

but unexampled. It seems more probable that *redditur* = *reddit se*, gives itself up *sc.* to increase the other. The other passage is l. 569, *nil ad speciem est contractior ignis*. Munro and Mr. Duff translate 'to the eye.' It is very questionable whether *species* ever means the eye or the seeing power (*ὄψις*): and here it is surely better to make it keep its usual sense 'in appearance,' 'so far as its outward visible form is concerned.'

It may seem ungracious to find many small faults. I ought to add that the notes are, as I have found by actual experiment, very clear and helpful to one who is not far advanced in Latin. The printing has been carefully done: I have only noted two

misprints of any consequence, one in the note to l. 176 where a necessary word is missed out, the other in the text of l. 1436 where a different reading is printed from the one commented on in the note. I do not know whether a curious use of the symbol '*sc.*' meaning apparently what old commentators expressed by the word *subaudi* (e.g. l. 143, 156) is a new fashion or not. There is one material error in the introduction: 'even the few, who ventured to disparage Virgil, do not seem to have set up Lucretius as a rival object of admiration.' This was precisely what they did, according to the author of the *Dial. de Or.* c. 23.

J. W. M.

MASTER VIRGIL.

Master Virgil: the Author of the Aeneid as he seemed in the Middle Ages. A series of studies by J. S. TUNISON. Cincinnati, 1888. 10s.

MR. TUNISON'S primary object in writing this series of studies is to supply a want in the literature of a subject which has had more attraction for Continental than for English and American scholars, viz. the legends which grew round the name of the poet Virgil in the Middle Ages. The admirable work of Comparetti, *Virgilio nel medio evo*, of the contents of which Mr. Tunison gives a succinct analysis at pp. 228-9, is the book on the subject which has received most attention in this country. He acknowledges his indebtedness also to Zappert's *Virgils Leben und Fortleben im Mittelalter*, and he refers to other writings in French and German, such as those of Du Meril, Genthe and Roth: but he observes with justice that 'writers in English were not among the number of those who had discussed the subject with any fulness or clearness.' It is one which, in detail at least, has more interest for students of the superstitions and crude literary fancies of the Middle Ages than for classical scholars; and probably many English readers have got their earliest impression of Virgil as 'the magician' from the notes to the 'Lay of the Last Minstrel.'¹

But the persistence of Virgil's name and fame even in tales so repugnant to the perfect sanity and sobriety of his own imagination is interesting as a testimony to the extraordinary spell exercised by his genius and spiritual nature: a spell not confined to his own age or country, or to ages enjoying a similar culture and civilization, but extending to those which in the outward conditions of life and in modes of thought were as remote as possible from the Augustan age or from our own days. The finest recognition of that spell and of its origin is to be found in the often-quoted words of Cardinal Newman (*Grammar of Assent*, p. 75): 'Perhaps this is the reason of the mediaeval opinion about Virgil as if a prophet or magician: his single words and phrases, his pathetic half-lines, giving utterance as the voice of nature herself to that pain and weariness yet hope of better things which is the experience of her children in every time.' Though the fact that Virgil lived in the imagination of a time so alien from that in which and for which he wrote enhances our sense of the catholicity of his genius, yet nothing is gained for our appreciation and enjoyment of the true Virgil by a minute knowledge of the stories which gathered round his name as they did around those of some of the Roman emperors, and also round those of various men remarkable for

¹ Among these notes we find the following. 'In a very rare romance, "which treateth of the life of Virgilius and of his deth, and many marvelles that he dyd in his life-time by wychecraft and nigroman-

eye, through the help of the devyls of Hell,"' &c.; and Sir Walter goes on to tell one of the most grotesque of these legends, the mode in which Virgil renovated his youth by magical arts.

their superior knowledge in the Middle Ages.

