves) the Mantuan bard, who in the same way as I, praising the slave-boy of his friend Pollio in the play of pastoral song and withholding names, calls himself Corydon but the boy Alexis] (trans. M. Putnam in Ziolkowski, Putnam eds., (2008) p65).

Auctor eius vitae: probably the humanistic life known as *Donatus Auctus* given that both Servius and Suetonius are named later on. This fifteenth-century expansion of the *VSD* became the standard *vita Virgilii* for the next three centuries. For an introduction, text and translation see Ziolkowski, Putnam eds., (2008) pp345-369.

S. Augustinus: Saint Augustine (354-430). Virgil, with whom he had a difficult relationship (cf. *Confessions* 1.13.21, as a famous example), is a constant presence in his massive output (see the collection of excerpts in Ziolkowski, Putnam eds., (2008) pp73-86). La Cerda, recalling a passage from Augustine's *De ordine*, suggests how Virgil was similarly woven into the fabric of his daily life. At the beginning of the *ad lectorem* La Cerda explains the form of his Virgilian commentary: *Divido, ut vides, Lector humanissime, has in Virgilium lucubrationes meas in Argumenta, Explicationes, Notas* [I divide, as you will see, o most humane reader, these nocturnal discussions of mine on Virgil into *Argumenta, Explicationes, Notae*] cf. *De ordine* 1.8.26 *omnia nostrae lucubrationis opuscula in hanc libelli partem contulimus nihilque a me aliud actum est illo die, ut ualetudini parcerem, nisi quod ante cenam cum ipsis dimidium uolumen Vergili audire cotidie solitus eram* [We garnered into this part of the notebook all the points of our nocturnal discussion. In order to spare my strength, nothing more was done by me that day,

except that it was my custom to go over half a book of Virgil with them before the evening meal] (trans. M. Putnam in Ziolkowski, Putnam eds., (2008) p74). See MacCormack (1998); Stock (1996).

Augustus Caesar: for the fragmentary correspondence between emperor and poet see Ziolkowski, Putnam eds., (2008) pp4-5.

Ausonius: Decimus Magnus Ausonius (c.310-c.394) who made much use of Virgil in his own poetry (for a selection of Virgilian parallels see Ziolkowski, Putnam eds., (2008) pp472-475). La Cerda quotes Ausonius' comments on Virgil's avoidance of obscenity in *Georgics* 3 as proof of his *pudor*.

Budaeus: Guillaume Budé (1467-1540), the French scholar whose two best known works are on ancient coins (1514) and the *Commentarii linguae Graecae* (1519). The *collection Budé* series of classical texts with facing French translation is named after him. See *Cambridge Biographical Encyclopaedia* (1994) p154.

Caelius Calcagninus: Celio Calcagnini (1479-1541), Italian humanist and scientist. He became involved in the so-called "Ciceronian Quarrel" concerning the proper mode of literary imitation during the Renaissance which greatly informed Jesuit educational theories of the development of good style in Latin. For an account of this debate and its subsequent influence see Dellaneva (2007) ppvii-xxxv.

Calvus: Gaius Licinius Calvus (82-c.47 BC) whose influential epyllion *Io*, supposedly quoted directly several times by Virgil in the *Eclogues* (e.g., 2.69; 6.47, 52, with the comment of Servius on 6.47) (for these references see Ross (2007) pp48-49), is lost. For his surviving fragmentary works see Courtney (2003) pp201-211.

Capitolinus: Iulius Capitolinus, one of the six "authors" of the *Historia Augusta*.

Cicero: Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 BC).

Claudianus: Claudius Claudianus or Claudian (c.370-c.404). See Hall (2004); Gruzelier (1993); for Virgil's influence on his poetry and further bibliography see Ziolkowski, Putnam eds.,(2008) pp86-87.

Tiberius: Tiberius Claudius Donatus (late fourth/early fifth century), author of the *Interpretationes Virgilianae*, a commentary on the *Aeneid* in the form of a prose paraphrase of the poem. Its chief interest is the study of the epic's rhetorical continuity (see *op.cit.* pp644-649 for a selection of texts and bibliography).

