3. JUAN LUIS DE LA CERDA ON THE ROMAN TOGA: CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY IN A RENAISSANCE COMMENTARY

1. Introduction

Early modern commentaries on the works of Virgil often comprise a host of information on a broad range of topics. Some of them almost turn into a sort of encyclopedia of the classical world. In this chapter, I will study one particular type of lemma, the one that offers information on classical culture. I will be interested in establishing what approaches to and what views of the classical era underlie such lemmata. I will analyze this topic with the help of the *Aeneid* commentary by the 16th-century Jesuit scholar Juan Luis de La Cerda, who wrote a monumental commentary on the works of Virgil. I will study La Cerda's learning on classical antiquity as a form of encyclopedic knowledge and determine what conceptualization of the past underlies these lemmata. To this end, I will first discuss the question of how early modern scholars viewed the classical world: there is an ongoing debate in modern renaissance scholarship about the way in which humanist scholars approached the past, which forms an important point of departure for my study. After having discussed this debate and having established the theoretical framework for my enquiry (**section 2**), I will briefly introduce La Cerda and his commentary (**section 3**); then I will approach the topic at hand by means of a case study of one specific lemma from his work (**sections 4 and 5**). After that, I will situate my observations from the case study in the context of La Cerda's commentary in general (**sections 6 and 7**) and against the background of the antiquarian movement **(section 8**). A brief conclusion will follow in which the conclusions from the different levels of my analysis will be brought together. There, I will address the central issue of what we can infer from La Cerda's commentary about humanist views of the classical past (**section 9**).

2. The Early Modern View of the (Classical) Past

Most modern scholars claim that the humanist' view of history was based on a new attitude towards the past, unlike that of preceding times: humanists now regarded "history" as being fundamentally different from their own period.[253] This

[253] Grafton (1985), 620: 'A rich body of research has taught us much about the historical reading of the ancients. Sabbadini and Nolhac almost a century ago, Ulman, Weiss, Billanovich, Timpanaro and Rizzo more recently have shown that humanists did indeed create a new mode of experiencing old texts. They saw the ancients as inhabiting a world different from theirs and devised what we would now call the methods of historical philology in order to bring themselves closer to it.'; Kallendorf (1989), 14: ´As

position was first described at length by Peter Burke (1969), according to whom Renaissance humanism brought about a fundamental change in the way in which scholars studied the past:[254] he describes a development from a direct approach to (classical) texts that was characterized by confrontation and appropriation to a more detached method which offered room for a sense of historical developments (causation), critical evaluation of sources, and anachronism.[255] Burke's whole concept of the 'Renaissance sense of the past' is in fact grounded in the idea that the medieval world lacked any idea of historical distance.[256] Clearly, this view is not consistent with current conceptualizations of the medieval era and its relation to the early modern period.[257] The consequences of Burke's analysis however – especially the notion that Renaissance scholars had a fundamentally different view of the past than their medieval counterparts – are still influential, as will become apparent below.

Clearly, one of the important features of scholarship in the early modern period, is that many scholars involved themselves in a very direct way with the classical past, as has also become apparent from the discussion of commentary lemmata in the previous chapter. The question of the humanist' sense of the past on the one hand, and the important role of classical antiquity for the humanist movement on the other, form a complicated picture that concerns key elements of intellectual history. For the aim of this chapter, it is important to establish what views of the past and what conceptualizations of historiography underlie the various products (such as commentaries) of the intellectual labor of early modern scholars and how this relates to general features of humanist intellectual programs.

Ann Blair (2010) has argued that one of the characterizing new features of the Renaissance, was the 'awareness of the great cultural trauma' caused by the loss of

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Eugenio Garin has shown, the humanists made enormous progress in recovering a sense of historical perspective, a sense that ideas and actions are bound to values and that these values change over the course of time'. see also Fryde (1983), 56; Lowenthal (1985), 75. For a discussion of the question of early modern historiography, see Momigliano (1950), (1990) and Grafton (2007).

[254] Burke (1969), 1: '... surprising as this may now seem and despite (or because of) the great medieval achievements in other fields, during the whole millennium 400-1400, there was no 'sense of history' even among the educated (...)'.

[255] Burke (1969), 1 distinguishes these three factors that are included in 'the sense of history: 'the sense of anachronism', 'the awareness of evidence' and 'the interest in causation'.

[256] Burke (1969), 1: 'Medieval men lacked a sense of the past being different in quality from the present.'

[257] See for example the introduction by Aurell (2005) in a volume on the study of the Middle Ages in the 20th century.

access to ancient learning during the Middle Ages.[258] She shows convincingly how this sentiment was one of the important agents in the enormous effort of early modern scholars to compile and organize manifold forms of knowledge.[259] One may wonder what the sense of loss which underlay this productivity meant for the humanists' conception of the past, for the very intellectual activities of early modern scholars seem to indicate the realization of a fundamental, if not unbridgeable, rift between the classical era and their own time.[260] It is precisely their effort to compile, organize and consolidate classical knowledge that makes it painfully clear how these scholars feared to lose access again to a world that was in many aspects so different from their own.

When we turn to Renaissance historiography, we find a complicated picture of the early modern understanding of the past. One of the key figures in Renaissance thinking about historiography was the Florentine humanist Leonardo Bruni (1370-1444), writer of the *History of the Florentine People* (1442; *Historiarum fiorentini populi libri xii*) and especially fond of the Roman historiographer Livy.[261] While he clearly introduced important new elements into the writing of history, Bruni's work cannot unproblematically be seen as the product of a distanced scholar seeking to come to an objective description of past events: he did not critically evaluate the use of sources in the classical historians on whom he based his own work,[262] and motivations that are from a modern point of view less scholarly, like the desire to glorify the city of Florence and its republic, often played an important role.[263] But where Bruni's work differs significantly from the preceding historiographical tradition and sets a model for later Renaissance historiographers is in his view of history in terms of political developments, with special attention to the feats of great men and the impact of wars and battles. Moreover, as Grafton (2007) observes, the *ars historica* was seen by many early

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[258] Blair (2010), 12-13.

[259] See section 3 of chapter 1 of this study for a more elaborate discussion of this phenomenon.

[260] The same paradox is observed by Gouwens (1998, 77), though not in the context of knowledge management but on the occasion of his discussion of the very direct identification of humanists with the classical past.

[261] Ianziti (1998), 367.

[262] Grafton (2007), 98; Ianziti (2000), 43.

[263] Ianziti (1998), 368-369; Ianziti also points out how Bruni's view of historiography was at odds with that of Biondi (for a discussion of Biondo and antiquarianism, see section 8 below). See also Bagge (1997), 1351-1356 in which Bruni's account of events from Florentine history is compared to that of other (medieval) Florentine historiographers. For more on the political aspects of Bruni's writing see Quillen (2010), 381-382, Hankins (2005), 88 and Hankins (2006), 130.

modern scholars as 'a form of rhetoric and a source of exempla.'[264] For this reason, no principles were established by Bruni and his contemporaries for the assessment of sources. Only in the sixteenth century was this type of rules proposed by a scholar like François Baudouin (1520-1573).[265] Generally, the political uses of the past remained an important factor in humanist historiography.[266]

The implications of all this for humanist views of the past is that the past was mainly seen as a model for contemporary life: it was not a closed book of which the high points could never be attained again, but on the contrary provided an outline for the great undertakings of the humanists' own time, as for example in the case of Bruni's political *exempla*. Within this approach of seeing the past as a model, Lowenthal (1985) distinguishes three perspectives on the past that were generally used by early modern scholars: they may be labeled 'a sense of distance', 'imitation', and 'revival and rebirth'.[267] These three perspectives formulated by Lowenthal form a good starting-point for thinking about humanist conceptualizations of the (classical) past. In my view, it seems that only a theoretical frame that takes a combination of all of these three perspectives into account can explain the creative and intricate manner in which humanists dealt with the legacy of the classical era. In such a frame, I would theorize that the humanists' sense of distance supported the need for imitation (and adaptation of classical models to the contemporary world), which in turn resulted in the revival and rebirth of classical arts and ideas. This is not the view of Lowenthal, who argues that the sense of distance (which he calls historical awareness) created problems for Renaissance scholars since their desire to 'improve on antiquity' implied that history brought about change and that 'the present could not really be like the past'. Thus, he writes, precisely the sense of historical distance 'freed

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[264] Grafton (2007), 31; see in particular Grafton's discussion (34-49) of the use of (fictitious) speeches in historiographical works by humanist historians: this was an issue of much debate among early modern scholars, precisely because of the problematic relation between this rhetorical aspect and the question of historical veracity.

