

## VICUS ANDICUS „THE VERGILIAN NATIVE VILLAGE“

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The Philology is still debating the various questions and the different problems concerning the *Publius Vergilius Maro's* life; the Philologists still hold proceedings at open, at closed courts, each and everybody trying by hook and by crook to defend theories, ideas and fantasies, *ex uniuscuiusque ingenio* variously interpreting the Mantuan Poet's works, words, world and ideal.

The issue of all the proceedings in the long course of time has already filled and curved down long lines of bookshelves but "*cum bona pace*" of all the Scholars and "*cum bona venia*" of all the Philologists who have spent a lot of time trying to find the correct answer to the: "*Where was the Vergil's native vicus?*" question, the matter's problematicity not yet resolved, it is still not cleared up.

The not removed doubts were present to Tunney Frank, who in the article: "*What do we know about Vergil?*", with candid eyes investigated the problems and questions regarding the Mantuan Poet<sup>1</sup>; same problems and questions were present to R. Ellis, who, *ore rotundo*, declaring: "*Minus etiam mihi quidem sciri videtur quam quod illi*"<sup>2</sup>, raised the *pessimismus*' rate, increasing the uncertainties in the problems concerning the Vergil's life, works, history and ideals.

Scant, scarce and contradictory testimonies are quotable from the direct source: the Poet's "*Works*", from the indirect source: the "*Lives*" and the "*Commentaries*" of the ancient Exegetes and, lastly, from the learned "*Conclusions*" of the modern Scholars and the contemporary erudite men. Respecting the Dynamic Philology's fundamental axioms, we open the inquiry focusing firstly on the direct source, quoting the passages the Poet has transmitted to us from His works. From the direct source: the Poet's works, we quote:

- 1) "*Mantua quod fuerat quodque Cremona prius*"<sup>3</sup>;
- 2) "*Sive Mantuam / Opus foret volare sive Brixiam*"<sup>4</sup>;
- 3) "*Superet modo Mantua nobis*"<sup>5</sup>;
- 4) "*Mantua vae miserae nimium vicina Cremonae*"<sup>6</sup>;
- 5) "*Infelix amisit Mantua campum*"<sup>7</sup>;
- 6) "*Referam tibi, Mantua, palmas*"<sup>8</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> T. Frank, "*What we know about Vergil?*", *Class. Journal*, XXVI (1930-31).

<sup>2</sup> C. Hardie, *Vitae Vergilianae Antiquae*, Oxford, 1957, Clarendon Press, p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> *Kataleptōn* VIII, 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Kataleptōn* X, 4-5.

<sup>5</sup> Verg. *Ecl.* IX, 27.

<sup>6</sup> Verg. *Ecl.* IX, 28.

<sup>7</sup> Verg. *Georg.* II, 198.

<sup>8</sup> Verg. *Georg.* III, 12.

7) "Matrisque tibi dedit, Mantua, nomen";

8) "Mantua me genuit"<sup>10</sup>.

The first passage is quoted from the VIII th *Katalepton*. In the VIII th *Katalepton*, the Poet having lost His estate in the Mantuan Padania, makes vows that the *Sironis villula* and the *pauper agellus* substituting the lost landed property, expropriated to favour the *Augustus'* veterans, could nourish and maintain all His relatives and in *primis patrem*: the Poet's father<sup>11</sup>.

*Mantua* and *Cremona*: the two cities named together, together indicate the Poet's estate or farm which stretched from the *ager Mantuanus* over the *Cremona's* borderline, in the *ager Cremonensis*: a no small farm, indeed!<sup>12</sup>.

Naming *Cremona*, naming *Mantua*, the Poet certainly intended that portion of the *ager Mantuanus* and of the *ager Cremonensis* in which the Poet's father had aggrandized the estate of his father-in-law: *Publius Magius*, of his wife: *Magia Polla*, before the violent expulsion of all the legitimate lands owners suspected in the *Augustus'* eyes of "neutrality" or "pompeianism"<sup>13</sup>.

In the VIII th *Katalepton*, there is allusion to the expropriation of lands and farms in the *ager Mantuanus* and in the *ager Cremonensis*, there is allusion to *Mantua* and its territory, there is allusion to *Cremona* and its territory but there is no allusion to *Mantua* as the Poet's birthplace as there is no allusion to *Cremona* as the native city of the Poet. We underline only the notice of the proximity of *Mantua* and *Cremona* which results from the Poet's verse.

The second passage is quoted from the Xth *Katalepton*. For the first time, the short and brilliant *carmen* gains evidence and importance in the eyes of all the learned men for the solution of the question of the *vicus Andicus*: the "village" or "farm" where *Magia Polla* gave birth to her son *Vergilius*. The Poet admirably parodies the famous *Catullus'* "Phaselus ille", praising a mule and celebrating the mulateer *Sabinus'* glorious undertakings when he "flying" with his mule to *Brixia*, "flying" to *Mantua*, reached the two cities as he liked.

The glorious "flights" of the mulateer *Sabinus* had large resonance in *Cremona* and were celebrated overall the Cisalpine and the Transpadane Gaul. *Mantua* and *Brixia*: two cities in the same map, in the same zone of the Padanian valley but in opposite direction, appear to be the *termini ad quos*, of the mulateer *Sabinus'* glorious "flights" which presuppose a starting-point: "terminus a quo", located evidently at a halfway distance from the two cities: *Brixia* and *Mantua*. If we measure and divide the total

<sup>9</sup> Verg. Aen. X. 200—201.

<sup>10</sup> "Ezstat apud Probum Donatum Hieronymum nisi quod v. 2 pasqua poma phruges Probi Vaticanus exhinet quae interpolator nescio quis lusit" (O. Ribbeck, *Publi Vergilii Maronis Opera*, B. G. Teubner, Lipsia 1872, p. XXIX).

<sup>11</sup> In a successive paper we'll try to ascertain what is ascertainable about the Poet's family, father, mother and grand-father because in the matter there is great trouble and confusion.

<sup>12</sup> There is a common "topic" in the Latin Literature: the "pauper agellus" predicated of some Latin writers; everybody speaks and writes about the poverty of the Roman writers, neglecting that in those ancient times, the studies were reserved for the few persons who had the necessary means to face the expenses of a course of regular studies in the schools of richly paid teachers: *magistri*, *retores*.