Tacitus: Publius Cornelius Tacitus (c.56-c.120). *Dialogus* 12.6-13.3 makes Virgil the poetic equivalent of the statesman Augustus. Note the public's reaction to him: *qui auditis in theatro Vergilii versibus surrexit universus et forte praesentem spectantemque Vergilium veneratus est sic quasi Augustum* [who (the people) having heard verses of Virgil in the theatre, universally rose to their feet, and honoured Virgil, who, by chance, happened to be present and watching the play, just as they would have done for Augustus himself]. This anecdote is referred to at line 7 of Schottus' introductory poem. La Cerda develops this pairing of Virgil and Augustus when he conceives of the two men (along with Horace) debating mighty affairs with each other at *cap.II.46 Prudentia*. Here La Cerda is offering a display of Virgil's command of that "practical wisdom" as valued by Cicero in his discussion of *sapientia* (wisdom) and *prudentia* (practical wisdom) at *De Off.* 1.153ff, where he asserts that the life of learning should find practical application in service to the community. Perhaps La Cerda also had in mind the passage immediately following at *De Off.* 1.56ff, discussing the role of those "whose pursuits and entire lives have been devoted to the acquisition of knowledge" (*quorum studia vitaeque omnis in rerum cognitione versata est*) in educating and thus producing better citizens (*neque solum vivi atque praesentes*

studiosos discendi erudiunt atque docent, sed hoc idem etiam post mortem monumentis litterarum assequuntur) [not merely do those men educate and instruct those willing to learn during their lives among us; even after their deaths they achieve the same end by the writings which are their legacy]. The anticipation of La Cerda's legacy is evoked by another passage of Cicero at lines 24-25 of Schottus' introductory poem (note the repetition of *monumentis*) (see note *ad loc.*) and the final line of Sanctius' introductory poem. It is tempting to read the *vitae eius collector* at *cap.II.57* as La Cerda himself ascribing a degree of edification to the compendious learning of his preface.

Gallus: probably the poet and friend (note the dedication of *Ecl.10.2 meo Gallo*) of Virgil Gaius Cornelius Gallus (c.69-26 BC). Almost nothing of his poetry survives (though a fragment has come to light as recently as 1979 (Courtney (2003) pp263ff) and his inclusion on this list of those authors from whom "*laudes*" have been drawn it perhaps explained by Servius' comment on *Ecl.10.46: hi autem omnes versus Galli sunt de ipsius translati carminibus*. See Anderson, Parsons, Nisbet *JRS* 69 (1979) pp125-155.

Dio Chrysostus: Dio Chrysostom or Dio Cocceianus (c.40-c.112). The Greek orator and philosopher who also ventured into literary criticism, notably on Homer in the form of the Trojan Oration (Oration 11) which sought to prove that Homer was mistaken in believing that the Greeks captured Troy. The speech also gives us a comprehensive account of the Homeric criticism of the day. See Grant (1980) pp129-130; Russell (1992) though this useful edition does not include oration 11.

Domitius Afer: Gaius Domitius Afer (d. 60) whose praise of Virgil is quoted by Quintilian at *Inst.Orat.10.1.85-86: "secundus" inquit "est Virgilius, proprior tamen primo quam tertio"* [Virgil is second (to Homer) but closer to first than third] and echoed by Alcimus Alethius (see note above on "Alcinous").

Donatus: Aelius Donatus (fl.400) author of a commentary on Virgil, much of which has been lost, with the exception of the *Vita Vergilii* drawn from Suetonius. The *VSD* contains parts known as the *Expositio Donati* which led a separate life as *Donatus Auctus*.

Erasmus: Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536). Cited at *cap.VII. 172-173*. Bataillon (1937) is still the best study of Erasmus in the Spanish Renaissance.

Eusebius Caesariensis: Eusebius of Caesarea (c.260-c.340) whose *Chronicon* offers many supposedly biographical details of Virgil's life. For a range of these as used by Jerome in his translation of the *Chronicon* see Ziolkowski, Putnam eds.,(2008) pp199-201.