[265] Grafton (2007), 99; 166-167. However, as Grafton (103-104) shows, the idea of the critical evaluation of sources as a key feature of historiography had its roots in 15th-century Italy, where it was advocated by scholars like Pomponio Leto.

[266] See for example Maas (2012), 11 on early modern Dutch historiography: 'In sum, the political subject matter of humanist historiography, its aims of teaching and praising princes, the dedication of individual works to the powerful, and the active participation of historians in public life seem to justify the conclusion that just like historical examples could be used to support political rhetoric, the production of humanist historiographical writing was to an important extent driven by political factors.'

[267] Lowenthal (1985), 77ff..

humanists from viewing classical antiquity as an unalterable, irreproachable forerunner'.[268] Early modern scholars (or at least early modern commentators, as will become apparent in a moment) seem to have taken a much more pragmatic approach to this problem: they used those elements from classical history for identification which fitted their purposes and stressed the sense of historical distance where that suited them best or where that was necessary to uphold the exemplary function of the classical world (especially in the domain of religion). But generally, the high degree to which identification with and great interest in the classical past are present, demonstrate the importance of that period to early modern scholars like La Cerda.

3. Juan Luis de La Cerda (1558-1643)[269]

Juan Luis de La Cerda – born in Toledo (1558), died in Madrid (1643) – was the son of Francisco de la Cerda and Jéronima de Zárate. He entered the Jesuit order on October 4, 1574 and served as a professor of poetry, rhetoric and Greek at the *Colegio Imperial* in Madrid (1597-1642).[270] His monumental commentary on Virgil in three volumes was published between 1608 and 1617.[271] La Cerda further wrote a commentary on Tertullian (1624;1630), published *Adversaria sacra* (Lyon 1626),[272] a treatise *De excellentia sacrorum spirituum* (Paris, 1631) and a work in Spanish *Libro intitulado Vida politica de todos los estados de mugeres* (Madrid, 1599).[273] La Cerda furthermore compiled an epitome of the *Grammatica Latina* of Nebrija (1598) that was declared the official and only text for Latin teaching in Spain by Philip II.

Although La Cerda's commentary is one of the most monumental and influential commentaries on Virgil,[274] it has been relatively little studied.[275] The commentary on the *Aeneid* alone is huge – two volumes in folio (about 1600 folia) –

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[268] Lowenthal (1985), 80.

[269] Good starting points for (references to) information on La Cerda's life and works are Kallendorf (2009), 584 n.20, Laird (2002), 174-175; Stevens (1945) and Lawrance (1994); see also Knauer (1964), 82-87.

[270] Martinez (1995), 113.

[271] The commentary on the *Bucolics* and the *Georgics* appeared in 1608, that on the first six books of the *Aeneid* in 1612 and on the last six books in 1617. Reprints were published up till 1647. See Kallendorf (2009), 579 n.2.

[272] *Adversaria sacra P. Io. Ludovici de la Cerda.*

[273] A work in Spanish consisting of five treatises full of references to the Classics and the Bible.

[274] Knauer (1964), 86.

[275] As is also noted by Jiménez Calvente (2001), 35 and Kallendorf (2009), 579.

and is as much a commentary as it is an encyclopedic work.[276] It is accompanied by the *index Erythraeus* (1538) – a word index on the works of Virgil[277] – and by two other indices: one of Greek words, the other a general index (*rerum et verborum*). Although an index of Greek words is not unique for early modern commentaries, its presence in the commentary is in accordance with the great interest La Cerda displays in relating Virgil's works to Greek literature. In addition to a host of references to classical Latin literature, his commentary is full of references to Greek authors, often accompanied by lengthy citations and translations from the Greek text. In the 'letter to the reader' which is printed in the first volume of the Virgil commentary (thus preceding the commentary on the Georgics), La Cerda explains that he has done this to facilitate the teaching of *imitatio*, precisely by showing how the works of Virgil not only related to but sometimes also imitated preceding Greek texts.[278] This also accounts for the attention La Cerda pays to points of similarity between Homer and Virgil – a traditional topic, but worked out elaborately by La Cerda.

4. A First Look at La Cerda and the Roman Toga

One of the most resounding and ideological passages from the *Aeneid* is Jupiter's speech in the first book of the work. As was concluded in chapter 1 after an examination of early modern commentary lemmata on the passage, early modern commentators mostly ignored the political or ideological matters of interest that the passage seems to offer. This is also the case with La Cerda, who in discussing the passage mainly focuses on offering references to Homer and other Greek authors and on providing information on *realia.*[279] At the end of his lemma on *imperium sine fine* ('an empire without end'), for example, he refers briefly to the possible ideological and political implications of the verses *A.* 1.278-279 *His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono / imperium sine fine dedi …* ('For these I set no limits in space and time / I have given them an empire without end') but then immediately

[276] As Mazocchi (1993), 664 notes: '... los comentarios del Padre La Cerda ofrecen un elemento más de reflexión sobre el carácter enciclopédico de la civilización barroca.'

[277] *Index Erythraei Virgiliano operi cuiuslibet impressionis ab Antonio Maria Basso Cremonensi accomodatus*.

[278] In fact, facilitating *imitatio* seems to form one of the most important aspects of the commentary. See also Laird (2002), 180-181, who remarks: 'His commentary is an abundant thesaurus of models – and for him successful *imitatio* is itself the essence of Virgil's own achievement. The deliberate manner in which the emulation of Virgil in turn is advocated is all the more striking.'

[279] The same kind of restraint is found in La Cerda's commentary on the sixth book – often having triggered very creative interpretations of previous commentators (e.g. Landino, Badius Ascensius). See Laird (2002) ,184-187.

states that he does not currently wish to go into this matter: *Huc pertinet attributum aeternitatis dari solitum Romanis Imperatoribus. Cuius rei mentio multa in Smetio,*[280] *ubi seges exemplorum. Omitto, ne impleam paginam* ('This pertains to the customary attribute of eternity given to Roman emperors. On this matter a lot is said in Smetius, where there is a rich crop of examples. I leave this out, so that I will not fill a page').

One of the most striking instances of leaving out ideological considerations and focusing on matters that seem to be less relevant for modern reader of the work, occurs at verse *A.* 1.282 *Romanos, rerum dominos gentemque togatam* ('Romans, the lords of the world and the people wearing the toga') where again, instead of focusing on the promise of Roman world domination, La Cerda chose to write a lengthy and intricate discussion of the shape of the Roman toga. This lemma – of which a full transcription and a translation can be found in the appendix – will serve as a case study, precisely because of its remarkable occurrence at this point in the commentary, where one might have expected a discussion of more fundamental issues of ideology and politics. The lemma clearly shows the interest of the commentator in providing encyclopedic and antiquarian knowledge on classical cultural history. In analyzing the lemma I will trace the web of references and scholarship that underlies it, to enhance our understanding of its function in the commentary and in the broader context of the humanist sense of the past.

La Cerda's commentary is structured in *argumenta*, *explicationes*, and *notae.* The *argumenta* provide short prose paraphrases of sections of the poem, while the *explicationes* concern comments on smaller and larger portions of text taken together and on the *Aeneid* as a work of literature. The lemma on the toga belongs to the *notae.* In his *Ad lectorem* ('To the reader') La Cerda explains the structuring of the work and sets out some of the principles which governed the writing of his commentary.[281] On the *notae* he remarks the following:

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[280] Martinus Smetius, *Inscriptionum antiquarum quae passim per Europam liber. Accessit auctarium a Iusto Lipsio.* Lugduni Batavorum: Ex Officina Plantiniana, 1588. Smetius' (ca. 1525-1578) work – a huge collection of classical inscriptions – was published posthumously by Justus Lipsius, after Janus Dousa had bought the manuscript for Leiden University. Langereis (2001), 115.