<sup>13</sup> The *Publius Magius Cremonensis* who was *magister fabrum* in the Pompeian Army, was certainly a "pompeianist" and "pompeianists" were for sure all the *Magii* who lived in the "rura" and in the "villae" of the *ager Cremonensis* and of the *ager Mantuanus*. In the matter's reality, the "neutrality" was not different from the "pompeianism" and the political tendency adverse to *Augustus* explains the land's expropriation directed to chastise not innocent people and citizens but the personal and irriducible foes of the Man at that time in power at Rome. "Italiae ergo civitatibus diversas partes sequentibus Cremonenses et Mantuani neutri sunt auxiliati; sed hoc Augustus indignatus, veteranis quorum operam in bello habuerat, agros Cremonensium dividi iussit et si non sufficissent, Mantuanos adiungi" (Prob. Verg. Vita).

distance between *Brixia* and *Mantua*, the supposed starting-point of the *Sabinus'* *Vflicus*, and *Sabinus* if not a relative, was assuredly a Poet's personal acquaintance<sup>14</sup>, is to be located in the Casalpoglio, Castel Goffredo and Calvisano's lands for the three following reasons: 1) the mentioned lands' zone occupies the centre of the triangle: *Mantua*, *Cremona*, *Brixia* in full harmony with the reference of the Xth *Katalepton*; 2) the mentioned lands zone occupies the extension of the *ager Mantuanus* at halfway distance from *Mantua* and *Brixia* in harmony with the reference of the Xth *Katalepton*; 3) the mentioned zone stretched all along the border-line of the *ager Cremonensis* in harmony with the reference of the VIIIth *Katalepton*.

At this stage of the inquiry we underline the importance of the three requisites essential and necessary to determine the *vicus Andicus* locality, respecting all the testimonies transmitted to us from the direct source: the Poet's works.

In the poem: "*Sabinus ille*", Vergil speaks of *Brixia*, of *Cremona*, of *Mantua*, of the Cisalpine and Transpadane Gaul but He does not praise *Mantua* as His native city or birthplace. The third passage is quoted from the IXth Eclogue. The Poet names *Mantua* but saying *Mantua* by way of metonymy and *synecdoche*, He understands the *ager Mantuanus* stretching along the *Cremona's* border and containing the Poet's landed estate subjected to the immediate lands' confiscation's menace. The Poet, sure, names *Mantua* but He thinks of the *Magianum*: the grand-father's farm. He hopes to preserve from the rapacious hands of the *impii milites Augustani*<sup>15</sup>.

In the city's name: *Mantua*, no allusion to *Mantua* as the Poet's birthplace.

The fourth passage is quoted from the same IXth Eclogue. The Poet manifests great anxiety fearing *Cremona* by its proximity menacing *Mantua*: i.e. all the landed proprieties spreading on the *ager Mantuanus* along the *Cremonensis ager's* border-line. In *Cremona* the Poet sees the direct cause of damage and ruine not for *Mantua* city but for the *ager Mantuanus* and for all the people: "*veteres coloni*" who owend land and farm in that part of the Mantuan Padania. The Poet names *Mantua*, names *Cremona* but clearly He understands the *ager Cremonensis* and the *ager Mantuanus*, the cause of the expropriation being not the proximity of the two *agri* but the "neutrality" or "pompeianism" of the *coloni Cremonenses et Mantuani*<sup>16</sup>, condemned to undergo all the misfortunes to favour the *Augustus'* veterans: "*Veteres migrate coloni*"<sup>17</sup>. Non damage, non ruine, no expropriation overtook the city of *Mantua* in that period; in the verse there is no hint at *Mantua* as the Poet's birthplace.

The fifth passage is quoted from the Georgics' IInd book. The Poet's vows were not granted and not vouchsafed<sup>18</sup> and Vergil lost all His landed property. *Mantua* saw all the lands spreading from the *ager Cremonensis'* border-line till the distance of three Roman miles: *milia passuum III* from the city's walls, pass from the legitimate owners

<sup>14</sup> "P. Magius who wrote the inscription of Casalpoglio... had to wife a lady named *Assellia Sabina*; and... we know from two other quite distinct sources that this *cognomen*: *Sabina* was associated with the Vergilian family. First, from Vergil's own poem saying goodbye to his schooldays (*Ite hinc inanes*) in which he bids farewell with special affection to a boy called *Sabinus*... and, secondly, from the inscription found, according to *Jucundus*, at *Pietole*... We do not know what the *Sabin*... whom the fragment names, had to do with *P. Vergilius* whom (presumably) the inscription commemorated or honoured in some way which we cannot now identify" (R. S. Conway, *Further Considerations on the site of Vergil's farm*, *The Class. Quart.*, April 1931, pp. 65—66).

<sup>15</sup> Verg. Ecl. II, 70.

<sup>16</sup> "Exorto bello civili, *Cremonenses cum ceteris eiusdem studii adversarios Augusti Caesaris adiuvissent. Unde factum est ut, cum victor Augustus in eorum agros veteranos deduci iussisset, non sufficiente agro Cremonensium, Mantuani quoque, in quibus erat enim Poeta Vergilius, maximam partem finium suorum perderent eo quod vicini Cremonensium fuerant*" (Don. Praef. Buc.)

<sup>17</sup> Verg. Ecl. IX, 4.

<sup>18</sup> "Postea ab Augusto missis triumphis et ipsi ager est redditus et Mantuanis pro parte. Hinc est quod cum in prima Ecloga legimus eum recepisse agrum, postea eum querentem invenimus ut (IX.11—13)" (Serv. Praef. Buc.).

"Quidam autem dicunt primitus agros a Pollione redditos, posquam autem Varos successit Pollioni, adempti sunt" (Schol. Bern. ad. Ecl. IX).

to the Augustus' veterans<sup>19</sup>. The Poet's estate was definitely expropriated and the Poet saw a real life danger<sup>20</sup>. The Poet names Mantua but assuredly He understands the *ager Mantuanus* and particularly His estate forever lost but He does not hint at Mantua as His birthplace.