Mr. Tunison has supplied a want in giving for the first time in English a collection of these tales, which, if not of great interest to classical scholars, must be of value to students of the origin of mediæval romance. He is probably right in his contention that they are not the product of Italian tradition, but were due to the nations north of the Alps. They have all the characteristics of the Teutonic as distinct from the Italian imagination. But Mr. Tunison appeals also to the curiosity of classical students in his attempt to connect these grotesque Teutonic fancies of magic and demonology and humourous love-adventures with the traditions of Virgil's life, the personal traits recorded of him, and some salient characteristics of his poetry. His purpose is, in his own words, 'to account for every legendary fragment in its own place,' to 'show the literary rather than the popular genesis for the special fiction in which the name of Virgil figures,'—'the relation between the phases of Virgil's character, as it appears to his contemporaries and early critics, and the various legends.' It is on this attempt to connect the various phases of the Virgilian legend with what is known of the true Virgil, to show that 'his magical repute is the creation of a conscious purpose and not the offspring of the imaginative instinct, in which folk-lore originates,' that Mr. Tunison rests his claim to originality and the chief value of his series of studies. Is he successful in this attempt, and does he show himself a sound interpreter and judicious critic of the traditions of Virgil's personality, and of the impress of that personality stamped upon his poetry?

He starts with a proposition (p. 6) which certainly will not gain general assent, and which he assumes as needing only to be asserted, that 'considered as literature, and not as a mere philological stalking-horse, the poems of Virgil were widely read and as well understood in the Twelfth century as they are to-day.' This seems hardly consistent with what he says at p. 55: 'not less unreal was the conception of Virgil embodied in the romances of the Twelfth century. The poets of the vernacular languages thought of him as a learned clerk in the midst of a feudal society, composed of dukes, barons, bishops, court-ladies, damsels, knights, yet not without reminiscence of his fame as a poet.' Surely such a conception of him is incompatible with a widely diffused appreciation of his poetry as sane as that which educated

men have in the present day. Probably every age reads something of itself into the great literary works of the past; and that they admit of this without any serious distortion of their true meaning is one of the chief sources of their perennial interest; but it is a bold assertion that nothing has been gained except in grammatical and philological knowledge by the advances in literary criticism made in the last four centuries.

Mr. Tunison classifies the legends, which he has collected with great diligence, under the following heads: Virgil as the devil, Virgil in literary tradition, the magician, the man of science, the saviour of Rome, the lover, the prophet. He is probably right in holding that the germs of the effect he had on the imagination of the later world were latent in the conceptions formed of him by his contemporaries and by his admirers in the times immediately following his own. As he says, 'It is difficult to imagine that an easy-going man of the world like Horace should become the subject of a literary myth.' He might have said the same of Cicero, who was the only Roman writer whose literary preeminence could be at all compared with that of Virgil. But neither Horace nor Cicero nor any other Latin writer acted on the imagination of the Roman world with that sense of something mystic, something appertaining to another sphere, with which Virgil, even in his lifetime, affected the imagination of his countrymen: and if Mr. Tunison had been satisfied with showing that some memory of this impression caused the marvellous legends which grew out of the contact of the young nations of the modern world with the surviving memorials of ancient civilization to cluster round his name rather than that of any other ancient writer, most people would have agreed with him. But he has gone much beyond this, and professes to give almost a scientific explanation of the genesis of each set of legends, and to connect it with some special trait or characteristic of the poet recognized by his contemporaries. Thus he remarks, 'They' (his countrymen) 'attributed to him an extraordinary knowledge of Roman priestcraft. By the natural mutation of words under the influence of a new religion, this came to mean that he was versed in demonology.' 'Thus a whole romance, an entire web of legend may be woven, indeed has been woven, out of the potentialities of a single word.' No further proof is indicated of the connexion between Virgil's undoubtedly large acquaintance with the pontifical lore and ritual, and the part he played along with

Michael Scott, Faust, Friar Bacon and others who had no knowledge of such lore, in the demonology of the middle ages. We have to remember that the spirit of early Christianity was antagonistic not only to the beliefs and rites of Paganism, but to much that was most admirable in the intellectual gains of antiquity. Professor Nichol in the very interesting account which he gives, in the second part of his *Life and Philosophy of Bacon*, of the condition of Science before the time of Bacon, after noticing the contempt expressed by some of the early Fathers for secular learning, adds: 'The emperors of the age allied themselves with the same obscurantism. Constantine, fresh from his politic conversion, closed the schools, dispersed the libraries, and allowed science to be branded as magic.' As the darkness of the ages which followed the overthrow of the ancient civilization deepened, and as the spirit of the northern nations asserted itself more and more as a factor of belief, magic came to be associated with diabolic agency. And thus the vague conception or tradition of Virgil, as the exponent of the knowledge and culture of the most enlightened era of Roman civilization, gradually passed into that of 'Virgilius,' performing marvels 'by wycraffte and nigromancye through the help of the devyls of Hell.'

