

## PREFATORY NOTE

THE manuscripts of the *Dialogus* and *Agricola* of Tacitus contain also a treatise "On Grammarians and Rhetoricians," attributed to Suetonius. This work was used by Gellius (*Noct. Att.* 15. 11) and by Hieronymus, but after the latter's day was lost for many centuries.

About the middle of the fifteenth century,<sup>1</sup> in the course of a journey through Germany and Denmark, Enoch of Ascoli<sup>2</sup> found the two works of Tacitus and the treatise on Grammarians and Rhetoricians, apparently at Hersfeld and in a single codex, and brought them to Italy. This codex is now lost,<sup>3</sup> but some eighteen copies of the *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus* are in existence, all belonging to the fifteenth century, which show remarkable differences in reading, considering that they are derived from a single archetype, and are separated from it by so short a time. These manuscripts, not all of which have been collated, fall into two classes, distinguished from each other by the presence or absence of the index of names at the beginning of the treatise.

<sup>1</sup> The date is variously given: 1455, Teuffel, *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.*<sup>6</sup>; 1457-8, Gudeman, *Grund. z. Gesch. d. kl. Phil.*; etc.

<sup>2</sup> Enoch's discovery of this manuscript has been doubted by some, but is now accepted by most scholars.

<sup>3</sup> Except for one *quaterno*, now at Esinus (Jesi).

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Roth in his edition of 1858 asserted the superiority of the former class, and Ihm is inclined to agree with him.<sup>1</sup> For a list of the better codices with their sigla see p. 395.

Owing to the late date of all the manuscripts, the early printed editions are of some value in the criticism of the text; see the Bibliographical Note, p. 394.

The work begins with an index, containing a list of the grammarians and rhetoricians who are to be discussed, which, as has been said, is omitted by some of the manuscripts. This is followed by an introduction on the origin and development of grammatical studies at Rome, and the connection of grammar with rhetoric, after which the individual representatives of the subject are treated. The part devoted to rhetoricians also begins with an introduction on the history of the study, but the work comes to an end after dealing with five of the fifteen persons named in the index.

It has been generally recognized that this treatise on "Grammarians and Rhetoricians" formed part of a larger work by Suetonius, entitled *De Viris Illustribus*, which treated of Romans who were eminent in the field of literature.<sup>2</sup> It seems to have consisted of five divisions, devoted respectively to Poets, Orators, Historians, Philosophers, and Grammarians and Rhetoricians under one head. The order of the various divisions, or books, cannot be determined.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Rhein. Museum*, 61 (1906), p. 543.

<sup>2</sup> See Volume I, p. xi.

<sup>3</sup> Hieronymus used the *De Viris Illustribus* of Suetonius as his model in the composition of a work of the same title,

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To judge from the personages treated by Suetonius and those whom he omits, the *De Viris Illustribus* appears to have been written between 106 and 113. It was therefore his earliest work, and is in all probability the one to which Pliny refers.<sup>1</sup> As was the case with the *Lives of the Caesars*, he apparently set as his limit the close of the reign of Domitian, so that Juvenal, Tacitus and the younger Pliny were not included.

While the greater part of the *De Viris Illustribus* has been lost, some passages of considerable length, in addition to the "Grammarians and Rhetoricians," have been recovered from various sources. These consist of Lives of various Roman writers, prefixed to their works by way of introduction.<sup>2</sup> None of these has come down to us in its original form, and they differ greatly in the amount of abridgment or of interpolation to which they have been subjected. Those which may properly be included in an edition of Suetonius are the following.

From the book on Poets (*De Poetis*), to which an index of thirty-three names has been compiled from the references in Hieronymus,<sup>3</sup> we have a Life of Terence, preserved in the Commentary of Aelius Donatus, of the fourth century, and ascribed by

devoted to the worthies of the Church, as well as in his translation and enlargement of the "Chronicle" of Eusebius. From the latter numerous fragments of the *De Viris Illustribus* of Suetonius have been recovered, and the general plan of his work made out.

<sup>1</sup> See Volume I, p. x, footnote 1.

<sup>2</sup> For the manuscripts and their sigla see pp. 450 and 451.

<sup>3</sup> This is given on p. 450.

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him to Suetonius. A Life of Horace, which is found in some of the manuscripts, is not directly attributed to Suetonius, but is believed to be his because of the occurrence in it of certain statements which are credited to Suetonius by the scholiasts.<sup>1</sup> A very fragmentary Life of Lucan is assigned to Suetonius also on internal evidence.

With regard to the ultimate authorship of these three Lives there is little, if any, difference of opinion. With regard to three others the agreement is not so general, but they are assigned to Suetonius by some scholars. These are the Life of Vergil, in Donatus' Commentary, where it is followed by an introduction to the *Bucolics* from Donatus' own hand; a Life of Tibullus, greatly abridged; and a Life of Persius. The last is directly attributed to Valerius Probus, but in spite of this is believed by many to be Suetonian.<sup>2</sup>

The discussion of the varieties of poetry, found in Diomedes, *Grammatici Latini*, i. 482. 14 ff. K., was assigned to Suetonius by Reifferscheid and printed in his edition of 1860. Schanz also includes this among the fragments of the *De Viris Illustribus*,<sup>3</sup> but on insufficient grounds; see Teuffel, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, 6th ed., iii., p. 57 and the literature there cited.

From the Orators (*De Oratoribus*), with an index of fifteen names, only the brief abstract of the Life of Passienus Crispus has come down to us, preserved in the scholia Pithoeana on Juvenal 4. 81, where

<sup>1</sup> See for example Porphyrio on *Epist.* 2. 1. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See especially G. Körtge, *In Suet. de Viris Ill. libros Inquisitionum Caput Primum, Halis Saxonum*, 1899, pp. 41 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Gesch. d. röm. Litt.*, in Müller's *Handbuch*, viii. 3, p. 53.

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Passienus is confused with Vibius Crispus. Although his source is not given by the scholiast, the Life is generally attributed to Suetonius. Since in the excerpts from the *De Oratoribus* made by Hieronymus we find no orator earlier than Cicero, it has been inferred that Suetonius began his biographies with Cicero and treated the earlier orators in a general introduction.

From the *Historians*, with an index of six names, we have only the Life of Pliny the Elder, which is attributed to Suetonius in the manuscripts which contain it. Here Suetonius seems to have begun with Sallust, discussing the earlier historians in his introduction.

From the *De Philosophis* we have only an index of three names, Marcus Terentius Varro, Publius Nigidius Figulus, and Lucius Annaeus Seneca, which have been recovered from Hieronymus.

As in the *Lives of the Caesars*, Suetonius' sources for the *Lives of Illustrious Men* were in the main literary, in particular Varro, the previous writers of books of the same title (Nepos, Santra and Hyginus), Asconius and Fenestella. In part through these writers, and perhaps in part directly, his work goes back to the Greek authors Antigonus of Carystos, Aristoxenes, Satyros, and Hermippos. He also made some use of private letters, public documents, hearsay evidence and personal recollection.

The Text of the *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus* is in a less satisfactory condition than that of the *Caesars*. Some manuscripts of the better class have not yet been collated, and Ihm's untimely death has prevented or indefinitely postponed the publication of

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the second volume of his edition with the text of the fragments. New recensions of the Lives have appeared in various editions of the authors in question and one of the Life of Vergil by E. Diehl in the *Kleine Texte für theologische und philologische Vorlesungen und Uebungen*, Bonn, 1911.

To these may be added the careful examination and classification of the manuscripts by Rodney P. Robinson,<sup>1</sup> and his edition of the *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus*.<sup>2</sup> The latter supersedes that part of Reifferscheid's *G. Suetoni Reliquiae*.

The numerous instances in which Robinson has followed the manuscripts in preference to the vulgate text have usually not been recorded in our critical notes. Those readings of his which have been added are marked *Rob.* For a large number of manuscripts used by him in addition to those cited on p. 395 see his edition.

<sup>1</sup> *De Fragmenti Suetoniani de Gramm. et Rhet. Codicum Nexu et Fide*, in the *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, vi, 4 (1920).

<sup>2</sup> Paris, 1925.

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

THERE are three editions of the *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus* that rank as *principes*: one of uncertain authorship and date, believed by some to have been published by Nicolas Jensen at Venice in 1472, a Venetian edition of 1474, and one issued at Florence in 1478. Other early editions are the Aldine, 1508, based upon the three *principes*, and those of R. Stephanus, E. Vinetus, and Achilles Statius. In more recent times separate editions have been published by L. Tross, 1841, Fr. Osann, Giessen, 1854, L. Roth, Leipzig, 1858, and A. Reifferscheid, Leipzig, 1860. The last two are still the standard texts. The *De Viris Illustribus* was first published with the *Caesars* by Antonius Gryphius at Lyons in 1566 and Th. Pulmann at Antwerp, in 1574. They were followed by Casaubon, and his edition, as well as others of those mentioned on p. xxvii of Volume I, contains the fragments. In 1863 H. Doergens published an edition at Leipzig with a German translation and a commentary. The only translation into English, so far as I know, is that of T. Forester in the Bohn library; see Volume I, p. xxviii.

## DE GRAMMATICIS ET RHETORIBUS

SEVERAL of the better manuscripts have before or after the title the following Index: Grammatici: [Aelius Praeconius],<sup>1</sup> Saeuius Nicanor, Aurelius Opilius, M. Antonius Gniphio, M. Pompilius Andronicus, L. Orbilius (Pupillus), L. Ateius Philologus, P. Valerius Cato, Cornelius Epicadius, (Staberius Eros), Curtius Nicias, Lenaeus, Q. Caecilius (Epirota), M. Verrius Flaccus, L. Crassicius, Scribonius Aphrodisius, C. Iulius Hyginus, C. Melissus, M. Pomponius Marcellus, Q. Remmius Palaemon, (M.) Valerius Probus. Rhetores: (L.) Plotius Gallus, L. Voltacilius Plotus, M. Epidius, Sex. Clodius, C. Albucius Silus, L. Cestius Pius, M. Porcius Latro, Q. Curtius Rufus, L. Valerius Primanus, Verginius Flavus, L. Statius Ursulus, P. Clodius Quirinalis, M. Antonius Liberalis, Sex. Iulius Gabinianus, M. Fabius Quintilianus, [M. Tullius Tiro].<sup>2</sup>

The following Sigla are used: V = codex Vaticanus, 1862; L = codex Leidensis, formerly Perizonianus; N = codex Neapolitanus, formerly Farnesianus; O = codex Ottobonianus, 1455; G = codex Gudianus, 93; I = codex Vaticanus, 1518; W = codex Vindobonensis, 711 (see Ihm, *Rh. Mus.* 61. 543 ff.).

