

Vicus Andicus

(Essay of Experimental Philology)

The Philologists are still debating questions concerning the *Publius Vergilius Maro's* life; the Philologists still hold proceedings, each trying to defend theories, ideas and fantasies, variously interpreting the mantuan Poets's works, words and ideals¹; the Philologists have spent much of their time trying to answer the: «*Where, the Vergil's native vicus*»? question but the matters's problematicity is not yet satisfactorily cleared up.

Scant, scarce and contradictory the testimonies quotable from the direct source: the «*Poet's works*», from the indirect source: the «*Lives*» and «*Commentaries*» of the Exegetes, from the «*Conclusions*» of the past and modern Scholars.

We open the inquiry, quoting the Poet:

1. *Mantua quod fuerat quòdque Cremona prius*²
2. *Sive Mantuam/Opus foret volare sive Brixiam*³;
3. *Superet, modo, Mantua nobis*⁴;
4. *Mantua, vae miserae nimium vicina Cremonae*⁵;
5. *Infelix amisit Mantua campum*⁶;

1 The Virgil's works, and ideals have been studied and explained variously: «*ex uniuscuiusque ingeniolo*», but the problems of the roman Poet's life have not had all the necessary and right answers.

We don't know where Virgil was born: we know almost nothing of his family, of his father, of his mother, of his grand-father; we don't know why he was born roman citizen; we don't know nothing of his going to Cremona and which was the cause of the confiscation of his farm; we do not know why the Poet left Rome and went to Nola *etc.*

2 *Kataleptòn* 8, 6.

3 *Kataleptòn*, 10, 4-5.

4 Verg., *Eclog.*, 9, 27.

5 Verg., *Eclog.*, 3, 28.

6 Verg., *Georg.*, 2, 198.

6. *Referam tibi, Mantua, palmas*⁷;
7. *Matrisque dedit, tibi, Mantua, nomen*⁸;
8. *Mantua me genuit*⁹.

The first passage, from the VIIIth Kataleptòn.

The Poet having lost His estate in the mantuan Padania, makes vows that the *Sironis villula* and the «*pauper agellus*» substituting the landproperty expropriated to favour the Augustus'veterans, could maintain all His relatives and *in primis patrem*: His father¹⁰.

Mantua and Cremona together indicate the Poet's estate which stretched from the *ager Mantuanus* all along the Cremona's borderline: a no small farm, indeed!

Naming Cremona, naming Mantua, the Poet understood that portion of the *ager Mantuanus* and of the *ager Cremonensis*, in which the Poet's father: *Vergiliomarus*, aggrandized the estate of his father-in-law: *Publius Magius*, before the expulsion of all the legitimate landowners, in the Augustus'eyes suspected of *pompeianism* or *neutralism*¹¹.

In the Kataleptòn, allusion to Mantua, allusion to Cremona and to their territory but not allusion to Mantua, to Cremona as the native cities of the Poet.

The second passage, from Xth Kataleptòn.

7 Verg., *Georg.*, 3, 12.

8 Verg., *Aen.* 10, 200.

9 «Exstat apud Probum, Donatum, Hieronymum nisi quod v. 2: 'pasqua, poma, phruges' Probi Vaticanus exhibet, quae interpolator nescio quis lusit» (O. Ribbeck, *P. Vergilii Maronis Opera* (Lipsia) 1872, 29).

10 There's a common «*topic*» in the Latin Literature: the «*pauper agellus*», everybody speaking and writing about the poverty of the roman writers, neglecting the evidence that in those ancient times, the studies were reserved for the few persons who owned the means to face the expenses necessary for a regular course of studies.

We observe: in the roman latin speaking people's tongue and ears «*agellus*» and all the other diminutives indicating the object's measure, indicated also the sentimental disposition towards the same object; *ex. gr.*: «*asellus*», being the animal of low stature, the diminutive indicated not the measure of the beast, but the sentimental disposition towards the ass, enjoyed by the landlord.

11 «Italiae civitatibus ergo diversas partes persequentibus, Cremonenses et Mantuani neutri sunt auxiliati; sed hoc Augustus indignatus, veteranis quorum operam in bello habuerat, agros Cremonensium dividi iussit et si non suffecissent, Mantuanos adiungi» (*Prob. vita*).

The *P. Magius Cremonensis*, «*magister fabrum*» in the Pompeian Army was, certainly a «*pompeianist*» and «*pompeianist*» were for sure all the «*Magii*» of the «*ager Mantuanus*». The «*pompeianism*» or «*neutralism*» explains the lands 'expropriation directed not to chastise innocent citizens but Augustus' personal and irriducible foes.

Vergil parodying the famous Catullus' «*Phaselus ille*», praised the mule and the mulateer Sabinus, celebrating their glorious «*flights*» to Brixia and to Mantua, as the two liked.

Brixia and Mantua in the same zone but in opposite directions, were the «*termini ad quos*» of the Sabinus' rapid «*flights*» if we presuppose a starting-point at half-way distance from Brixia and from Mantua: «*terminus a quo*».

Speaking of Brixia, speaking of Mantua, the Poet does not praise Brixia or Mantua as His birthplace.

The third passage, from the IXth Eclogue.

The Poet names Mantua but He understands the «*ager Mantuanus*» containing the family's estate subjected to the land's confiscation's menace. The Poet names Mantua but He thinks of the «*Magianum*»: his grand-father's farm, He hopes to preserve from the rapacious hands of the «*impii milites Augustani*»¹².

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

The fourth passage, from the same IXth Eclogue.

Vergil shows his great anxiety, fearing Cremona by its vicinity menacing Mantua: *i.e.*, His land propriety in the «*ager Mantuanus*» bordering all along the «*ager Cremonensis*». The Poet names Mantua, names Cremona, but evidently, He understands the «*ager Mantuanus*» and the «*ager Cremonensis*», subjected to expropriation. In the verse, no hint to Mantua or to Cremona as the Poet's birthplaces.

