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The Nationality of Vergil

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'soul of the state' and only declare that soul to be the constitution. What we seem to want and what would be natural to say is ἔστι γὰρ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ ψυχὴ πόλεως πολιτεία or ἡ πολιτεία. Cf. Aristot. *Poet.* 6. 1450a 40 ἀρχὴ μὲν οὖν καὶ οἶον ψυχὴ ὁ μῦθος τῆς τραγωδίας.

12. 40. (πόλεις) τὰς παραπλησίαν καὶ τὴν δυνάμιν ἔχουσας καὶ περὶ τὰς αὐτὰς πράξεις γεγενημένας.

Is not παραπλησίαν out of its place? It might stand after καὶ or δυνάμιν or ἔχουσας, but not where it does.

15. 28. Read <ἐξ> ὧν οὐδὲν μοι πλέον γέγονε. Otherwise the genitive lacks construction.

1b. 141. ἐσκόπουν περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων ὥσπερ ἂν ὑμῶν ἕκαστος.

ὥνπερ will at once be more idiomatic and give αὐτῶν a point which it hardly has at present. Cf. on Dem. *de Cherson.* 14 above.

19. 43. οὐ μέντ' ἂν μοι δοκῶ φυγεῖν οὐδὲ τὴν Θρασύλλου γνώμην.

He does not mean that he would not escape, but that he would not avoid or try to escape, Thrasyllus' judgment. Write therefore φεύγειν.

AESCHINES.

2 (end). τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦμὸν ἤδη παραδίδωσιν ὑμῖν καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ νόμος.

Is it really possible for παραδίδωσιν to stand thus before ἐγὼ? If we should not write παραδίδωμεν, at any rate we might alter the order to something like τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦμὸν ἤδη καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ νόμος παραδίδωσιν ὑμῖν. In Isaeus 11. 10 παρεσκευάζοντο is now corrected to παρεσκευαζόμεθα.

3. 156. ὧν ἱερὰ καὶ τέκνα καὶ τάφους ἀπώλεσεν ἡ Δημοσθένους δωροδοκία.

τέκνα comes strangely between ἱερὰ and τάφους. Should it change places with τάφους or ἱερὰ?

H. RICHARDS.

THE NATIONALITY OF VERGIL.

I. IN Conington's *Vergil* (Ed. 5, I, xviii) we read: 'The name *Andes* is Celtic, and so apparently is *Vergilius*'; and in a note on the name *Vergilius*: '*Vergilius* and *Magius* were common names in Cisalpine Gaul.' The object of the following pages is to investigate these statements as fully as possible, and to attempt to estimate from Vergil's own names and those of his nearest relations the probability of his being of Celtic or some other determinable race. The method followed will be that of comparison with other proper names containing the same or similar stems from all parts of the Roman empire, collected from the indices, as far as they exist, to the volumes of the *C.I.L.* If, for example, we find that the name *Vergilius* occurs fairly frequently in other parts of Italy proper (*C.I.L.* IV, IX, X, and XIV),¹ we shall

be forced to conclude that though it may in one or two particular cases be a genuine Celtic name in Gallia Cisalpina (*C.I.L.* V²), yet the probabilities are against this, and we shall not be able to base any arguments merely on its occurrence in countries where the Kelts were settled. On the other hand, if *Vergilius* and cognate names occur but rarely in Italy and are common in the Celtic parts of the Roman

names found in *C.I.L.* VI (Rome) be used for purposes of comparison. In Rome, apart from the Latin population, we must expect to find foreigners from all parts of the Roman world. Livy (39, 3, 4) tells us that as early as 187 B.C. the Latin allies sent envoys to Rome, complaining that thousands of their citizens had migrated thither in order to avoid taxation in their native towns. An investigation was made, and Livy adds: *Hac conquisitione duodecim milia Latinorum domos redierunt, iam tum multitudine alienigenarum urbem onerante*. This intermingling of nationalities at Rome must have become still more complete under the empire, and it would be most unsafe to build any theories on the names of such a heterogeneous population.