<sup>1</sup> The names in brackets are omitted by Reifferscheid; those in parenthesis are added by him. Robinson follows the MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Iulius Tiro, *mss.*

## DE POETIS

The following Index has been compiled from Hieronymus: L. Livius Andronicus, Cn. Naevius, T. Maccius Plautus, Q. Ennius, Staius Caecilius, P. Terentius Afer, M. Pacuvius, L. Accius, Sex. Turpilius, C. Lucilius, P. Quintius Atta, L. Afranius, L. Pomponius, T. Lucretius Carus, M. Furius Bibaculus, C. Valerius Catullus, P. Terentius Varro, D. Laberius, P. Publilius Lochius, Cornificius, M. Bavius, C. Cornelius Gallus, Aemilius Macer, Quintilius Varus, P. Vergilius Maro, Albius Tibullus, Sex. Propertius, Q. Horatius Flaccus, L. Varius Rufus, P. Ovidius Naso, Philistio, A. Persius Flaccus, M. Annaeus Lucanus.

The following Sigla are used:—

For Terence: A = cod. Parisinus, 7920, eleventh century; B = cod. Parisinus, 7921; C = cod. Leidensis Vossianus, 186; D = cod. Dresdensis Elect. 539<sup>b</sup>, Reg. D. 101; E = cod. Urbinas, 354; F = cod. Reginensis, 1496; G = cod. Neapolitanus, Mus. Borbon. 411 (all of the fifteenth century); Z = editio princeps of Donatus, Rome, 1472; Ald. = Aldine ed. of 1517; St. = ed. of Stephanus, Paris, 1529; Dz. = Dziatzko; Reiff. = Reifferscheid.

For Vergil: B = cod. Bernensis, 172, ninth or tenth century; G = cod. Sangallensis, 862, tenth

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century; P = cod. Parisinus Lat. 11308 (formerly Suppl. Lat. 1011), ninth century;  $\varsigma$  = Edition of Vergil by Heyne-Wagener, i. pp. lxxx. ff.

For Horace: V = cod. Blandinianus Vetustissimus;  $\phi$  = cod. Parisinus, 7974, tenth century;  $\psi$  = cod. Parisinus, 7971, tenth century; F =  $\phi$  and  $\psi$ ;  $\lambda$  = Parisinus, 7972, tenth century;  $p$  = Parisinus Lat. 8214, twelfth century;  $\varsigma$  = mss. which contain the Life in an abridged form; see note 6, p. 484.

For Tibullus: A = cod. Ambrosianus, R 26 sup., fourteenth century; V = cod. Vaticanus, 3270; g = cod. Guelferbytanus, Ms. Aug. 82, 6 fol., both of the fifteenth century;  $\psi$  = other mss. or the Itali.

For Aulus Persius Flaccus: A = cod. Montepessulanus, 212, tenth century; B = cod. Vaticanus, tab. basil. Vat., H. 36, ninth century; P = cod. Montepessulanus, 125, formerly Pithoeanus.

For Lucan: M = cod. Montepessulanus, H. 113; B = cod. Bernensis, 45; P = cod. Parisinus, 7502, formerly Colbertinus, all of the tenth century.

DE POETIS  
VITA TERENTI

I. PUBLIUS TERENTIUS AFER, Carthagine natus, serviit Romae Terentio Lucano senatori, a quo ob ingenium et formam non institutus modo liberaliter sed et mature manumissus est. Quidam captum esse existimant, quod fieri nullo modo potuisse Fenestella docet, cum inter finem secundi Punici belli et initium tertii natus sit et<sup>1</sup> mortuus; nec si a Numidis et Gaetulis captus sit, ad ducem<sup>2</sup> Romanum pervenire potuisse, nullo commercio inter Italicos et Afros nisi post deletam Carthaginem coepto. Hic cum multis nobilibus familiariter vixit, sed maxime cum Scipione Africano et C.<sup>3</sup> Laelio. Quibus etiam corporis gratia conciliatus existimatur, quod et ipsum Fenestella arguit, contendens utroque maiorem natu fuisse, quamvis et Nepos aequales omnes fuisse tradat et Porcius suspicionem de consuetudine per haec faciat:

<sup>1</sup> natus sit et, *Ald.*; et natus sit et, *Ritschl*; natus est et, *mss.*

<sup>2</sup> ad ducem, *mss.*; ad dominum, *J. Gronov (Reiff., Dz.)*.

<sup>3</sup> C., *AF*; the other *mss.* have cum.

ON POETS  
THE LIFE OF TERENCE

I. PUBLIUS TERENTIUS AFER, born at Carthage, was the slave at Rome of Terentius Lucanus, a senator, who because of the young man's talent and good looks not only gave him a liberal education, but soon set him free. Some think that he was taken in war, but Fenestella shows that that could not possibly be, since Terence was born and died between the end of the second Punic war and the beginning of the third; and even if he had been taken by the Numidians and Gaetulians, he could not have come into the hands of a Roman general, since commerce between the Italic and the African races did not begin until after the destruction of Carthage. He lived on intimate terms with many men of high rank, in particular with Scipio Africanus and Gaius Laelius. It is even thought that he won the favour of these two men by his youthful beauty, but Fenestella denies this too, maintaining that he was older than either of them. Nepos, however, writes that they were all three of an age, and Porcius rouses a suspicion of too great intimacy in the following words:

201-149  
B.C.

146 B.C.

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“ Dum lasciviam nobilium et laudes fucosas petit,  
 Dum Africani vocem divinam inhiat<sup>1</sup> avidis auribus,  
 Dum ad Philum<sup>2</sup> se cenitare et Laelium pulchrum  
 putat,  
 Dum in Albanum crebro rapitur<sup>3</sup> ob florem aetatis  
 suae:  
 Post sublatis rebus ad summam inopiam redactus  
 est.  
 Itaque e conspectu omnium abit Graeciam in terram  
 ultimam,  
 Mortuust Stymphali,<sup>4</sup> Arcadiae in<sup>5</sup> oppido. Nil  
 Publius<sup>6</sup>  
 Scipio profuit, nil illi Laelius, nil Furius,  
 Tres per id tempus qui agitabant nobiles facillime.  
 Eorum ille opera ne domum quidem habuit con-  
 ducticium,  
 Saltem ut esset quo referret obitum domini ser-  
 vulus.”

II. Scripsit comoedias sex, ex quibus primam  
 “Andriam” cum aedilibus daret, iussus ante Caecilio<sup>7</sup>  
 recitare, ad cenantem cum venisset, dictus est  
 initium quidem fabulae, quod erat contemptiore  
 vestitu, subsellio iuxta lectulum residens legisse,  
 post paucos vero versus invitatus ut accumberet  
 cenasse una, dein cetera percucurrisse non sine  
 magna Caecilii<sup>8</sup> admiratione. Et hanc autem et

<sup>1</sup> vocem divinam inhiat, *Muretus*; vocē dum et inhius et,  
*A*; the other mss. have voce divina inhiat.

<sup>2</sup> Philum, *Roth*; fixu, *A*; the other mss. have furium.

<sup>3</sup> The reading of *Ritschl*; *A* has dum se amari ab his credat  
 crebro in Albanum rapitur; the other mss., dum . . . credit  
 . . . rapi.

<sup>4</sup> Stymphali, *Ritschl*; mortuus est in falo, *A*, with similar  
 readings in the other mss.; Stymphalo, *Roth*.

<sup>5</sup> in, added by *Roth*. <sup>6</sup> Publio, *E* (*Ritschl*).

## ON POETS—TERENCE

“Though he courted the wantonness of great men  
 and their counterfeit<sup>a</sup> praise, though with greedy  
 ears he drank in the divine voice of Africanus, though  
 he thought it fine to frequent the tables of Philus  
 and Laelius, though he was often taken to the Alban  
 villa because of his youthful charms, he later found  
 himself stripped of his all and reduced to utmost  
 want. So he withdrew from the sight of men to a  
 remote part of Greece and died at Stymphalus, a  
 town of Arcady. Naught availed him Publius Scipio,  
 naught Laelius, naught Furius, the wealthiest<sup>b</sup> three  
 nobles of that time. Their help did not give him  
 even a rented house, to provide at least a place  
 where his slave might announce his master's death.”

II. He wrote six comedies, and when he offered  
 the first of these, the “Andria,” to the aediles, they  
 bade him first read it to Caecilius. Having come to  
 the poet's house when he was dining, and being  
 meanly clad, Terence is said to have read the  
 beginning of his play sitting on a bench near the  
 great man's couch. But after a few lines he was  
 invited to take his place at table, and after dining  
 with Caecilius, he ran through the rest to his host's

<sup>7</sup> caerio, *AB*; cenam, *G*; the other mss. have cerio.

<sup>8</sup> caerii, *A*; eorum, *G*; the other mss. have cerii (cerrii,  
 cerei).

\* Cf. *Hor. Epist.* 1. 10. 26 ff.: *Non qui Sidonio contendere  
 callidus ostro Nescit Aquinatam potentia vellera fucum, Certius  
 accipiet damnnum propiusve medullis, Quam qui non poterit  
 vero distinguere falsum.*

<sup>b</sup> *facillime agitare* means “to live most comfortably,” or,  
 “most free from care”; cf. *Ter. Adolph.* 501, and the Greek  
*πεῖρα ζῆντες*. In an opposite sense we have *difficultate num-  
 maria*, *Tib.* xlviii. 1.

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quinque reliquas aequaliter populo probavit, quamvis Vulcatius dinumeratione omnium ita scribat :

“ Sumetur Hecyra sexta ex his fabula.”

“ Eunuchus ” quidem bis die acta est meruitque pretium quantum nulla antea cuiusquam comoedia, id est octo milia nummorum ; propterea summa quoque titulo ascribitur. Nam “ Adelporum ” principium Varro etiam praefert principio Menandri.

III. Non obscura fama est adiutum Terentium in scriptis a Laelio et Scipione, eamque ipse auxit numquam nisi leviter refutare<sup>1</sup> conatus, ut in prologo “ Adelporum ” :

“ Nam quod isti dicunt malevoli, homines nobiles  
Hunc adiutare assidueque una scribere ;  
Quod illi maledictum vehemens esse existunt,  
Eam laudem hic ducit maxumam, quom illis placet  
Qui vobis univorsis et populo placent,  
Quorum opera in bello, in otio, in negotio  
Suo quisque tempore usus est sine superbia.”

Videtur autem se levius defendisse, quia sciebat et Laelio et Scipioni non ingrati esse hanc opinionem ; quae tamen magis et usque ad posteriora tempora valuit. C. Memmius in oratione pro se ait : “ P. Africanus, qui a Terentio personam mutuatus, quae domi luserat ipse, nomine illius in scenam detulit.”

<sup>1</sup> refutare, *A* ; the other mss. have se tutare (tutari, *F*).

\* Text and meaning are uncertain. Dziatzko suggested *submaeret (poeta) Hecyra sexta exclusiva fabula.*

<sup>b</sup> The *didascalia.*

<sup>c</sup> That is, presumably, the beginning of the play of Menander on which the *Adelpoe* is based.