The fifth passage, from the IIInd Georgic.

The Poet lost His land and Mantua saw all the lands spreading from the «*ager Cremonensis*'» border line, pass from the legitimate owners to the «*Augustus*'» veterans. The Poet's estate was definitely lost and Vergil was driven into life real danger¹³.

The Poet names Mantua but surely He understands the «*ager Mantuanus*» and particularly, His estate forever lost but He does not hint at Mantua as His birthplace.

The sixth passage, from the IIIrd Georgic.

The Poet sings Mantua, praises the Mantuan landscape, the Mincius'banks and in this fortunate stretch of land near Mantua,

12 Verg., *Eclog.* 1, 70.

13 «*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*» (*Prob. vita*).

the Poet had in mind to raise a large, noble, marble temple in Augustus' honour¹⁴.

The seventh passage, from the *Aeneid's* book.

The Poet sings the Mantua's mythical origins; the Poet celebrates the Mantua's glorious founders: the Etruscans, who in Mantua and in its district left large memories of their tongue, of their organization and of their culture¹⁵.

The Poet exalted Mantua but there is no hint at the city as the Poet's birthplace.

The ninth passage, from the Poet's Epitaph on the funereal monument erected «*in via Puteolana, intra secundum lapidem*»¹⁶.

At the present stage of the inquiry, it is important to underline that the expression: «*Mantua me genuit*», in Roman mouths and ears assumed a twofold signification: 1) «*Mantua brought me forth*»; 2) «*I was born somewhere in the Mantuan territory*», the name of Mantua signifying both the city and the city's territory.

Vergil spoke of Mantua and He was not born in Mantua as Cicero spoke of «*Arpinum*» and He was not born in «*Arpinum*», as Marius who spoke of «*Arpinum*» and He was not born in «*Arpinum*».

«*Mantua*» and «*Arpinum*»: the Romans preferred the «*municipium's*» name also when they had in mind the «*municipium's*» district or territory¹⁷.

In the epitaph there is no clear hint at Mantua as the city where the Poet was born.

Concluding the inquiry's first part, conducted upon the direct source: the Poet's references, we are assured that Vergil was born

14 Verg. *Georg.*, 3, vv. 12-39.

15 «Due epigrafi etrusche in cui appare il gentilizio: «*Manthavate*», probabilmente derivato del nome: «*Manthva*» che doveva essere quello della città (A. M. Tamassia, *Cittadini Mantuani d'età romana*, Atti e Memorie, Accad. Vergil. Mantova, Nuova Serie, vol. 35, Mantova (Tedioli) 1965, 61).

«Si può comunque dire che tutta la regione fu occupata dai Galli mentre la città, 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.*, 62).

16 «*Ossa eius Neapolim translata sunt tumuloque condita, qui (erat) via Puteolana, intra lapidem secundum*» (*Don. vita*).

17 «*Referam tibi, Mantua, palmas*»: the Poet spoke of Mantua, understanding the borough or town-hall;

«*Superet Mantua nobis*»: the Poet spoke of Mantua but understanding the mantuan district or the «*ager Mantuanus*».

in that part of the mantuan Padania which responded and still responds to three essential and necessary requisites: 1) «to be in the 'ager Mantuanus'»; 2) «to be along the borderline of the 'ager Cremonensis'»; 3) «to be at halfway distance from Mantua and Brixia»; that is all we were able to draw from the direct source: the works of Vergil and nobody shall be so courageous as to despise the Poet's words.

Follow the references of the indirect source: the «*Lives*» and the «*Commentaries*» of the Exegetes:

- i) *Vico Andico qui abest a Mantua milia passuum XXX*¹⁸;
- ii) *Vico andico qui abest a Mantua milia passuum III*¹⁹;
- iii) *In pago qui Andes dicitur et abest a Mantua, non procul*²⁰;
- iv) *Civis Mantuanus quae civitas est Venetiae*²¹;
- v) *In pago qui Andes dicitur et abest a Mantua haut procul*²²;
- vi) *Mantuae Romuleae generavit flumina linguae*²³;
- vii) *A rure Mantuano Poeta*²⁴.

The first passage, from the Servius 'Vergil's' Life.

Writing: «*vico Andico*» the Commentator affirmed Vergil born in a «*vicus*», so explicitly denying the Poet born in Mantua which was considered a «*civitas*», «*urbs*» but never a «*vicus*», and a «*vicus Andicus*», particularly. Servius declaring the «*Mantuanitas*» of Vergil, implicitly hinted at, with the expression: «*vicus Andicus*», created a «*rebus*» not understood from the ancient times to our days and not yet resolved.

Surprisingly, the substantive: «*vicus*» as yet, is not rightly clarified and the adjective: «*Andicus*», as the Medusa's horrible head, has petrified all the Scholars in the long row, from the Pre-humanists to the modern and contemporary learned persons, causing a lot of disturbing confusion among the Philologists who believed: «*Andes*» to be a village's name.

To avoid the petrification's peril, investigating the substantive: «*Andes*», of the name we find a double explanation:

18 C. Hardie, *Vitae Vergilianae Antiquae*, Oxford (Clarendon Press) 1957. 22.

19 P. Vergilii Maronis Opera, *Bucolica, Georgica, Aeneis*, Venetiis (I. B. Egnatius) 1507.

20 C. Hardie, *op. cit.*, 22.

21 C. Hardie, *op. cit.*, 17.

22 C. Hardie, *op. cit.*, 32.

23 C. Hardie, *op. cit.*, 26.

24 Macrob. *Sat.*, 5. 2.

1. «*Andes V. Koseform für Andecavi mit Anjou=Civitas Andecavorum. Caes. B. G., 2, 35, 3: 'Ipse in Carnutes, Andes, Turones, quaeque civitates propinquae 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 hiemarar*»; 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.*»; 8, 26, 2, 7: «*A Dumnaco, duce Andium*»²⁵;

2. «*Andes*» O. bei Mantua, J. Pietole: *Vita Vergilii de Comm. Probi sublata*, 52, Reiff.: «*in vico Andibus qui abest a Mantua milia passuum XXX. Donati Vita Vergilii*, 54, Reiff.: «*in pago qui Andes vocatur et abest a Mantua non procul*». Cod. Bamberg., P. II, 33 fol. 11^r 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, Pompeio et Crasso consulibus*»²⁵.