² *C.I.L.* V also contains Venetia and Liguria.

¹ I have not consulted *C.I.L.* I, which contains the older Latin inscriptions arranged according to their dates; they are all found again in the other volumes of the *C.I.L.*, which are arranged geographically. Nor can the

empire,¹ we shall be able to conclude with a considerable degree of certainty that they are of Keltic origin and have merely assumed a Latin dress. Other names may be judged on the same principles, though it must never be forgotten that genuine Latin names occur very frequently in all parts of the empire, and absolute certainty can only be attained in a minority of cases.

2. The following are the names, collected from the different *Vitae*,² that we shall have to investigate: *P. Vergilius Maro*, the poet himself; *Vergilius* (cognomen *Maro*, *Stimichon*, or *Istimicon* ?), his father; *Magia* (*Maia*) *Polla*, his mother; *Silo* and *Flaccus*, his brothers; *Andes* or *Vicus Andicus*, his birthplace. Of these *Publius*, *Polla*, and *Flaccus* are common all over Italy. *Stimichon* and *Istimicon* occur in the *Vita Noricensis* and the *Vita Monacensis* respectively; these *Vitae* are of late date and abound in fantastic details, both biographical and philological. It is almost certain that the name *Stimichon*, of which *Istimicon* is merely a variant, has crept into them from Eclogue 5, 55: *Et ista iam pridem Stimichon laudavit carmina nobis*, and it therefore need not detain us longer. We will now consider the remaining names.

3. VERGILIUS occurs eight times in C.I.L. V. The figures for the other volumes are: IV 0, IX 10, X 11,

XIV 11,³ II 9, III 6, VII 0, VIII (Africa) 1, XII 2, Brambach⁴ 0—i.e. omitting VIII and for the moment V also, we find 32 examples of *Vergilius* in 26,389⁵ inscriptions in Italy proper against 17 in 30,990 inscriptions in Keltic lands. Surely *Vergilius* cannot be called a common Keltic name! The proportion of 8 in 10,000 in North Italy is also very much smaller than that of 32 in 26,000 in the rest of Italy. Hence, on a mere numerical comparison, we must decide against the probability of *Vergilius* being Keltic. Only 2 examples in Narbonensis, only 6 in the Danube Provinces! Yet Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica*, p. 11, says: 'Nomen uix dubiae originis Gallicae. Radix uetust. cambr. *guerg* ("efficax") gl. Ox. extat etiam in uetusto nomine Vergobretus apud Caes.' Compound names containing the first element of *uergo-bretus*, e.g. **Vergomarus*, **Vergorix*, etc., may have existed, though we can no longer trace them, and from them may arise the short-name *Vergius* (Holder⁶ quotes Οὐέρυιος from Bordighera, Inscr. Graecae XIV 2276), from which *Vergilius* would be a perfectly correct derivative, cf. *Magius*, *Magilius*: *Magimarus*, *Magu-ris*; *Segius*, *Segilius*: *Segomarus*, *Sego-uesus*; *Matilius*: *Matomarus*; *Artilius*: *Arto-boduus*, etc. Furthermore, we must postulate a name *Vergius*, from which *Vergiatus* (3 place-names in France, see Holder) was derived. The Gallic name for the ocean, Οὐεργύλοφος and Οὐεργυούιος (Ptol. 2, 2, 5 and elsewhere, see Holder) also appears to contain the same stem *uergo*-, 'efficax,' Ir. *ferg*, 'anger.' For other parallels see Hol-

¹ I.e., C.I.L. II (Spain), III (mainly the Danube Provinces, but also Greece, Asia Minor, and Egypt), V (Gallia Cisalpina, Venetia, and Liguria), VII (Britain), XII (Gallia Narbonensis); C.I.L. XIII (the rest of France, Belgium, Holland, and the Rhine Provinces) has unfortunately not yet been provided with an index, and the large number of inscriptions it contains would have made the labour of collecting the Keltic names from them quite disproportionate to the scope of the present paper. It is possible that the conclusions arrived at in the following pages may have to be slightly revised when I have worked through C.I.L. XIII; but it is not probable that they will suffer any serious alteration. The volumes that deal with Italy are IV (Pompeii), IX (Calabria, Apulia, Samnium, Sabini, Picenum), X (Bruttium, Lucania, Campania, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica), XIV (Latium); C.I.L. XI (Etruria and Umbria) has, as yet, no index.

