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P. Vergili Maronis Opera

With a Commentary

VOLUME 1

EDITED BY JOHN CONINGTON
VIRGIL



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BIBLIOTHECA CLASSICA.

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P. VERGILI MARONIS OPERA.

WITH A

COMMENTARY

BY

JOHN CONINGTON, M.A.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

WHITTAKER AND CO. AVE MARIA LANE;
GEORGE BELL, FLEET STREET.

1858.

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P. VERGILI MARONIS
OPERA.

THE WORKS OF VIRGIL,

WITH A

COMMENTARY

BY

JOHN CONINGTON, M.A.

PROFESSOR OF LATIN, AND FELLOW OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE;
LATE FELLOW OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, OXFORD.

VOL. I.

CONTAINING THE ECLOGUES AND GEORGICS.

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TO
GOLDWIN SMITH, M.A.
REGIUS PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,
THIS EDITION OF VIRGIL,
ORIGINALLY UNDERTAKEN IN CONJUNCTION WITH HIM,
IS INSCRIBED,
IN MEMORY OF A FRIENDSHIP OF MANY YEARS.

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PREFACE.

I AM glad to be able at last to publish the first volume of this edition of Virgil. At the time of its commencement, in 1852, I had, as the public are aware, the advantage of being associated with another editor, the distinguished friend to whom I have now the satisfaction of inscribing it. In 1854 he was called to other duties, which removed him from Oxford, while they engrossed his time; and I had to continue the work alone. Those who know him will be able to feel how much he might have contributed to the illustration of an author one of whose chief characteristics is his subtle delicacy of expression, and who requires in those who would appreciate him, not only the power of an analytical critic, but the sympathy of a practised master of the Latin language. Even as it is, this volume owes not a little to Mr. Goldwin Smith's assistance. The Eclogues, the first two Georgics, and a part of the third we read together. The notes on the latter part of the first Georgic, the whole of the second, and the early part of the third, were, to a considerable extent, prepared by us in concert for publication: those on the first five Eclogues are based on some which he composed by himself: and many passages in both poems have since been discussed between us. The editorial responsibility is however entirely mine, and I have exercised it freely with reference to the materials which

he allowed me to use, adding, altering, and suppressing, as I deemed best. One important remark, affecting the interpretation of the first Eclogue, I have thought it right to assign distinctly to him, as it appears to me both new and valuable.* On the other hand I fear it is not impossible that the notes may betray, here and there, a trace of that inconsistency which is perhaps almost inseparable from a divided editorship, though it is also conceivable that indications of this kind may have arisen from changes in my own opinion, such as it is no less natural to expect in the course of a protracted work.

This very delay, I am well aware, is a circumstance which may be considered to require apology. I can only hope that even a transient glance at the contents of the present volume will show that the production of it must necessarily have been a work of time. It does not profess, indeed, any more than the other editions of the *Bibliotheca Classica*, to be a work for the learned, the result of elaborate original research. No manuscripts have been consulted in the formation of the text: a very large portion of the notes may be found in the commentaries of others. But it is no light thing to comment on nearly 3000 lines, line by line, even where the materials of the note are taken from other sources. Much too depends on the style in which a commentary is written. I have in general studied brevity of expression, abridging quotations which might have been given in extenso, and indicating a thought which might easily have been pursued. A very few lines of type will often represent the employment of an hour. Before I knew the actual nature of the work, I fancied that an edition of the whole of Virgil, such as I proposed, might be completed in two or three years: I can now only wonder at the inexperience which suggested the thought.

* See p. 11.

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

The essays which I have ventured to introduce in different parts of the volume are intended in one way or another to illustrate the literary peculiarities of Virgil's poems. Possibly they may be found interesting on their own account, as, with the signal exception of Colonel Mure's unfinished work, our language is singularly deficient in sketches of the history of classical literature. Here, as elsewhere, I have written rather for learners than for scholars: I have sought to popularize what already exists in less accessible forms. Two of these essays, those introductory to the Eclogues and the Georgics, have been substantially delivered as public lec-

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tures before the University: the remaining two, which are of much slighter texture, are written for the present occasion.