Fabius Paulinus: author of the *Hebdomades, sive septem de septenario libri, habiti in Uranicorum Academia in unius Vergilii versus explicatione* (1589). The verse in question is *Aen.6.646 obloquitur numeris septem discrimina uocum*. Towards the end of his notes on this line La Cerda says: *Lege praeterea Iulium Scal. lib.1. Poet. cap 48. atque etiam Paulinum cap. 7. lib.2. Hebd. qui satis fuse persequitur mysteria huius versus*. The Pythagoreans regarded seven as a divine number and, as Austin (1977) notes on his comment on *Aen.6.646*, "seven strings very early became the canonical number for the lyre."

Fungerus: (Johannes) John Fungerus (1546-1612), the Dutch humanist and author of the encyclopaedic *Lexicon Philologicum* (1607). The entry under *Vergilius* combines standard eulogistic accounts of the poet's rank amongst Latin authors as well as information on Virgilian *vitae* and the poet's literary models. There is also a brief account of the merits of Virgilian style.

Germanus: Saint Germain (c.380-448). Bishop of Auxerre. See New Catholic Encyclopaedia (2002)

Godescalcus: Godescalcus Steweichus (1551-1586), author of a commentary on Vegetius' *De Re Militari*.

Gulielmus Modicius: author of *Virgilius a calumniis vindicatus* (1575). He is mentioned in Heyne vol.9 p4592: *Modicius a Pontano et Cerda passim ad Aeneidem laudatur;... Grammaticus..., qui "Virgilium a calumniis vindicatum" scripsit.*

Helinandus: Helinand of Froidmont (c.1160-c.1229). His *Chronicon*, part of which survives as a copy in the *Speculum maius* of Vincent of Beauvais (1184/94-1264), incorporated material commending Virgil and his deeds. Vincent of Beauvais reports in the *Speculum historiale* (the third and final section of the *Speculum maius*): *Helinandus libro vigesimosexto. Constat Virgilium inter omnes optimum fuisse poetarum* [Helinand in book 26. It is agreed that Virgil was the best among all poets]. For text see Ziolkowski, Putnam eds.,(2008) pp907-912). Helinand, again via Vincent of Beauvais, also reports of Virgil the magician. For those legends repeated in the *Speculum historiale* and the *Speculum naturale* see Spargo (1934) pp61-62.

S. Hieronymus: Saint Jerome (Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus) (c.347-420). A student at Rome of Aelius Donatus, Jerome's works are peppered with quotations from Virgil. His relationship with classical literature was strained by his Christianity as is shown by the following famous passage from *Epistles*, 22.30. *Many years ago, when for the kingdom of heaven's sake I had cut myself off from home, parents, sister, relations, and, harder still, from the dainty food to which I had been accustomed; and when I was on my way to Jerusalem to wage my warfare, I still could not bring myself to forego the library which I had formed for myself at Rome with great care and toil. And so, miserable man that I was, I would fast only that I might afterwards read Cicero. After many nights spent in vigil, after*

floods of tears called from my inmost heart, after the recollection of my past sins, I would once more take up Plautus. And when at times I returned to my right mind, and began to read the prophets, their style seemed rude and repellent. I failed to see the light with my blinded eyes; but I attributed the fault not to them, but to the sun. While the old serpent was thus making me his plaything, about the middle of Lent a deep-seated fever fell upon my weakened body, and while it destroyed my rest completely (the story seems hardly credible) it so wasted my unhappy frame that scarcely anything was left of me but skin and bone. Meantime preparations for my funeral went on; my body grew gradually colder, and the warmth of life lingered only in my throbbing breast. Suddenly I was caught up in the spirit and dragged before the judgment seat of the Judge; and here the light was so bright, and those who stood around were so radiant, that I cast myself upon the ground and did not dare to look up. Asked who and what I was I replied: "I am a Christian." But He who presided said: "Thou liest, thou art a follower of Cicero and not of Christ. For 'where thy treasure is, there will thy heart be also.'" (trans. W. H. Fremantle). For biography see Rebenich (2002); for a study of his letters see Cain (2009).