The sixth passage is quoted from the Georgics IIIrd book. The Poet sings Mantua, Vergil sings and praises the Mantuan landscape and the river *Mincius'* tortuous banks and the grassy grazing ground all around; in this fortunate stretch of land near Mantua and on the *Mincius'* cane covered banks, the Poet had in mind to raise a large, noble marble temple in Augustus' honour<sup>21</sup>.

The name of Mantua in the Georgics IIIrd book bears no hint at the city as the Poet's birthplace.

The seventh passage is quoted from the Aeneid Xth book. Epically the Poet sings the Mantua's mythical origins; the Poet celebrates the Mantua's glorious founders and the four ancient peoples who lived in Mantua and the Etruscans who in Mantua and in the Mantuan land-district left memories of their tongue, culture and political organization in their famous "Dodecapolis"<sup>22</sup>. The ancient history of the city of Mantua was certainly known to the Poet who in His native land saw the remains of the Etruscans culture but Vergil lived His youth years and days in the Mantuan Padania where Roman settlers were supplanting the Celtic tribes which had supplanted the Etruscans<sup>23</sup>. Recording Etruscans, the Poet exalted and enobled Mantua but in the name of the Etruscans, in the name of Mantua and in the remembrance of the city's glorious history there is no hint at Mantua as the Poet's birthplace.

The eighth passage is quoted from the Poet's Epitaph sculptured on the Poet's funeral monument raised "in via Puteolana, intra secundum lapidem"<sup>24</sup>. At the present stage of the inquiry, it does not matter if the Epitaph is genuine or not; it is important to underline that the expression: "Mantua me genuit" assumed in Roman mouths and ears twofold, possible significations: 1) "Mantua brought me forth"; 2) "I was born in Mantuan territory", the name "Mantua" signifying both the city and the city's district or territory. The Romans used to name the *oppidum*, the *civitas*, the *municipium* instead of the territory and the *vici* pertaining to the *oppidum*, to the *civitas*, to the *municipium*. Respecting the Roman custom, willfully the Poet spoke of Mantua and not of the *ager Mantuanus* as did Marcus Tullius Cicero who spoke of Arpinum and He knew He was not born in the *municipium* but in the country: *ager Arpinas*, on the right bank of the *Fibrenus* river not far from Sora and close to the marvelous s. Dominique's benedictine church and Abbey; Vergil spoke of Mantua but He knew He was born in the country: *ager Mantuanus*, as Gaius Marius, the seventime consul, spoke of Arpinum but He knew

<sup>19</sup> "Quod Mantuanis per iniquitatem Alfeni Vari qui agros divisit, praeter palustria nihil relictum sit, sicut ex oratione Cornelii in Alfenum ostenditur cum iussus tria milia passuum a muro in diversa relinquere, vix octingentos passus aquae.... reliquisti" (Serv. ad Ecl. IX, 10).

<sup>20</sup> "Promeruit ut agros suos reciperet et eo facto concitaverat in se veteranos adeo ut a Milieno Torone primipilari paene sit interfectus nisi fugisset ut contestatur ipse cum ait: Ecl. IX, 14-16" (Prob. Verg. Vita).

<sup>21</sup> Verg. Georg. III, 12.

<sup>22</sup> Nota la "Lega dei Dodici Popoli" o dei "Dodici Rasenna" delle genti etrusche che inviava i rappresentanti delle singole città nelle assemblee che si tenevano nel "Fanum Voltumnae". La "Dodecapoli" potrebbe chiarire il vergiliano: "Gens illi triplex, populi sub gente quaterni" (Aen. X, 202).

<sup>23</sup> "Per Mantova... possiamo ammettere che essa sia stata fondata dagli Etruschi, attratti dalla sua posizione isolata che poteva offrire delle difese naturali.... due epigrafi etrusche in cui appare il gentilizio: „Manthvate“, probabilmente derivato dal nome: "Manthva" che doveva essere quello della città" (A. M. Tamassia, Cittadini Mantovani d'età romana, in Atti e Memorie Accad. Virg. Mantova, Nuova Serie, vol. XXXV, 1965, Mantova, Frat. Tedioli, pp. 59 e 61).

<sup>24</sup> "Si può comunque dire che tutta la regione fu occupata dai Galli mentre la città" (Mantova) nell'isolamento che le proveniva dalla sua posizione geografica, può aver mantenuto a lungo una forte preminenza di popolazione indigena che faceva risalire le sue origini agli Etruschi" (A. M. Tamassia, op. cit., p. 62).

He was born in *Cereate*, near *Casamari*, famous for the splendid benedictine Abbey and for the "*Chartae Capuanae*". *Arpinum* was the district's *municipium* and saying *Arpinum* the Romans easily understood the city of *Arpinum* or the district: *ager Arpinas*, including all the villages: *vici*, and the farms: *villae*, scattered in the *municipium*'s territory.

*Mantua* and *Arpinum*: the Romans preferred the *municipium*'s name when they had in mind or spoke of the territory or the *municipium*'s district<sup>25</sup>. In the *Epitaph*, there is no hint at *Mantua* as the Poet's native city; the matter's evidence does not expostulate glosses nor erudite and fatuous postills.

Concluding the inquiry's first part conducted upon the direct source: the Poet's works, we are able to affirm that *Publius Vergilius Maro* was assuredly "*Mantuan*" not because He was born in the city of *Mantua* but because He was born somewhere following the Poet's testimonies, we are assured that *Vergilius* was born in that part of the *ager Mantuanus* which sided the "*ager Cremonensis*" border-line and by a rough guess, in the Castel Goffredo's zone, eventually the starting-point: *terminus a quo*, of all the *Sobinus* impetuous "flights" towards *Mantua*, towards *Brixia*: *termini ad quos*, indifferently. That is all we draw from the Poet's own works and the Vergil's references are incontestable.

Few, contradictory and different references are quotable from the indirect sources: the "*Lives*" and "*Commentaries*" of the ancient Exegetes:

- 1) "*Vico Andico qui abest a Mantua milia passuum XXX*" — BGMPV<sup>26</sup>—;
- 2) "*Vico Andico qui abest a Mantua milia passuum III—E—27*;
- 3) "*In pago qui Andes dicitur et abest a Mantua non procul*"<sup>28</sup>;
- 4) "*Civis Mantuanus quae civitas est Venetiae*"<sup>29</sup>;
- 5) "*In pago qui Andes dicitur et abest a Mantua haut procul*"<sup>30</sup>;
- 6) "*Mantua Romuleae generavit flumina linguae*"<sup>31</sup>;
- 7) "*A rure Mantuano, Poeta*"<sup>32</sup>.