The text may be called a new recension, but it differs in no very important respect from Heyne's, as revised by Wagner, which is itself based on the celebrated edition by Nicholas Heinsius. The few changes that I have introduced have been derived from an examination of their *apparatus criticus*. My only additional help has been my friend Mr. Butler's collation of the Canonician MS. in the Bodleian Library—a source which, if it has not supplied me with new readings, has occasionally furnished additional evidence for those adopted on other authority. It is greatly to be regretted that of the four MSS. which appear to be generally regarded as possessing paramount claims to consideration, the fragment of the Vatican, the Roman, the Palatine, and the Medicean, only two, the first and fourth, have been satisfactorily collated throughout. The third in particular is supposed to be the source of a number of variations, which, introduced apparently by Commelin's edition in 1589, for a long time took possession of the common texts in this country—variations which in many cases cannot be accounted for by any theory of trans-scriptural confusion, and must accordingly, supposing the authority of the recensions to be equal, be accepted or rejected on their intrinsic merits. A critical edition of Virgil has for some time been announced by Otto Ribbeck, the learned and careful editor of the Fragments of the Roman Tragic and Comic Poets; and though his theory of the composition of the Eclogues, about which I have spoken elsewhere, induces me to fear that I should not always agree with his judgment, I cannot but look forward with great interest to the result of his inquiries. Meantime I have not unfrequently referred to the transcript of the Medicean MS. published by Foggini (Florence, 1741), though I find that the need of doing so has been almost superseded by Heyne and Wagner's apparatus. After all, it would seem that

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there are few writers whose text is in so satisfactory a state as Virgil's. Variations there are, and probably will continue to be, as some of the most eminent of the ancient grammarians appear to have made independent recensions, each of which would naturally have distinctive peculiarities. But the choice generally lies between words, any of which has considerable probability, external and internal; and though the critic may not always feel sure that he has before him the actual hand of Virgil, he is not left to the hopeless confusion which unskilful transcribers have introduced into the text of other authors. The more important MSS., though not always accurate representatives even of their own recension, supply each other's defects: the less important may in general be passed over entirely. The need of critical conjecture is almost wholly removed. There are, perhaps, only two instances in the present volume where the text has been disturbed without any external authority. The one is in Eclogue 7, v. 54, where 'quaque' has been substituted for 'quaeque,' with Heinsius and most of the subsequent editors: the other is in Eclogue 8, v. 76, which, following Jahn, I have enclosed in brackets, it being merely the burden of the pastoral song, which the structure of the composition shows to have been repeated once too often. Such exceptions may fairly be said to prove the rule against which they may be arrayed.

The orthography which I have followed is in general that of Wagner's small edition. The notes, I fear, may occasionally be found to present a discrepancy, especially in the spelling 'is' or 'es' in certain accusatives plural. I hope the English reader's instinct will not be revolted by the spelling 'Vergilius,' which seems on the whole to have the best authority. There seemed no choice about adopting it, as Forbiger has done, in Georgic 4. 563; and that being so, it would have been mere deference to prejudice to retain the common spelling in the title and headings. I am glad

to see that Ladewig prints 'Vergilius' throughout, though I do not propose to talk of 'Vergil' in English, as he has done in German.

In the notes I have availed myself largely of the labours of my predecessors. Servius and Philargyrius I have used constantly, though it is likely that some few of their remarks may have escaped me, as I have studied them chiefly in the commentary attached to the Delphin and Variorum Classics, where they seem not to have been reprinted quite entire. The same collection has supplied me with many of the notes of Germanus, Cerda, Taubmann, Emmenessius, and others. This field had been partially reaped by Heyne; but I found that he had left me something to glean. From Cerda in particular, whose own complete commentary I have sometimes consulted, I have derived some additional parallel passages, though he is fond of accumulating matter which is not strictly relevant. Trapp's notes, appended to his translation, are not without good sense, but do not show much learning or poetical feeling. Martyn's commentary has been constantly at my side, and has been of some use, independently of its botanical and agricultural information, as containing the opinions of others, particularly Catrou, whose own edition I have never seen. Heyne's explanatory notes deserve much of the praise they have received, but they are deficient in minute attention to the author's language. I have used Voss's commentary on the Eclogues (in Reinhardt's Latin translation) with advantage, frequently availing myself of his research even where I could not accept his views; his commentary on the Georgics I have unfortunately been unable to procure, though I have no reason to believe that it is an uncommon book. The explanatory notes of Wagner are few, though more numerous than those of Spohn and Wunderlich, which he has incorporated in his edition of Heyne; they are however generally valuable, while his 'Quaestiones Vir-