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great admiration. Moreover, this play and the five others were equally pleasing to the people, although Vulcatius in enumerating them all, writes thus :

“ The sixth play, the ‘ Hecyra,’ will not be included.”<sup>a</sup>

The “ Eunuch ” was even acted twice in the same day and earned more money than any previous comedy of any writer, namely eight thousand sesterces ; and for this reason the sum is included in the title-page.<sup>b</sup> Indeed Varro rates the beginning of the “ Adelpoe ” above that of Menander.<sup>c</sup>

III. It is common gossip that Scipio and Laelius aided Terence in his writings, and he himself lent colour to this by never attempting to refute it, except in a half-hearted way, as in the prologue to the “ Adelpoe ” :

“ For as to what those malicious critics say, that men of rank aid your poet and constantly write in concert with him ; what they regard as a grievous slander, he considers the highest praise, to please those who please you all and all the people, whose timely help everyone has used without shame in war, in leisure, in business.”

Now he seems to have made but a lame defence, because he knew that the report did not displease Laelius and Scipio ; and it gained ground in spite of all and came down even to later times. Gaius Memmius in a speech in his own defence says : “ Publius Africanus, who borrowed a mask from Terence, and put upon the stage under his name what he had written himself for his own amusement at home.” Nepos says that he learned



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Nepos auctore certo comperisse se ait, C. Laelium quondam in Puteolano Kal. Martiis admonitum ab uxore temperius ut discumberet petisse ab ea ne interpellaret,<sup>1</sup> seroque tandem ingressum triclinium dixisse, non saepe in scribendo magis sibi successisse; deinde rogatum ut scripta illa proferret pronuntiasset versus qui sunt in "Heautontimorumenos":

"Satis pol proterve me Syri promissa huc induxerunt."

IV. Santra Terentium existimat, si modo in scribendo adiutoribus indiguerit, non tam Scipione et Laelio uti potuisse, qui tunc adulescentuli fuerunt, quam C. Sulpicio Gallo, homine docto et cuius consularibus<sup>2</sup> ludis initium fabularum dandarum fecerit, vel Q. Fabio Labeone et M. Popillio, consulari utroque ac poeta; ideo ipsum non iuvenes designare qui se adiuvare dicantur,<sup>3</sup> sed viros "quorum operam et in bello et in otio et in negotio" populus sit expertus.

Post editas comoedias nondum quintum atque vicesimum egressus annum,<sup>4</sup> causa vitandae opinionis qua videbatur aliena pro suis edere, seu percipiendi Graecorum instituta moresque, quos non perinde exprimeret in scriptis, egressus<sup>5</sup> est neque amplius rediit. De morte eius Vulcaciis sic tradit:

<sup>1</sup> interpellaret, *A*; interpolleretur, *F*; the other mss. have interpellaretur.

<sup>2</sup> et cuius consularibus, *A*; et consularibus, *D*; the other mss. have et qui consularibus; quo consule Megalensibus, *Ritschl*.

<sup>3</sup> dicantur, *Roth*; dicuntur, *A*; designarentur, *D*; the other mss. have dicerentur.

<sup>4</sup> annum animi, *A*; animi causa seu, *Dz.* (aut. *Bährens.*)

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from a trustworthy source that once at his villa at Puteoli Gaius Laelius was urged by his wife to come to dinner at an earlier hour than common on the Kalends of March,<sup>a</sup> but begged her not to interrupt him. When he at last entered the dining-room at a late hour, he said that he had seldom written more to his own satisfaction; and on being asked to read what he had written, he declaimed the lines of the "Heautontimorumenos," beginning:

"Impudently enough, by Heaven, has Syrus lured me here by promises."

IV. Santra thinks that if Terence had really needed help in his writing, he would not have been so likely to resort to Scipio and Laelius, who were then mere youths, as to Gaius Sulpicius Gallus, a scholarly man, at whose consular games he brought out his first play, or to Quintus Fabius Labeo and Marcus Popillius, both of whom were ex-consuls and poets; and that it was for that reason that he spoke, not of "young men" who were said to help him, but "men whose mettle the people had tried in war, in leisure, in business."

After publishing these comedies before he had passed his twenty-fifth year, either to escape from the gossip about publishing the work of others as his own, or else to become versed in Greek manners and customs, which he felt that he had not been wholly successful in depicting in his plays, he left Rome and never returned. Of his death Vulcaciis writes in these words:

<sup>a</sup> egressus urbe, *Muretus*; urbem, *St.*

• See note c on *Vesp.* xix. 1.

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"Sed ut Afer populo sex dedit comoedias,  
Iter hinc in Asiam fecit, et<sup>1</sup> navem ut semel  
Conscendit, visus numquam est; sic vita vacat."

V. Q. Cosconius redeuntem e Graecia perisse in mari dicit cum C. et VIII.<sup>2</sup> fabulis conversis a Menandro. Ceteri mortuum esse in Arcadia Stymphali<sup>3</sup> sive Leucadiae<sup>4</sup> tradunt Cn. Cornelio Dolabella M. Fulvio Nobiliore consulibus, morbo implicitum<sup>5</sup> ex dolore ac taedio amissarum sarcinarum,<sup>6</sup> quas in nave praemiserat, ac simul fabularum, quas novas fecerat.

Fuisse dicitur mediocri statura, gracili corpore, colore fusco. Reliquit filiam, quae post equiti Romano nupsit; item hortulos XX iugerum via Appia ad Martis villam. Quo magis miror Porcium scribere :

"Scipio nihil profuit, nihil Laelius, nihil Furius,  
Tres per id tempus qui agitabant nobiles facillime;  
Eorum ille opera ne domum quidem habuit con-  
ducticiam,  
Saltem ut esset quo referret obitum domini ser-  
vulus."<sup>7</sup>

Hunc Afranius quidem omnibus comicis praefert scribens in "Compitalibus":

"Terenti non similem dicens quempiam."

<sup>1</sup> et, added by Roth; navem autem, Ritschl.

<sup>2</sup> C. et VIII., omitted by Ritschl, Dz.

<sup>3</sup> Omitted as interpolation by Ritschl, Reiff.

<sup>4</sup> sive Leucadiae, A; the other mss. have sinu Leucadiae; sinu Leucadiae after mari, Dz.; Leucadia, Erasmus.

<sup>5</sup> implicita ac, A; the other mss. have implicitum acri.

<sup>6</sup> sarcinarum, A; the other mss. have fabularum.

## ON POETS—TERENCE

"But when Afer had presented six comedies to the people; he journeyed from here to Asia, but from the time he embarked was never seen again; thus he vanished from life."

V. Quintus Cosconius writes that he was lost at sea as he was returning from Greece with one hundred and eight plays adapted from Menander; the rest of our authorities declare that he died at Stymphalus in Arcadia, or at Leucadia, in the consulship of Gnaeus Cornelius Dolabella and Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, having fallen ill from grief and annoyance at the loss of his baggage, which he had sent on to the ship, and with it of the new plays which he had written. 159 B.C.

He is said to have been of moderate height, slender and of dark complexion. He left a daughter, who afterwards became the wife of a Roman knight; also gardens twenty acres<sup>a</sup> in extent on the Appian Way, near the villa of Mars. This makes me feel the more surprised that Porcius should write:

"Naught availed him Scipio, naught Laelius, naught Furius, the wealthiest three nobles of that time. Their aid did not even give him a rented house, to provide at least a place where his slave might announce his master's death."

Afranius ranks Terence above all other writers or comedy, writing in his "Compitalia":

"Declaring that no one is the equal of Terence."

<sup>7</sup> The last two lines are regarded as an interpolation by Ritschl, Reiff.

<sup>a</sup> See note on Rh. v.

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Vulcatius autem non solum Naevio et Plauto et Caecilio, sed Licinio quoque et Atilio postponit. Cicero in "Limone" hactenus laudat:

"Tu quoque, qui solus lecto sermone, Terenti,  
Conversum expressumque Latina voce Menandrum  
In medium nobis sedatis vocibus<sup>1</sup> effers,  
Quiddam come loquens atque omnia dulcia dicens."

Item C. Caesar:

"Tu quoque, tu in summis, o dimidiate Menander,  
Poneris, et merito, puri sermonis amator.  
Lenibus atque utinam scriptis adiuncta foret vis,  
Comica ut aequato virtus polleret honore  
Cum Graecis neve<sup>2</sup> hac despectus parte iaceres!  
Unum hoc maceror ac doleo tibi desse,<sup>3</sup> Terenti."

<sup>1</sup> vocibus, *mss.*; motibus, *Ritschl.*

<sup>2</sup> neve, *Roth*; neque, *mss.*

<sup>3</sup> desse, *Ritschl*; deesse, *mss.* (*derē, A.*)

\* In his celebrated "canon," Gell. 15. 24.

<sup>b</sup> "Meadow," a fanciful title for a book of miscellaneous contents, like the "Silvae" of Statius, the "Pratum" of Suetonius, and the like.

## ON POETS—TERENCE

But Vulcatius<sup>a</sup> puts him not only below Naevius, Plautus, and Caecilius, but even below Licinius and Atilius. Cicero in his "Limo"<sup>b</sup> gives him this much praise:

"Thou, Terence, who alone dost reclothe Menander in choice speech, and rendering him into the Latin tongue, dost present him with thy quiet utterance<sup>c</sup> on our public stage, speaking with a certain graciousness and with sweetness in every word."

Also Gaius Caesar:<sup>d</sup>

"Thou too, even thou, art ranked among the highest, thou half-Menander, and justly, thou lover of language undefiled. But would that thy graceful verses had force as well, so that thy comic power might have equal honour with that of the Greeks, and thou mightest not be scorned in this regard and neglected. It hurts and pains me, my Terence, that thou lackest this one quality."

\* Perhaps, "amid a hush of silence" in the audience. Because of the awkwardness of *voce* . . . *vocibus* *Ritschl* preferred *motibus* (*animi*).

<sup>d</sup> Referring to Julius Caesar.

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### VITA VERGILI

1 P. VERGILIUS<sup>1</sup> MARO Mantuanus parentibus modicis  
fuit ac praecipue patre, quem quidam opificem  
figulum, plures Magi cuiusdam viatoris initio  
mercennarium, mox ob industriam generum tradi-  
2 derunt, egregieque substantiae silvis coemendis et  
apibus curandis auxisse reculam.<sup>2</sup> Natus est Gn.  
Pompeio Magno M. Licinio Crasso primum cons.  
Iduum Octobrium die in pago qui Andes dicitur et  
3 abest a Mantua non procul. Praegnas eo<sup>3</sup> mater  
somniavit enixam se laureum ramum, quem contactu  
terrae coaluisse et excrevisse ilico in speciem  
maturae arboris refertaeque variis pomis et floribus,  
ac sequenti luce cum marito rus propinquum petens  
4 ex itinere devertit atque in subiecta fossa partu  
levata est. Ferunt infantem ut sit editus neque  
vagisse et adeo miti vultu fuisse, ut haud dubiam  
5 spem prosperioris geniturae iam tum daret. Et  
accessit aliud praesagium, siquidem virga populea  
more regionis in puerperiis eodem statim loco  
depacta ita brevi evaluit tempore, ut multo ante  
satas populos adaequavisset, quae arbor Vergilii ex  
eo dicta atque etiam consecrata est summa gravi-

<sup>1</sup> The mss. all have the spelling Vergilius throughout.