The supremacy of Virgil in literary tradition so long as any sane understanding of ancient literature survived is adduced as an explanation of the mediaeval conception of him, as 'a small withered personage who, as men of learning were in the habit of doing, with head bent, looked upon the ground continually, as if in deep thought.' The life of the poet attributed to Donatus affords evidence of a growth of myths and anecdotes around his name, due originally to the invention of grammarians and commentators who had a real knowledge and admiration of his poetry; and this genuine appreciation survived amongst a few men of learning and of sane judgment through the darkest ages. But the conception of him in the popular romances of the twelfth century is absolutely incompatible with any true knowledge or sane appreciation either of his poetry or personality. He was to the authors of these a great name, representative of a vague ideal of study and learning; and they embodied this ideal in a figure suggested by that of the students and scholars of whom they caught casual glimpses in the world in which they moved.

The conception of him as a man of science,

which passed into that of a magician, is not traced by Mr. Tunison to the indications of scientific study and curiosity scattered through the *Georgics*, but is explained by a conjecture as to the wonder which his advancement and the favours which he received from Pollio and Octavianus must have excited among the peasantry of his native district. 'To their rude minds the real cause of Virgil's advancement would not have suggested itself save in connexion with something which bore an air of utility. Now one of the circumstances which conferred a superstitious value on poetry among the ancients was its supposed relation to medicine.' This he attempts to establish by the early use of songs and chants as charms to cure wounds. Surely all this is rather arbitrary conjecture than scientific explanation of the germ out of which the mediaeval conception of Virgil as a man of science and magician arose. The name of Virgil, once recognized as one of intellectual preeminence, would naturally, in so uncritical an age, adapt itself to any vague conception of learning, science, or magic, without the originating impulse given by the crude fancies of the rustics in the district of Andes.

The legend of Virgil, as the *Saviour of Rome*, is connected by Mr. Tunison with the representation of Marlius on the shield of Aeneas, in the eighth book of the *Aeneid*. 'The Tarpeian citadel, the Capitol, the figure of the warrior and that of the bird whose cries aroused him from slumber were all depicted in such a way as to make one suspect that in these verses lay the germ of the fancy embodied in Neckam's tale about the temple and the statues which defended Rome.' It is difficult always to say what germ of actual fact may have set in motion the unconnected phantasmagoria of a vivid dream, and so it may be possible that a vague memory of this passage in the *Aeneid* may have originally started the fancy of 'a contrivance of one Virgil, who was a great magician,' who 'made a tower wherein were as many images as there are kingdoms in the world, and in the head of every image he put a bell, so that, if any nation designed to invade the Romans, the image of that province would ring his bell, &c.' But there seems to be no natural connexion between the representation of the shield and this later romance; and when the popular imagination had once seized on the idea of Virgil as a magician, it was able without any such suggestion to create its own world of marvellous adventure. If it is necessary to connect this legend, which has more of a

serious significance than most of the others, with any particular passage in the *Aeneid* or with any true perception of the purpose of that poem, it is simpler to connect it with the spirit of imperial patriotism which animates the whole work than with any identification of the poet with the 'guardian of the Tarpeian citadel.'