«*Hic Rhodus, hic salta!*».

«*Andes*»: celtic tribe's name or celtic village's name? The question challenges for an answer and a limpid explanation; answer and explanation may clarify the problem and cancel the error and mistake which for fifteen centuries or more have confounded the learned minds of many, if of not all, the Scholars from the Prehumanists to the Humanists, to the modern and contemporary erudits.

To the german «*PWK*» we observe: The Experimental Philology is steadfastly convinced that in the linguistics every substantive, adjective, verb and adverb «*in puncto temporis*», carries one and only one signification; therefore, «*Andes*» if signifies a celtic village, it can't signify a celtic tribe and vice-versa, «*tertium non datur!*».

Examining the direct source: Caesar and Hirtius, we draw from the direct testimonies and references: «*Andes*», name of a celtic tribe in the Transalpine Gaul, occupying the lands stretching behind the confluence of Sarthe and Loir, both rivers tributaries of the Loira, closed northward by the «*Aulerci*», west-northward by the «*Turones*» and eastward by the «*Carnutes*».

The «*Andes*» celtic tribe is confirmed by another proof: the totality of celtic tribe's names ends in: «*-es*», *ex. gr.*: «*Allobroges*»,

25 RE, s.v.: «*Andes*».

«*Alpes*», «*Anartes*», «*Ancalitates*», «*Bigerriones*», «*Bituriges*», «*Brannovices*», «*Carnutes*», «*Caturiges*», «*Cenabenses*», «*Ceutrones*», «*Cocosates*», «*Curiosolites*», «*Druides*», «*Eburones*», «*Eburovices*», «*Elusates*», «*Gates*», «*Harudes*», «*Lemovices*», «*Lingones*», «*Namnetes*», «*Nantuates*», «*Nemetes*», «*Nitiobrogues*», «*Pictones*», «*Redones*», «*Senones*», «*Sibuzates*», «*Sotiates*», «*Suessiones*», «*Tarusates*», «*Tectosages*», «*Tolosates*», «*Trinovantes*», «*Usipetes*», «*Vangiones*», «*Veliocasses*», «*Vocates*»; the totality of the celtic towns, boroughs or villages end with different endings, but never in; «*-es*», *ex. gr.*: «*Admagetobriga*», «*Agendicum*», «*Alesia*», «*Atuatuca*», «*Avaricum*», «*Bibracte*», «*Bibrax*», «*Bratuspantium*», «*Cabillonum*», «*Cavillonum*», «*Cenabum*», «*Decetia*», «*Durocurtorum*», «*Genava*», «*Gergovia*», «*Gorgobina*», «*Lutetia*», «*Metiosedum*», «*Narbo*», «*Noreia*», «*Ocelum*», «*Octodurus*», «*Samarobriua*», «*Tolosa*», «*Vellaunodunum*», «*Vesontio*».

There, we find no «*oppidum*» or «*vicus*» named with the tribe's name but we find «*pagi*», «*tuàth*», «*Gau*», «*cantons*» named with the name of the tribe, *ex. gr.*: «*pagus Andicus*», «*pagus Verbigenus*».

Now, how do we explain the presence of the «*Andes*» tribe in the mantuan Padania?

Respecting and following the nomadic custom of the celtic tribes, the choosen part of the Senones, Boi, Cenomani, Allobroges, Andes and Taurini, crossed the Alps and occupied the Padania or Cisalpine Gaul, submerging the local populations, supplanting the Etruscans, each tribe selecting its own territory: the *Senones* the Picenum, the *Boi* the plain stretching along the right bank of the Po river, the *Allobroges* the Mailand's district, the *Cenomani* the Brixia's territory and the *Andes* the mantuan land and the *Taurini* the Piedmont's hilly country.

In the mantuan territory, the Romans supplanted the «*Andes*» as they had supplanted the Etruscans but of the celtic tribe there remained the mark and reminiscence in the latin expression: «*pagus Andicus*», «*vicus Andicus*», *i. e.*: «*the Andes'canton*», «*the Andes'village*», «*the Andes'farm*», «*the canton of the Andes*», «*the farm of the Andes*», «*Andes*» being the tribe's name, not the name of the village, town or borough.

It is easy to draw from the indirect source the name of the celtic tribe: «*Andes*» and from it the adiective: «*Andicus*».

The adiective: «*Andicus*» is regular as are regular all the other adiective ending in: «*-icus*, «*-ica*, «*-icum*», derivated from the other

celtic tribes, never from the names of towns, villages or boroughs and we have brought forth names of celtic tribes ending in: «-es», but we have no adjective ending in: «-icus, -ica, -icum» derived from towns, villages or boroughs, if none of them ends in: «-es»²⁶.

Laid down the necessary premise in order to avoid the «*Andicus*»'s 'petrification' menace, we recommence the inquiry of the first passage, drawn from the Servius' Vergil's Life.

Servius neglecting the «*vicus*» name, did not neglect the distance of the «*vicus Andicus*» from Mantua: «*milia passuum XXX*» = *thirty Roman miles*», so fixing in Mantua the «*terminus a quo*» and in the «*vicus Andicus*» the «*terminus ad quem*»; probably Servius knew where was situated in the mantuan territory the «*vicus Andicus*», but this probability does not facilitate us to locate the «*vicus Andicus*» in the irregular map of the «*ager Mantuanus*». The second passage, from the Egnatius'scripts.