² E. Diehl, *Vitae Vergilianae* (Bonn, 1911).

³ It should be noted that six examples occur on one stone, so that for purposes of comparison it would, perhaps, be fairer to deduct about four.

⁴ *Corpus Inscriptionum Rhenanarum*.

⁵ The numbers of the inscriptions provided with indices are as follows: IV 7115 and 155 Tabulae Ceratae, IX 6419, X 8422, XIV 4278, II 6350, III 15,220, V (with Pais' Supplement) circ. 10,000, VII 1355, XII 6038, Brambach 2027. The *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, it is true, contains a number of additional inscriptions not yet incorporated in the C.I.L., but the instances of the names in question in its indices are so rare that we may safely leave them aside.

⁶ *Altceltischer Sprachschatz*.

der. *Vergaius*, *Virgaio* (once each in C.I.L. III) are variants for the more common *Vercaius*, *Vircaio*¹ (cf. *Vercillus*, *Vercius*, etc., from compound names *Vercobius*, *Vercombogius*, and the like), and cannot be cited to support *Vergilius*.

4. Do the actual examples on the inscriptions help us at all towards any judgment? Of the 8 examples in C.I.L. V, 2 are from Aquileia, 2 from Verona, 2 from Hasta, 1 from Eporedia, and 1 from Calvisano (a village about thirty miles north-west of Mantua). The last is important: it is C.I.L. V 4137 and runs: *Matronabus Vergilia C. f. Vera pro Munatia T. f. Catulla u.s.l.m.* In addition to the Keltic name *Catulla*, we have a dedication to the Keltic deities, the *Matronae* (cf. Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures* 1886, p. 100 and Windisch, *Das Keltische Britannien*, pp. 103 f.); it is tempting to conclude that *Vergilia C. f. Vera* was a Keltic woman, though that does not necessarily mean that her name was Keltic.² Yet it is evidence, even if slight, in favour of the Kelticity of the name. One of the examples from Verona must also be mentioned. It is C.I.L. V 3827 and occurs in 2 versions, as to which Mommsen concludes for sound reasons that one, namely that which he calls (b), which is first given by Jucundus (late fifteenth century), is a copy of that which he calls (a), and which is first given by Cyriacus (early fifteenth century). The versions of Cyriacus and Jucundus are as follows: (a) *M. Vergilio M. f. Anthioco* ('apud ripam fluuii Tartari³ in agro Veronensi'), (b) *P. Vergilio P. f. Pont. Max. Sabin.* ('in Ande Vergilii uilla, quae nunc dicitur Pietole'). Mommsen appends the following note: 'Cyriaci exemplum legitur in uita eius Scalamentiana; item in sylloge antiqua Veronensi apud

Felicianum, Marcanouam, Ferrarinum, Sanutum (inde Muratori e schedis Alex. Capponii). Diuersum exemplum uel potius titulus ad huiusce aliquot litteras mala fraude formatus legitur apud Iucundum et inde sine dubio apud Pacedianum, quamquam hic ait excepisse se a. 1517 Mantuae per aliquot dies moratum, Cholerum, Maccium, Grut. ex Verderii schedis (inde Orelli). Upon the inscriptions found at Mantua Mommsen adds this introductory remark: 'Vicus Pietole Mantuae suburbanus, quem Vergilii poetae natalem Andes siue Andicum uulgo opinantur opinabanturque iam aetate Dantis poetae, non tantum temere, sed certe falso, cum ex Probi testimonio constet Andes XXX m. p. a Mantua distare. The question whether these are two different inscriptions or merely two different copies of the same inscription cannot be decided with any certainty, owing to the disappearance of the original stone or stones. Mommsen adopts the latter alternative, and believes that the copy denoted as (b) is a corrupted version of (a), and that Jucundus' statement that it was found at Pietole is part of his corruption. In any case the inscription or inscriptions cannot refer to the poet Vergil, though the *Vergilius* mentioned in them may have belonged to the same family.