Hieronymus Vidas: Marco Girolamo Vida (c.1485-1566), author of the hexameter poem the *Christiad* which earned him the title of *Vergilius Christianus*. In his *Art of Poetry* he says of Virgil: *vocem, animumque deo similis... / Unus hic ingenio praestanti gentis Achivae / divines vates longe superavit et arte, / aureus, immortale sonans. Stupet ipsa pavetque, / quamvis ingentem miretur Graecia Homerum* [In voice and spirit like a god...Through his eminent wit and his art, he alone, resplendent and possessed of undying eloquence, far surpassed the divine poets of Greece. Greece itself was astonished and afraid, however much it marvelled at great Homer] (1.168-173) (trans. Gardner (2009) pxvii). See *op.cit.* ppvii-xxviii for a full account of Vida's life and works and his relationship with Virgil.

Hilasius: author of one of the many Virgilian epitaphs. See Meyer (1835) pp169-173.

Horatius: Quintus Horatius Flaccus (65-8 BC) Virgil's friend and contemporary. Ziolkowski, Putnam eds.,(2008) pp7-12 collect his references to Virgil.

Hortensius: Lambertus Hortensius (1500-1574), author of an edition of the *Aeneid* published in 1577.

Ioannes Brodaeus: Jean Brodeau (1500-1563), French scholar. See Weiss (1841) pp515-516

Ioannes Hartungus: Johann Hartung (1505-1579). Author of editions of Homer (1539), Apollonius Rhodius (1550) and Horace (1555), as well as an edition of the works of Virgil (1551). Bursian (1879) pp712ff.

Iovianus: Iovianus Pontanus or Giovanni Gioviano Pontano (1429-1503) author of the hexameter work *Urania* and the didactic poem *de hortis Hesperidum* (c.1498) in imitation of the *Georgics*, and the *Ecloges* (c.1490-1500), imitating Virgil's *Eclogues*, and combining the genres of pastoral and elegy. His *Actius* (1499) is a rhetorical dialogue about the style of prose writers and poets. For a full account of his life and works see Marrone (2007) pp1472-1473.

S. Isidorus: Isidore of Seville (c.560-636), the compiler of *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX* who mentions Virgil and the famous "Club of Hercules" quip under his entry on the word *compilator*, or "one who mixes words from elsewhere with his own". See Z. and P. eds., (2008) pp91-92. For a translation see Henderson (2007).

Scaliger: Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558) (*Iulius* hence his inclusion between *Isidorus* and *Iustinianus*). Books 3 and 4 of the *Poetices*, concerned with the analysis, preparation and production of poetry, draw exhaustively on Virgil as the example of the poet *par excellence*. La Cerda also follows Scaliger in his comparison of Homer and Virgil, which is to be found at book 5 of the *Poetices* with the summation that "Virgil seems not so much to have imitated Homer as to have taught us how Homer should have written" (Padelford

(1905) p81), though the methods of the two comparisons are quite different in approach. For a modern edition of the *Poetices* in five volumes with German translation see Dietz, Voght-Spira, Fuhrmann (1994). For a comprehensive study of Scaliger see Grafton (1983).

Iustinianus: Justinian (c.482-565), the eastern Roman emperor AD 527-565. For biography see “Justinian” OCD.

Iuvenalis: Juvenal (c.67-c.127), who at *Sat.*6.434-37 criticises the dinner party comparison of Homer and Virgil: *illa tamen gravior, quae cum discumbere coepit / laudat Vergilium, periturae ignoscit Elissae, / committit vates et comparat, inde Maronem / atque alia parte in trutina suspendit Homerum* [but harder to take is the woman who, as soon as she begins to recline at table, praises Virgil, pardons Dido soon to die, and pits poets against each other and compares them, hanging Maro in one scale, Homer in the other] (trans. Putnam in Ziolkowski, Putnam eds.,(2008) p63.

Lactantius: or Lucius Caelius Firmianus (c.240-c.320), the Christian author of *Divinae institutiones* and the first to bring Virgil’s fourth *Eclogue* into the Christian tradition (see *Divinae institutiones* 7.24). See Grant (1980) pp246-247 and Ziolkowski, Putnam eds.,(2008) p488.

Lampridius: one of the six “authors” of the *Historia Augusta*. See Grant (1980) pp403-404.