Egnatius, the humanist Merula's disciple, stirred trouble among the Scholars, communicating to have read «*milia passuum III: three Roman miles*», the distance of the «*vicus Andicus*» from Mantua, in a Bobbio's manuscript. Now, one and only one of the two measures must be the right one and in order to give credit to one of the two, we proceed as follows.

We draw a circumference with center in Mantua and radius of «*milia passuum XXX = thirty Roman miles*» on the «*ager Mantuanus*» irregular map.

Considering valid the requisites: 1) the «*vicus Andicus*» in the «*ager Mantuanus*»; 2) the «*vicus Andicus*» on the borderline of the «*ager Cremonensis*»; 3) the «*vicus Andicus*» at halfway distance from Mantua and Brixia, to ascertain if valid the «*Milia passuum XXX*» or the «*Milia passuum III*», we divide the circumference of «*milia passuum XXX*» in four quadrants, numerating them clockwise: 1, 2, 3 and 4. The requisite n. 1) permits to all the «*vici*» in the mantuan map at the distance of: «*milia passuum XXX*» to reclaim the honour to have been the Vergil's birthplace; the requisite n. 2) excluding the quadrants n. 4) and 3), because they occupy the territory opposite to the border of the «*ager Cremonensis*», cancel all the «*vici*» of the two quadrants, leaving the dispute of the honour to quadrants n. 1) and n. 2), because they are stretching

²⁶ «*Turonicus*» and *Turones pertinens*; «*Bigerricus*» ad *Bigerrones pertinens*; «*Santonicus*» ad *Santones pertinens*, etc.

along the borderline of the «ager Cremonensis». Of the two quadrants, the quadrant n. 1) responds to the requisite: n. 1), n. 2), but not to the requisite: n. 3); remains the quadrant n. 2) and it perfectly responds to the three requisites sufficient and necessary to put the «vicus Andicus» in the mantuan territory, on the border of the «ager Cremonensis», in the mantuan territory and at halfway distance from Mantua and Brixia, which measures exactly the distance of: «*milia passuum XXX = thirty roman miles*», in the Casalpoglio, Castel Goffredo and Calvisano's lands.

Applying the: «*tollendo tollens*» we will proclaim true the Servius' measure of «*thirty roman miles*», only, if we demonstrate incorrect the Egnatius' lecture and unacceptable his measure of: «*milia passuum III = three roman miles*».

On the mantuan map we draw a new circumference with center in Mantua and radius of «*three roman miles*»; we divide the circumference in four quadrants numbering them clockwise: n. 1), n. 2), n. 3), n. 4). Of the four quadrants all respond to the first requisite n. 1): they all are in the mantuan territory: «*ager Mantuanus*»; all the four quadrants do not respond to the requisite n. 2): they are not on the Cremona's borderline, all being very far from it and far away removed; all the four quadrants of the circumference of «*three roman miles*» and center in Mantua do not respond to the requisite n. 3): to be at halfway distance from Mantua and from Brixia. The Egnatius' lecture of the Bobbio's manuscript is not true; it was an erudite invention to give credit to the long mediaeval tradition which believed: «*Pietola the native village*» of the mantuan Poet. The Pre-humanists, the Humanists and the erudits and Scholars who followed, saw in Pietole the heiress of «*Andes*», the so-believed village by men who ignored that «*Andes*» as village never existed in the mantuan territory once occupied by the celtic tribe: «*Andes*», who supplanted the Etruscans and were supplanted by the Romans citizens from the: «*Latium Novum vel Adiectum*»²⁷.

The third passage, from Donatus' Vergil's Life.

Donatus preferred «*pagus*» to «*vicus*», rightly calling the «*pagus*» with its celtic name: «*Andes*»; the «*pagus*» of the roman administrative system supplanted the «*tuath*» of the celtic administrative system²⁸.

27 The most ancient testimonies of the «*Magii*»'s family come from the city of Capua and from Sora.

28 In the celtic administrative system we distinguish: 1) «*pagus*»: «*tuath*», «*Gau*», «*canton*», *i.e.*: the territory occupied by the «*Andes*» tribe; «*oppidum*»: the fortified

Donatus was for the second time right, writing the distance from Mantua, fixing it with the adverbial expression: «*non procul*», and the open distance from the Mantua's walls to the «*pagus*»'bordering line was customarily of: «*milia passum III = three roman miles*». Donatus wrote about the «*pagus*» which containing all the «*vici*», contained also the Vergil's «*vicus*», *i.e.*:; the Vergil's farm²⁹.

The Donatus'adverbial expression: «*non procul*» forced the Scholars, referring it to the «*vicus Andicus*» understood as the «*vicus Andes: the village named Andes*», to see in it the distance of Mantua from the village of «*Andes*», *i.e.*: the village of Pietola, believing the adverbial expression the ultimate proof about the birthplace of the Poet and of the long, stout mediaeval tradition.

The fourth passage from the Servius'Vergil's Life.

Servius declared the Poet «*civis Mantuanus*» and that was and it is right because it responds to the requisite n. 1): the Poet assuredly being born in the mantuan district. Servius declaring Mantua in the venetian region, created no problem, following the Augustus'Italy's division³⁰.

town, the chief city of the «*pagus*»; «*vicus*»: the dispersed farms scattered in the «*pagus*»'territory; «*fundus*»; a great and large farm in the «*pagus*»'territory.

29 «*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 Eclog.* 9, 10).