5. In the inscriptions of Italy proper (IV, IX, X, and XIV) we have three examples of *Vergilius* combined with the cognomen *Gallus*, IX 1085 (Ager Compisinus): *M. Vergilius C. l. Gallus*,⁴

⁴ Possibly a Gallic slave, who took his Roman (?) master's name. If so, *Gallus* will not support *Vergilius*' claim to be Keltic. But why, if he is C. l., did he take the praenomen *M*?

Vergilius Maro, the grammarian (cf. Teuffel, *Geschichte d. röm. Literatur*, 6th Ed., 1913, § 497, 7), should be mentioned here. He himself says that he was a Gaul, and it seems highly probable that his nomen was derived from a Gallic stem *uergo-*. It is strange that he should bear the cognomen *Maro*. It may conceivably be a real Keltic name and different from that of the poet Vergil (see under *Maro*). But it seems more natural to suppose that the grammarian *Vergilius*, and perhaps other *Vergilii* also, were given the cognomen *Maro* in honour of the poet Vergil. The fact that the grammarian *Vergilius* was called *Maro* cannot be adduced to support the Keltic claim to the poet Vergil's cognomen. It is also quite possible that the

¹ For the variation between *c* and *g* see Pedersen, *Vergl. Keltische Grammatik*, I 533. *Vercobretus* occurs, but the usual form is with a *g*. There are no examples of *Vercilius* for *Vergilius*.

² *Munatia* is not Keltic, though *Catulla* is. In the case of *Vergilia Vera* the cognomen is not Keltic, but the nomen may be.

³ The Tartarus at its nearest point is twelve miles from Pietole; cf. Jucundus' statement about (b).

X 4862 (Venafrum): *M. Vergilius M. f. Gallus Lusius*, X 5155 (Alvito prope Arpinum): *L. Vergilius M. f. *Galio* (? *Gallus*). Is *Gallus* merely an honorary cognomen in these cases, or does it really point to the nationality of the bearer of the name?

6. Before concluding we must hear yet another claim. May not *Vergilius* be Etruscan? W. Schulze,¹ p. 100, proves that *Verginna* and *Verginius* are of Etruscan origin, and adds: 'Verwandt mit *Verginna* ist der weitverbreitete Name *Vergilius*, in Etrurien C.I.L. XI 1785 (Volaterrae), 3248. 3254 (Sutrium), 3808 (Veii).' Vergil himself considered that the leading element of the population of Mantua was Etruscan;² his own cognomen, as we shall presently see, is very probably Etruscan, too.

7. To sum up then: *Vergilius* is found in most parts of the Roman empire, but especially frequently in Italy. There is a Celtic stem *uergo-*, from which *Vergilius* would be a correct Kelto-Latin formation. There is also a strong Etruscan claim to the name. We are, therefore, forced to the conclusion that though *Vergilius* may be Celtic, the evidence favours a Latin or an Etruscan origin. At the same time it must not be forgotten that names of different nationalities quite frequently appear in identical forms.³ It would be quite possible to imagine a Celtic *Vergilius* and an Etrusco-Latin *Vergilius* existing side by side; but even so, the greater number of the examples would have to be attributed to the latter. Zeuss' statement should be modified accordingly.