Landinus: Cristoforo Landino (1424-1492), the famous Florentine humanist who produced the *Disputationes Camaldulenses* c. 1474 and a commentary on Virgil in 1478. For an edition of the *Disputationes* see Lohe (1980); a selection from the *Disputationes* with facing Italian translation is available in Garin (1952); for a facsimile text with facing English translation see Stahel (1968). I am indebted to Garrison (1992) p269 for the bibliography. Landino was also a prolific poet. For an edition of his Latin poetry see Chatfield (2008).

Lucanus: Lucan (39-65), born in Cordoba in Spain, author of the epic poem *Pharsalia*.

Ludovicus Vives: Juan Luis Vives (1493-1540), the Spanish philosopher and humanist responsible for two separate works on Virgil, the *Praelectio in Georgica Vergilii* published at Louvain in 1518 and the *Bucolicarum Vergilii interpretatio* published at Breda in 1537 and chiefly concerned with an allegorical reading of the *Eclogues*. For a detailed introduction to Vives' life and thought and a chronological list of his works see Norena (1970).

Macrobius: (fl.395-423) whose *Saturnalia* discusses both the technical skill and the erudition of Virgil's poetry. For an edition of the *Saturnalia* with text and translation see Kaster (2011).

Martialis: Martial (38/41-101/4) who mentions Virgil over twenty times in his poetry. For the collected references to Virgil see Ziolkowski, Putnam eds.,(2008) pp48-59.

Matthaeus Toscanus: Italian humanist who published an edition of the works of celebrated contemporary Italian poets, *Carmina illustrium Poetarum Italorum* in 1576.

Maximianus: the Latin elegiac poet of the sixth century and composer of several Virgilian epitaphs. For a study see Fielding (2010).

Muretus: Marcus Antonius Muretus or Marc-Antoine de Muré (1526-1585), the French humanist scholar famed for his edition of Catullus (1558), the preface to which discusses poetry and the perceived process of degeneration from the early Greeks to the culmination of poetic achievement embodied by Virgil through to the paucity of excellent contemporary poets. Especial disdain is reserved for La Cerda's compatriots: *Ut autem omni elegantis doctrinae tractatione, ita huius quoque virtutis praestantia, longe supra ceteros / Graecorum hominum ingenia floruerunt. Romani et serius attigerunt poeticam, et coluerunt negligentius, et minime longo tempore in recte scribendorum poematum via perstiterunt. Siquidem cum a rudibus apud eos poetica profecta principiis,*

tandem per multos gradus ad Virgilium pervenisset, quo ego homine nihil statuo fieri potuisse divinius, ita postea coepere ingenia in deterius labi, ut mirum sit, quanta, quam brevi tempore, sit consecuta mutatio. Hispani poetae praecipue et Romani sermonis puritatem contaminarunt, et, cum inflatum quoddam, et tumidum, et gentis suae moribus congruens invexissent orationis genus, averterunt exemplo suo ceteros a recta illa et simplici, in qua praecipua poetarum sita laus est, et in quam superiores omni studio incuberant, imitatione naturae (Muretus, *Catullus*, ii-iv)

[“As in every treatment of elegant learning, so in the excellence of this quality too the talents of the Greeks flourished far beyond the rest. The Romans not only came into contact with poetry later but cultivated it with less care, and in a short time they strayed from the path of writing poetry well. Thus, when poetry, setting out from its rude beginnings among them, at last through many stages had reached Virgil (and I am convinced that nothing more divine than this man could have been created), their abilities afterwards so began to deteriorate that it is remarkable how great a change followed, and in how short a time. It was especially the Spanish poets who both sullied the purity of Roman speech and – when they had imported an inflated and swollen style (and one suited to the character of their race) – turned others away by their example from the direct and simple imitation of nature, in which is placed the special glory of poets and to which earlier poets had devoted themselves with every effort.”] (trans. J.H. Gaisser (1993) 154). See Gaisser (1993) pp146ff for an account of Muretus’ life and works. See also Krays (2008) pp118-140.