30 The adverbial expressions: «*non procul*», «*haut procul*» furnished the ultimate alibi to all the Scholars who defending the mediaeval tradition, fixed in the: «*Andes = Pietole's*» identity, «*eiulantes veluti invento Api in vico Andico*», believed to have the proof of the «*milia passuum III*» from Mantua. All the Scholars ignored the two adverbial expressions in the latin speaking people's tongue and ears, indicated distances very great and superior to the: «*milia passuum XXX*» the distance of the «*vicus Andicus*» from Mantua;

– «*Hoc iter ignavi divisimus, altius ac nos/Praecinctis unum*» (Hor. *Serm.* 1, 5, 5-6).

Horace and his companion, the greek Heliodorus, in one day's march, went from Rome to Ariccia, distant 26,7 kms. from Rome. The next day, the two companions, from Ariccia went to Forappium, distant 72,7 kms. from Rome.

Horace declares Himself and Heliodorus «*ignavi*» pleading for an excuse, having the two covered in two days'march the 72,7 kms.'distance: *Roma-Forappium*, which was not a nuisance for the mass of common pedestrians who commonly covered it in a day's march. If the 72,7 kms.'distance was not a problem for the common roman pedestrians, there we ought not be surprised by the 45 kms.'distance: «*milia passuum XXX*»: the thirty roman miles which separated Mantua from the «*vicus Andicus*».

– «*Onusti milites stupendum quandoque iter conficiebant et saepe quinque horis, viginti milia passuum confecisse leguntur, quod longo usu doctore discebant*» (A.G.H. Nieupoort, *Rituum apud Romanos Explicatio* (Venezia) 1749, 381).

The fifth passage, from the Hieronymus' *Chronicon*.

Having already discussed it together with the donatian reference, we pass to the next, convinced of having solved all its difficulties.

The sixth passage, from the Phocas' versified Vergil's Life.

Phocas names Mantua and celebrates Mantua but, evidently, naming the city, he intended the «*ager Mantuanus*», understood as the Mantua's district, in which was located the «*vicus Andicus*», the estate of the Magian family and the native farm of the Poet: *Publius Vergilius Maro*.

The seventh passage, from the Macrobius' *Satires*.

The latin expression: «*a rure Mantuano*» presenting two possible translations: «1) «*from the mantuan land*»; 2) «*from the 'farm' in the mantuan territory*», definitively excludes as the birthplace of the Poet, the city of Mantua, whatever of the two translations we may prefer.

Concluding the inquiry conducted upon the indirect sources, we assuredly may affirm: 1) «Vergil was born in a «*vico Andico*» located somewhere in the «*ager Mantuanus*»; 2) «Vergil, therefore, was not born in Mantua; 3) «the «*vicus Andicus*» was distant from Mantua: «*milia passuum XXX = thirty roman miles*», not at the distance of: «*three roman miles = milia passuum III*. The requisites derived from the indirect sources are not sufficient to place the «*vicus Andicus*» in the irregular map of the Mantua's territory, but they are necessary to put the «*vergilian farm*» in the Mantua's district, if connected with the three requisites established from the direct sources: the Vergil's works: 1) «*the Cremona's borderline*»; 2) «*the half way distance from Brixia and Mantua*»; 3) «*the 'vicus Andicus' in the center of the triangle: Cremona, Brixia, Mantua*».

All the references drawn from the direct and the indirect sources converge on the quadrant n. 2) of the circumference with center in

— «Et inde cum audissent fratres, accurrerunt nobis usque ad Appii Forum ac Tres Tabernae» (*Act. App.* 28, 15).

— «(A Paolo) Gli erano andati incontro, lungo la meravigliosa via Appia, per una cinquantina di chilometri, fino a una stazione di ristoro per i viaggiatori, chiamata «*Tres Tabernae*». Qualcuno si spinse anche oltre a forse 65 chilometri, a «*Forum Appii*», dove terminava il canale navigabile proveniente da Terra-eina» (U. M. Fasola, *Pietro e Paolo a Roma*, Roma (1980), 11).

«In età augustea, con la divisione dell'Italia in regioni, Mantova fu assegnata alla X, cioè: *Venetia et Histria*» (A. M. Tamassia, *op. cit.*, 63).

— «Origo Mantuanorum et a Tuscis venit, qui in Mantua regnabant, et a Venetis: nam in Venetia posita est, quae et Gallia Cisalpina dicitur» (*Serv. Ad Aen.* 10, 198 ss.).

Manua and radius of: «*milia passuum XXX = thirty roman miles*». In the convergence's point we put the «*vicus Andicus = the Poets's farm*», in the lands of Casalpoglio and Castel Goffredo; the references, the testimonies and calculus will attain the highest degree of certainty, only if conformed and sustained by other and diversified proofs.

The references, testimonies and calculus converging on the quadrant n. 2) are confirmed by three inscriptions found in the zone of quadrant n. 2), *i.e.*: in the perimeter of Casalpoglio, Castel Goffredo and Calvisano, which alone has the three requisites necessary to locate in the mantuan map, the «*vicus Andicus*»: *Vergil's birthplace*.

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 in Castel Goffredo³¹; a funereal stele bears the inscription: «*P. MAGIUS MAN (ius) SIBI ET ASELLIAE M.F. SABINAE UXORI ET SATRIAE M.F. TERTIAE; CASIAE P.F. SECUNDAE MATRI*»; the stele was found in Casalpoglio³²; an «*ex-voto*» bears the inscription: «*MATRONABUS VERGILIA C.F. VERA PRO MUNATIA T.F. CATULLIA V.S.L.M.*»; the «*ex-voto*» was found in Calvisano³³.

The three inscriptions found in three villages: «*Casalpoglio, Castel Goffredo, Calvisano*» situated in the zone which alone responds to the requisites drawn from the direct and the indirect source: 1) «*the 'vicus Andicus' in the 'ager Mantuanus'*»; 2) «*the 'vicus Andicus' along the 'ager Cremonensis' borderline*»; 3) «*the 'vicus Andicus' at halfway distance from Brixia and Mantua*»; 4) «*the 'vicus Andicus' at 'milia passuum XXX = thirty roman miles' from Mantua*»; 5) «*the 'vicus Andicus' in the center of the irregular triangle: Brixia, Mantua, Cremona*».