The first passage comes from the *Servius* Vergil Life.

The ancient Commentator wrote "*Vico Andico*" and affirming that the Poet was born in a "*vicus*". He implicitly denied that Vergil was born in *Mantua* which was considered "*civitas*" and "*urbs*" but never a "*vicus*" a "*vicus Andicus*" particularly<sup>33</sup>. *Servius* did not exclude the "*mantuanitas*" of the Poet, implicitly hinted at with the expression: "*vicus Andicus*". At the present stage of the investigation, if it is not easy, if not impossible, to determine if "*vicus*" signified: "*village*" or "*farm*" it is plainly simple to acknowledge that the adjectif "*Andicus*" surprisingly as the *Medusa*'s terrible head, has petrified all the learned persons in the long row from the Humanists to the contemporary Scholars, causing a lot of confusion among the Philologists who all in the expression: "*vicus Andicus*" saw and see the name of the "*village*" which gave the birthplace to Vergil and all, *exultantes veluti invento Api* not in Egypt but in the Mantuan Padania, understand "*vicus Andicus*" as the "*andes village*": the

<sup>24</sup> "*Ossa eius Neapolim translata in secundo ab urbe miliario sepeliuntur*" (Hieronym. *Chronicon*) "*In eius sepulcro quod est in via Puteolana, hoc legitur epigramma*" (Prob. *Verg. Vita*) "*Ossa eius Neapolim translata sunt tumuloque condita, qui (erat) via Puteolana, intra lapidem secundum*" (Don.)

<sup>25</sup> "*Municipia dicebantur civitates suo iure et legibus gaudentes, muneribus tamen Populi Romani et honoribus gaudentes*" (Gell., *Noct. Att.*, 13).

<sup>26</sup> C. Hardie, *Vitae Vergilianae Antiquae*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1957, p. 22.

<sup>27</sup> P. Vergili Maronis *Opera: Bucolica, Georgica, Aeneis*, ed. I. B. Egnatius, Venetiis, 1507.

<sup>28</sup> C. Hardie, op. cit., p. 3.

<sup>29</sup> C. Hardie, op. cit., p. 17.

<sup>30</sup> C. Hardie, op. cit., p. 32.

<sup>31</sup> C. Hardie, op. cit., p. 26.

<sup>32</sup> Macrobian. *Sat.* V, 2.

<sup>33</sup> Verg. *Ecl.* I, 19—20; *Ecl.* I, 34; *Ecl.* IX, 62.



village named Andes<sup>34</sup>. "A ciò si aggiunga, wrote E. Paratore trying to shun the petrification's menace, la stranezza della forma Andico o Andino se vogliamo dare alla lezione di "N" il valore di un'autorevole variante. A. Mazzarino richiama la mia attenzione sul fatto che il esito aggettivale di un nome di luogo in: -es, -ium, costituisce un unicum: Cales dà Calenus, Gades dà Gaditanus, Sardes dà Sardius o Sarditanus. Si può rispondere però che questi esiti sono tutti differenti tra loro e che gli stessi fenomeni ci presentano gli aggettivi derivanti dai nomi di città di forma plurale della prima declinazione..... si potrebbe perciò ritenere altrettanto legittimo e classico l'esito Andicus da Andes. Ma è un fatto che la tradizione umanistica — come ha reagito a lungo andare al falso grossolano, barbarico milia passuum XXX della "Vita" — così non ha voluto inchinarsi alla tradizione manoscritta della "Vita" per questa forma Andicus forse anch'essa barbarica e ha proclamato la regolarità della forma Andinus<sup>35</sup>.

In order to avoid the peril of petrification from the ambiguous Andicus, investigating the name: "Andes", we find a double explanation of the same name:

- 1) *Andes* V. Koseform fuer Andecavi mit Anjou: *Civitas Andecavorum* Caes. G.G.2, 35, 3: "Ipse in Carnutes, Andes, Turones quaeque civitates propinque his locis erant, ubi bellum gesserat, legionibus in hiberna deductis, in Italiam profectus est". 3, 7, 2: "Publius Crassus adulescens cum legione septima proximus mare Oceanum in Andibus hiemarat". 7, 4, 6: (Vercingetorix) "Celeriter sibi Senones, Parisios, Pictones, Cadurcos, Turones, Aulercos, Lemovices, Andes, reliquosque omnes, qui Oceanum attingunt, adiungit".
- 75, 3, 13: "Andibus" Hirtius B.G. 3, 26, 2, 7: "A Dumaco, duce Andium<sup>36</sup>.
- 2) "Andes O. bei Mantua, j. Pietola. Vita Vergili de comm. Probi sublata, p. 52 Reiff.: in vico Andibus qui abest a Mantua milia passuum XXX. Donati Vita Vergili p. 54, Reiff.: in pago, qui Andes vocatur et abest a Mantua non procul. Cod. Bamberg. P. II, 33 fol. 11, col. 2: Andes: pagus unde Vergilius natus est, civitati Mantuae vicinus. Hieron. Chron. a. Abr.; 1948: Vergilius Maro in pago qui Andes dicitur haut procul a Mantua nascitur, Pompeio et Crasso consulibus<sup>37</sup>.

Before this doublefaced name of Andes there is great responsibility in the choice: "Hic Rhodus, hic salta!". Andes: a tribe's name or a celtic village's name? This is the double question and the question's challenge requires a clear answer and a limpid explanation. The direct source: The *Julius Caesar* and *Hirtius* testimonies and references give notice of a celtic tribe named: "Andes", which in the Transalpine Gaul occupied the lands stretching after the confluence of the Sarthe and Loir, both rivers tributaries of the Loira: *Ligeris fluvius*, closed northward by the *Aulerci*, westward by the *Turones*, eastward by the *Carnutes*. The existence in the Transalpine Gaul of the "Andes" tribe is deniable only by the persons who dare trample with their feet upon the testimonies of so limpid, sure and direct source. In the Transalpine Gaul there were *oppida*: fortified cities with composite names ending in: -briga, in: -dunum, -dunon, in: -magus (magos): there were also *oppida* with singular names, e.g.: *Gergovia*, *Bibracte*, *Lutetia*, *Avaricum*<sup>38</sup> but there is non *oppidum* nor *vicus* bearing the name of the tribe but we find *pagi* known with the name of the respective tribe<sup>39</sup>. Respecting the nomadic custom of the celtic population, the choosed part of the *Insubri*, *Senones*, *Boi*, *Cenomani*, *Allo-*

<sup>34</sup> "Itaque statuendum est Andes non vici sed pagi fuisse nomen (ut nunc dicimus Reims a Remis, Trier a Treueris) ac recte quidem scribi "in Andibus" vel "in pago Andico", contra falso "Andibus" qua de re cf. Brugmann Woelff 1. Archiv XIII 134" (J. Zwicker, De vocabulis et rebus Gallicis sive Transpadanis apud Vergilium, Lipsia, Noske, 1905, p. 17).