Nannius: Petrus Nannius (1500-1557), humanist scholar and author of three critical essays on Virgil: *Cur Virgilius abstinerit a monomachiis deorum* in which he compares the treatment of the grievances of individual gods in Homer and Virgil: *Cur Virgilius Emblemata Enniani carminis amaverit*, a short commentary on lines 148-52 of the famous storm simile in *Aeneid* book 1: *De mutatione Virgilii ex Aristotele*, a discussion of *Aeneid* 1.530-3 and Virgil’s apparent reworking of Aristotle, *Pol.* 7.1329b: φασὶ γὰρ οἱ λόγιοι τῶν ἐκεῖ κατοικούντων Ἰταλόν τινα γενέσθαι βασιλέα τῆς Οἰνωτρίας, ἀφ’ οὗ τό τε ὄνομα μεταβαλόντας Ἰταλοὺς ἀντ’ Οἰνωτρῶν κληθῆναι καὶ τὴν ἀκτὴν ταύτην τῆς Εὐρώπης Ἰταλίαν τοῦνομα λαβεῖν, ὅση τετύχηκεν ἐντὸς οὗσα τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Σκυλλητικοῦ καὶ τοῦ Λαμητικοῦ.

[According to the historians one of the settlers there, a certain Italus, became king of Oenotria, and from him they took the name of Italians instead of that of Oenotrians, and the name of Italy was given to all that promontory of Europe lying between the Gulfs of Scylletium and of Lametus] (trans. Rackham (1944))

Nascimbaenus: author of a commentary on Cicero's *De Inventione* (1563) and an *erudita admodum et perelegans explanatio in priorem P. Virgilii Maronis epopoeiae partem, id est, in sex primos Aeneidos libros* added to Hortensius' 1577 edition of the *Aeneid*.

Ovidius: Publius Ovidius Naso (43BC-17AD). As Virgil's works had become canonical texts for Ovid's generation it is unsurprising that he mentions Virgil and his three masterpieces frequently. For these collected references see Ziolkowski, Putnam eds.,(2008) pp14-22.

Patricius: Franciscus Patricius (1529-1597) who offered comment on the detractors of Homer as well as Virgil's borrowings from his literary forebears. In the *Compendiosa Epitome Commentarium Francisci Patricii* (1574) he alludes to the famous Virgilian quip when the poet was asked why he was combing the works of other authors: *respondebat se margaritas e caeno legere* (he replied that he was selecting pearls from dung).

Pedianus: Quintus Asconius Pedianus (3-88AD), author of *Contra obtrectatores Virgilii* and mentioned several times in *Donatus Auctus*. He is supposedly the source of the famous anecdote, attributed to Virgil, that it would be easier to snatch the club from Hercules than a verse from Homer.

Petrus Crinitus: Pietro Crinito (1475-1507), humanist author of the sprawling twenty-five volume work *De honesta disciplina* which mentions Virgil under the headings of *Vergilii in Grammatistas odium, Vergilius a Cicerone laudatus, Vergiliani versus aliter legendi, ut spondaici & dactylici* and the five volume work *De Poetis Latinis* which offers an

exhaustive biographical account of nearly seven hundred years of Latin literature from Livius Andronicus to Sidonius Apollinaris. Book 3, chapter 37 deals with Virgil.

Petrus Victorius: Italian humanist (1499-1585) famous for his work on Cicero. He produced editions of *De divinatione*, *De fato*, *De legibus* and *Epistolarum libri XVI ad familiares*.

Phocas: Latin grammarian active in Rome during the late fourth or early fifth century. A verse life of Virgil is attributed to him from which La Cerda quotes extensively in the Prolegomena to his commentary. For text, translation and further bibliography see Z. and P. eds., (2008) pp205-212.

Pierius: Pierius Valerianus or Pierio Valeriano (1477-1558), Italian humanist who published a textual commentary on the collected works of Virgil entitled *Castigationes et varietates Virgilianae lectionis* (1521). For a full account of his life and works see Gaisser (1999) pp1-23.