[281] La Cerda, *Ad lectorem*: *In argumentis breviter comprehendo partem illam carminum, quam declarandam suscipio (…) In explicationibus non solum sententias singulas explano, sed universas annecto, expendens interdum mentem Poetae (…) In notis multa est rerum varietas pro ipsa rerum varietate quibus poeta est plenus.* ['In the *argumenta* I briefly summarize that part of the poem, which I take up to explain (...). In the *explicationes* I not only explain the individual sentences, but also all of them together, sometimes evaluating the judgment of the poet (...) In the *notae*, there is a great variety of subjects, in accordance with the variety of subjects of which this poet is full.'].

La Cerda, *Ad lectorem*

In notis multa est rerum varietas pro ipsa rerum varietate quibus poeta est plenus. In his enim iam explicationem meam firmo, adductis aut auctoribus, aut testimoniis, quibus innitor (...) Ex interpretibus Virgilii qui ante me commentarios ediderunt, uni, ut plurimum, adhaereo Germano Valenti Guellio P.P. cuius iudicium mihi visum est gravissimum.

In the notes, there is a great variety of subjects, in accordance with the variety of subjects of which this poet is full. In these, I affirm my *explicatio*, by citing either authoritative sources or proof, on which I base myself (...) Of the interpreters of Virgil who have published commentaries before me, I adhere mostly to one, Germanus Valens Guellius P.P.,[282] whose judgment weighs very heavy for me.[283]

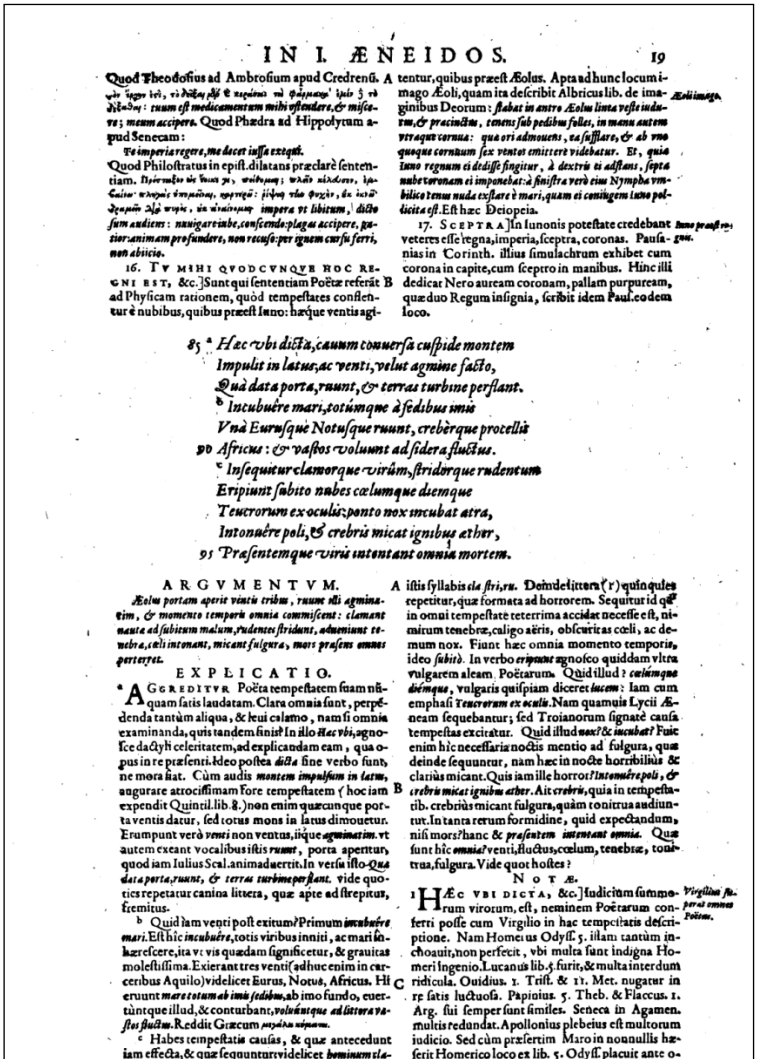
In this passage, La Cerda explains the relation of the *notae* to the *explicationes*: the *notae* consist of lemmata that contain all kinds of subject matter and support the interpretation of the *Aeneid* which La Cerda gives in his *explicationes*. The *notae* are also the place where La Cerda gives his many and often lengthy citations from other authors. This kind of structuring facilitates the efficient use of the commentary enormously: a reader interested in getting a better grip on the narrative of the *Aeneid* would turn to the *argumentum*.[284] A student of Virgil interested in the epic as a work of literature, aiming to understand the meaning of the single sentences, the larger whole and the intention of the poet, would consult the *explicationes*.[285] And finally, someone looking for information on a topic that is not necessarily related to the work of Virgil, but of which La Cerda undertakes an exposition in one of his *notae*, would turn to the *notae*. This structuring of the commentary is also supported by the lay-out of the commentary, as is shown in ill.1.

[282] According to Knauer (1964, 79n.1) PP probably stands for *pater prior*. Since Germanus was the abbot of Pimpont, I would prefer a reading in which it stands for 'Pimpontius' (which is often found with his name).

[283] For Germanus, see chapter 1, n.187.

[284] See note 281.

[285] See note 281.



IN I. ÆNEIDOS. 19

Quod Theodosius ad Ambrosium apud Credrenū. A tentur, quibus præest Æolus. Apta ad hunc locum imago Æoli, quam ita describit Albricus lib. de imaginibus Deorum: *stabat in antro Æolus lima veste indutus, & pracinctus, tenens sub pedibus follei, in manu autem vtraque cornua: quæ ori admouens, ea sufflare, & ab vno quoque cornuum sex ventos emittere videbatur.* Et, *quia Iuno regnum ei dedisse fingitur, à dextris ei adstans, septa nube coronam ei imponebat: à sinistra verò eius Nympha symbolica tenus nuda exstare è mari, quam ei coniugem Iuno pollicita est.* Est hæc Deiopeia. *Æoli imago.*

17. SCEPTRA.] In Iunonis potestate credebant veteres esse regna, imperia, sceptra, coronas. Pausanias in Corinth. illius simulachrum exhibet cum corona in capite, cum sceptro in manibus. Hinc illi dedicat Nero aureum coronam, pallam purpuream, quæ duo Regum insignia, scribit idem Paul. eodem loco. *Iuno præsul regum.*

85 [a] *Hæc vbi dicta, cauum conuersa cuspide montem*
Impulit in latus, ac venti, velut agmine facto,
Quà data porta, ruunt, & terras turbine perflant.
[b] *Incubuêre mari, totumque à sedibus imis*
Vnà Eurusque Notusque ruunt, creberque procellis
90 *Africus: & vastos volunt ad sidera fluctus.*
[c] *Insequitur clamorque virûm, stridorque rudentum.*
Eripiunt subito nubes cœlumque diemque
Teucrorum ex oculis; ponto nox incubat atra,
Intonuêre poli, & crebris micat ignibus æther,
95 *Præsentemque viris intentant omnia mortem.*

ARGVMENTVM.

Æolus portam aperit ventis tribus, ruunt illi agminatim, & momento temporis omnia commiscent: clamant nauta ad subitum malum, rudentes stridunt, adimunt tenebræ, cœli intonant, micant fulgura, mors præsens omnes perterret.

EXPLICATIO.