Of the three villages, which ought to be considered the Poet's birthplace?

The two inscriptions found at Casalpoglio and Castel Goffredo, bearing the name: «*P. Magius*», respectively, estranging the Calvisano's hypothesis, restrain the choice to the Casalpoglio and Castel Goffredo's zone, the two villages being very near.

31 C. Berselli, «Un filo lega Castel Goffredo a Virgilio», *Il Tartarello*, 14 (1981) 3.

32 The funereal stele is now in the Brixia Municipality's Roman Museum.

33 The votive altar, found at Calvisano, is now in the Brixia's Civic Museum.

«*Publius*» we read on the votive altar and on stele and «*Publius*» was named the Poet, renewing his grandfather's name and «*Magia Polla*» was the name of his mother, daughter of «*Magius viator*» and wife of «*Vergiliomarus*»: a man of celtic progeny in the tribe of the «*Andes*»³⁴.

The five requisites sufficient and necessary to locate in the mantuan irregular map, the birthplace of Vergil, reject the mediaeval tradition by which Pietola was proclaimed the native village of the Poet, because Pietola: 1) is in the «*ager Mantuanus*»; but it: 2) is not along the «*ager Cremonensis*' borderline; it: 3) is not at half-way distance from Brixia and Mantua; it: 4) is not at «*thirty roman miles = milia passuum XXX*» from Mantua; it: 5) is not in the center of the irregular triangle: Brixia, Mantua, Cremona.

Closing the inquiry accurately conducted upon the direct and the indirect sources and from them having drawn the logical consequences, we pass to the third part of the essay: the «*conclusions*» of the modern and contemporary Scholars.

We range the Scholars as follows: in the first rank, all the Scholars who believing the mediaeval tradition, proclaimed «*ore rotundo*» that «*Andes = Pietole*» was the birthplace of the Poet; in the second rank, the Scholars who believing «*Andes*» a village, tried to locate it in different parts of the mantuan Padania.

- 1) «*Pietola, più che villa mantovana*»; Dante's words³⁵;
- 2) «*Andes: Pietola, haud plus II mil. passuum a Mantua*»; Boccaccio's words³⁶;

34 «*Tamen celtica e lingua fluxisse hoc nomen (i.e.: Vergilius) inter uu.dd. conuenit, veluti in Grammatica Celtica, quam composuerunt Zeus et Ebel, p. 11, adn. legimus: «Vergilius nomen uix dubiae originis Gallicae... Radi uetust. cambr.: 'guerg' (efficax) gl. Ox. Exstat etiam in uetusto nomine 'vergobretus' apud Caesarem» (1, 16, 5, Bell. Gall.) (I. Zwicker, De uocabulis ac rebus gallicis sive, Transpadanis apud Vergilium (Lipsia), 905, 17).*

— To strengthen the *Vergilius* name's celtic root, we do not forget the particular composition of the celtic compound names: «*Indutiomarus*», «*Viridomarus*», which give room to «*Vergiliomarus*»: the compound, celtic nomen of the Poet's father, explaining the strange «*nominatura*» of the Poet: *Publius* (roman name), *Vergilius* (celtic family name), *Maro* (latinized celtic surname).

35 D. Alighieri, Purgat. 18, 82-84.

36 «*Nam in Ando, villa eius in marginibus sita, natum aiunt, haud plus II mil.pass.a Mantua. Vocant tamen hodie Pietola... ad cuius seruandam memoriam, parvulo cumulo eius contiguo Virgilii montis imposuere nomen, asserentes ibidem agros fuisse suos» (G. Boccaccio, «De montibus, silvis, fontibus, lacubus, fluminibus, stagnis seu paludibus et de nominibus maris», in G. Boccaccio, *Genealogie deorum gentilium*, Vicenza (S. Bevilacqua) 1487).*

3) «*Non t'era me'motire/A Pietola, colà dove nascesti?*»; Cino da Pistoia's words³⁷;

4) «*Pletulae natale solum dulcisque voluptas*»; P. Marso's words³⁸;

5) «*Est Andes vicus distans Mantua duobus millibus passuum*»; G. Bremio's words³⁹;

6) «*Wittin II or III miles of Mantoa there is a village called Pietola, where Virgile was born, and upon the hill there is a little bricke house, which the inhabitants of the countrey call 'Casetta di Virgilio'*»; Th. Hoby's words⁴⁰;

7) «*Quem vitreis aluit Mincius Andis aquis*»; J. C. Scaligero's words⁴¹;

8) «*In un posto chiamato 'Andes', a circa un miglio da Mantova, la casa nella quale Egli nacque e visse*»; Th. Coryat's words⁴²;

9) «*Vicino si trova il paese di Pietole, anticamente chiamato Andes, luogo natale di Virgilio*»; J. G. Keyssler's words⁴³;

10) «*Un paesetto distante da Mantova circa due miglia..., dove essi pongono la villa di campagna di quel poeta*»; J. Breval's words⁴⁴;

11) «*Mi imbarcai sul lago per andare a vedere il villaggio e la casa dove è nato Virgilio*»; Ch. de Brosse's words⁴⁵;

12) «*Si come è certo che Virgilio era nato in un villaggio di questo luogo, chiamato Andes, oggi Pietole*»; J. C. Goethe's words⁴⁶;

13) «*A due miglia da Mantova si trova il paese di 'Andes', patria di Virgilio che oggi si chiama Pietola*»; J. Richard's words⁴⁷;

37 G. Zaccagnini, *Le Rime di Cino da Pistoia*, Genève, 1925, 261.

38 P. Marso, *Silva cui titulus Andes, Vergili natale solum*, Mantova, c. 1480.

39 G. Bremio, «*Quisquiliae*», in *P. Virgiliti Opera*, Torino, 1518.

40 Londra, British Museum man. EG. 2148.

41 T. Coryat, «*Crudezze*»: *Viaggio in Francia e in Italia*, 1608; a cura di F. Marenco e A. Meo, Milano (Longanesi) 1975, 162.