Plato: (c.428-347BC). His inclusion in this list is explained by reference to La Cerda's third chapter beginning with *Elogia* related to philosophy. La Cerda is keen to point out that his work deals particularly thoroughly with Virgil's debt to the philosophers, Aristotle in particular, but it is Plato to whom Virgil was devoted. La Cerda cites the claim of *Donatus Auctus: Quamvis diversorum Philosophorum opiniones libris suis inseruisse de animo maxime videatur, ipse tamen fuit Academicus, nam Platonis sententias omnibus aliis praetulit*. [Although the teachings of different philosophers seem to have been sown into his books, especially those about the soul, he himself belonged to the Academy; for he had regard for the opinions of Plato above all others.]. Neo-Platonist commentators on Virgil, such as Landino in the fifteenth century, sought to harmonise their philosophical beliefs with the doctrines of Christianity and consequently Virgil's works, particularly the *Aeneid*,

were read as allegorical descriptions of man's ascent toward happiness, leading Landino to question: *Quis igitur Maronem a Platonis dignitate discedere dicat?*

Plinius uterque: i.e. Pliny the Elder (23/24-79), author of the compendious *Historia Naturalis*, who, amongst various references to the poet, states that: *Vergilium praecellentissimum vatem* [Virgil was the most extraordinary of bards] (see Ziolkowski, Putnam eds.,(2008) pp33-34 for further references) and Pliny the Younger (c.61-c.112), nephew and adopted son of Pliny the Elder, author of ten books of *Epistles* in which we find him commenting on Silius Italicus' almost religious devotion to Virgil (*Epistles* 3.7.8) and Virgil's reputation for moral goodness as echoed in the quality of his writing (*Epistles* 5.3.6).

Poetae ἀδελφοί: this enigmatic reference is startling in a list of academic sources. La Cerda's coyness could be explained by the contemporary connections of Greek scholarship to religious controversy via Erasmus' work on the Greek Gospels and his subsequent questioning of the Vulgate (see Goldhill (2003) pp14-59). Greek scholarship was also connected with Protestantism via Melancthon (1497-1560) and his connections with Martin Luther (see Ben-Tov pp3-11). Wariness over the activities of the Inquisition, which had recently purged Alcalá's faculty of Greek, may be prompting La Cerda to guard against any possible charges of anti-Catholic sentiment.

Propertius: (c.50-16BC), who famously heralded the comparison of Virgil with Homer at 2.34.61-66. He also makes reference to Virgil's two earlier works, the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics*, in the same poem at 67-76 and 77-78 respectively. Heyworth (2007) is the standard modern edition of the text.

Quintilianus: Quintilian (c.35-c.95), the renowned rhetorician, whose work *Institutio Oratoria* mentions Virgil on scores of occasions. For Quintilian, the merit of reading Virgil

lies in the poet's ethical worth which the budding rhetorician might emulate (1.8.5) but he also offers comment on his quality as a poet, which he judges as second only to Homer (10.1.85-56). For an edition with English translation see Russell (2002).

Rhodiginus: Ludovicus Caelius Rhodiginus or Lodovico Ricchieri (1469-1525) whose commentary on Virgil was published in a compound edition of the poet's works *Universum Poema* (1544). He also produced the *Antiquarium Lectionum* (1516).

Sannazarus: Jacopo Sannazaro (1458-1530), the Italian Renaissance Latin poet for whom Virgil was the most important influence. See Putnam (2009) ppvii-xxv for biography and discussion of his Virgilian models; for a study see Kidwell (1993).

Seneca Philosophus: Lucius Annaeus Seneca or Seneca the Younger (c.4BC-65), born in Cordoba in Spain, author of the moral works *Dialogi* and *Epistulae morales* as well as *Naturales quaestiones* and eight tragedies. He dubs Virgil *Vergilius noster*. For his frequent praise of Virgil see Ziolkowski, Putnam eds.,(2008) pp30-33.

Seneca Rhetor: Lucius Annaeus Seneca or Seneca the Elder (c.50BC-c.40), born in Cordoba in Spain and author of five books of *Controversiae* and one of *Suasoriae* collectively known as the *Declamationes* in which he frequently offers praise of Virgil and his poetry. See Ziolkowski, Putnam eds.,(2008) pp27-29 for a collection of these references.

Servius: the late fourth-century grammarian. Fowler's concise account of the Servian commentary with a useful guide to further reading can be consulted at Martindale, ed. (1997) pp73-78.