[a] AGGREDITVR Poëta tempestatem suam nūquam satis laudatam. Clara omnia sunt, perpendenda tantùm aliqua, & leui calamo, nam si omnia examinanda, quis tandem finis? In illo *Hæc vbi*, agnosce dactylū celeritatem, ad explicandam eam, qua opus in re præsenti. Ideo posita *dicta* fine verbo sunt, ne mora fiat. Cùm audis *montem impulsum in latus*, augurare atrocissimam fore tempestatem (hoc iam expendit Quintil. lib. 8.) non enim quæcunque porta ventis datur, sed totus mons in latus dimouetur. Erumpunt verò *venti* non ventus, istique *agminatim*. vt autem exeant vocalibus istis *ruunt*, porta aperitur, quod iam Iulius Scal. animaduertit. In versu illo *Quà data porta, ruunt, & terras turbine perflant.* vide quoties repetatur canina littera, quæ apte ad strepitum, fremitus. A B

[b] Quid iam venti post exitum? Primum *incubuêre mari*. Est hic *incubuêre*, totis viribus inniti, ac mari inhærescere, ita vt vis quædam significetur, & grauitas molestissima. Exierant tres venti (adhuc enim in carceribus Aquilo) videlicet Eurus, Notus, Africus. Hi eruunt *mare totum ab imis fundum*, ab imo fundo, euertūntque illud, & conturbant, *voluúntque ad littora vastos fluctus*. Reddit Græcum μεχάλα κύματα. C

[c] Habes tempestatis causas, & quæ antecedunt iam effecta, & quæ sequuntur videlicet *hominum clamor, rudentum frider*. Tempestatis horror apparet in istis syllabis *cla stri, ru*. Deinde littera (r) quinquies repetitur, quæ formata ad horrorem. Sequitur id quē in omni tempestate teterrima accidat necesse est, nimirum tenebræ, caligo aëris, obscuritas cœli, ac demum nox. Fiunt hæc omnia momento temporis, ideo *subitò*. In verbo *eripiunt* agnosco quiddam vltra vulgarem aleam Poëtarum. Quid illud? *cœlumque diémque*, vulgaris quispiam diceret *lucem*: Iam cum emphasi *Teucrorum ex oculis*. Nam quamuis Lycii Æneam sequebantur; sed Troianorum signatè causa tempestas excitatur. Quid illud *nox?* & *incubat?* Fuit enim hìc necessaria nocti mentio ad fulgura, quæ deinde sequuntur, nam hæc in nocte horribiliùs & clariùs micant. Quis iam ille horror? *Intonuêre poli, & crebris micat ignibus æther*. Ait *crebris*, quia in tempestatib. crebriùs micant fulgura, quàm tonitrua audiuntur. In tanta rerum formidine, quid expectandum, nisi mors? hanc & *præsentem intentant omnia*. Quæ sunt hìc *omnia?* venti, fluctus, cœlum, tenebræ, tonitrua, fulgura. Vide quot hostes?

NOTÆ.

1 HÆC VBI DICTA, &c.] Iudicium summorum virorum, est, neminem Poëtarum conferri posse cum Virgilio in hac tempestatis descriptione. Nam Homerus Odyss. 5. illam tantùm inchoauit, non perfecit, vbi multa sunt indigna Homeri ingenio. Lucanus lib. 5. furit, & multa interdum ridicula. Ouidius. 1. Trist. & 11. Met. nugatur in re satis luctuosa. Papinius. 5. Theb. & Flaccus. 1. Arg. sui semper sunt similes. Seneca in Agamen. multis redundat. Apollonius plebeius est multorum iudicio. Sed cùm præsertim Maro in nonnullis hæserit Homerico loco ex lib. 5. Odyss. placuit ante omnia illius versus adducere ab eo loco, quo Neptu- *Virgilius superat omnes Poëtas.*

Ill. 1 Page 19 from the 1628 edition of La Cerda's *Aeneid* commentary, containing *Aen.* 1.81-91 and clearly showing the *Argumentum, explicatio* and start of the *notae* at the passage.

As La Cerda himself remarks, the *notae* contain all kinds of subject matter – information on mythology, poetical theory, astronomy, geography, ancient history, etymology, imitation et cetera. How then, in view of this variety, was an owner of a copy of La Cerda supposed to access all this information, now that the main defining principle for this category of lemmata is in fact *varietas*? Of course there

are the indices at the end of the commentary. But however extensive these may be, they do not offer access to all of the *notae* – the word 'toga', for example, is not included. As a further aid to the reader, however, keywords are printed in the margins of the commentary, pointing to topics which La Cerda addresses in his *notae* (no marginal keywords are printed for the *argumenta* or the *explicationes*). Of course printing such marginalia was quite customary, but they can inform us about the perceived use and value of the lemmata of the commentary. In the case of La Cerda's lemma on the toga one encounters marginal pointers like *togae Romanae forma* ('the shape of the Roman toga'), *togae Romanae origo* ('the origin of the Roman toga'), *quadratae vestes* ('rectangular clothing') and *impluviata vestis* (litt. 'clothing shaped like an *impluvium*'). Clearly, these topics are not so much of interest to a reader studying the *Aeneid*. But they are all the more relevant to someone looking to get some information on these topics with respect to the Roman toga in its various aspects – for which a modern reader would simply turn to an encyclopedia or look for an article in a journal. As I will show in the following analysis of this *nota*, La Cerda is not in the least concerned with the *Aeneid*; rather he presents his well-founded, scholarly opinion on a matter of antiquarian interest.

5. *A.* 1.282: the Roman Toga

The lemma on *togatam* is almost three times longer than the average *nota* in the commentary on the first book of the *Aeneid*. Such extensive lemmata are not in themselves exceptional for La Cerda – he more than once allows himself room for digression – but what is in fact striking, as I mentioned before, is that at this important point in Jupiter's speech La Cerda chose to insert a lengthy discussion of Roman clothing. And while such a topic fits the characterization La Cerda has given before of the subject matter that is discussed in the *notae* ('a great variety in subject matter), the extensive attention paid to a topic not central to Jupiter's speech remains striking. Moreover, in his *argumentum* and in the *explicatio* on this passage too La Cerda remains silent about possible political or ideological connotations of the passage.

As I noted before, a full transcription and translation of the lemma can be found in the appendix to this chapter. In the following I will only quote the parts of the lemma that are directly relevant to the discussion at hand.

La Cerda opens his discussion of *togatam* by pointing to parallel passages for *gentemque togatam* ('and the people wearing the toga') in Laberius (cited by

Macrobius)[286] and Propertius.[287] As I have just noted in section 3, this practice is not only traditional, but in La Cerda's view an important element in teaching poetic imitation and composition. He then refers to relevant (post-classical) secondary literature, such as Lipsius,[288] Sigonius[289] and Baysius[290] and to Tertullian's *De Pallio*. The works by Sigonius, Baysius and the chapter from Lipsius are early modern antiquarian treatises on the classical world, while Tertullian's treatise on the *pallium* ('cloack') – on which La Cerda wrote a commentary – dates back to antiquity itself. With these references, La Cerda sets the intellectual background for his discussion and at the same time offers his readers some useful references for further reading. This fits with the generally compilatory character of La Cerda's commentary and reveals the working method of the commentator. In fact, the commentary is preceded by a long list of hundreds of classical authors and 150 post-classical scholars whose works La Cerda has used in writing his commentary.[291] At the same time, it affirms the authority of the commentator by showing that he is well-informed about the matter at hand.

After this brief introduction, La Cerda announces his own contribution to this field of knowledge, namely a short treatise on the *form* of the toga: the color of the vestment had already been established by Lipsius, other relevant pieces of

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[286] Macr., *Sat.* 6.5.15, who points to parallel lines in Laberius: *Laberius in Ephebo ... "togatae stirpis". Idem infra ... "dominium // togatae gentis*". ['Laberius in his *Ephebus* ... 'Toga-wearing race'. The same further on ... 'rule of the toga-wearing people'].

[287] Prop., *Carm.* IV.2,56: *turba togata* ['toga-wearing crowd'].

[288] Lipsius, *Electorum libri* I (Antwerp: Plantijn, 1580). Chapter 13 is titled *De vestitu Romano conlectanea* ['Collections about Roman clothing'], in which Lipsius focuses on the color of Roman clothing (*De colore vestium apud Romanos, itemque de Candidatis, Sordidatis, Pullatis, non satis plana hodie res est. Ego paullo uberius dicam, quam qui ante me …* ['On the color of clothing with the Romans, and also on white togas, togas of mourning, the black toga, this matter is not satisfactorily clear today. I will speak a bit more copious, than those before me....'].