8. MARO occurs six times in C.I.L. V. The other figures⁴ are IV 1, IX 2, X 1, XIV 6, II 6, III 5, VII 1 (*Maro*

or *Maronius* ?), VIII o, XII o, Brambach o. The name is of comparatively frequent occurrence in Latium (XIV), though not found in either Praeneste or Tusculum, but does not occur in Africa, Narbonensis, or in the Rhine Provinces. Its absence from the two latter regions is strong evidence against its being of Celtic origin, even though all five instances in C.I.L. III are from the Danube Provinces. *Maro*, the poet's name, is always scanned with *ā*,⁵ and must be kept distinct from the Celtic names *Mārus*, *Mārio*,⁶ etc., from a stem *māro-*, 'great.' *Maro(n)* may be Greek; the form *Maron* must be, and where it is found in Italy, it must have been introduced from Greek sources. One of the Spartans who fell at Thermopylae was called *Māpov*.⁷ A Thracian priest of Apollo, *Māpov*, is mentioned by Homer, *Od.* ix 197.⁸ If there was a Thracian name *Māpov*, some of the examples of *Maro* in C.I.L. III may be the same name in Latin form.

It seems clear, however, that the name came into Mantua from Etruscan sources.⁹ Schulze, p. 189, quotes *L. Maro C. f.* from Vettona as the equivalent of the Etruscan *maru*, and adds: 'Vollständig latinisirt lautet sie etwas anders, *Maronius*.' Corssen, *Sprache der Etr.*, I 237, truly says: 'Die etruskische Nominativform *maru* verhält sich zum lateinischen Zunamen *Maro* wie etr. *Caspu* zu lat. *Caspo*.' *Vergilius Maro* may, therefore, be an Etruscan name in both nomen and cognomen. According to Phocas' life of Vergil, l. 6, Vergil's father also bore the cognomen *Maro*: *Huic genitor figulus, Maro nomine*.

9. MAGIA (Vergil's mother). The name *Magius* occurs 54 times in C.I.L. V, mostly combined with Latin cognomina, occasionally with Greek, but

nomen of the grammarian and that of the poet were of different origin, the former Celtic and the latter perhaps Etrusco-Latin; it is even conceivable that the grammarian's nomen was not Celtic, but Latin, although he was a Kelt by race.

¹ *Zur Geschichte Lateinischer Eigennamen*.

² *Aen.* 10, 198 ff., a passage now lucidly explained by A. Rosenberg, *Der Staat der alten Italiker*, p. 129 ff.

³ Cf. *Magius* below.

⁴ See footnote 1, p. 105.

⁵ The quantity of the *a* is not marked in the inscriptions in question. Of course, a Celtic cognomen *Māro* (gen. *Mārōnis*), from the stem *māro-*, is theoretically quite possible.

⁶ Also Etruscan, according to Schulze, p. 306.

⁷ See Pape-Benseler, *Griech. Wörterbuch*.

⁸ On this point Mr. Raper has built a suggestive, but somewhat imaginative series of conjectures in the *Classical Review*, 1913, p. 13 ff.

⁹ Cf. Rosenberg, p. 48.

rarely with Keltic.¹ The other figures² are: IV 2, IX 20, X 20, XIV 5, II 7, III 15, VII 1 (doubtful), VIII 1, XII 15, Brambach 1. Omitting V and VIII, we get 47 examples in 26,000 inscriptions in Italy proper against 39 in 31,000 in Keltic lands outside North Italy. The proportion of 55 in 10,000 in North Italy is far greater than anywhere else throughout the empire. Further, *Magius* occurs 9 times as a cognomen³ in C.I.L. V, in X once, and in II once. Another cognomen, *Magianus*, derived from *Magius*, occurs as follows: V 3, IV 0, IX 0, X 2, XIV 1, II 0, III 1, VII 0, XII 0. Again C.I.L. V has almost as many examples as all the other volumes. *Magiacus*⁴ occurs 4 times in V, once in XII. In North Italy itself, if we compare Gallia Cisalpina with the other districts, Venetia and Liguria, taken together, we obtain the following proportions: *Magius* (nomen) 39 : 16, (cognomen) 9 : 0, *Magianus* 3 : 0, *Magiacus* 4 : 0. The stem *magio-* is a good Keltic one (see Holder II 377); we find compounds *Magimarus*, *Magiomarus*, *Magiorix*, and short-names *Magio*, *Magilo*, *Magil(l)ius*,⁵ *Magissius*, and many others. We are perfectly justified in bringing *Magius*⁶ into line with these; it has every right to be considered Keltic. But at the same time its frequent occurrence in Italy proper warns us that Latin has a very good claim to the name also. Furthermore, according to Schulze, p. 184, it is not without close paral-