42 J. Blaeu, *Le théâtre du monde, ou nouvel atlas mis en lumière par Guillaume et Jean Blaeu*, Troisième Partie, Amsterdam (Blaeu) 1647, f. 28.

43 J. G. Keyssler, *Travels through Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Switzerland, Italy and Lorrain...*, 3, Londra 1757, 174.

44 J. Breval, *Remarks on several parts of Europe, relating chiefly to their antiquities and history, collected upon the spot in several tours since the year 1723*, Londra (H. Lintot) 1738, 243-244.

45 Ch. de Brosse, *Viaggio in Italia. Lettere Familiari*; pref. C. Levi, trad. B. Schacherl, Bari (Laterza) 1973, 77-79.

46 J. C. Goethe, *Viaggio in Italia*, Roma 1932, 361.

47 J. Richard, *Description historique et critique de l'Italie...*, 1, Paris, Dijon 1766, 307.

14) «*Virgilio nacque effettivamente a 'Andes', paese sito nel territorio di Mantova*»: G. F. Coyer's words⁴⁸;

15) «*...vicino al villaggio di 'Andes'(patria di Virgilio) oggi detto Pietola*»; De la Roque's words⁴⁹;

16) «*...senza fare un pellegrinaggio a Pietola, che una tradizione abbastanza incerta considera l'antica 'Andes', patria di Virgilio*»; V. Doublet's words⁵⁰.

Doublet smelled and tasted the bitter savour of doubt but nobody followed him and all believing valid the «*Andes = Pietola*»'s identity sustained by the long and not proved mediaeval tradition, went their way because they ignored the Experimental Philology's Methodology.

1) «*Natus est P. Vergilius Maro... in pago qui aberat a Mantua milia passuum XXX, Andibus*»; O. Ribbeck's words, who worsened the situation believing right the: «*milia passuum XXX*», believing also right: «*Andes*»: villages' name, not celtic tribe's name⁵¹.

2) «*Virgile naquit... à 'Andes', bourg appartenant au territoire de Mantoue et que l'on peut identifier sans invraisemblance avec Pietole*»; F. Plessis-P. Lejay's words⁵²;

3) «*Puliusz Vergilius Maro urodzil sien w wiosee 'Andes', w publicum Mantui*»; L. Joachimowicz' words⁵³;

4) «*P. Virgilio Marone nacque... a circa tre miglia da Mantova... in quel tratto di contado che anticamente si chiamò 'Andes', poi, Pietole e oggi, comune di Virgilio*»; G. Albini's words⁵⁴;

5) «*P. Vergilius Maro was born... in 'Andes', a 'pagus' in the territory of Mantua*»; J. Conington-H. Nettleship's words⁵⁵;

48 G. F. Coyer, *Voyage d'Italie*, 2, Parigi 1776, 130.

49 De La Roque, *Vogage d'un amateur des arts en Flandre, dans les Pays-Bas, en Hollande, en France, en Savoye, en Italie, en Suisse*, 4, Amsterdam 1783, 37-38.

50 V. Doublet, *Les Nouveaux Voyageurs en Suisse et en Italie*, Parigi-Digione 1847, 161-162. We regret to have dismissed the testimony of Pius (Enea Silvio Piccolomini) Pope Second of that name; we present it with all the honours due to so great an Humanist:

«Postera die ad ostium Mintii fluminis perventum et in stagnum usque navigatum, in cuius sinistro littore, tumulus ostentitur magno honore habitus, in quo Maronis fuisse lares affirmant. Villa circum parva iacet, quae tantum peperit vatem» (Pío II. *Commentarii rerum memorabilium quae temporibus suis contigerunt*, libri XII, Roma (D. Basa) 1584, libr. 2, p. 104).

51 O. Ribbeck, *P. Vergilii Maronis Opera*, Lipsia 1872, viii.

52 F. Plessis-P. Lejay, *Oeuvres de Virgile*, Paris 1913, iii.

53 A. L. Czerny, *Publiusz Vergilius Maro*, Warszawa 1956, 8.

54 G. Albini, *P. Virgilio Marone: L'Eneide*, Bologna 1941, xi.

55 J. Conington-H. Nettleship, *The Works of Virgil*, Hildesheim 1963, xviii.

6) «*P. Vergilius Maro ist... in dem Dorfe 'Andes' bei Mantua geboren*»; K. Kappes-M. Fickelscherer's words⁵⁶;

7) «...*'Andes' poteva evidentemente considerarsi un sobborgo della città*»; E. Paratore's words⁵⁷.

Now, we pass to review the few Philologists who pushed by «*folle ardire e temeraria audacia*», still persuaded that «*Andes*» was the native village of Virgil, denying the «*Andes = Pietole's*» identity and the long mediaeval tradition, did their best to displace the «*vicus Andicus*» in other parts of the mantuan Padania.

1. Scipione Maffei discovered between Mantua and Verona the village: «*Bande*» and in the name, he saw the corruption of the name «*Andes*». Maffei substituting Verona to Cremona, ignoring Brixia and trampling under his feet the direct testimonies and the indirect references and not knowing «*Andes*»: celtic tribe's name, defended the: «*Bande = Andes*» identity⁵⁸.

2. Bruno Nardi, distinguished «*Forte di Pietole*» from «*Pietole*», discovering that in mediaeval times in the «*Forte di Pietole's*» land, there was a locality called: «*mons Virgilio*», and a countryside named: «*the pioppa's country*»: a souvenir of the «*poplar-tree*», planted by «*Magia Polla*», the Poet's mother. E. Paratore approved Nardi: «*Tali considerazioni rendono probabile l'identificazione di 'Andes' con Forte di Pietole e quindi confermerebbero che la distanza da Mantova è di tre miglia*»⁵⁹.