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gilianae' exhibit very great care and diligence. The merits of Forbiger's edition are chiefly those of a compilation; but it contains a large amount of exegetical matter; it leaves few difficulties unnoticed; and its references to grammars and other works where points of language are examined deserve much commendation. I have made great use of it, levying on it the same kind of contributions which it has levied on others. To Mr. Keightley I owe a more personal acknowledgment, as he has been kind enough to place in my hands a copy of his Notes on the Eclogues and Georgics, containing many MS. corrections and additions, and also to favour me with his opinion on certain points by letter. His book has been chiefly useful to me in relation to agricultural and botanical matters, but I have derived considerable advantage from his independent judgment as a general commentator, though frequently compelled to differ from him on questions of scholarship. There is one point of great importance to the understanding of the Eclogues, which he has, I believe, been the first to set in its true light, the confusion between Italy and Sicily in Virgil's pastoral scenery. From Ladewig's German school edition I have gained something, though his novelties of interpretation seem to me frequently untrue, and his conjectural deviations from the received text unfortunate. An English school edition has recently been published by Mr. A. H. Bryce, of the Edinburgh High School, to whose courtesy I am indebted for a copy of it. It contains a good deal of useful information; but I do not think it always successful in its attempts to give a new and more philosophical aspect to questions of grammar. I am sorry to have availed myself but little of a critique by Ameis on passages in Wagner and Ladewig's editions of the Eclogues and Georgics, under the title of "Spicilegium explicationum Vergilianarum;" but I did not procure it till the printing of this volume was drawing towards the end of the Third Georgic, and accident

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has prevented me from using it for more than about one half of the Fourth.

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

The life of Virgil is extracted from Mr. Long's article 'Virgilius,' in the Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography. I have to return my best thanks for the favour not only to Mr. Long himself, but to the proprietors of the book.

The editions of the classics to which I have referred have been in general the best and latest, when my library happened to contain them. For the Greek dramatists I have followed Dindorf; for Pindar, Bergk or Schneidewin; for Hesiod, commonly Götting; for Dion Cassius, Reimar; for Xenophon and Appian, the editions published in Teubner's series. For Plautus, I have followed those editions where the lines are numbered by Acts and Scenes, not as preferring that practice, which appears not to have been sanctioned by antiquity, but because neither Ritschl nor Fleckeisen, who adopt the other plan, has completed his edition; for Propertius, Paley; for Lucretius, Lachmann; for the other Latin poets, Weber's "Corpus Poetarum;" for the fragments of the Latin dramatists, Ribbeck; for those of Ennius, Vahlen; for those of Lucilius, Gerlach; for Cicero, mostly Verburg; for the elder Pliny, the Variorum of 1669; for the *Scriptores Rei Rusticae*, sometimes Gesner, sometimes Schneider; for the Latin grammarians, Keil; for Festus, Müller; for Nonius, generally Gerlach and Roth. This list is perhaps not quite complete, but I think it contains nearly all those authors the references to which are

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likely to vary according to the editions used. I fear there may be some cases found in which I have used an edition not named in it; but the notes have been written at various places, a large portion of them indeed during vacations, when I have been absent from Oxford, and have in consequence only had a certain number of my own books about me.