[289] Carolus Sigonius (Carlo Sigonio; 1524-1584), *Fasti consulares* (1550). This was an important work on the history of Rome; he also wrote on Roman law and several important works on the constitution of Athens and Sparta (*De republica Atheniensium* (1564) and *De Atheniensium et Lacedaemoniorum temporibus* (1565). Here reference is made to *De antiquo iure civium Romanorum, Italiae, Provinciarum, ac Romanae iurisprudentiae iudiciis, libri xi,* book 3 (*De iudiciis*), c.18 *De Toga.*

[290] Lazarus Baysius (Lazare de Baïf; 1496-1547), *De re vestiaria* (1526). He was a French diplomat who wrote a treatise on Roman seafaring, *De re navali* (1536) and one on the arteries (*Vascularia*). His discussion of the toga is found in *De re vestiaria* under the heading *De vestimentis externis* ['On outer clothing', i.e. as opposed to underclothing].

[291] See Laird (2002), 176-177.

information are available in the sources he just mentioned, but this is a gap in the knowledge about the Roman toga that still had to be filled:

> La Cerda on *A.* 1.282 *togatam*
> Ego hinc tractatiunculam assumam de forma, quae non satis comperta. Est difficultas maxima, an toga Romana fuerit quadrata? An potius circularis, seu semicircularis?
>
> I will add here a little treatise on its form, which has not been established satisfactorily. [292] This is the greatest difficulty, whether the Roman toga was rectangular, or rather round or half-round.

What follows is in fact a brief scholarly essay – in many aspects reminiscent of a modern scholarly article as I will demonstrate –, in which La Cerda discusses the form of the Roman toga by analyzing the opinions of Renaissance scholars on the topic and by discussing the most important testimonies from (late) antiquity.

La Cerda begins his analysis by evaluating the opinion of Petrus Victorius (who in his (*Liber) Variarum lectionum* had written comments on various classical authors), who had claimed – referring to the authority of Athenaeus[293] – that the toga was rectangular. [294] The *Deipnosophistae* by the Greek rhetorician and grammarian Athenaeus of Naucratis (Egypt; late 2nd century AD) contains a host of information on dining and feasting in the classical world, and is a treasure-trove for quotes from over 1000 classical authors, over 10,000 lines of verse.[295] An edition of the work was first printed by the Aldine press in 1514.[296] This is precisely the sort of work an early modern antiquarian would be interested in.

La Cerda not just refers to Victorius' work, but uses it as an instance in which the authority of Athenaeus is used to come to the conclusion that the Roman toga was rectangular.

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[292] In the margin: *Togae Romanae forma* ['The form of the Roman toga'].

[293] Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, 5.213b.

[294] *Petri Victorii Variarum lectionum libri xxxviii.* (1553; 1569), chapter 8 of the 19th book (edition Florence, 1584) , which is titled *De togis Romanorum, quae, ut coniicere licet ex Athenaei loco, quadratae fuerunt* ['On Roman togas, which, as can be inferred from the place in Athenaeus, were rectangular']. Victorius (Pierro Vettori, 1499-1585) was professor of Greek and Latin at the *studio Fiorentino*.

[295] Olson (2006), ix.

[296] Olson (2006), xvii.

La Cerda on *A.* 1.282 *togatam*

Primum coniicit doctissimus Petrus Victorius lib. 19. *Variarum lectionum* cap. 7. ductus Athenaei loco hoc ex lib. 5: τῶν δ' ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων οἱ μὲν θεῶν ἀγάλμασι προσπεπτώκασιν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ μεταμφιεσάμενοι τετράγωνα ἱμάτια τὰς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πατρίδας πάλιν ὀνομάζουσι: *Ex aliis Romanis, quidam ad Deorum simulacra confugientes procumbunt, alii mutata veste quadrata, patriam, quam principio gestabant, nunc rursum induunt*.

The first solution was surmised by the most learned Petrus Victorius in chapter 7 of the nineteenth book of his *Variae lectiones*, on the strength of this passage from book 5 of Athenaeus: 'And of the other Romans, some cling to the statues of the gods, while the rest, having removed their rectangular robes, call themselves once more by their native countries' [Greek] 'And of the other Romans, some flee to the statues of the gods and kneel in supplication, others, having removed their four-sided gowns, now put on again the fatherly toga, which they had worn in the beginning [Latin]'

In discussing the viewpoint of Victorius, La Cerda shows that he is aware of the argumentation in favor of this opinion. Moreover, as a sort of bonus, La Cerda offers an explanation of what exactly is happening in the passage from Athenaeus: some Romans, fearing the revenge of king Mithridates VI of Pontus who had conquered many of the Roman settlements in *Asia minor* and had ordered the killing of all Roman citizens, sought refuge at the altars of the gods (hoping that Mithridates would not dare to slay them there), while the others removed their rectangular cloaks – to avoid easy identification as Romans because of their rectangular togas – and called themselves once more by their native countries (thus pretending not to be of Roman descent). In fact, it should be pointed out that the passage in Athenaeus is ambiguous. The Greek word 'metamphiesamenoi' could both mean 'having changed into' or 'having removed'.

As an extra service, La Cerda points to a parallel passage in Cicero, where the aforementioned explanation of the events described by Athenaeus is given:[297]

La Cerda on *A.* 1.282 *togatam*

Et quidem sic Romanos vitavisse iras Mithridatis Cicero quoque *Pro Rabirio Posthumo* scripsit, cuius verba adducam, ut adductus Athenaei locus intelligatur:

[297] Cic., *Rab.* 27.

> *Facilius certe P. Rutilium Rufum necessitatis excusatio defendet, qui cum a Mithradate Mytilenis oppressus esset, crudelitatem regis in togatos vestitus mutatione vitavit.*
>
> And in fact Cicero has also written in his *Pro Rabirio Posthumo* that the Romans avoided the anger of Mithridates in this way, I will cite his words so that the aforementioned passage from Athenaeus may be understood: 'Certainly, even easier will the excuse of necessity protect Publius Rutilius Rufus who, when he was oppressed by Mithridates in Mitylene, avoided the cruelty of the king against those wearing togas, through a change of clothing.'

After this short digression, La Cerda turns back to the matter at hand – the form of the Roman toga (as La Cerda himself states: 'But I turn back to the topic at hand'), starting with a refutation of Victorius and others who supported the view that the toga was rectangular and advocating his own position that the toga was round ('In spite of what Victorius thinks, the Roman toga was round, not rectangular'). La Cerda starts his argumentation by citing and/or referring to three authoritative texts: Isidore's *Etymologiae,* Tertullian's *De Pallio*, and, most importantly, Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Antiquitates Romanae* (as the most ancient source). Isidore and Tertullian are briefly adduced for their remarks on the roundness of the toga:[298]

> La Cerda on *A.* 1.282 *togatam*
> Isidorus clare libr. 19. cap. 24 *toga forma rotunda, et fusiore.* Tertull. illi dat *umbonem*, et *ambitum*, quae duo cum rotunditate consentiunt.
>
> Isidore clearly writes in chapter 24 of his 19th book 'the toga is of a round and rather wide form.' Tertullian describes it as *umbo* [a protuberance][299] and *ambitus* [a revolution], both of which are consistent with roundness.

Dionysius is, however, La Cerda's most important source – as La Cerda himself says: 'But the full force of my argumentation rests on book 3 of Dionysius'

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[298] Isid., *Etym.* 19, 24, 3 (*De palliis virorum*): *Est autem pallium purum forma rotunda et fusiore, et quasi inundante sinu, et sub dextro veniens supra humerum sinistrum ponitur, cuius similitudinem in operimentis simulacrorum vel picturarum aspicimus; easque statuas togatas vocamus.* ['It is a plain cloak of a round and rather wide form, and with rippling folds, as it were: it is drawn under the right arm and arranged over the left shoulder. We see its likeness in the clothing used for statues and pictures, and we call these statues 'wearing a toga'. (transl. Barney, Lewis, Beach e.a. 2006)]. Tert., *De Pallio* 5.8-9.