ls in Etruria. Here, perhaps, we have the clue to its frequent occurrence in North Italy. Here it was that Romans, Kelts, and Etruscans first came into close contact with one another. What wonder, then, if a name common to all three peoples should thrive and flourish on soil that was populated by a mixed race consisting of these same three elements? But the task of separating the various *Magii* according to race will, if the foregoing suggestion be true, become a sheer impossibility. We must content ourselves with allowing the claims of Latin and Keltic, if not of Etruscan⁷ also, though in Gallia Cisalpina the preponderating element was without doubt Keltic, and the majority of examples of the name *Magius* are without doubt Keltic too. Possibly, if not probably, Vergil's mother was a Keltic woman. The name *Maia*, which occurs in the late *Vitae Monacensis* and *Noricensis*, is undoubtedly the same as *Magia*, the only form found in the earlier *Vitae*. We find the same disappearance of *g* between two vowels in later times elsewhere too, e.g. *Briantinus* for *Brigantinus*, *Briancio* (Briançon) for *Brigantio*, and Welsh shows the same change.⁸ Before leaving *Magius*, it is interesting to note that one example of its occurrence is at Casalpoglio, a village twenty-three miles north-west of Mantua, and that one example of *Vergilius* occurs only seven miles further off at Calvisano⁹ (quoted

¹ V 5105 (Inter Ollium et Sarium): *Magia Catulla*, 4990 (Riva): *Magius Magianus*, 6602 (Ager Novariensis): *P. Magius Messor*, 4483 (Brixia): *Magius Valerius Surio*, grandfather of *Primus Valerius Magirra*. In V 4642 (Brixia) we have a *L. Magius Primio*, husband of a Keltic woman, *Messia Atticilla*.

² See footnote 1, p. 105.

³ One example may be quoted, V 5713 (Ager Mediolanensis): *C. Atilius Mocetius* . . . *C. Atilio Magio fratri* . . . *et Surae Messoris f.* *Mocetius*, *Sura*, and *Messor* are Keltic names, and cf. *Magius Messor* in note 1 above.

⁴ V 5567 (Infra Lacum Verbanum): *Samaus Taeiei f. et Banuca Magiaci f. uxor*, 6957 (Taurini): *T. Mattius Ateurti f. Magiacus*. Most of these names are clearly Keltic (see Holder for parallels).

⁵ *Magilius* is also found once in C.I.L. XIV.

⁶ Cf. *Vergilius*, *Vergius* : *uergo-* above, and the parallels quoted.

⁷ We cannot be sure that the Etruscan claims should be allowed in the case of *Magius*. It occurs in Etruria in both the Latin and the Etruscan forms. But in spite of this, it may well be purely Latin in all these examples.

⁸ See Pedersen, I 96 f. The form *Maia* may, however, be entirely due to mediaeval scribes, who very commonly substituted *i* for *g*. Professor W. B. Anderson has kindly given me parallels from Lucan, MS. Z (ninth century), 1, 166 *fuitor* for *fugitur*, 6, 431 *maiorum* for *magorum*. The latter example is almost exactly parallel to *Maia* for *Magia*. Professor R. S. Conway has also given me similar examples from Livy MSS. of the tenth and eleventh centuries (e.g., *iero* for *gero*). I should like to take this opportunity of expressing my deep gratitude to Professor Conway and Professor Anderson, both of whom have read my paper in MS. and offered many valuable suggestions.

⁹ Calvisano is thirty miles north-west of Mantua, a distance that corresponds exactly with Probus' 'xxx m. p. a Mantua distare'

above). However, it would be fanciful to dwell on this point longer. Tradition will, no doubt, continue to assign to Pietole the honour of being the birthplace of the greatest Roman poet.