<sup>35</sup> E. Paratore, Una nuova ricostruzione del "De Poetis" di Suetonio, Bari, Adriatic Ed. 1949, p. 133.

<sup>36</sup> A. Holder, Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz, Er. Band, A—H, Lipsia, B. G. Teubner, 1896, col. 146.

<sup>37</sup> A. Holder, op. cit., col. 146.

<sup>38</sup> We may also quote among the gallic cities: *oppida*: *Tarufatum oppidum* in the *Tarufates*, *Tolosa oppidum* in the *Tolosates*, *Sontiatum oppidum* in the *Sontiates*, *Boia oppidum* in the *Boi*, *Lemovicum oppidum* in the *Lemovices*, *Venetia oppidum* in the *Veneti*.

*brogi*, *Andes* and *Taurini*, in successive waves crossed the Alps and descending from the mountains, occupied the Padania or Cisalpine Gaul, submerging the local population and supplanting the conquerors Etruscans, each tribe selecting its own territory: the *Senones* the *Piceum*; the *Boi* the large plain stretching along the right bank of the Po river, after the destruction of the etruscan *Felsina*; the *Cenomani* the *Brixia's* territory and the *Andes* choosed the Mantuan Padania while the *Taurini* remained in the country-hill of the Piedmont region. The celtic tribes fixed in the occupied territories their original organization, dividing the occupied lands called: "*tuath*" (irish), "*pagus*" (latin), "*Gau*" (german); in the *pagus*'lands the tribe raised the *vici*: 1) villages for many families, 2) farms for one family: *fundus* (latin): "*unità con propri boschi, campi, vigneti, fabbri ed officine che ebbe un nome proprio che veniva conservato anche quando cambiavano i proprietari*"<sup>39</sup>; the "*oppida*": fortified cities securing defense when the *pagus* was under hostile attack. The celtic organization and administration's system was much alike in all the lands occupied and controlled by the celtic tribes.

The territory was divided in: 1) *pagus*, 2) *oppida*, 3) *vici*, 4) *fundi*<sup>40</sup>: this administrative division explains the celtic name: "*tuath Andes*", the latin name: "*pagus Andicus*" given to the lands of the Mantuan Padania occupied by the *Andes*'tribe, explains also the expression: "*vicus Andicus*" as the: "*village of the Andes*" or the "*farm of the Andes*". The Mantuan Padania was therefore known after the gallic conquest as the "*pagus Andicus*", as "*ager Mantuanus*" after the roman conquest; "*pagus Andicus*", "*ager Mantuanus*": two different denominations for the same territory, due to two different peoples, to two different administrative organizations in successive times: the Gauls supplanting the Etruscans, the Romans supplanting the Gauls. Vergil evidently knew and probably He had under His eyes the presence and the memoirs of the Etruscans in the Mantuan district<sup>41</sup> but He, Roman citizen, lived among the Gauls *Andes* which under the Roman Eeagle were living with the *veteres Romani coloni*<sup>42</sup>. *Pagus Andicus*: the *Andes*'canton, the *Andes*'civitas; *Andes*: the tribe's name, the lands' name.

It is easy, it is possible to extract from the indirect source the name of the celtic tribe: *Andes*, and its derivate adjectif: *Andicus*, but remains unknown the name of the *vicus* if all the *vici* scattered in the *Andes*'territory in the Padania, were a *fortiori* and all *vici Andici*. The adjectif: *Andicus* is regular as regular are all the other adjectifs ending in: *-icus*, *-ica*, *-icum*, derivated from names of celtic tribes and not from names of *oppida* or *vici* because there are many examples of many celtic tribes with names ending in: *-es*, *-ium* but we have no adjectif in: *-icus*, *-ica*, *-icum* derivated from villages' or city's name ending in: *-es*, *-ium*, in celtic territories and lands<sup>43</sup>.

Laid down the necessary premise to avoid the adjectif *Andicus*'petrification's menace, we recomence the inquiry of the first passage quoted from *Servius*" Vergil's Life. *Servius* neglecting the *vicus* name, did not neglect the *vicus Andicus* distance from

<sup>39</sup> "In Treviris vico Ambitarvio supra Confluentes". Here we have the general region (*Treviri*), the nearest large center (*Confluentes*) and the village itself (*Ambitarvium*) (E. K. Rand. Once more Vergil's birthplace. Harv. Stud. of Class. Philol., 1933, pp. 63). "Ipse in Carnutes, Andes, Turones quae civitates propinquae his locis erant, ubi bellum gesserat, legionibus in hiberna deductis, in Italiam profectus est" (Caes. B. G., II, 17).

(Publius Crassus) "quem cum legione una miserat ad Venetos, Unellos, Osimios, Curiosolitas, Sesuvios, Aulercos, Rhedones quae sunt maritimae civitates Oceanumque attingunt" (Caes. B. G. II, 17).

<sup>40</sup> J. Filip, I Celti alle origini dell'Europa, Newton Compton, Roma, 1980, pp. 199—200.

<sup>41</sup> *Pagus*: il territorio della tribù; *oppidum*: centro fortificato; *vicus*: villaggio; *fundus*: fattoria di notevole estensione con campi, vigneti, prati e selve e boschi.

<sup>42</sup> "Mantua Tuscorum trans Padum sola reliqua" (Plin. N. H. 3, 130).

<sup>43</sup> Verg. Ecl. IX, 4.