<sup>2</sup> regulam, mss.    <sup>3</sup> eo, 5; eum, G; cum, BP.

## ON POETS—VERGIL

### THE LIFE OF VERGIL

PUBLIUS VERGILIUS MARO, a native of Mantua, had parents of humble origin, especially his father, who according to some was a potter, although the general opinion is that he was at first the hired man of a certain Magius, an attendant on the magistrates, later became his son-in-law because of his diligence, and greatly increased his little property by buying up woodlands and raising bees. He was born in the first consulship of Gnaeus Pompeius the Great and Marcus Licinius Crassus, on the Ides of October, in a district called Andes, not far distant from Mantua. While he was in his mother's womb, she dreamt that she gave birth to a laurel-branch, which on touching the earth took root and grew at once to the size of a full-grown tree, covered with fruits and flowers of various kinds; and on the following day, when she was on the way to a neighbouring part of the country with her husband, she turned aside and gave birth to her child in a ditch beside the road. They say that the infant did not cry at its birth, and had such a gentle expression as even then to give assurance of an unusually happy destiny. There was added another omen; for a poplar branch, which, as was usual in that region on such occasions, was at once planted where the birth occurred, grew so fast in a short time that it equalled in size poplars planted long before. It was called from him "Vergil's tree" and was besides worshipped with great veneration by

Oct. 15,  
70 B.C.

## THE LIVES OF ILLUSTRIOUS MEN

darum ac fetarum religione suscipientium ibi et solventium vota.

- 6 Initia aetatis Cremonae egit usque ad virilem togam, quam XV<sup>1</sup> anno natali suo accepit iisdem illis consulibus iterum duobus,<sup>2</sup> quibus erat natus, evenitque ut eo ipso die Lucretius poeta decederet. Sed Vergilius a Cremona Mediolanum et  
8 inde paulo post transiit in urbem. Corpore et statura fuit grandi, aquilo colore, facie rusticana, valetudine varia; nam plerumque a stomacho et a faucibus ac dolore capitis laborabat, sanguinem  
9 etiam saepe reiecit. Cibi vini que minimi; libidinis in pueros pronioris,<sup>3</sup> quorum maxime dilexit Cebetem et Alexandrum, quem secunda "Bucolicorum" egloga Alexim appellat, donatum sibi ab Asinio Pollione, utrumque non ineruditum, Cebetem vero et poetam. Vulgatum est consuesse eum et cum  
10 Plotia Hieria. Sed Asconius Pedianus adfirmat, ipsam postea maiorem natu narrare solitam, invitatum quidem a Vario ad communionem sui, verum  
11 pertinacissime recusasse. Cetera sane vitae et ore et animo tam probum constat, ut Neapoli Parthenias vulgo appellatus sit, ac si quando Romae, quo rarissime commeabat, viseretur in publico, sectantis demonstrantisque se subterfugeret<sup>4</sup> in proximum  
12 tectum. Bona autem cuiusdam exsulantis offerente  
13 Augusto non sustinuit accipere. Possedit prope

<sup>1</sup> XVII, BP; VII, G.    <sup>2</sup> duobus, omitted by G.

<sup>3</sup> promoris, G; pronior his, BP.

<sup>4</sup> subter fugere, G; subterfugere solitum, G; suffugere, BP; suffugeret, Reiff.

## ON POETS—VERGIL

pregnant and newly delivered women, who made and paid vows beneath it.

Vergil spent his early life at Cremona until he assumed the gown of manhood, upon his fifteenth birthday, in the consulship of the same two men who had been consuls the year he was born; and it chanced that the poet Lucretius died that very same day. Vergil, however, moved from Cremona to Mediolanum, and shortly afterwards from there to Rome. He was tall and of full habit, with a dark complexion and a rustic appearance. His health was variable; for he very often suffered from stomach and throat troubles, as well as with headache; and he also had frequent haemorrhages. He ate and drank but little. He was especially given to passions for boys, and his special favourites were Cebes and Alexander, whom he calls Alexis in the second poem of his "Bucolics." This boy was given him by Asinius Pollio, and both his favourites had some education, while Cebes was even a poet. It is common report that he also had an intrigue with Plotia Hieria. But Asconius Pedianus declares that she herself used to say afterwards, when she was getting old, that Vergil was invited by Varius to associate with her, but obstinately refused. Certain it is that for the rest of his life he was so modest in speech and thought, that at Naples he was commonly called "Parthenias,"<sup>a</sup> and that whenever he appeared in public in Rome, where he very rarely went, he would take refuge in the nearest house, to avoid those who followed and pointed him out. Moreover, when Augustus offered him the property of a man who had been exiled, he could not make up his mind

55 B.C.

<sup>a</sup> "The Maiden."

## THE LIVES OF ILLUSTRIOUS MEN

- centiens sestertium ex liberalitatibus amicorum  
habuitque domum Romae Esquiliis iuxta hortos  
Maecenatianos, quamquam secessu Campaniae  
14 Siciliaeque plurimum uteretur. Parentes iam  
grandis amisit, ex quibus patrem captum oculis,  
et duos fratres germanos, Silonem inpuberem,  
Flaccum iam adultum, cuius exitum sub nomine  
15 Daphnidis deflet. Inter cetera studia medicinae  
quoque ac maxime mathematicae operam dedit.  
Egit et causam apud iudices unam omnino nec  
16 amplius quam semel; nam et in sermone tardis-  
simum eum ac paene indocto similem fuisse Melissus  
tradidit.
- 17 Poeticam puer adhuc auspiciatus in Ballistam ludi  
magistrum ob infamiam latrociniorum coopertum  
lapidibus distichon fecit:

“Monte sub hoc lapidum tegitur Ballista sepultus;  
Nocte die tutum carpe, viator, iter.”

- Deinde “Catalepton”<sup>1</sup> et “Priapea” et “Epigram-  
mata” et “Diras,” item “Cirim” et “Culicem,” cum  
18 esset annorum XVI. Cuius materia talis est. Pastor  
fatigatus aestu cum sub arbore condormisset et  
serpens ad eum proriperet,<sup>2</sup> e palude culex provolavit  
atque inter duo tempora aculeum fixit pastori. At  
ille continuo culicem contrivit<sup>3</sup> et serpentem in-

<sup>1</sup> *The mss. have catalecton.*

<sup>2</sup> *proriperet, B<sup>1</sup>P; praereperet, G.*

<sup>3</sup> *attrivit (adt-), B<sup>1</sup>P.*

## ON POETS—VERGIL

to accept it. He possessed nearly ten million ses-  
terces from the generous gifts of friends, and he had  
a house at Rome on the Esquiline, near the gardens  
of Maecenas, although he usually lived in retirement  
in Campania and in Sicily.

He was already grown up when he lost his parents,  
of whom his father previously went blind, and two  
own brothers: Silo, who died in childhood, and  
Flaccus, who lived to grow up, and whose death he  
laments under the name of Daphnis.<sup>a</sup>

Among other studies he gave attention also to  
medicine and in particular to mathematics. He  
pleaded one single case in court too, but no more;  
for, as Melissus has told us, he spoke very slowly and  
almost like an uneducated man.

He made his first attempt at poetry when he was  
still a boy, composing the following couplet on a  
schoolmaster called Ballista, who was stoned to death  
because of his evil reputation for brigandage:

“Under this mountain of stones Ballista is covered  
and buried;  
Wayfarer, now night and day follow your course  
without fear.”

Then he wrote the “Catalepton,” “Priapea,”  
“Epigrams” and the “Dirae,” as well as the  
“Ciris” and the “Culex” when he was sixteen  
years old. The story of the “Culex” is this. When  
a shepherd, exhausted by the heat, had fallen asleep  
under a tree, and a snake was creeping upon him, a  
gnat flew from a marsh and stung the shepherd  
between his two temples; he at once crushed the

<sup>a</sup> *Ecl. 5. 20.*

## THE LIVES OF ILLUSTRIOUS MEN

teremit ac sepulchrum culici statuit et distichon fecit:

“Parve culex, pecudum custos tibi tale merenti  
Funeris officium vitae pro munere reddit.”

- 19 Scripsit etiam de qua ambigitur “Aetnam.” Mox cum res Romanas inchoasset, offensus materia ad “Bucolica” transiit, maxime ut Asinium Pollionem, Alfenum Varum et Cornelium Gallum celebraret, quia in distributione agrorum, qui post Philippensem victoriam veteranis triumvirorum iussu trans Padum
- 20 dividebantur, indemnem se praestitissent. Deinde scripsit “Georgica” in honorem Maecenatis, qui sibi mediocriter adhuc noto opem tulisset adversus veterani cuiusdam violentiam, a quo in altercatione
- 21 litis agrariae paulum afuit quin occideretur. Novissime “Aeneidem” inchoavit, argumentum varium ac multiplex et quasi amborum Homeri carminum instar, praeterea nominibus ac rebus Graecis Latinisque commune, et in quo, quod maxime studebat, Romanae simul urbis et Augusti origo contineretur.
- 22 Cum “Georgica” scriberet, traditur cotidie meditato mane plurimos versus dictare solitus ac per totum diem retractando ad paucissimos redigere, non

\* *Culex*, 413 f.

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gnat and killed the snake; then he made a tomb for the insect, inscribed with this couplet:

“Thee, tiny gnat, well deserving, the flock’s grateful keeper now offers  
For the gift of his life due funeral rites in requital.”<sup>a</sup>

He also wrote the “Aetna,” though its authorship is disputed. Presently he began to write of Roman story, but thinking himself unequal to the subject, turned to the “Bucolics,” especially in order to sing the praises of Asinius Pollio, Alfenus Varus, and Cornelius Gallus, because at the time of the assignment of the lands beyond the Po, which were divided among the veterans by order of the triumvirs after the victory at Philippi, these men had saved him from ruin. Then he wrote the “Georgics” in honour of Maecenas, because he had rendered him aid, when the poet was still but little known, against the violence of one of the veterans, from whom Vergil narrowly escaped death in a quarrel about his farm. Last of all he began the “Aeneid,” a varied and complicated theme, and as it were a mirror of both the poems of Homer; moreover it treated Greek and Latin personages and affairs in common, and contained at the same time an account of the origin of the city of Rome and of Augustus, which was the poet’s special aim. When he was writing the “Georgics,” it is said to have been his custom to dictate each day a large number of verses which he had composed in the morning, and then to spend the rest of the day in reducing them to a very small number, wittily

42 B.C.



## THE LIVES OF ILLUSTRIOUS MEN

absurde carmen se more ursae parere dicens et  
 23 lambendo demum effingere. "Aeneida" prosa prius  
 oratione formatam digestamque in XII libros particu-  
 24 nihil in ordinem arripiens. Ac<sup>1</sup> ne quid impetum  
 moraretur, quaedam imperfecta transmisit, alia  
 levissimis verbis veluti fulsit, quae per iocum pro tibi-  
 cinibus interponi aiebat ad sustinendum opus, donec  
 25 solidae columnae advenirent. "Bucolica" triennio,  
 "Georgica" VII, "Aeneida" XI perfecit annis.  
 26 "Bucolica" eo successu edidit, ut in scena<sup>2</sup> quoque per  
 27 cantores crebro pronuntiarentur. "Georgica" reverso  
 post Actiacam victoriam Augusto atque Atellae  
 reficiendarum faucium causa commoranti per con-  
 tinuum quadriduum legit, suscipiente Maecenate  
 legendi vicem, quotiens interPELLARETUR ipse vocis  
 28 offensio. Pronuntiabat autem cum suavitate et<sup>3</sup>  
 29 lenociniis miris. Ac<sup>4</sup> Seneca tradidit, Iulium  
 Montanum poetam solitum dicere, involaturum se  
 Vergilio quaedam, si et vocem posset et os et  
 hypocrisin; eosdem enim versus ipso pronuntiante  
 30 bene sonare, sine illo inanes esse mutosque. "Aenei-  
 dos" vixdum coeptae tanta exstitit fama, ut Sextus  
 Propertius non dubitaverit sic praedicare :

"Cedite, Romani scriptores, cedite Grai:  
 Nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade."