I must not conclude without speaking of my obligations to Mr. Long and his lamented colleague. To their supervision are due the removal of many errors from these sheets, and the accession of some new information. While, however, their criticisms have been of the greatest service to me, they have at the same time very considerably abated the confidence with which I offer this volume to the public. Where so much has been successfully questioned, I cannot but be afraid that there remains behind much more, not only open to dispute, but actually erroneous. I shall be very grateful to any reader who will help me towards accuracy by pointing out my mistakes. Meantime, I may perhaps put in a plea for indulgence on account of the wide field over which the notes extend. A body of several thousands of propositions on a great variety of subjects can hardly fail to yield a large percentage of error.

JOHN CONINGTON.

LIFE OF VIRGIL.

(EXTRACTED FROM MR. LONG'S ARTICLE 'VIRGILIUS,' IN THE DICTIONARY OF GREEK AND ROMAN BIOGRAPHY AND MYTHOLOGY.)

P. VIRGILIUS, or VERGILIUS MARO, was born on the 15th of October, B.C. 70, in the first consulship of Cn. Pompeius Magnus and M. Licinius Crassus, at Andes, a small village near Mantua in Cisalpine Gaul. The tradition, though an old one, which identifies Andes with the modern village of Pietola, may be accepted as a tradition without being accepted as a truth. The poet Horace, afterwards one of his friends, was born B.C. 65; and Octavianus Caesar, afterwards the emperor Augustus, and his patron, in B.C. 63, in the consulship of M. Tullius Cicero.

Virgil's father probably had a small estate, which he cultivated: his mother's name was Maia. The son was educated at Cremona and Mediolanum (Milan), and he took the toga virilis at Cremona on the day on which he commenced his sixteenth year, in B.C. 55, which was the second consulship of Cn. Pompeius Magnus and M. Licinius Crassus. On the same day, according to Donatus, the poet Lucretius died, in his forty-first year. It is said that Virgil subsequently studied at Neapolis (Naples) under Parthenius, a native of Bithynia, from whom he learned Greek (Macrob. Sat. v. 17); and the minute industry of the grammarians has pointed out the following line (Georg. i. 437) as borrowed from his master:

“*Glauco et Panopeae et Inoo Melicertae.*”

(Compare Gellius xiii. 26.)

He was also instructed by Syron, an Epicurean, and probably at Rome. Virgil's writings prove that he received a learned education, and traces of Epicurean opinions are apparent in them. The health of Virgilius was always feeble; and there is no evidence of his attempting to rise by those means by which a Roman gained distinction, oratory and the prac-

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tice of arms. Indeed, at the time when he was born, Cisalpine Gaul was not included within the term "Italy," and it was not till B.C. 89 that a Lex Pompeia gave even the Jus Latii to the inhabitants of Gallia Transpadana, and the privilege of obtaining the Roman civitas by filling a magistratus in their own cities. The Roman civitas was not given to the Transpadani till B.C. 49. Virgil therefore was not a Roman citizen by birth, and he was above twenty years of age before the civitas was extended to Gallia Transpadana.

It is merely a conjecture, though it is probable, that Virgilius retired to his paternal farm, and here he may have written some of the small pieces which are attributed to him, the *Culex*, *Ciris*, *Moretum*, and others. The defeat of Brutus and Cassius by M. Antonius and Octavianus Caesar at Philippi, B.C. 42, gave the supreme power to the two victorious generals; and when Octavianus returned to Italy, he began to assign to his soldiers lands which had been promised them for their services (Dion Cass. *xlviii.* 5, &c.). But the soldiers could only be provided with land by turning out many of the occupiers; and the neighbourhood of Cremona and Mantua was one of the districts in which the soldiers were planted, and from which the former possessors were dislodged (Appian, *Bell. Civ. v.* 12, &c.). There is little evidence as to the circumstances under which Virgil was deprived of his property. It is said that it was seized by a veteran named Claudius, or Clodius, and that Asinius Pollio, who was then governor of Gallia Transpadana, advised Virgil to apply to Octavianus at Rome for the restitution of his land, and that Octavianus granted his request. It is supposed that Virgilius wrote the *Eclogue* which stands first in our editions, to commemorate his gratitude to Octavianus Caesar. Whether the poet was subsequently disturbed in his possession and again restored, and whether he was not firmly secured in his patrimonial farm till after the peace of Brundisium, B.C. 40, between Octavianus Caesar and M. Antonius, is a matter which no extant authority is sufficient to determine.