Silius: Silius Italicus (c.26-c.103), another Spaniard. Virgil provided the principal poetic model for his vast seventeen-book epic on the Second Punic War, *Punica*. For a guide to

recent scholarship on Silius see Augoustakis (2010). Littlewood (2011) has a substantial introduction to his life and literary models.

Stattus Papin: Publius Papinius Statius (c.45-96). For his praise of Virgil see Ziolkowski, Putnam eds.,(2008) pp56-59. For a three volume edition with commentary and translation of the *Thebaid* and *Achilleid* see Hall et al (2007-8). For individual commentaries on *Thebaid* 4 see Parkes (2012) (forthcoming); *Thebaid* 9 see Dewar (1991); for the *Silvae* see Newlands (2011); Gibson (2006).

Suetonius: (c.70-c.130), the Latin biographer whose lost life of Virgil included in the section *De poetis* of his *De viris illustribus* provides the source for much of the pseudo-information of the late antique and medieval lives of Virgil. The contents of Suetonius' work have come down to us through the *VSD*; an amalgamation of the life by Aelius Donatus and that by Suetonius, and through Jerome, who excerpts passages from both Suetonius' and Donatus' work in his translation of the *Chronicon* by Eusebius of Caesarea. See Ziolkowski, Putnam eds.,(2008) pp179-181. For biography see Wallace-Hadrill (1998).

Tertullianus: Tertullian (c.169-c.240), on whom La Cerda produced a monumental commentary published in 1624 and 1630. For Tertullian, Virgil provided the cultural and educational foundation from which his own writings arose.

Turnebus: Adrianus Turnebus or Adrien Turnebe (1512-1565), French scholar who produced commentaries on a range of authors including Aeschylus, Sophocles and Cicero.

Vegetius: Flavius Vegetius Renatus (fl.383), author of the *Epitoma rei militaris* and who quotes Virgil on several occasions e.g. his use of *Georg.* 4.92-94 at *Mil.* 1.6: *Namque non tantum in hominibus sed etiam in equis et canibus uirtus multis declaratur indiciis, sicut doctissimorum hominum disciplina comprehendit (quod etiam in apibus Mantuanus auctor dicit esse seruandum)*

'Nam duo sunt genera, hic melior, insignis et ore

Et rutilus clarus squamis, ille horridus alter

Desidia latamque trahens inglorius aluum'

[For quality is indicated not only in men but even in horses and dogs by many points, as is understood in the teaching of the most learned men. Even in bees, the Mantuan author says, it is to be observed, “two kinds there are, the better by its face / Distinguished and bright with ruddy scales; / The other type is shaggy and inert / And drags along its fat, cowardly paunch”] (trans. N.P. Milner (1993)).

and his use of *Georg.* 3.346-348 at *Mil.* 1.19 to exemplify the benefit of training soldiers to carry heavy burdens. However, the most explicit praise of Virgil is to be found at *Mil.* 4.41: *Aliquanta ab auibus, aliquanta significantur a piscibus, quae Vergilius in Georgicis diuino paene comprehendit ingenio* [some things are made known by birds, some things by fish, which Virgil grasped in the *Georgics* with his near-divine talent]. See Miller (2001) for introduction, text, translation and commentary. See Anderson (1938) pp27ff for a catalogue of Vegetius' Virgilian passages.

Velleius Paterculus: (c.20BC-c.30AD). For explicit praise of Virgil note 2.36: *Paene stulta est inhaerentium oculis ingeniorum enumeratio, inter quae maxime nostri aevi eminent princeps carminum Vergilius Rabiriusque et consecutus Sallustium Livius Tibullusque et Naso, perfectissimi in forna operis sui* [It is almost folly to enumerate men of talent who are beneath our eyes, among whom the most important in our age are Virgil, the prince of poets, Rabirius, Livy, who follows close upon Sallust, Tibullus, and Naso, each of whom achieved perfection in his own branch of literature] (trans. Shipley (1924)). The standard modern edition of Velleius is Woodman, 2 vols (1977) (1983).

Velserus: Marcus Velserus (1558-1614), humanist scholar.

Vopisus: Flavius Vopiscus one of the six “authors” of the *Historia Augusta*.

Vovianus: or Vomianus, author of several Virgilian epitaphs.

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