<sup>44</sup> "Santonicus, adj. ad Santones pertinens: Oceani litora Santonici" (Tib. I, 3, 10) (E. Forcellini, Lex. Tot. Lat., Padova, Tip. Sem., 1940, s.v.).

"Turonicus (Turonicus) adj. ad Turones pertinens" (E. Forcellini, op. cit., s.v.).

"Bigerrius (Bigerrores): populi Galliae Aquitaniae ad montem Pyrenaeum): adj. ut: Bigerrius turbo, Sidon. Ep. 3, 12"; (A. Stubelius, Thes. Erud. Schol., Lipsia, 1717, s.v.).

*Mantua: milia passuum XXX*, thirty Roman miles sufficient to fix the *vicus Andicus*: Vergil's birthplace on the Mantuan map: the *Mantuanus ager*. *Mantua: terminus a quo* and the *vicus Andicus: terminus ad quem*, don't facilitate the collocation of this *vicus Andicus* on the irregular map of the *ager Mantuanus*<sup>45</sup>.

To solve the riddle of the impasse, we draw a circumference upon the map with center in *Mantua* and a radius of *milia passuum XXX*: thirty Roman miles. We must concede that all the *vici Andici* scattered in the *ager Mantuanus* within the circumference with radius of thirty Roman miles, may reclaim the honour to have been the Vergil's birthplace. *Servius* however spoke of one *vicus Andicus* and this one *vicus* located somewhere in the *pagus Andicus* or *Mantuanus ager*, excludes all other *vici Andici* situated within the circumference of thirty Roman miles of radius with center in *Mantua*. In order to find a solution, we proceed to divide the circumference in four quadrants; we numerate the quadrants clockwise with progressive numbers: 1, 2, 3, 4; of the four quadrants we exclude the quadrants numbered: 1, 3 and 4, choosing the quadrant numbered 2 for the following reasons: 1) the quadrant number: 2 contains that part of the *ager Mantuanus* which stretched all along the *ager Cremonensis* borderline, thus confirming the lands' expropriation, the references, testimonies and passages quoted from the direct source; the Poet's works: 2) the quadrant number: 2 confirms the *Xth Kateleptōn* because only in this quadrant may be located the starting-point of all the "flights" of the mulateer *Sabinus* to *Mantua* and to *Brixia*; 3) the quadrant number: 2 confirms also all the references of the indirect source: the "Lives" and the "Commentaries" of the ancient Exegetes. Three then the requisites essential and necessary to locate the *vicus Andicus* on the irregular map of the mantuan district: 1) the *ager Cremonensis* border-line; 2) the halfway distance from *Mantua* and from *Brixia*; 3) the distance of thirty Roman miles: *milia passuum XXX* from *Mantua*: the mother-city. The three requisites converge on the Castel Goffredo, Casalpoglio and Calvisano's zone which occupies the center of the quadrant number: 2 and stretches along the border-line of the *Cremona's* district. This *vicus Andicus*: "village of the *Andes*", or farm in the territory of the *Andes*; located on the quadrant number: 2, once and for all, excludes *Pietole* as the Poet's birthplace. *Pietole* located at three miles distance from *Mantua* and in the opposite direction, compels to deny the canonical identity: "*Andes = Pietole*" for the following reasons: 1) *Andes* was a *celtic tribe's name*, not a *village's name*; 2) *Pietole* and its land are not along the *Cremona's* border-line; 3) *Pietole* is not at halfway distance from *Mantua* and from *Brixia*; 4) *Pietole* has not the distance of *milia passuum XXX* from *Mantua*: the mother-city.

The second passage is quoted from the Humanist *Egnatius*. *Egnatius*, *Merula's* disciple, stirred trouble and caused great agitation among the Humanists of his time, when he communicated to have read *milia passuum III* and not *milia passuum XXX*, in a *Bobbio's manuscript*<sup>46</sup>.

The *Egnatius'* new lecture divided in two groups the Humanists and the division is still active in our times: the ones favourable to the *Andes: Pietole's identity*, the others, they were and are very few, contrary to the same identity. The *Egnatius'* lecture is irrelevant for the following reasons: 1) the position of *Pietole* on the map doesn't explain the expropriation of the Vergil's farm near the *Cremona's* border-line; 2) *Pietole* may not be considered the starting-point of the *Sabinus* "flights" toward *Mantua* and *Brixia* because if *Pietole* could be the starting-point toward *Mantua*, it excludes the starting-point toward *Brixia*, located in the opposite direction; 3) *Pietole* at the distance of three miles from *Mantua*, does not explain the distance of the thirty roman miles as we read in the indirect sources. We conclude: *Pietole* has none of the three requisites essential and necessary to locate the *vicus Andicus* on the irregular map of the mantuan district and so permits us to declare the *Egnatius'* lecture unsatisfactory, if the references derived

<sup>45</sup> "Territorium Mantuanorum exiguum sine dubio ut ipsum oppidum parvum fuit, quatenus pervenerit, tituli parum indicant ut cuius de his liberum iudicium relinquatur" (Th. Mommsen, CIL, V, p. 406).

<sup>46</sup> The "*milia passuum XXX*" and the "*milia passuum III*"s problem and the various and marvelous theories expounded to give a solution to the question, shall be discussed in a successive article.



from the direct source : the Poet's own works, are true and irrefutable. The third passage is quoted from the *Donatus Vergil Life*. *Donatus* rightly calling "*pagus*" the "*tiath of the Andes*"<sup>47</sup> caused disturbance among the Scholars who negligently confused "*pagus*" with "*vicus*"; *Donatus* put greater confusion among the Scholars, when He gave the distance of the "*pagus*" from *Mantua* with the adverbial expression : "*non procul*". *Donatus* was right saying "*pagus*", *Donatus* had also good reasons writing "*non procul*"; it concerns the Dynamic Philology to try to find the *Donatus*'s reasons.