Virgil became acquainted with Maecenas before Horace was, and Horace (*Sat. i.* 5, and 6. 55, &c.) was introduced to Maecenas by Virgil. Whether this introduction was in the year B.C. 41, or a little later, is uncertain; but we may perhaps conclude from the name of Maecenas not being mentioned in the *Eclogues* of Virgil, that he himself was not on those intimate terms with Maecenas which ripened into friendship, until after they were written. Horace, in one of his *Satires* (*Sat. i.* 5), in which he describes the journey from Rome to Brundisium, mentions Virgil as one of the party, and in language which shows that they were then in the closest intimacy. The time to which this journey relates is a matter of some difficulty, but there are perhaps only two times to which it can be referred, either the events recorded in Appian (*Bell.*

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Civ. v. 64), which preceded the peace of Brundisium B.C. 40, or to the events recorded by Appian (Bell. Civ. v. 78), which belong to the year B.C. 38. But it is not easy to decide to which of these two years, B.C. 40 or B.C. 38, the journey of Horace refers. It can hardly refer to the events mentioned in Appian (Bell. Civ. v. 93, &c.), which belong to the year B.C. 37, though even this opinion has been maintained.

The most finished work of Virgil, his *Georgica*, an agricultural poem, was undertaken at the suggestion of Maecenas (*Georg.* iii. 41), and it was probably not commenced earlier than B.C. 37. The supposition that it was written to revive the languishing condition of agriculture in Italy after the civil war, and to point out the best method, may take its place with other exploded notions. The idea of reviving the industry of a country by an elaborate poem, which few farmers would read and still fewer would understand, requires no refutation. Agriculture is not quickened by a book, still less by a poem. It requires security of property, light taxation, and freedom of commerce. Maecenas may have wished Virgil to try his strength on something better than his *Eclogues*; and though the subject does not appear inviting, the poet has contrived to give it such embellishment that his fame rests in a great degree on this work. The concluding lines of the *Georgica* were written at Naples (*Georg.* iv. 559); but we can hardly infer that the whole poem was written there, though this is the literal meaning of the words,

“*Haec super arborum cultu pecorumque canebam.*”

We may however conclude that it was completed after the battle of Actium, B.C. 31, while Caesar was in the East. (Compare *Georg.* iv. 560, and ii. 171, and the remarks of the critics.) His *Eclogues* had all been completed, and probably before the *Georgica* were begun (*Georg.* iv. 565).

The epic poem of Virgil, the *Aeneid*, was probably long contemplated by the poet. While Augustus was in Spain, B.C. 27, he wrote to Virgil to express his wish to have some monument of his poetical talent; perhaps he desired that the poet should dedicate his labours to his glory, as he had done to that of Maecenas. A short reply of Virgil is preserved (*Macrob.* Sat. i. 24), in which he says, “with respect to my *Aeneas*, if it were in a fit shape for your reading, I would gladly send the poem; but the thing is only just begun; and indeed it seems something like folly to have undertaken so great a work, especially when, as you know, I am applying to it other studies, and those of much greater importance.” The inference that may be derived from a passage of Propertius (*Eleg.* ii. 34. 61), in which he speaks of the *Aeneid* as begun and in progress, and from the recent death of Gallus, also mentioned in the same elegy, is that Virgil was engaged on his work in B.C. 24 (Clinton,

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Fast. B.C. 24). An allusion to the victory of Actium in the same elegy, compared with the passage in Virgil (*Aeneid* viii. 675 and 704), seems to show that Propertius was acquainted with the poem of Virgil in its progress; and he may have heard parts of it read. In B.C. 23 died Marcellus, the son of Octavia, Caesar's sister, by her first husband; and as Virgil lost no opportunity of gratifying his patron, he introduced into his sixth book of the *Aeneid* (v. 883) the well-known allusion to the virtues of this youth, who was cut off by a premature death.