10. SILO occurs 10 times in *C.I.L.* V. The figures for the other volumes¹ are: IV 1, IX 3, X 3, XIV 1, II 24, III 4 (1 in Pisidia, 2 in Noricum), VII 1 (doubtful), XII 3, Brambach 2. The name is evenly distributed, though it preponderates in Keltic lands. Holder, II 1549, claims it, though with some hesitation, as a Keltic name. Schulze, pp. 232, 274 note 3, suggests a possible, though doubtful, connection with Etruscan parallels. Perhaps we are here again dealing with homonyms of different nationality. There can be little doubt that a Keltic name *Silo* did exist. One example, *C.I.L.* V 4958 (Camunni), makes this quite clear. We read there: *Tresus Endubronis*² f. *Tiro arbitratu Endubronis patris et Silonis et Secundi fratrum t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit)*. A strong point in favour of the view that it is Keltic is the fact that we find a form *Sila*, apparently serving as the feminine of *Silo*. *Sila* occurs twice in *C.I.L.* V, 3 times in II, i.e. we find the feminine *Sila* just in those two regions in which the masculine *Silo* is commonest. There can be no doubt about the Kelticity of *Sila*.³ We find the same parallelism (masculine -o, -io: feminine -a, -ia) in other Keltic names, e.g., *Gallio*: *Gallia*, *Mascellio*:⁴ *Mascelia* (*Gallio* and *Mascelio* are originally cognomina, which have been made to serve as nomina). In *C.I.L.* II 4069 *Sila* is the daughter of *Silo*. It must, however, be admitted that a cognomen *Silus* is found, though extremely rarely. Other parallels are *Silius*, *Silonius*, *Silomanus* (see Holder). Zeuss, *Gramm. Celt.*, p. 20, claims *Silo* as Keltic. Com-

plete certainty, however, cannot be attained in particular cases. We can only say that, judging by the distribution of the name and the parallelism between *Silo*: *Sila* both as regards stem and grammatical function, we must allow that a Keltic name *Silo* existed. In Gallia Cisalpina it is more likely to have been Keltic than Latin or Etruscan.⁵

11. ANDES (VICUS ANDICUS). Here at last we come to a name that can unhesitatingly be pronounced Keltic. Caesar mentions a tribe called *Andes* (short for *Andecavi*) in France, and there are countless other parallels⁶ (see Holder, I 139 ff.).

12. To sum up: the evidence must be considered somewhat unsatisfactory; we can arrive at no demonstrable conclusion. All we can say is that the preceding investigation suggests the probability that *Vergilius* and *Maro* are Etruscan or Etrusco-Latin, though the former may well be Keltic, whereas *Magia* and *Silo* would appear to be probably Keltic, though a Latin (perhaps Etruscan) claim might also be allowed. The name of Vergil's birthplace, however, if that may be cited as evidence of his nationality, is certainly Keltic.

13. This hypothesis of a blend of Etruscan and Keltic blood is strongly supported by the poetry of Vergil. He was proud of the Etruscan origin of Mantua,⁷ and had intimate knowledge of Etruscan character.⁸ It is beyond the scope of this paper to examine all the Keltic traits in Vergil's poetry. They are many, and are well summed up by Pichon⁹ in the following words: 'Celui qui a chanté la grandeur de

(referring to Andes, the birthplace of Vergil). Pietole is barely three miles south-east of Mantua.

¹ See footnote 1, p. 105.

² *Endubro* is certainly Keltic (see Holder, I 1437).

³ Cf. V 5883 (Mediolanum): *T. Pomponius Valentinus* . . . *C. Pomponio Fido patri et Viriae Virocanti f. Silae matri. Viria* and *Virocantis* are indisputably Keltic.

⁴ The distribution of *Mascelio* proves it to be Keltic (see Holder under *Mascelio*).

⁵ There is some evidence also of an Oscan stem *sil-*; the leader of the Marsi in the Social War was called *Q. Pompaedius Silo*, and there was a large forest in Bruttium called *Sila* (cf. Vergil, *Aen.* 12, 715), whence perhaps the cognomen *Silanus* was derived.