<sup>1</sup> ac, G; ut, BP.    <sup>2</sup> scenam, BP; sena, G.

<sup>3</sup> suavitate et, γ; suavitate cum, BP; suavitatem, G.

<sup>4</sup> ac, Hagen; et, Reiff.; ut, mss.

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remarking that he fashioned his poem after the manner of a she-bear, and gradually licked it into shape. In the case of the "Aeneid," after writing a first draft in prose and dividing it into twelve books, he proceeded to turn into verse one part after another, taking them up just as he fancied, in no particular order. And that he might not check the flow of his thought, he left some things unfinished, and, so to speak, bolstered others up with very slight words, which, as he jocosely used to say, were put in like props, to support the structure until the solid columns should arrive.

The "Bucolics" he finished in three years, the "Georgics" in seven, the "Aeneid" in twelve. The success of the "Bucolics" on their first appearance was such, that they were even frequently rendered by singers on the stage. When Augustus was returning after his victory at Actium and lingered at Atella to treat his throat, Vergil read the "Georgics" to him for four days in succession, Maecenas taking his turn at the reading whenever the poet was interrupted by the failure of his voice. His own delivery, however, was sweet and wonderfully effective. In fact, Seneca has said that the poet Julius Montanus used to declare that he would have purloined some of Vergil's work, if he could also have stolen his voice, expression, and dramatic power; for the same verses sounded well when Vergil read them, which on another's lips were flat and toneless. Hardly was the "Aeneid" begun, when its repute became so great that Sextus Propertius<sup>a</sup> did not hesitate to declare :

"Yield, ye Roman writers; yield, ye Greeks;  
 A greater than the Iliad is born."



## THE LIVES OF ILLUSTRIOUS MEN

- 31 Augustus vero—nam forte expeditione Cantabrica aberat—supplicibus atque etiam minacibus per iocum litteris efflagitarat, ut “sibi de ‘Aeneide,’” ut ipsius verba sunt, “vel prima carminis ὑπογραφή vel quod-
- 32 libet κῶλον mitteretur.” Cui tamen multo post perfectaue demum materia tres omnino libros recitavit, secundum, quartum et sextum, sed hunc notabili Octaviae adfectione, quae cum recitationi interesset, ad illos de filio suo versus, “tu Marcellus eris,”
- 33 defecisse fertur atque aegre fociata est. Recitavit et pluribus, sed neque frequenter et ea fere de quibus ambigebat, quo magis iudicium hominum experiretur.
- 34 Erotem librarium et libertum eius exactae iam senectutis tradunt referre solitum, quondam eum in recitando duos dimidiatos versus complese ex tempore. Nam cum hactenus haberet: “Misenum Aeoliden” adiecisse: “quo non praestantior alter,” item huic: “aere ciere viros,” simili calore iactatum subiunxisse: “Martemque accendere cantu,” statimque sibi imperasse ut utrumque volumini ascriberet.
- 35 Anno aetatis quinquagesimo secundo inpositurus “Aeneidi” summam manum statuit in Graeciam et in Asiam secedere triennioque continuo nihil amplius quam emendare, ut reliqua vita tantum philosophiae vacaret. Sed cum ingressus iter Athenis occurrisset Augusto ab Oriente Romam revertenti destinaretque<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> destinaretque, G; destinareque, B<sup>1</sup>P.

• Aen. 6. 884 f.

• Aen. 6. 164.

• Aen. 6. 165.

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Augustus indeed (for it chanced that he was away on his Cantabrian campaign) demanded in entreating and even jocosely threatening letters that Vergil send him “something from the ‘Aeneid’”; to use his own words, “either the first draft of the poem or any section of it that he pleased.” But it was not until long afterwards, when the material was at last in shape, that Vergil read to him three books in all, the second, fourth, and sixth. The last of these produced a remarkable effect on Octavia, who was present at the reading; for it is said that when he reached the verses about her son, “Thou shalt be Marcellus,”<sup>a</sup> she fainted and was with difficulty revived. He gave readings also to larger audiences but never frequently, and he selected for the most part passages about which he was in doubt, in order to get the benefit of criticism. They say that Eros, his amanuensis and freedman, used to report, when he was an old man, that Vergil once completed two half-verses off-hand in the course of a reading. For having before him merely the words “Misenum Aeoliden,” he added “quo non praestantior alter,”<sup>b</sup> and again to “aere ciere viros” he joined “Martemque accendere cantu,”<sup>c</sup> thrown off with like inspiration, and he immediately ordered Eros to add both half-lines to his manuscript.

In the fifty-second year of his age, wishing to give the final touch to the “Aeneid,” he determined to go away to Greece and Asia, and after devoting three entire years to the sole work of improving his poem, to give up the rest of his life wholly to philosophy. But having begun his journey, and at Athens meeting Augustus, who was on his way back to Rome from the Orient, he resolved not to part

## THE LIVES OF ILLUSTRIOUS MEN

non absistere atque etiam una redire, dum Megara vicinum oppidum ferventissimo sole cognoscit, languorem nactus est eumque non intermissa navigatione auxit ita ut gravior<sup>1</sup> aliquanto Brundisium appelleret, ubi diebus paucis obiit XI Kal. Octobr.

36 Cn. Sentio Q. Lucretio cons. Ossa eius Neapolim translata sunt tumuloque condita qui est via Puteolana intra lapidem secundum, in quo distichon fecit tale :

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

37 Heredes fecit ex dimidia parte Valerium Proculum fratrem alio patre, ex quarta Augustum, ex duodecima Maecenatem, ex reliqua L. Varium et Plotium Tuccam, qui eius “Aeneida” post obitum iussu

38 Caesaris emendaverunt. De qua re Sulpicii Carthaginiensis exstant huiusmodi versus :

“Iusserat haec rapidis aboleri carmina flammis  
Vergilius, Phrygium quae cecinere ducem.  
Tucca vetat Variusque; simul tu, maxime Caesar,  
Non sinis et Latiae consulis historiae.  
Infelix gemino cecidit prope Pergamon igni,  
Et paene est alio Troia cremata<sup>2</sup> rogo.”

<sup>1</sup> gravior, *ms.*; aegrior, *Hagen.*

<sup>2</sup> cremata sepulta, *G*; sepulta, *Hagen.*

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from the emperor and even to return with him; but in the course of a visit to the neighbouring town of Megara in a very hot sun, he was taken with a fever, and added to his disorder by continuing his journey; hence on his arrival at Brundisium he was considerably worse, and died there on the eleventh day before the Kalends of October, in the consulship of Gnaeus Sentius and Quintus Lucretius. His ashes were taken to Naples and laid to rest on the via Puteolana less than two miles from the city, in a tomb for which he himself composed this couplet :

Sept. 21,  
19 B.C.

“Mantua gave me the light, Calabria slew me; now holds me Parthenope. I have sung shepherds, the country, and wars.”

He named as his heirs Valerius Proculus, his half-brother, to one-half of his estate, Augustus to one-fourth, Maecenas to one-twelfth; the rest he left to Lucius Varius and Plotius Tucca, who revised the “Aeneid” after his death by order of Augustus. With regard to this matter we have the following verses of Sulpicius of Carthage :

“Vergil had bidden these songs by swift flame be turned into ashes,  
Songs which sang of thy fates, Phrygia’s leader renowned.  
Varius and Tucca forbade, and thou, too, greatest of Caesars,  
Adding your veto to theirs, Latium’s story preserved.  
All but twice in the flames unhappy Pergamum perished  
Troy on a second pyre narrowly failed of her doom.”

## THE LIVES OF ILLUSTRIOUS MEN

39 Egerat cum Vario, priusquam Italia decederet, ut  
 siquid sibi accidisset, "Aeneida" combureret; at is<sup>1</sup>  
 ita facturum se pernegarat; igitur in extrema valedi-  
 tudine assidue scrinia desideravit, crematurus ipse;  
 40 verum nemine offerente nihil quidem nominatim de  
 ea cavuit. Ceterum eidem Vario ac simul Tuccae  
 scripta sua sub ea condicione legavit, ne quid  
 41 ederent, quod non a se editum esset. Edidit autem  
 auctore Augusto Varius, sed summatim emendata, ut  
 qui versus etiam imperfectos sicut<sup>2</sup> erant reliquerit;  
 quos multi mox supplere conati non perinde valuerunt  
 ob difficultatem, quod omnia fere apud eum hemi-  
 stichia absoluto perfectoque sunt sensu, praeter illud:  
 42 "quem tibi iam Troia." Nisus grammaticus audisse  
 se a senioribus aiebat, Varium duorum librorum  
 ordinem commutasse, et qui tunc secundus esset<sup>3</sup> in  
 tertium locum transtulisse, etiam primi libri correxisse  
 principium, his versibus demptis:

"Ille ego qui quondam gracili modulatus avena  
 Carmina et egressus silvis vicina coegi,  
 Ut quamvis avido parerent arva colono,  
 Gratum opus agricolis, at nunc horrentia Martis—  
 Arma virumque cano."

<sup>1</sup> at is, *Hagen*; sed is, *Reiff.*; et is, *BP*; omitted (Italia  
 . . . at is) by *G.*

<sup>2</sup> sicut, *Gronov.*; si qui, *mss.*

<sup>3</sup> tunc . . . esset, *Hagen*; nunc . . . sit, *mss.*

\* Cf. *Aug.* ci. 3.

<sup>†</sup> *Aen.* 3. 340. This is no real exception, for we probably  
 have the line as Vergil intended to leave it. Andromache  
 purposely avoids naming the *amissae parentis* (341).