To understand the *Donatus*'s preference of "*pagus*", we must remember the difference existing between "*pagus*", "*oppidum*" and "*vicus*" in the lands and territories under celtic administrative organization's system. *Donatus* wrote "*pagus*" and He was right because "*pagus*" indicated the territory occupied by a celtic tribe; therefore the boundaries of the "*pagus*" were not the boundaries of the "*vicus*" as there were many "*vici*": "*villages*" or "*farms*". The difference between "*pagus*" and "*vici*" explains the difference of the distance from *Mantua* of the "*vicus Andicus*" indicated in *milia passuum XXX*: thirty Roman miles, and of the "*pagus*" distance from *Mantua* indicated in *milia passuum III*: three Roman miles. To fix the "*pagus*" distance from *Mantua*, *Donatus* used the adverbial expression: "*non procul*" with great pleasure of the Scholars who referring the "*non procul*" adverbial expression to the three Roman miles were assured to have the proof of the "*Andes = Pietole*"'s identity because *Pietole* was and is distant from *Mantua* "*milia passuum III*: three Roman miles.

*Donatus* is in the first place responsible of the "*Andes = Pietole*" identity; in the second place the same responsibility falls on *Hieronymus* who in his *Chronicon* wrote the quoted fifth passage only changing the donatian "*non procul*" with his "*haut procul*"<sup>48</sup>. Giving credit to both: *Donatus* and *Hieronymus*, we attribute the error to the Exegetes who freely read in the donatian and hieronymian passages what the two Commentators with good probability did never think nor write.

In the "*pagus Andes*" we see the great cell of the celtic administrative organization's system and we must admit that the Poet born in the "*pagus qui Andes dicitur*" was also born in the *vicus Andicus* because the "*pagus*" contained the *vicus*, the *vicus* being a small part of the *pagus*. The two adverbial expressions: "*non procul*" (*Don.*), "*haut procul*" (*Hier.*) may be explained by two different ways: 1) in the administrative way; 2) in the common language's way; if we put "*pagus = canton*" then the expressions: "*non procul*", "*haut procul*" have a right explanation in the *milia passuum III*: three Roman miles which constituted the fixed safeguard's perimeter all around the "*civitates*" and in our case, around the city of *Mantua*. At the distance of three miles from the walls of *Mantua*, there began the boundary's line of the *pagus Andicus*: of the *Andium civitas*, of the territory occupied by the celtic tribe of the *Andes*<sup>49</sup>.

If we put *pagus = vicus*, universally accepted identity but common language is not same adverbial expressions: "*non procul*", "*haut procul*" in the common language is not in contrast with the given distance of *milia passuum XXX*: thirty Roman miles: distance not extraordinary for the common Roman passenger<sup>50</sup> and not exceptional for the

<sup>47</sup> *Hieronymus* of Stridon in the Dalmatian country, knew well the distance which runs between "*pagus*" and "*vicus*" if, together with *Donatus*, He wrote: "*in pago*" speaking of the *Andes* but wrote: "*vico*" in the *s. Hilarionis* life: "*Hilarion ortus vico Thabatha qui circiter quinque milia a Gaza, urbe Palestinae ad Austrum situs est*" (*P. Canisio, Hieronymi Epp. Select., s. Hilarionis Vita, P. Pitteri, Venezia, 1749, p. 373*).

<sup>48</sup> "*Differt vicus a pago... vicus est pars pagi*" (*E. Forcellini, op. cit., s.v.*).

<sup>49</sup> "There is a possibility that "*haut procul*" should be read, for so *St. Jerome* gives it in His Excerpt... the spelling is probably: "*haut*" (*E. K. Rand, op. cit., not. 6, p. 69*).

<sup>50</sup> The "*dicitura*": *vicus Andicus*, grammatically correct and formally classical, is exact and signifies: "*a village*" or "*a farm pertaining to the Andes*", "*a village*" or "*a farm located in the territory pertaining to the Andes*". The "*dicitura*": *pagus qui Andes dicitur* signifies: "*the Andes canton they speak of*", "*a canton named Andes*", "*the Andes canton*". The medieval erroneous and today canonical identity: "*Andes = Pietole*" was originated by the confusion between the meaning of "*vicus*" and "*pagus*".

<sup>51</sup> "*Hoc iter ignavi dicimus altius ac nos / Praecinctis unum*" (*Hor. Sermon. I, 5, 5-6*). In two days' march, they covered 72,7 km. s.

common legionaries: the famous "muli Mariani"<sup>51</sup>. The fourth passage is quoted from the *Servius' Vergil's Life*.

*Servius* declared *Vergilius "civis Mantuanus"* and the truth of the declaration does not create difficulty as no sort of problems arise from the words of *Servius* when He added that *Mantua* was in the Venetian region<sup>52</sup>.

The fifth passage is quoted from the *Hieronimus' Chronicon*; having already discussed it together with the donatian testimony, we pass to the next passage.

The sixth passage is quoted from the *Phoca's versified Vergil's Life*. *Phoca* names *Mantua* and celebrating *Mantua*, evidently He intended not the city closed by the walls but the mantuan territory: the *ager Mantuanus*, in which was located the *vicus Andicus*: landed estate of the Magian family and birthplace of the Poet *Publius Vergilius Maro* who had celebrated *Romulus*, *Rome* and *Romans* in His epic poetical work: "*the Aeneid*", known to the ancient readers as the "*Gesta populi Romani*"<sup>53</sup>. The seventh passage is quoted from the *Macrobius' Satires*. *Macrobius* wrote speaking of the Poet: "*a rure Mantuano*" and the passage supports two translations: 1) "*from the mantuan land*"; 2) "*from the mantuan farm*"; the two translations are equally right and good, each one of them based upon the diversified meaning of the latin word: "*rus*"; but if "*rus*" excludes the "*civitas*" it is selfevident that *Macrobius* excluded *Mantua* as the birthplace of the Poet who came from the "*land*" or from the "*farm*" but non from the "*city*".

Concluding the inquiry conducted upon the direct and the indirect sources we may affirm: 1) that the Poet: *Publius Vergilius Maro* was born in *vico Andico* placed at the given distance of *milia passuum XXX*: thirty Roman miles from *Mantua*: the mother-city; 2) that the *vicus Andicus* was situated in the *pagus Andicus* in that part of the same *pagus* determinable only applying upon the map the three essential and necessary requisites derived from the direct source: the Poet's own works, i.e.: 1) the *Cremona*'s boundary-line; 2) the halfway distance of the *vicus Andicus* from *Mantua* and from *Brixia*, respectively; 3) the center of the chorographical triangle: *Cremona*, *Mantua* and *Brixia*.