[299] The Oxford Latin Dictionary (2004) gives: 'The bunch formed by the folds of a toga drawn together across the chest.'

Antiquitates.'[300] In this passage – which, just as the other Greek citations in the lemma is cited in Greek and translated into Latin – Dionysius describes the royal insignia offered to the Roman king Tarquinius by the Tyrrhenians, who had just been defeated in battle. One of these pieces, a royal gown, is described as being half-round, just like a Roman toga:

> La Cerda on *A.* 1.282 *togatam*
> Sed vis tota posita mihi in verbis Dionys. libr. 3. *Antiq.* qui ita de toga Romanorum: περιβόλαιον πορφυροῦν ποικίλον, οἷα Λυδῶν τε καὶ Περσῶν ἐφόρουν οἱ βασιλεῖς, πλὴν οὐ τετράγωνόν γε τῷ σχήματι, καθάπερ ἐκεῖνα ἦν, ἀλλ' ἡμικύκλιον: *togam purpuream et pictam, quales solent et Lydorum et Persarum reges gestare, praeterquam, quod non figura quadrata, ut illae, sed semicirculari*. Et loqui illum de toga Romana, certum, nam statim [no Greek cited]: *talia vestimenta togas Romani, Graeci, Tibenon vocant*.
>
> But the full force of my argumentation rests on book 3 of Dionysius' *Antiquitates*, who writes the following on the Roman toga: 'the purple and colorful gown, such as the kings of Lydia and Persia used to wear, except that the form of it is not rectangular, like theirs, but semicircular.' [Greek] 'the purple and decorated gown, such as the kings of Lydia and Persia used to wear, except that the form of it is not rectangular, like theirs, but semicircular.' [Latin] And it is clear that he speaks of the Roman toga, for [he continues] straightaway: 'These types of clothing, the Romans call 'togas', the Greeks 'tibenon'.'[301]

By adducing these authoritative sources, La Cerda shows that Victorius was in fact wrong in his conclusion based on the passage in Athenaeus that the Roman toga was rectangular. He then proposes a reading of the Athenaeus' passage that confirms his own point of view and reconciles this authority with the others he has just mentioned (especially Dionysius):

> La Cerda
> Hinc facilis solutio ad Athenaeum (quo Victorius nititur) si dicas, togam apud Lydos primos inventores quadratam fuisse, ut ait Dionysius. Atque adeo Romani,

[300] Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, 3. 61.1.

[301] Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, 3.61.1: 'Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν τόγας, Ἕλληνες δὲ τηβέννας καλοῦσιν...' ['The Romans call these 'togas', the Greek 'têbennas'.'].

qui in Lydia apud Mithridatem versabantur, formam illam retinebant, sed non inde sequitur Romae, et in Italia eam esse formam.

Here is an easy solution for what is said by Athenaeus (on whom Victorius bases himself), if you say that the toga was rectangular with the first inventors, the Lydians, as Dionysius says; and that indeed the Romans, who lived in Lydia under Mithridates, preserved this shape [i.e. rectangular], but that it does not follow from this that this was its shape in Rome, and in Italy.

La Cerda thus concludes that the solution to the problem of disagreeing authorities is that the Romans had circular togas in Rome, while they wore four-sided ones in Lydia. As a further support for this interpretation, he adduces two passages from the Roman historian Appian of Alexandria (95-165 AD), where it is said of Marc Antony that while he was in Egypt, he wore a rectangular robe, following the Greek instead of the Roman custom;[302] and that while he was in Athens he wore rectangular clothing and an Attic type of shoe:[303]

La Cerda on *A.* 1.282 *togatam*

Itaque fecerunt togati in Lydia, quod Antonius in Aegypto, de quo Appianus lib. 5: καὶ στολὴν εἶχε τετράγωνον Ἑλληνικὴν ἀντὶ τῆς πατρίου: *stolam quadratam Graecorum more pro patria et domestica induit*. Et de eodem iterum, cum Octavia Athenis degente, σχῆμα τετράγωνον ἔχων καὶ ὑπόδημα Ἀττικὸν: *habuit vestem quadrangulam et Atticum calceamentum*.

So the toga-wearers in Lydia behaved, just as Antonius did in Egypt, on whom Appianus in his fifth book writes: 'And he wore the rectangular Greek gown instead of that of his fatherland.' [Greek]; 'And he wore the rectangular Greek gown instead of the one customary in his fatherland.' [Latin]. And again on the same, when he lived in Athens with Octavia: 'he wore a four-sided cloth and an Attic type of shoe.' [Greek]; 'he wore a four-sided cloth and an Attic shoe.' [Latin].

La Cerda connects his interpretation to a developmental narrative in which the toga came to the Romans from other people and changed its form in the process. This is supported by referring to Tertullian, who in *De Pallio* remarks how the

[302] App., *B. Civ.*, 1.11.6-7.

[303] App., *B. Civ.*, 5.8.5-6.

Romans have forgotten that the toga had come from abroad,[304] and to Artemidorus, who derived the toga from the Arcadian Timenus:[305]

> La Cerda on *A.* 1.282 *togatam*
> Itaque solutio est Romanos usos Romae toga circulari, in Lydia tamen quadrata, ut referrent primam togae originem. Fuit enim toga Romana primum aliarum gentium. Tertull. *De Pallio*: *Toga vobis oblata est. proh quantum circummeavit a Pelasgis ad Lydos, a Lydis ad Romanos*. Artemidorus illam ducit a Timeno quodam Arcade. Lege illum libr. 2. cap. 3. de *Somn.*
>
> Therefore the solution is that the Romans used a circular toga in Rome, in Lydia however a rectangular one, so that they returned to the first origin of the toga.[306] For the Roman toga originally came from other people. Tertullian writes in *De Pallio:* 'Your toga was presented to you. Io, how much has it travelled around from the Pelasgians to the Lydians, from the Lydians to the Romans.' Artemidorus derives it from a certain Arcadian named Timenus; read him in the third chapter from the second book of his *De Somniis*.[307]

Towards the end of the lemma, La Cerda briefly shows that he is well-aware that some Roman clothing was indeed four-sided: he provides references to Afranius[308] and Sextus Pompeius Festus[309] and cites a passage from Plautus in which fun is made of a certain type of rectangular clothing – playing on the ambiguity of 'impluviata':[310]

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[304] Tert., *De Pallio* 1.2.

[305] Artemid., *Onir.* 2.3.59. Artemidorus (2nd century AD) describes how Temenus the Arcadian was the first to wear his Greek chlamyda in a Roman way (i.e. drapped around him) when he was navigating the Ionian sea and visited the local population, who took over the custom and in time came to call this type of clothing a 'Têmeneion'. Over time, through corruption of the name, this became 'têbennos'. See White (1975), 85.

[306] In the margin: *Togae Romanae origo* ['Origin of the Roman toga'].

[307] In the margin: *Quadratae vestes* ['Rectangular clothing'].

[308] Afran, *com.* 44.

[309] Fest., 277M.

[310] Pl., *Epid.* 224. Duckworth (1940) *ad loc.*: '*Inpluviatam* (sc. *induculam*) is often defined "shaped like an *impluvium*, i.e. four-sided, having a rectangular border" … Plautus for the sake of jest makes Periphanes misunderstand Epidicus' remark and reply: "What? she wore an *impluvium*?".'

La Cerda on *A.* 1.282 *togatam*

Scio apud Romanos vestes quasdam fuisse quadratas, ut sagus apud Afranium in *Deditio 'Quadrati sunt sagi'*, et ricinum apud Sextum Pompeium et id quoque ex Plauto liquidum Epidic.