The legends of Virgil in the character of a lover Mr. Tunison supposes to spring out of the sense of the ludicrous that came to be associated with the character of the magician, 'like that of the devil in the mysteries,' and not to be connected with anything either in Virgil's life or his poetry. 'While Virgil's relations with women are unknown, his disposition towards them as evinced in his portrayal of Dido and Lavinia, gentle far beyond the measure of the Latin genius, is yet plainly that of good-natured contempt, mingled with the diffident and timid aversion of a confirmed bachelor.' This is hardly an adequate account of the treatment of the subject by the poet who in the *Eclogues* as well as in the fourth book of the *Aeneid* has shown a deeper and a worthier sense of the romance and passion of love than any other ancient writer. But here we have again to remember how all the grotesque imaginations of an uncritical age, endowed with a lively fancy, are apt to gather round some one central figure, however inappropriate it may be for their reception. In old Scotch jest books, the grave George Buchanan, the only man of learning whom Dr. Johnson would admit that Scotland had produced, is made the author of all the somewhat Fescennine raillery in which the rustic humour of his countrymen manifested itself.

In the chapter on Virgil as a prophet, a conception which probably may have sprung out of the practice of consulting the 'Sortes Vergilianae,' dating from the time of Hadrian, Mr. Tunison contrasts the idea in the fourth *Eclogue* of 'a last golden age of the world when the simplicity and purity of the first men were to be recovered' with the 'satirical humour of Horace' (in the sixteenth *Epode*) 'at the expense of the high-wrought hopes of the Romans' (Syllabus of Contents p. iv). 'The less hopeful Horace, following the same line of thought, generally reminded the Romans that if they would realize such a dream of unmingled felicity they must go to a new world. Half in jest he proposed in his sixteenth *Epode* that they should all flee to the Fortunate Isles, binding themselves by a mutual oath never to return. . . . In all this

Horace meant to smile at the dreams which the Romans cherished, and which Virgil encouraged. He desired his readers to understand that there was no place on earth of unmingled blessedness. Above all, while they had the world to conquer and rule they must not hope for the enjoyment of unlaborious ease.' If this is the purpose of the sixteenth *Epode*, it is certainly very carefully disguised. Though some critics find a vein of irony running through the second *Epode*, in which Horace gives a condensed expression to that enjoyment of country life and labour and of the sights and sounds of outward Nature which inspired the composition of the *Georgics*, no one has hitherto attributed either to an ironical or a didactic purpose this dream of ideal peace and ease in some island of the ocean, which is the earliest and perhaps the most unreal of all Horace's serious compositions. The feelings and longings are very similar to, possibly suggested by, those expressed in the fourth *Eclogue* of Virgil. Both Virgil and Horace are giving a voice to the weariness of their generation with the civil wars, and their vague longing for a better and happier life. But while the deeper feeling of Virgil is moved by hopes of the new Empire, the deeper feeling of Horace is moved by despair of the fortunes of the Republic. Here he is not the ironical singer of the passing joys of life, nor yet the 'Musarum sacerdos' proclaiming lessons of duty or acquiescence to his countrymen, but rather, as in some of the *Odes* that strike the deepest note, the utterer of the 'Cea naenia' over the fall of the Republic.

The chief value of Mr. Tunison's studies is not that which he claims for them—the establishment of a rational bond of connexion between the legends which gathered round the name and memory of Virgil in the Middle Ages, and the personality of the poet as known from the evidence of contemporaries and others near his time, or as impressed on his poetry. It seems impossible to establish any such connexion, at least in detail, though there are a very few elements in some of the legends, as for instance the friendship of Augustus for Virgil

"(Dilecti tibi Vergilius Variusque poetae)," which are in accordance with known facts. But if a scientific explanation of the genesis of these legends is to be attempted—though for such an attempt one might almost suggest the motto,

Nilo plus agas,
Quam sides operam ut cum ratione insanias—

it can only be done by a comparison with all the other crude beginnings of mediaeval romance. The value of Mr. Tunison's work—and that, notwithstanding my disagreement with many of his views, I think very considerable—is that it supplies materials

for such a study; and it has the further value that it is the only book in the English language which gives in any detail the legends themselves associated with the name of Virgil.

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GREEK VERSION OF OVID'S *HEROIDES* BY PLANUDES.

De Heroidum Ovidii codice Planudeo.
Scripsit ALFREDUS GUEDEMAN, Americanus.
Berolini, 1888. 3 Mk.