“Heu miserande puer! si qua fata aspera rumpas,
Tu Marcellus eris.”

Octavia is said to have been present when the poet was reciting this allusion to her son, and to have fainted from her emotions. She rewarded the poet munificently for his excusable flattery. As Marcellus did not die till B.C. 23, these lines were of course written after his death, but that does not prove that the whole of the sixth book was written so late. Indeed the attempts which modern critics make to settle many points in ancient literary history are not always managed with due regard to the nature of the evidence. This passage in the sixth book was certainly written after the death of Marcellus, but Virgil may have sketched his whole poem, and even finished in a way many parts in the later books, before he elaborated the whole of his sixth book. A passage in the seventh book (v. 606),

“Auroramque sequi Parthosque reposita signa,”

appears to allude to Augustus receiving back the standards taken by the Parthians from M. Licinius Crassus, B.C. 53. This event belongs to B.C. 20 (Dion Cass. liv. 8); and if the passage of Virgil refers to it, the poet must have been working at his seventh book in B.C. 20.

When Augustus was returning from Samos, where he had spent the winter of B.C. 20, he met Virgil at Athens. The poet, it is said, had intended to make a tour of Greece, but he accompanied the emperor to Megara and thence to Italy. His health, which had been long declining, was now completely broken, and he died soon after his arrival at Brundisium, on the 22nd of September, B.C. 19, not having quite completed his fifty-first year. His remains were transferred to Naples, which had been his favourite residence, and placed on the road (Via Puteolana) from Naples to Puteoli (Pozzuoli), between the first and second milestone from Naples. The monument, now called the tomb of Virgil, is not on the road which passes through the tunnel of Posilipo; but if the Via Puteolana ascended the hill of Posilipo, as it may have done, the situation of the monument would agree very well with the description of Donatus.

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The inscription said to have been placed on the tomb,

“ Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc
Parthenope. Cecini pascua, rura, duces,”

we cannot suppose to have been written by the poet, though Donatus says that it was.

Virgil named as heredes in his testament, his half-brother Valerius Proculus, to whom he left one half of his property, and also Augustus, Maecenas, L. Varius, and Plotius Tucca. It is said that in his last illness he wished to burn the Aeneid, to which he had not given the finishing touches, but his friends would not allow him. Whatever he may have wished to be done with the Aeneid, it was preserved and published by his friends Varius and Tucca. It seems from different extant testimonies, that he did express a wish that the unfinished poem should be destroyed.

The poet had been enriched by the liberality of his patrons, and he left behind him a considerable property, and a house on the Esquiline Hill near the gardens of Maecenas. He used his wealth liberally; and his library, which was doubtless a good one, was easy of access. He used to send his parents money every year. His father, who became blind, did not die before his son had attained a mature age. Two brothers of Virgil also died before him. Poetry was not the only study of Virgil; he applied to medicine and to agriculture, as the *Georgica* show; and also to what Donatus calls *Mathematica*, perhaps a jumble of astrology and astronomy. His stature was tall, his complexion dark, and his appearance that of a rustic. He was modest and retiring, and his character is free from reproach, if we except one scandalous passage in Donatus, which may not tell the truth.

In his fortunes and his friends Virgil was a happy man. Munificent patronage gave him ample means of enjoyment and of leisure; and he had the friendship of all the most accomplished men of the day, among whom Horace entertained a strong affection for him. He was an amiable, good-tempered man, free from the mean passions of envy and jealousy; and in all but health he was prosperous. His fame, which was established in his lifetime, was cherished after his death, as an inheritance in which every Roman had a share; and his works became school-books even before the death of Augustus, and continued such for centuries after. The learned poems of Virgil soon gave employment to commentators and critics. Aulus Gellius has numerous remarks on Virgil, and Macrobius, in his *Saturnalia*, has filled four books (iii.—vi.) with his critical remarks on Virgil's poems.

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