We reject the «*Andes = Forte di Pietole's*» identity as we have rejected the «*Andes = Pietole's*» identity, the two being altogether anthistorical and completely indefensible. The Italian Scholars went their way, neglecting the Poet's words and Vergilius is true and trustworthy.

3. Dal Zotto proposed again the: «*Andes = Pietole's*» identity but was so able and very fortunate to discover the Poet's land-propriety not in Pietole but near Pietole and the Poet's house in the vicinity of the Cerese's parish church.

Dal Zotto ignored the Poet's voice and the requisites necessary to locate the Virgilius' birthplace in the mantuan Padania⁶⁰.

56 K. Kappes-M. Fickelscherer, *Aeneid*, Lipsia 1930, v.

57 E. Paratore, *La poesia della giovinezza di Virgilio*, Roma 1949, 43.

58 S. Maffei, «La patria di Virgilio», in E. Paratore, *op. cit.*, 23.

59 E. Paratore, *op. cit.*, 41.

60 A. Del Zotto, *Vicus Andicus: storia critica e delimitazione del luogo natale di Virgilio*, Mantova 1930.

4. R. Seymour Conway refusing the *Andes* = *Pietole's* identity but convinced that *Andes* was a village, displaced the *Andes's* village to Calvisano. To confort his revolutionary thesis Conway brought out two inscriptions: 1. the first one of *Vergilia Vera* found at Calvisano; 2. The second one of «*Publius Magius*» found at Casalpoglio.

The Calvisano's ypothesis respected the requisites: 1) Calvisano is nearly at the «*thirty roman miles* = *milia passuum XXX's*» distance from Mantua; 2) Calvisano's territory is not far from the Cremona's borderline; 3) Calvisano is at halfway distance from Mantua and from Brixia. To the three requisites, Conway added: 1) the proximity of the moraine hills of the Garda lake; 2) the possibility of seeing the Alps 3) the bucolic landscape familiar with the description by the poet embellished in the Eclogues⁶¹.

Conway could certainly have ameliorated his tesis: 1) if he had suspected that *Andes* was not a village's name but a celtic tribe's name; 2) if he had notice of the inscription of *Publius Magius*, found at Castel Goffredo, near Casalpoglio.

5 E. K. Rand engaged a strenous dispute with Conway about the Virgil's birthplace. Rand and Conway: two expert duellists who fought with courage, learning and dexterity but their efforts were nullified because the two did duell in different grounds, trying to demonstrate the impossible: make existent the non existent *Andes* village: Conway displacing it firstly in the Calvisano and secondly to the Carpenedolo's zone; Rand taking it back to Pietole ignoring the Poet's references and reducing the importance of the inscriptions: «I am prepared to believe that members of the «Magian» family were buried at Casalpoglio and that a member of the virgilian family dedicated an altar at Calvisano but not that Carpenedolo was the ancient «Andes», the site of Virgil's own farm»⁶².

Conway and Rand, ignoring the Poet's voice, did not account the requisites necessary to locate in the mantuan Padania the Virgil's farm; Conway and Rand were both convinced of *Andes* village's name and their learned dispute was about the thesis: «believe

61 R. S. Conway, «Further Considerations on the site of Vergil's farm», *The Class. Quarterly* (1931) 65-76. R. S. Conway, *Dov'era il Podere di Virgilio*, Atene e Roma, 1926, 171.

62 E. K. Rand, «Once more Vergil's birthplace», *Harv. Stud. of Class. Philol.* (1935) 63-93.

or not believe the long, mediaeval tradition, based upon the *Andes* = *Pietole's* identity.

6 C. Berselli, active membre in the *mantuan Virgilian Academy*, pointing out that: *Andes* was not a village's name but the name of a celtic tribe settled and stationed in the Mantuan Padania, was tempted to assign the glory of the Virgil's birthplace to Castel Goffredo. We regret that Berselli had not the necessary boldness to carry his intuition to its extreme consequence. We assign to Berselli the great merit of having opened the new way for us who at that time, were fully convinced of the «*Andes* = *Pietole's*» identity⁶³. Having presented and discussed *specimina* of the different *conclusions* of the modern and contemporary Scholars, we are ready to close the paper and to finish the article because we think useless to trash the corn already trashed.

Not being confused and perturbed by the voices of so many learned men but respecting the references drawn from the direct and from the indirect sources, we affirm that the *vicus Andicus*: the Magian family's farm and the Virgil's birthplace were situated in that zone of the *ager Mantuanus*, endowed with the five, essential and necessary requisites: 1) «to be in the *ager Mantuanus*; 2) «to be along the «*ager Cremonensis*' border-line»; 3) «to be distant thirty roman miles from Mantua: *milia passuum XXX*»; 4) «to be at about the halfway distance from Mantua and Brixia»; 5) «to be in the center of the triangle: Cremona, Brixia, Mantua, as it has been proved, explained and demonstrated».

The five requisites necessary to place the «*vicus Andicus*» in the mantuan map, converge on the Castel Goffredo's zone, near to Casalpoglio and not far from Calvisano, where were found the three inscriptions bearing respectively the name of «*Vergilia Vera*» and of «*Publius Magius*». For all the aforesaid, we refusing decisively the long and canonized mediaeval tradition: «*Andes* = *Pietole*» fix the *vicus Andicus*: the Virgil's farm» in the lands of Castel Goffredo, just not having «*il folle ardire e la temeraria audacia*» to ignore the Poet's references and to trample under our feet the references of the ancient Commentators.

DAVIDE NARDONI

63 C. Berselli, «Un filo lega Castel Goffredo a Virgilio», in *Il Tartarello* 14 (1981) 3-8.