All the references derived from the direct and from the indirect source converge in the quadrant number: 2, upon the circumference with center in *Mantua* and with a radius of thirty roman miles: *milia passuum XXX*. In the convergence's point we are compelled to locate the *vicus Andicus* by calculus and by all the testimonies and references about the native "*village*" or "*farm*" of the Mantuan Poet but only if conformed by other proofs the testimonies and references may attain the highest degree of certainty and assurance.

Testimonies, references and passages from the direct, from the indirect source are confirmed by three inscriptions found in the quadrant number: 2's zone: the perimeter of the *Casalpoglio*, *Castel Goffredo* and *Calvisano's* territory. A votive altar bears the inscription: "*P. Magius IOVI V.S.L.M.L. QUINTUS EUBULUS ET PETRONIA NUS PRO SE ET SUIS*"; the votive altar was found at *Castel Goffredo*<sup>54</sup>; a funereal stele bears the inscription: "*P. Magius ManI(us) SIBI ET ASSELLIAE M.F. SABINAE UXORI ET*

<sup>51</sup> "Onusti milites stupendum quandoque iter conficiebant et saepe quinque horis viginti milia passuum confecisse leguntur, quod longo usu doctore dicebant" (A. G. H. Nieupoort, *Nituum apud Romanos explicatio*, G. Tibernino, Venezia 1749, p. 361).

<sup>52</sup> "In età augustea, con la divisione dell'Italia in regioni, Mantova fu assegnata alla X, cioè: *Venetia et Histria*" (A. M. Tamassia, op. cit., p. 63).

<sup>53</sup> "Origo Mantuanorum et a Tuscis venit qui in Mantua regnabant et a Venetis; nam in Venetia posita est, quae et Gallia Cisalpina dicitur" (Ser. ad. Aen. X, 198).

<sup>54</sup> "Unde etiam invenimus in antiquis opus hoc appellatum esse non *Aeneida* sed "*Gesta Populi Romani*" (Ser. ad. Aen., VI, 752).

<sup>55</sup> The votive altar was found in the *Castel Goffredo's* area: "Questa lapide è andata perduta e il testo è riportato da Federico Amidei nella sua cronaca di Mantova. Sappiamo che fino al 1729, essa si trovava nell'orto del curato don Gottardo Bignotti. Proveniva dalla chiesa di S. Antonio che come testimonia una visita pastorale del vescovo di Brescia del 1556, esisteva nella campagna di Castel Goffredo" (C. Berselli, in "Il Tartarello", n. 14, dic. 81, ed. Vitam, Castel Goffredo (Mn.), 1981, p. 3).

SATRIAE M. F. TERIAE CASSIAE P. F. SECUNDAE MATRI"; the stele was found at Casalpoglio<sup>55</sup>; an *ex-voto* bears the inscription: "MATRONABUS VERGILIA C. F. VERA PRO MUNATIA T. F. CATULLA V.S.L.M."; the *ex-voto* was found at Calvisano<sup>56</sup>.

The three inscriptions are very particular because they were found in three different villages but near the zone which alone responds to the three essential and necessary requisites to fix on the *ager Mantuanus*' map the *vicus Andicus*: the Vergil's native "village" or "farm": 1) to be on the *ager Mantuanus* but along the Cremona's border-line; 2) to be at thirty Roman miles: *milia passuum XXX*, from Mantua; 3) to be at about the halfway distance from both cities: *Brixia* and *Mantua*. But of the three "villages" which one is to be considered as the right place to bear the honour of the Poet's birthplace?

The Dynamic Philology at the present stage of the inquiry, put forward only presumptions. The two inscriptions bearing the name: *P. Magius*, found in Casalpoglio and Castel Goffredo, reject the Calvisano's hypothesis, restraining the alternative to the Casalpoglio and Castel Goffredo's area: the two "villages" being very close and Casalpoglio is a suburb of Castel Goffredo. The three inscriptions have something very interesting: the name of the personage who dedicated the votive altar and erected the funereal stele; the name of the woman who dedicated the *ex-voto* to the "Matronabus": three celtic Goddesses venerated in the gallic territories and not only by the multitude of Gauls<sup>57</sup>. *Publius* we read on the altar and on the stele and *Publius* is the Poet's name; *Magius* we read on the votive altar and on the funereal stele and *Magia Polla* is the Poet's mother's name, daughter of a *Magius viator* and wife of Vergilius: a gallic man of the celtic tribe of the *Andes*<sup>58</sup>; *Vergilia Vera* we read on the *ex-voto* and *Vergilius* was the Poet's family name<sup>59</sup>. The inquiry conducted upon the direct source, upon the indirect source compels to deny the impossible identity: "*Andes=Pietole*", compels to locate the birthplace of *Publius Vergilius Maro* in the Casalpoglio and Castel Goffredo's district. The "conclusions" of the modern and contemporary Scholars will be studied in a next paper which shall be followed by another article about the Poet's: *Publius Vergilius Maro*, "nominatura" which has caused many troubles and a lot of confusions among all the Erudite men.

<sup>55</sup> The funereal stele found in the Casalpoglio's area, was preserved in the house of Geronimo Piccinelli (F. Amidei) and after in the house of a blacksmith (Gnocchi); before the year 1846, the stele arrived to *Brixia*, given to the city's municipality by a certain Bondone. The funereal stele is now in the *Brixia's* Roman, civic Museum.

<sup>56</sup> The votive altar: *ex-voto*, found in the Calvisano's area, is now in the *Brixia's* Roman, civic Museum. "Una di queste iscrizioni però (l'ara votiva) si conservava per lungo tempo nella casa della famiglia nobile del signor conte Lechi" (R. S. Conway, "*Dov'era il podere di Virgilio?*", in "*Atene e Roma*" 1926, p. 171).

<sup>57</sup> "Di origine altrettanto antica era il culto delle tre Madri (*Matres, Matronae*), rappresentate in seguito come tre figure sedute recanti gli attributi della fertilità. La Triade era venerata tra i Treviri e altrove e talvolta una singola divinità sostituiva le tre figure femminili (J. Filip, op. cit., p. 191").

"Il rilievo delle tre *Matronae* ci viene da Vertault, Côte d'Or, Musée Chatillon-sur-Seine" (J. Filip, op. cit., p. 199, fig. 46, not. 3).