> [Ep.] *Impluviatam, ut isthaec faciunt vestimentis nomina.*
>
> [Pe.] *Ut in pluvium induta erat?*[311]

I know that with the Romans certain types of clothing were four-sided,[312] such as a '*sagus'* [a rough mantle] mentioned by Afranius in his *Deditio*: '*Sagi* are rectangular.' and '*ricinus'* [a veil] with Sextus Pompeius [Festus], and this is also clear from Plautus' *Epidicus:*[313]

> [EP.] '*Impluviata* ['Dressed in a skylight <robe>'], as they [women] give names to clothes.
>
> [PE.] Do you say she was dressed in an *impluvium*? ['Skylight']?'

Turnebus' comment on this passage is cited, to explain Plautus' joke and to show that Plautus referred to rectangular clothing:

La Cerda on *A.* 1.282 *togatam*

Quae verba Turneb. lib. 14. cap. 19. explicat (reiecta prius explicatione Nonii) de veste quae *quaternata, id est, quatuor quadrata lateribus, undique corpus ambiat, quae forma est impluviorum in cavaediis*.

Turnebus explains these words in chapter 19 of his 14th book (after having rejected the explication given by Nonius) on a piece of clothing which is "four-sided, that is, with four rectangular sides, it goes round the whole body, which is the shape of *impluvia* in antechambers."

Then, La Cerda offers the conclusion to all this, summing up his whole argumentation in just one sentence: even when some Roman clothing was rectangular, who could maintain that this was also the case for the toga – in view of

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311 The 1968 edition by Lindsay gives:

EP. Impluviatam, ut istaec faciunt vestimentis nomina.

PE. Utin impluvium induta fuerit?

312 In the margin: *Sagus quadratus fuit* ['The *sagus* was rectangular'].

313 In the margin: *Impluviata vestis* ['Clothing shaped like an *impluvium*'].

the heavy testimony of Dionysius and the solution offered for the passage in Athenaeus?[314]

> La Cerda on *A.* 1.282 *togatam*
> Sed hoc de toga quis affirmet, pugnante valide testimonio Dionysii? Et Athenaeo facilem habente exitum?
>
> But who would maintain this with regard to the toga, when the strong testimony of Dionysius is at odds with it? And while Athenaeus can easily be resolved?

This last phrase of the lemma – persuasively formulated as a rhetorical question – shows how La Cerda really wants to make a point: he has established that the toga was indeed round and has refuted the argumentation of other scholars, reconciling the information from important authorities in the process.

What appears from the analysis of this lemma is that, apart from the word *toga*, it bears no relationship to the text of the *Aeneid.* Its function can therefore not be simple explanation or clarification of the text of Virgil. This is consistent with its character as a *nota*, as was discussed at the beginning of this section. The lemma on the toga shows how far this dissociation from the primary texts goes: it almost seems as if La Cerda's decision to comment on this issue is grounded in a special interest in Roman clothing. In fact, there is some good ground not to discard this supposition altogether: La Cerda had written a commentary on Tertullian, *De Pallio*, a speech in which Tertullian explains why he has stopped wearing the toga and had instead started wearing a *pallium*. Moreover, a chapter on priestly vestments (*De veste sacerdotali*) is included in La Cerda's *Adversaria sacra*.[315] La Cerda's interest in classical clothing can thus be very well understood in a religious context, in which the robes of priests were derived from Roman (priestly) gowns. But more importantly La Cerda's scholarly activities show that he was a specialist in the matter, which can account for his decision to include this detailed lemma on a particular interest of his in his commentary on Virgil. Additionally, in view of the variety of topics discussed in the *notae*, a discussion of the shape of Roman toga would not be too much out of place in the commentary, though the relative length of the lemma remains an indication of La Cerda's special interest in the matter.

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[314] In the margin: *Quaternata vestis* ['four-sided clothing'].

[315] Chapter 164; the *Adversaria sacra* consist of 187 chapters discussing specific words in the Vulgate and the Latin church fathers.

Detached as La Cerda's lemma may be from the narrative of the *Aeneid*, it is certainly firmly grounded in an established tradition of scholarship – namely antiquarianism. La Cerda's lemma is thoroughly antiquarian, which already becomes apparent from the sources he mentions at the beginning of his treatise: Lipsius, and Sigonius and Baysius – who were both antiquarians. La Cerda's lemma clearly stands in this tradition, in fact he works out one of the aspects of the toga (the form) which he deems is not yet satisfactorily established. This makes his lemma a scholarly contribution to antiquarian research,[316] demonstrating how La Cerda's commentary is intertwined with other discourses. Just as the antiquarian works of Biondo or Rosinus offer a collection of knowledge on elements from classical culture, so these types of lemmata in La Cerda's commentary function as nuclei of antiquarian information. Lemmata like the one on the Roman toga can in fact be compared to the many digressions present in Biondo's works. With this in mind, I will now first further contextualize the lemma within the commentary as a whole, before moving on to discussing it against the background of the antiquarian tradition.

6. Classical Antiquity in La Cerda's commentary

How does the lemma on the toga relate to other lemmata on classical antiquity in La Cerda's commentary? When placing the lemma in the context of the other *notae* on the *Aeneid* that concern themselves with the classical world, it becomes apparent that the kind of information discussed in the lemma – parallel places, authorities, interpretations – occurs frequently in other *notae,* though often in less extensive form.[317] Moreover, when discussing topics that have already been established

[316] On a general level, La Cerda's commentary is not as dependent on or subservient to the text of the *Aeneid* as is often the case with modern commentaries. This is a feature that can be found in many early modern Virgilian commentaries – e.g. Landino (1487), Nascimbaenus (1577) or Pontanus (1599) –, as Laird (2002), 195 puts it in the case of La Cerda: '... his commentary does not play the simple role of *ancilla* in relation to the text of Virgil, but becomes an object of interest or – in a more audacious modern terms – a creative work of art in itself.'

[317] Apart from the examples that are discussed in this chapter, one can think of the following, selected examples in the case of the first half of book 1 alone: La Cerda's lemmata on *A.* 1.1 *primus* (in which he discusses the classical borders of Italy, criticising Servius and referring to Pliny, Lucan and Sidonius Apollinaris); on *A.* 1.12 *Urbs antiqua* (discussing the foundation of Carthage, referring to Appian and Corradus); on *A.* 1.16 *hic illius arma* (on the weapons of Juno, citing Festus and Plutarch, and referring to Corradus, Pausanias, Valerius Flaccus, Arnobius and Ovid); on *A.* 1.50 *Corde* (on the heart as the seat of rage, referring to Homer, Seneca, Meleager, Catullus, Laevinius' notes on Horatius etc.); on *A.* 1.123 *imbrem* (proving that *imber* can be said of any water); on *A.* 1.138 *tridentem* (on Neptune's trident,

satisfactorily by other commentators, La Cerda often refers to his precursors. This is not the case with the lemma on the toga, which he does not take to have been discussed satisfactorily yet. In the other *notae* the element of the organization and opening up of knowledge is also clearly visible – among other things with the pointers in the margin (see ill. 2).

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referring to Ovid, Pindar, Aristides, Plato, Arnobius and the scholiast on Aristophanes' Wasps); on *A.* 1.149 *saevitque animis ignobile vulgus* (on the bad habits of the common people, referring to Tacitus, Curtius, Herodotus, Gregory of Nazianzus, Dio Chrysostomus, Cyprian, Thucydides and Dionysius of Halicarnassus); on *A.* 1.164 *scaena* (on the rustic origins of theater); on *A.* 1.179 *frangere saxo* (on how grain was crushed with stones, referring to Turnebus, Lucretius, Hippocrates and Pollux); on *A.* 1.203 *meminisse iuvabit* (analysing a passage from Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, referring to many other classical texts, to explain how the memory of a distressful event can be sweet); on *A.* 1.213 *litore aëna locant* (discussing the use of the cauldrons, weighing the opinions of Servius and Robortello); on *A.* 1.235 *Teucri* (on Teucer as the primogenitor of the Trojans and Dardanus as the founder of Troy; referring to Corradus and criticizing Servius who identified Teucer as Dardanus); on *A.* 1.244 *Timavi* (where La Cerda writes 'Here I delay a bit', inserting a long discussion on five topics: the location of the river, on its source, on its name, on whether it was dry, and on its vernacular name. Each question is discussed with a host of references to classical and post-classical sources).