## ON POETS—VERGIL

He had arranged with Varius, before leaving Italy,  
 that if anything befell him<sup>a</sup> his friend should burn  
 the "Aeneid"; but Varius had emphatically declared  
 that he would do no such thing. Therefore in his  
 mortal illness Vergil constantly called for his book-  
 boxes, intending to burn the poem himself; but  
 when no one brought them to him, he made no  
 specific request about the matter, but left his writ-  
 ings jointly to the above mentioned Varius and to  
 Tucca, with the stipulation that they should publish  
 nothing which he himself would not have given to  
 the world. However, Varius published the "Aeneid"  
 at Augustus' request, making only a few slight cor-  
 rections, and even leaving the incomplete lines just  
 as they were. These last many afterwards tried to  
 finish, but did not wholly succeed owing to the  
 difficulty that nearly all his half-lines are complete  
 in sense and meaning, except "Quem tibi iam  
 Troia."<sup>b</sup> The grammarian Nisus used to say that he  
 had heard from older men that Varius changed the  
 order of two of the books and made what was then the  
 second book the third; also that he emended the  
 beginning of the first book by striking out the  
 lines:

"I who on slender reed once rustic numbers did  
 render,  
 Parting then from the groves, commanded the  
 neighbouring fallows  
 Tribute to pay to their lords, however much they  
 exacted,  
 Task hailed with joy by the hind; but now dread  
 deeds of the war-god,  
 Arms and the hero I sing."

## THE LIVES OF ILLUSTRIOUS MEN

43 *Obtrectatores Vergilio numquam defuerunt, nec mirum; nam nec Homero quidem. Prolatis "Bucolicis" Numitorius quidam rescripsit "Antibucolica," duas modo eglogas, sed insulsissime παραδήσας quarum prioris initium est:*

"Tityre, si toga calda tibi est, quo tegmine fagi?"

sequentis:

"Dic mihi Damoeta: 'cuium pecus' anne Latinum?"

Non. Verum Aegonis nostri, sic rure locuntur."

44 *Alius recitante eo ex "Georgicis": "nudus ara, sere nudus" subiecit: "habebis frigore febrem." Est et adversus "Aeneida" liber Carvili Pictoris, titulo "Aeneomastix." M. Vipsanius a Maecenate eum suppositum appellabat, novae cacozeliae repertorem, non tumidae nec exilis, sed ex communibus verbis, atque ideo latentis. Herennius tantum vitia eius,*  
 45 *Perellius Faustus furta contraxit. Sed et Q. Octavi Aviti 'Ομοιοτήτων octo volumina quos et unde versus*  
 46 *transtulerit continent. Asconius Pedianus libro, quem "Contra obtrectatores Vergilii" scripsit, pauca admodum obiecta ei proponit eaque circa historiam fere et quod pleraque ab Homero sumpsisset; sed*

\* "Plough naked, naked sow."

† "A chill will give you the fever."

‡ The scourge of Aeneas.

§ See *Aug. lxxxvi. 2; Quint. viii. 3, 56.*

## ON POETS—VERGIL

Vergil never lacked detractors, which is not strange; for neither did Homer. When the "Bucolics" appeared, a certain Numitorius wrote "Anti-bucolics," consisting of but two poems, which were a very insipid parody. The first began as follows:

"Tityrus, if a warm toga you have, why then a beech mantle?"

The second:—

"Tell me, Damoetas, I pray, is 'cuium pecus' really good Latin?  
 Nay, but our Aegon's way, and thus men talk in the country."

Another man, when Vergil recited from his "Georgics," "nudus ara, sere nudus,"<sup>a</sup> added "habebis frigore febrem."<sup>b</sup> There is also a book in criticism of the "Aeneid" by Carvilius Pictor, called "Aeneomastix."<sup>c</sup> Marcus Vipsanius called Vergil a supposititious child of Maecenas, the inventor of a new kind of affected language,<sup>d</sup> neither bombastic nor of studied simplicity, but in ordinary words and hence less obvious. Herennius made selections confined to his defects, and Perellius Fausta to his pilferings. More than that, the eight volumes of Quintus Octavius Avitus, entitled "Resemblances," contain the verses which he borrowed, with their sources. Asconius Pedianus, in a book which he wrote "Against the Detractors of Vergil," sets forth a very few of the charges against him, and those for the most part dealing with history and with the accusation that he borrowed a great deal from Homer; but he says that Vergil used to meet this

## THE LIVES OF ILLUSTRIOUS MEN

hoc ipsum crimen sic defendere adsuetum ait: cur non illi quoque eadem furta temptarent? Verum intellecturos facilius esse Herculi clavam quam Homero versum subripere. Et tamen destinasse secedere ut omnia ad satietatem malevolorum decideret.

## ON POETS—VERGIL

latter accusation with these words: "Why don't my critics also attempt the same thefts? If they do, they will realize that it is easier to filch his club from Hercules than a line from Homer." Yet Asconius says that Vergil had intended to go into retirement, in order to prune down everything to the satisfaction of carping critics.

VITA HORATI

Q. HORATIUS FLACCUS, Venusinus, patre ut ipse tradit libertino et exactionum coactore (ut vero<sup>1</sup> creditum est salsamentario, cum illi quidam in altercatione exprobrasset<sup>2</sup>: "Quotiens ego vidi patrem tuum brachio se emungentem!") bello Philippensi excitus a Marco Bruto imperatore, tribunus militum meruit; victisque partibus venia impetrata scriptum quaestorium comparavit. Ac primo Maecenati, mox Augusto insinuatus non mediocrem in amborum amicitia locum tenuit. Maecenas quantopere eum dilexerit<sup>3</sup> satis testatur<sup>4</sup> illo epigrammate:

"Ni te visceribus meis, Horati,  
Plus iam diligo, tu tuum sodalem  
Ninnio<sup>5</sup> videas strigiosorem";

sed multo magis extremis iudiciis tali ad Augustum elogio: "Horati Flacci ut mei esto memor"<sup>1</sup>

Augustus<sup>6</sup> epistolarum quoque ei officium optulit, ut<sup>7</sup> hoc ad Maecenatem scripto significat: "Ante

<sup>1</sup> vero, *Muretus*; vere, *mss.*; fere, *Casaubon*.

<sup>2</sup> exprobrasset, *Fl.*

<sup>3</sup> dilexerit, *ϛ*; the other *mss.* have dilexit.

<sup>4</sup> testatur, *Fl.*; monstratur, *V.*

<sup>5</sup> nimio, *mss.* (niniio, *φ*); Ninnio, *P. Pithoeus*; hinnulo, *Oudendorp*; hinno me, *Lambinus*; simio, *Sudhaus*.

<sup>6</sup> Augustus . . . Caesar (p. 488, l. 8) omitted in *ϛ*.

<sup>7</sup> ut, added by *Lambinus*.

LIFE OF HORACE

QUINTUS HORATIUS FLACCUS of Venusia had for a father, as he himself writes, a freedman who was a collector of money at auctions; but it is believed that he was a dealer in salted provisions, for a certain man in a quarrel thus taunted Horace: "How often have I seen your father wiping his nose with his arm!" Horace served as tribune of the soldiers in the war of Philippi, at the instance of Marcus Brutus, one of the leaders in that war. When his party was vanquished, he was pardoned and purchased the position of a quaestor's clerk. Then contriving to win the favour, first of Maecenas and later of Augustus, he held a prominent place among the friends of both. How fond Maecenas was of him is evident enough from the well known epigram:

"If that I do not love you, my own Horace, more than life itself, behold your comrade leaner than Ninnius."<sup>a</sup>

But he expressed himself much more strongly in his last will and testament in this brief remark to Augustus: "Be as mindful of Horatius Flaccus as of myself." Augustus offered him the post of secretary, as appears in this letter of his to Maecenas: "Before this I was able to write my

<sup>a</sup> Ninnius is unknown, but if the reading be correct, he was notorious for his leanness; cf. *Telegenius, Claud. xl. 3.*

ipse sufficebam scribendis epistulis amicorum, nunc occupatissimus et infirmus Horatium nostrum a<sup>1</sup> te cupio abducere. Veniet ergo ab ista parasitica mensa ad hanc regiam, et nos in epistulis scribendis iuvabit." Ac ne recusanti quidem aut suscensuit quicquam aut amicitiam suam ingerere desiit. Exstant epistolae, e quibus argumenti gratia pauca subieci: "Sume tibi aliquid iuris apud me, tamquam si convictor mihi fueris; recte enim et non temere feceris, quoniam id usus mihi tecum esse volui, si per validitatem tuam fieri possit." Et rursus: "Tui qualem habeam memoriam, poteris ex Septimio quoque nostro audire; nam incidit ut illo coram fieret a me tui mentio. Neque enim si tu superbus amicitiam nostram sprevisi, ideo nos quoque ἀνθυπερηφανοῦμεν." <sup>2</sup> Praeterea saepe eum inter alios iocos "purissimum penem" <sup>3</sup> et "homuncionem lepidissimum" appellat, unaque et altera liberalitate locupletavit. Scripta quidem eius usque adeo probavit mansuraque perpetuo <sup>4</sup> opinatus est, ut non modo Saeculare carmen componendum iniunxerit sed et Vindelicam victoriam Tiberii Drusique, privignorum suorum, eumque coegerit propter hoc tribus Carminum libris ex longo intervallo quartum addere; post sermones vero quosdam lectos nullam sui mentionem habitam ita sit questus: "Irasci me tibi scito, quod non in

<sup>1</sup> a, added by Nannius. <sup>2</sup> Casaubon.

<sup>3</sup> penem, Muretus; pene, mss.

<sup>4</sup> perpetuo, V; the other mss. have perpetua.

\* It seems probable that there is a word-play on the double sense of *rex*, "king" and "wealthy patron," since Augustus would hardly use *regiam* literally of his table. The meaning would then be "let the parasite change tables (and patrons)."

<sup>b</sup> See Th. Birt, Müller's *Handbuch*, 1<sup>3</sup>. 3. 166.

letters to my friends with my own hand; now overwhelmed with work and in poor health, I desire to take our friend Horace from you. He will come then from that parasitic table of yours to my imperial board, and help me write my letters." <sup>a</sup> Even when Horace declined, Augustus showed no resentment at all, and did not cease his efforts to gain his friendship. We have letters from which I append a few extracts by way of proof: "Enjoy any privilege at my house, as if you were making your home there; for it will be quite right and proper for you to do so, inasmuch as that was the relation which I wished to have with you, if your health had permitted." And again, "How mindful I am of you our friend Septimius can also tell you; for it chanced that I spoke of you in his presence. Even if you were so proud as to scorn my friendship, I do not therefore return your disdain." Besides this, among other pleasantries, he often calls him "a most immaculate libertine" <sup>b</sup> and "his charming little man," and he made him well to do by more than one act of generosity. As to his writings, Augustus rated them so high, and was so convinced that they would be immortal, that he not only appointed him to write the Secular Hymn, but also bade him celebrate the victory of his stepsons Tiberius and Drusus over the Vindelici, and so compelled him to add a fourth to his three books of lyrics after a long silence. Furthermore, after reading several of his "talks," <sup>c</sup> the Emperor thus expressed his pique that no mention was made of him: "You must know that I am

<sup>c</sup> *Sermones* was apparently the title which Horace gave his "Satires"; here *sermones* is used in a general sense (cf. Hor. *Epist.* ii. 1. 4, 250), and might include *sermones* and *epistolae*, or *epistolae* alone, and ii. 1. 250.