THOUGH his translation of the *Metamorphoses* has been long known, by a curious fate the Greek version by Planudes of the *Heroides* has been hitherto unpublished. It is true this work had not escaped Naugerius, who quotes it on *H.* vi. 103, which Gudeman does not notice; but beyond Dilthey's disparaging account of one epistle (*De Callimachi Cydippe*, p. 139), we have as yet had no trustworthy information; and to Gudeman belongs the credit of first clearly demonstrating the value of this version, which has been transcribed for him from two MSS. by Dr. Treu. Planudes is here shown to have been a scrupulous translator, adhering usually even to the order of the words in his original; hence, if only he used a good MS., his work must be of great critical use. Though his Latin is not always as good as his Greek,—thus *degener* he connects apparently with *deus* and renders by *διογενής*,—still mistakes are rare; and the fidelity as a whole of his version is remarkable, even in such small points as the turning of the pronouns, *ille* being consistently rendered by *ἐκεῖνος*, *iste* by *οὗτος*, and *ipse* by *αὐτός*. By an exhaustive comparison of readings Gudeman shows that the Latin MS. used by Planudes, which he names D, came from the same archetype as all our MSS., that it is most nearly related to our best MS. P, though it represents a different stage of descent in the same family, that these two alone concur frequently in the genuine reading, though we are not surprised to find that D is often right where P is wrong, and the converse not seldom the case, that it belongs to a group totally different from our next best MS. G, to which it is superior, and that the same is the case to a greater extent with regard to all the other MSS. It is to be regretted that in the comparative tables Gudeman frequently gives the readings of D

in Latin as restored by him, omitting the Greek; we should like to see the Greek of the whole MS., as there are evidently some mistakes in his tables. Thus *H.* iii. 154 the Greek *δεσπότου τρόπον* shows that D read *more* not *iure*, about which Gudeman hesitates. iv. 124 *tollendi* is mistranslated *ἀνξήθηναι* by Planudes, thinking no doubt of such phrases as Horace's *tergeminis tollere honoribus*; there is no need with Gudeman to suppose that D read *augendi*, which will not scan. vi. 147 for *sospesque* *ἴσως* is given, whence Gudeman restores *fortasse*: rather, as is shown on p. 14, Planudes used a glossed

fortasse
MS., which read *tutus sospesque fuisses*: the *fortasse*, which was added, as is so common in Ovid MSS., to explain the subj., was mistaken by Planudes for a correction. vii. 160 *perque fugae comites, Dardana sacra, deos*: Gr. *πρὸς τῶν τῆς φηγῆς μετασχόντων σοι Δαρδανίων θεῶν*. Gudeman supposes that D had *Dardaniusque deos*; but where has the *-que* vanished to in the Greek? I suppose rather that the exegetic *Dardana sacra* is here merely paraphrased. ix. 145 *τίς ἐξέκαστε* points to *quis ussit* not *urit*. Gudeman prints the Greek of the whole of the fifth epistle with the Latin, as reconstructed, side by side; here again I think he is not always right, and his Greek MS. requires some correction: l. 1 *perlege! non est, ἀλλ' ἀναγίνωσκε. οὐδὲ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.* perhaps D read *sed lege*. l. 10 *edita de magno flumine nymphe fuit, μέγαλον ποταμοῦ φύσα νύμφη*. Read *μέγαλον* <ἀπὸ> *ποταμοῦ*, the error being due to the avoidance of dittography, for Planudes is very careful with prepositions. l. 18 *tegeret, κρύπτει*. Read *κρύπτοι*. l. 30 *recurret, δρόμοιο*. D read *recurrat*, a wish. l. 38 *gelidusque cucurrit, ut mihi narrasti, dure, per ossa tremor, καὶ τρόμος ψυχρός, ὅτε μοι διηγῆσω, διέδραμε τὰ ὀστά*. Gudeman supposes that D omitted *dure*. Rather read *διηγῆσω*, <ὀμέ>, *διέδραμε*. l. 45 *nostros flentis ocellos, τοὺς ἡμετέροισι δακρυόσας ὀφθαλμούς*. Read *δακρυόσας*. l. 67 *terrasque cita ratis attigit*