⁶ In *C.I.L.* V we find the following: *Andetiaca M.* f. *Galla*, *Andenius*, *Anderoudus*, *Andia*, *Andoblatio* (with *Atecingus* and *Deminca*), *Andovarto*; and in Pais, *Additamenta ad C.I.L.* Vol. V, *Andetius*, *Ando*.

⁷ *Aen.* 10, 200 ff.

⁸ E.g., Mezentius and Arruns; and cf. *Aen.* 11, 732 ff.

⁹ René Pichon, *Histoire de la Littérature Latine*, pp. 328, 329.

Rome n'est pas un Romain, pas même un Italien; c'est un Cisalpin, en qui apparaissent quelques traits du génie celtique: la tendresse intime, la rêverie mélancolique et vague, la sympathie pour tous les êtres animés, et comme un sentiment confus de la vie universelle, la curiosité inquiète de l'avenir mystérieux.¹ The question of the nationality of Vergil cannot be decided with absolute certainty, and we must perforce be content with probabilities. Yet the sentences from the Introduction to Conington's *Vergil* quoted above are, owing to their brevity, somewhat misleading, and leave the impression that we are able to pronounce upon Vergil's nationality with a greater degree of certainty than is really the case. A more accurate statement as regards the actual occurrence of the names in inscriptions would be: '*Vergilius* is found comparatively seldom, *Magius* with extraordinary frequency in Cisalpine Gaul.'

Since the preceding account of the evidence for and against the Keltic claims to Vergil's names and person was written, Professor Conway has kindly lent me a dissertation by Ioannes Zwicker, *De Vocabulis et Rebus Gallicis siue Transpadanis apud Vergilium*, Lipsiae, MCMV, which also contains a chapter on the nationality of Vergil. Zwicker has no hesitation in claiming him as a Kelt outright. He has, however, interpreted the evidence in a very partial spirit. For example, he quotes Diefenbach, *Origines Europaeae*, and Du Cange, *Glossarium med. et inf. Latin.*, for the existence of certain *Marones*, apparently a class of Alpine guides: '*Marones enim appellantur uia-rum praemonstratores.*' But merely be-

cause these *Marones* lived in the Alps, he rashly concludes that both they and their name can be nothing but Keltic. They may have been, it is true; but the evidence is entirely insufficient. Zwicker also gives a table of figures showing the frequency of occurrence of the names *Vergilius*, *Maro*, etc., in the different volumes of the *C.I.L.* Unfortunately this table is for various reasons practically useless; indeed, it is very misleading. *C.I.L.* I, which Zwicker includes, is a collection of inscriptions arranged chronologically; the other volumes of the *C.I.L.* are arranged geographically and contain practically all the inscriptions of *C.I.L.* I in their proper geographical environment. Zwicker does not note this, and hence quotes many examples twice over. Further, in using the Indices to the different volumes of the *C.I.L.* he is inaccurate, and not infrequently counts the occurrence of the same man's name in different parts of the same inscription or in different inscriptions as two or more distinct examples of the name in question. One glaring example of this kind of inaccuracy may be quoted. In the Index to *C.I.L.* XIV we find under the cognomen *Maro*: '*MARO* (sic 256; 259) *siue* *MARON* (sic 268; 903), 268; 125; 256; 259; 903; 2973.' Zwicker actually quotes 10 examples of *Maro* from *C.I.L.* XIV! It does not inspire us with confidence in the author, when we find *Verg*[] (the stone is broken) quoted as a certain instance of *Vergilius*. How does Zwicker know that it should not be restored *Verginius*? Accuracy is the essence of an investigation based upon numerical comparison. Unfortunately Zwicker has not set himself a high standard in this respect, and his work is in consequence seriously vitiated.

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¹ Cf. also Sellar, *Vergil*, pp. 104, 105, and Slater, *The Poetry of Catullus*, pp. 26-28.