## THE LIVES OF ILLUSTRIOUS MEN

plerisque eius modi scriptis mecum potissimum loquaris; an vereris ne apud posteros infame tibi sit, quod videaris familiaris nobis esse?" Expressitque eclogam ad se, cuius initium est:

"Cum tot sustineas et tanta negotia solus,  
Res Italas armis tuteris, moribus ornes,  
Legibus emendes: in publica commoda peccem,  
Si longo sermone morer tua tempora, Caesar."

Habitu corporis fuit brevis atque obesus, qualis et a semet ipso in saturis describitur et ab Augusto hac epistula: "Pertulit ad me Onysius libellum tuum, quem ego ut excusantem,<sup>1</sup> quantuluscumque est, boni consulo. Vereri autem mihi videris ne maiores libelli tui sint, quam ipse es; sed tibi statura deest, corpusculum non deest. Itaque licebit in sextariolo scribas, ut circuitus voluminis tui sit *ὀγκωδέστατος*, sicut est ventriculi tui."

Ad res Venerias intemperantior traditur; nam speculato cubiculo scorta dicitur habuisse disposita, ut quocumque respexisset ibi ei imago coitus referretur. Vixit plurimum in secessu ruris sui Sabini aut Tiburtini, domusque eius<sup>2</sup> ostenditur circa Tiburni luculum. \* \* \* \*<sup>3</sup> Venerunt in manus meas et elegi sub titulo eius et epistula prosa oratione quasi commendantis se Maecenati, sed utraque falsa puto; nam elegi vulgares, epistula etiam obscura, quo vitio minime tenebatur.

<sup>1</sup> accusantem, *mss.*; excusantem, *Reiff.*; ut accusem te, *Bentley.*

<sup>2</sup> eius, *V*; the other *mss.* omit.

<sup>3</sup> *O. Jahn* indicated a lacuna; there is no mention of *Horace's* genuine works.

<sup>a</sup> *Epist.* 2. 1. 1 ff.

<sup>b</sup> *Epist.* 1. 4. 15; 1. 20. 24; see note on p. 487.

## ON POETS—HORACE

not pleased with you, that in your numerous writings of this kind you do not talk with me, rather than with others. Are you afraid that your reputation with posterity will suffer because it appears that you were my friend?" In this way he forced from Horace the selection which begins with these words:

"Seeing that single-handed thou dost bear the burden of tasks so many and so great, protecting Italy's realm with arms, providing it with morals, reforming it by laws, I should sin against the public weal, Caesar, if I wasted thy time with long discourse."<sup>a</sup>

In person he was short and fat, as he is described with his own pen in his satires<sup>b</sup> and by Augustus in the following letter: "Onysius has brought me your little volume, and I accept it, small as it is, in good part, as an apology. But you seem to me to be afraid that your books may be bigger than you are yourself; but it is only stature that you lack, not girth. So you may write on a pint pot, that the circumference of your volume may be well rounded out, like that of your own belly."

It is said that he was immoderately lustful; for it is reported that in a room lined with mirrors he had harlots so arranged that whichever way he looked, he saw a reflection of venery. He lived for the most part in the country on his Sabine or Tiburtine estate, and his house is pointed out near the little grove of Tiburnus. I possess some elegies attributed to his pen and a letter in prose, supposed to be a recommendation of himself to Maecenas, but I think that both are spurious; for the elegies are commonplace and the letter is besides obscure, which was by no means one of his faults.



## THE LIVES OF ILLUSTRIOUS MEN

Natus est VI Idus Decembris L. Cotta et L. Torquato consulibus, decessit V Kl. Decembris C. Marcio<sup>1</sup> Censorino et C. Asinio Gallo consulibus post nonum et quinquagesimum diem quam Maecenas obierat, aetatis agens septimum et quinquagesimum<sup>2</sup> annum, herede Augusto palam nuncupato, cum urgente vi valitudinis non sufficeret ad obsignandas testamenti tabulas. Humatus et conditus est extremis Esquiliis iuxta Maecenatis tumulum.

<sup>1</sup> Marcio, *Bongars*; mario, *mss.*

<sup>2</sup> diem . . . quinquagesimum, *supplied by Vahlen; see Hermes, 33. 245.*

## ON POETS—HORACE

He was born on the sixth day before the Ides of December in the consulate of Lucius Cotta and Lucius Torquatus, and died on the fifth day before the Kalends of the same month in the consulship of Gaius Marcus Censorinus and Gaius Asinius Gallus, fifty-nine days after the death of Maecenas, in his fifty-seventh year. He named Augustus as his heir by word of mouth, since he could not make and sign a will because of the sudden violence of his ailment. He was buried and laid to rest near the tomb of Maecenas on the farther part of the Esquiline Hill.

Dec. 8,  
65 B.C.

Nov. 27,  
8 B.C.

VITA TIBULLI

“TE quoque Vergilio comitem non aequa, Tibulle,  
Mors iuvenem campos misit ad Elysios,  
Ne foret, aut elegis molles qui fleret amores  
Aut caneret forti regia bella pede.”

Albius Tibullus eques Romanus,<sup>1</sup> insignis forma cultuque corporis observabilis, ante alios Corvinum Messalam oratorem<sup>2</sup> dilexit, cuius etiam contubernalis Aquitanico bello militaribus donis donatus est. Hic multorum iudicio principem inter elegiographos obtinet locum. Epistolae quoque eius amatoriae, quamquam breves, omnino utiles sunt. Obiit adolescens, ut indicat epigramma supra scriptum.

<sup>1</sup> eques Romanus, ψ; eques Regalis, A; eques R(omanus)

<sup>e</sup> Gablis Böhrens.

<sup>2</sup> oratorem, ψ; originem, A.

THE LIFE OF TIBULLUS

“THEE too, Tibullus, companion of Vergil, envious death sent in youth to the Elysian fields, that there might be no one to mourn tender loves in elegy, or sing the wars of kings in heroic verse.”<sup>a</sup>

Albius Tibullus, a Roman knight, remarkable for his good looks and conspicuous for his personal elegance, was devoted above all others to Messala Corvinus the orator. He was his tent companion<sup>b</sup> in the war in Aquitania<sup>c</sup> and was given military prizes.<sup>d</sup> In the judgment of many men he holds the first place among writers of elegy. His amatory letters, too, though short are very useful.<sup>e</sup> He died in youth, as is indicated by the epigram written above.

<sup>a</sup> Written by Domitius Marsus.      <sup>b</sup> Cf. *Jul.* ii.

<sup>c</sup> Messala was sent to Aquitania soon after the battle of Actium (*App. B.C.* 4. 38); he celebrated his triumph in 27 B.C.

<sup>d</sup> See *Aug.* xxv. 3.

<sup>e</sup> This is quite meaningless, so far as anything we know of Tibullus is concerned.

80-27  
B.C.

VITA AULI PERSI FLACCI

AULUS PERSIUS FLACCUS natus est pridie Nonas Decembris Fabio Persico L. Vitellio coss., decessit VIII Kalendas Decembris P.<sup>1</sup> Mario Afinio<sup>2</sup> Gallo coss.

Natus in Etruria Volaterris, eques Romanus, sanguine et affinitate primi ordinis viris coniunctus. Decessit ad octavum miliarium via Appia in praediis suis.

Pater cum Flaccus pupillum reliquit moriens annorum fere sex. Fulvia Sisennia mater eius<sup>3</sup> nupsit postea Fusio<sup>4</sup> equiti Romano et cum quoque extulit intra paucos annos.

Studuit Flaccus usque ad annum XII aetatis suae Volaterris, inde Romae apud grammaticum Remmiam Palaemonem et apud rhetorem Verginium Flavum.

Cum esset annorum XVI, amicitia coepit uti Annaei Cornuti ita ut nusquam ab eo discederet; a quo inductus aliquatenus in philosophiam est.

Amicos habuit a prima adulescentia Caesium Bassum poetam et Calpurnium Staturam, qui vivo eo iuvenis decessit. Coluit ut<sup>5</sup> patrem Servilium Nonianum. Cognovit per Cornutum etiam Annaeum

<sup>1</sup> Publio, *Lipsius*; rubio or rubric, *ms.*

<sup>2</sup> Asinio, *ms.*; cf. *Tac. Ann.* 14. 43.

<sup>3</sup> mater eius, omitted by some *ms.*

<sup>4</sup> Fuscio or Ruscio, *ms.*    <sup>5</sup> ut, omitted by the *ms.*

THE LIFE OF AULUS PERSIUS FLACCUS

AULUS PERSIUS FLACCUS was born the day before the Nones of December in the consulship of Fabius Persicus and Lucius Vitellius, and died on the eighth day before the Kalends of December, when Publius Marius and Afinius Gallus were consuls. He was born at Volaterrae in Etruria, was a Roman knight, but was connected by blood and by marriage with men of the senatorial order. He died on his estate near the eighth milestone of the Appian Way.

Dec. 4,  
84 A.D.

Nov. 24,  
62 A.D.

His father Flaccus died when his son was about six years old, leaving him to the care of a guardian. His mother, Fulvia Sisennia, afterwards married a Roman knight named Fusius, but buried him also within a few years.

Flaccus studied until the twelfth year of his age at Volaterrae, and then at Rome with the grammarian Remmiam Palaemon<sup>a</sup> and the rhetorician Verginius Flavius. When he was sixteen years old he became so intimate a friend of Annaeus Cornutus that he never left his side; and from him he obtained some knowledge of philosophy.

From early youth he enjoyed the friendship of Caesius Bassus, the poet, and of Calpurnius Statura, who died in youth, while Persius still lived. Servilius Nonianus he revered as a father. Through Cornutus he came to know Annaeus Lucanus also, a

<sup>a</sup> See *Gr.* xxiii.

## THE LIVES OF ILLUSTRIOUS MEN

Lucanum aequaevum auditorem Cornuti.<sup>1</sup> Lucanus mirabatur adeo scripta Flacci, ut vix se retineret recitante eo de more quin illa esse vera poemata, sua ludos diceret.<sup>2</sup> Sero cognovit et Senecam, sed non ut caperetur eius ingenio. Usus est apud Cornutum duorum convictu doctissimorum et sanctissimorum virorum acriter tunc philosophantium, Claudii Agathurni medici Lacedaemonii et Petroni Aristocratis Magnetis, quos unice miratus est et aemulatus, cum aequales essent Cornuti, minor esset ipse.<sup>3</sup>

Idem decem fere annis summe dilectus a Paeto Thrasea est ita ut peregrinaretur quoque cum eo aliquando, cognatam eius Arriam uxorem habente.

Fuit morum lenissimorum, verecundiae virginalis, formae pulchrae, pietatis erga matrem et sororem et amitam exemplo sufficientis.

Fuit frugi, pudicus.

Reliquit circa HS viciens matri et sorori scriptis tantum ad matrem codicillis. Cornuto rogavit ut daret sestertia, ut quidam dicunt, C, ut alii, L et argenti facti pondo viginti et libros circa septingentos Chrysippi sive bibliothecam suam omnem. Verum a Cornuto sublatis libris pecunia sororibus, quas heredes frater fecerat, relicta est.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> After Cornuti the mss. have Nam Cornutus illo tempore tragicus (grammaticus, *Martinius*) sectae poeticae (stoicae, *Pithoeus*), qui libros philosophiae reliquit. Sed . . .

<sup>2</sup> suo ludo faceret, *mss.*

<sup>3</sup> minores ipse, *mss.*; minor esset ipse, *Owen.*

<sup>4</sup> pecuniam . . . reliquit et, *mss.*

## ON POETS—PERSIUS

pupil of Cornutus and of the same age as himself. Lucan so admired the writings of Flaccus, that when the author read them in the usual way,<sup>a</sup> he could hardly wait until he finished before saying that they were true poems, and his own mere child's play. Towards the end of his life he made the acquaintance also of Seneca, but was not impressed by his talents.

At the house of Cornutus he enjoyed the society of two learned and venerable men, who were then eagerly pursuing philosophical studies: Claudius Agathurnus, a physician of Lacedaemon, and Petronius Aristocrates of Magnesia, whom he admired exceedingly and emulated, although they were of the same age as Cornutus, while he was a younger man. He was also for nearly ten years so great a favourite of Paetus Thrasea that he sometimes even travelled abroad with him; and Paetus's wife, Arria, was a relative of his.

He was very gentle in manner, of virginal modesty and very handsome; and he showed an exemplary devotion to his mother, sister, and aunt.

He was good and pure.

He left about two million sesterces to his mother and sister, and a letter addressed only to his mother. He requested her to give Cornutus a hundred thousand, as some say, or according to others, fifty thousand sesterces, and twenty pounds of silver plate, besides about seven hundred volumes of Chrysippus, or his entire library. But Cornutus, while accepting the books, turned over the money to the sisters<sup>b</sup> whom their brother had made his heirs.

<sup>a</sup> That is, gave a public reading.

<sup>b</sup> There is clearly something wrong here; elsewhere but one sister is mentioned.

## THE LIVES OF ILLUSTRIOUS MEN

Scriptitavit et raro et tarde. Hunc ipsum librum imperfectum reliquit. Versus aliqui dempti<sup>1</sup> sunt ultimo libro, ut quasi finitus esset. Leviter correxit<sup>2</sup> Cornutus et Caesio Basso petenti, ut ipse ederet, tradidit edendum.

Scripserat in pueritia Flaccus etiam praetextam et hodoeporicon librum unum et paucos in socrum<sup>3</sup> Thraseae<sup>4</sup> versus, quae se ante virum occiderat. Omnia ea auctor fuit Cornutus matri eius ut aboleret.

Editum librum continuo mirari homines et diripere coeperunt.

Decessit autem vitio stomachi anno aetatis XXX.<sup>5</sup>

Sed mox ut a schola magistrisque devertit, lecto Lucili libro decimo vehementer saturas componere studuit. Cuius libri principium imitatus est sibi primo, mox omnibus detrectaturus cum tanta recentium poetarum et oratorum insectatione, ut etiam Neronem principem illius temporis inculpaverit. Cuius versus in Neronem cum ita se haberet "auriculas asini Mida rex habet," in eum modum a Cornuto ipso tantum nomine mutato est emendatus "auriculas asini quis non habet?" ne hoc in se Nero dictum arbitraretur.

<sup>1</sup> Owen suggests additi.

<sup>2</sup> correxit, *Laurentianus*; contraxit or recitavit, *mss.*

<sup>3</sup> in socrum, *Casaubon*; sororum, *mss.*

<sup>4</sup> After Thraseae the *mss.* have in Arriam matrem.

<sup>5</sup> XXIX, *Reizius*.

## ON POETS—PERSIUS

He wrote rarely and slowly. This very volume<sup>a</sup> he left unfinished, and some verses were taken from the last book, that it might have the appearance of completion. Cornutus made some slight corrections, and on the request of Caesius Bassus that he might publish it, turned it over to him for that purpose.

In his boyhood Flaccus had written a *praetexta*,<sup>b</sup> one book describing his travels, and a few verses on the mother-in-law of Thrasea,<sup>c</sup> who had killed herself before her husband. All these Cornutus advised the poet's mother to destroy.

As soon as his book appeared, men began to admire it and to buy it up rapidly.

He died of a stomach trouble in the thirtieth year of his age. As soon as he left school and his teachers, he conceived a strong desire to write satires from reading the tenth book of Lucilius. The beginning of this he imitated with the intention at first of criticizing himself; but presently turning to general criticism,<sup>d</sup> he so assailed the poets and orators of his day, that he even attacked Nero, who was at that time emperor. His verse on Nero read as follows: "King Midas has ass's ears," but Cornutus by merely changing the name, and writing "Who has not an ass's ears?" so altered it that Nero might not think that it was said of him.

<sup>a</sup> The collection of six satires, for which this Life was used as an introduction. <sup>b</sup> A Roman tragedy.

<sup>c</sup> The elder Arria.

<sup>d</sup> Text and meaning are uncertain; see Marx, *Lucilius*, 2, p. 145.

## THE LIVES OF ILLUSTRIOUS MEN

### VITA LUCANI

M. ANNAEUS LUCANUS CORDUBENSIS<sup>1</sup> prima ingenii experimenta in "Neronis laudibus" dedit quinquenniali certamine, dein<sup>2</sup> "Civile Bellum," quod a<sup>3</sup> Pompeio et Caesare gestum est, recitavit,<sup>4</sup> ut praefatione quadam aetatem et initia sua cum Vergilio comparans ausus sit dicere :

"et quantum mihi restat  
Ad Culicem?"

Hic initio adolescentiae, cum ob infestum matrimonium patrem suum ruri agere longissime cognovisset \* \* \* Revocatus Athenis a Nerone cohortique amicorum additus atque etiam quaestura honoratus, non tamen permansit in gratia. Siquidem aegre ferens, recitante<sup>5</sup> se subito ac nulla nisi refrigerandi sui causa indicto senatu recessisse,<sup>6</sup> neque verbis adversus principem neque factis exstantibus<sup>7</sup> post haec temperavit, adeo ut quondam in latrinis publicis

<sup>1</sup> M. . . . Cordubensis, *MB*; omitted by *P*.

<sup>2</sup> *Hosius* indicat a lacuna after dein.

<sup>3</sup> a, *Baumgarten-Crusius*; cum, *mss.*

<sup>4</sup> *Hosius* indicat a lacuna after recitavit; the codex *Berolinensis*, 35 has sub tantae levitatis et immoderatae linguae fuit.

<sup>5</sup> *Reiff. and Hosius* insert quod Nero se before recitante.

<sup>6</sup> recessisset, *MP* (*Reiff., Hosius*).

<sup>7</sup> exstantibus, *M*; excitantibus, *Jahn, Hosius*.

## ON POETS—LUCAN

### THE LIFE OF LUCAN

MARCUS ANNAEUS LUCANUS of Corduba made his first appearance as a poet with a "Eulogy of Nero" at the emperor's Quinquennial Contests,<sup>a</sup> and then gave a public reading of his poem on the "Civil War" waged between Pompey and Caesar. In a kind of introduction to the latter, comparing his time of life and his first essays with those of Vergil, he had the audacity to ask :

"How far, pray, do I fall short of the Culex<sup>b</sup>?"

In his early youth, learning that his father was living in the remote country districts because of an unhappy marriage. . . . He was recalled from Athens by Nero and made one of his intimate friends, besides being honoured with the quaestorship; but he could not keep the emperor's favour. For piqued because Nero had suddenly called a meeting of the senate and gone out when he was giving a reading, with no other motive than to throw cold water on the performance,<sup>c</sup> he afterwards did not refrain from words and acts of hostility to the prince, which are still notorious. Once for example in a public privy, when he relieved his bowels with

<sup>a</sup> See *Nero*, xii. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Or perhaps, "How much younger am I than the author of the Culex?" Lucan compares his great epic, written at an earlier age, with Vergil's early work. Cf. *Stat. Silv.* 2. 7. 73, haec (= Pharsaliam) primo iuvenis canes sub aevo, Ante annos culicis Maroniani. <sup>c</sup> Cf. *Claud.* xli. 1.

## THE LIVES OF ILLUSTRIOUS MEN

clariore cum strepitu<sup>1</sup> ventris emissi<sup>2</sup> hemistichium  
Neronis magna consessorum fuga pronuntiavit :

“Sub terris tonuisse putes.”

Sed et famoso carmine cum ipsum tum potentissimos  
amicorum gravissime proscidit. Ad extremum paene  
signifer Pisonianae coniurationis exstitit, multus<sup>3</sup> in  
gloria tyrannicidarum palam praedicanda<sup>4</sup> ac plenus  
minarum, usque eo intemperans ut Caesaris caput<sup>5</sup>  
proximo cuique iactaret. Verum detecta coniura-  
tione nequaquam parem animi constantiam praestitit;  
facile enim confessus et<sup>6</sup> ad humillimas devolutus  
preces matrem quoque innoxiam inter socios nomina-  
vit, sperans impietatem sibi apud parricidam princi-  
pem profuturam. Impetrato autem mortis arbitrio  
libero codicillos ad patrem corrigendis quibusdam  
versibus suis exaravit, epulatusque largiter brachia ad  
secundas venas praeiuit medico. Poemata eius  
etiam praelegi memini, corfici vero ac proponi  
venalia non tantum operose et diligenter sed inepte  
quoque.

<sup>1</sup> strepitu, *B*; crepitu, *P*; trepitu, *M*.

<sup>2</sup> Regarded by *Reiff.* as due to ditto-graphy.

<sup>3</sup> multus, *Omnibonus*; multis, *ms.*

<sup>4</sup> praedicanda, *some late mss.*; praedicenda, *MBP*.

<sup>5</sup> *Geuthe* marks a lacuna; so *Francken*.

<sup>6</sup> ut, *MP*; omitted by *B*.

## ON POETS--LUCAN

an uncommonly loud noise, he shouted out this half  
line of the emperor's, while those who were there  
for the same purpose took to their heels:

“You might suppose it thundered 'neath the earth.”

He also tongue-lashed not only the emperor but  
also his most powerful friends in a scurrilous poem.  
Finally he came out almost as the ringleader<sup>a</sup> in the  
conspiracy of Piso, publicly making great talk about  
the glory of tyrannicides, and full of threats, even  
going to the length of offering Caesar's head to all  
his friends. But when the conspiracy was detected,  
he showed by no means equal firmness of purpose;  
for he was easily forced to a confession, descended to  
the most abject entreaties, and even named his own  
mother among the guilty parties, although she was  
innocent, in hopes that this lack of filial devotion  
would win him favour with a parricidal prince. But  
when he was allowed free choice of the manner of  
his death, he wrote a letter to his father, containing  
corrections for some of his verses, and after eating  
heartily, offered his arms to a physician, to cut his  
veins. I recall that his poems were even read in  
public,<sup>b</sup> while they were published and offered for  
sale by editors lacking in taste, as well as by some  
who were painstaking and careful.

<sup>a</sup> Literally, standard-bearer.

<sup>b</sup> That is, lectured on by grammarians; see *Gr. l.*