[a] Troiugena interpres Diuûm, qui Numina Phœbi,
Qui tripodas, Clarii lauros, qui sidera sentis,
Et volucrum linguas, & præpetis omina pennæ,
[b] Fare age (namque omnem cursum mihi prospera dixit
Relligio, & cuncti suaserunt Numine diui
Italiam petere, & terras tentare repostas:
Sola nouum, dictuq; nefas Harpyia Celæno
Prodigium canit, & tristes denuntiat iras,
Obscœnamque famem) QVÆ prima pericula vito:
Quidve sequens tantos possim superare labores.

AGRVMENTVM.

Sciscitatur Æneas Helenum de cursu in Italiam, Harpyiæ prodigio territus.

EXPLICATIO.

[a] CAptat illum permagnificè, attribuens illi omnem pene augurum disciplinam. Variè interpretes. Quæ de Geomantia, Pyromantia, Aëromantia Seruius hîc diuidit, parũ probo. neque item alias aliorum diuisiones. Illa tantùm placet, vt triplicem vaticinandi scientiam attribuat Heleno, ex afflatu numinum, ex astris, ex auibus. Primam in illis, *sentis Phœbi numina, tripodas, Clarii lauros.* Alteram *sentis sidera*. Tertiam, *sentis linguas volucrum, alarum omina*. Nescias igitur, cur Cicero 1. de Diuinat. dixerit, Helenum auguriis diuinasse, vt Cassandram mentis incitatione, & furore: vt videatur sola auguria Heleno tribuere, cui Maro hîc omne prope diuinationis genus Redeo. Tot attributa præcedit illud *interpres Diuûm*, quasi hoc sequentia explicent, vt species suũ genus. Vox *Troiugena* cum respectu ad se: quasi dicat, Troianus à Troiano quærit.

[b] Quid verò ad illum? *Fare age*, vox signata, vates enim fantur, inde fata. Quid verò vult scire? quæ primùm vitanda, quæ deinde sequenda. Itaque hæc summa, & duplex petitio. Adiungit causam inclusam parentheli, cur demum post tot oracula illum consultet. Videlicet tristes Harpyiarum denuntiationes, & quæ de fame iam præcesserunt. Illud, *religio prospera dixit mihi omnem cursum*, est hypallage, pro omnis religio dixit mihi cursum prosperum.

NOTÆ.

1. TRROIVGENA] Ad huius vocis explicationem idonea est nota hæc Seruii non vulgaris, sed illius, quem sæpe laudo. *Sciendum, sicut veteres auctores affirmant, peritissimos auguriorum & Æneam, & plurimos fuisse Troianos. Nonnulli dicunt, à Marsoa Rege missos è Phrygia, regnante Fauno, qui disciplinam auguriorũ Italis ostenderent. Ergo Troiugena sine dubio auguriorum & diuinationis peritus est.* ***Troiani auguriorum peritissimi.***

2. INTERPRES DIVVM] Vates esse veluti medios inter Deos & homines, qui hominum preces ferant ad Deos, & horum ad illos referant oracula, & ideo interpretes dicantur, apparet ex Plutarchi loco in Isid. ὅτι Πλάτων ἑρμηνευτικὸν τὸ τοιοῦτον ὀνομάζει γένος, καὶ διακονικὸν ἐν μέσῳ θεῶν, καὶ ἀνθρώπων, εὐχὰς μὲν ἐκεῖ καὶ δεήσεις ἀνθρώπων ἀναπέμποντας, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ μαντεῖα δεῦρο, καὶ δόσεις ἀγαθῶν φέροντας. sententiam horum iam præmisi. Huc pertinent verba Liuii lib. 1. *Te mihi mater veridica interpres Deûm aucturum cœlestium numerum cecinit.* ***Vates Deorum interpretes.***

D

3. QVI NVMINA PHOEBI, &c.] In enarrando hoc vario diuinationum complexu, tam hîc quàm 10. Æn. in illis,

A

Cui pecudum fibra, cœli cui sidera parent,
Et lingua volucrum, & præsagi fulminis ignes,

in hoc (inquam) diuinationum complexu omnino institit versibus Orphicis, qui alieno ore ita sonant:

Perdidici leges multas, ac munia vatum:
Quæ volucrésq; ferásque decent: quo conuenit exta
Esse modo: quæ diuinent insomnia mentes,
Mortales vt habet sopor, & leuis irrigat artus:
Prodigiis quæ conueniant, monstrísque medela:
Quidque parens Diuûm stellarum sidere monstrat.

4. TRIPODAS] De Phœbi tripode variè auctores sentiunt, déque eius forma. quidam mensam, vas alii, plerique perforatum sedile tradidêre. Alii ***Tripus quid.***

B

hos tres pedes referunt, vel ad tria fulcra, quibus tanquam pedibus innixus erat. Hoc indicant Græcorum Scholia, in quibus τρίπους κρατὴρ μέγας τρεῖς βάσεις ἢ πόδας ἔχων. vel ad gradus tres, quibus in eum locum ascenderet Pythia, vt tutiùs acciperet ἀθορύβως, ne videlicet suffocaretur ab adstantibus. Huc videntur pertinere verba Eustathii in lib. 9. Iliad. διὰ τὸ τρίποδα τὸν ἐπιβαίνειν ἔχειν. Antonius Aug. Dial. 5. de Icon. putat, quantum elici ex verbis Diodori & Strabonis potest, tripodem fuisse puteal quoddam (Hispani *brocal de poco*) pedum trium, in quod Pythia ascenderet, éque halitu inde emergente amens omnino reddita funderet verba furoris plena. Tripus etiam musicum fuit instrumentum, de cuius admirabili

C

compositione fusè Athenæus libro 14. Est verò qui coniectet, Tripodem vaticinantium fuisse instrumentum illud musicum, quod cùm pulsaret vaticinator, in eius pectus statim se Dæmon insinuaret, vti contigisse ex variis historiis cognoscimus: Dæmon enim plerunque sese inferebat in pectus ad musicam harmoniam. Sed longè hoc à bona coniectura. Nam verbum ἐπιβαίνειν, quo Græci: & *ascendere*, quo Latini vtuntur, quid faciunt ad hoc instrumentum? Sed in summa scias, *tripodem* fuisse mensam fulcri triplicis. Hoc enim astruunt vnicè, quæ ego iam suprà dedi de *cortina*. Qui attentè auctores legerit, hoc esse verum inueniet. Huic opinioni hæreo, reliquas falsas puto.

D

5. CLARII LAVROS] Duplex sententia, vel enim intelligit laurum, quæ erat in ipso templo, & per quam etiam dabantur oracula, de qua lauro Poëta ipse suprà, ***Laurus vaticinantium.***

——tremere omnia visa repente,
Liminâque laurúsq; Dei.

vel coronam ex lauro factam, quam Phœbus ipse, quíque oracula edebat sacerdos, gestabant in capite. Inde crebrum apud Græcos, ex corona vaticinari, & seruus Chremylum rogat apud Aristophanem in Plut.

Τί δῆτ' ὁ Φοῖβος ἔλακεν ἐκ τῶν στεμμάτων;
Quid igitur Phœbus locutus est ex coronis?

Igitur

Ill. 2 Page 321 from La Cerda's commentary on the *Aeneid* with printed keywords in the margins next to the *notae*.

Still, La Cerda's lemma on the toga stands out because of the persuasive argument that is developed in it and its length. This prompts the question whether the lemma then can be perceived as a work of scholarship that is *sui generis*, for this type of explicit contributions to scholarship is relatively rare in the commentary. With this question in mind, I will now discuss another instance of a lemma that concerns the classical world and that catches the eye. In this case the lemma literally draws attention, since the *nota* on *A.* 1.159 *est in secessu longo locus* ('There is a spot in a deep inlet') is accompanied by an image. Just as with the Roman toga, this lemma is rather long, as La Cerda himself remarks at its start.[318] In this lemma, La Cerda discusses where the exact location is of the port of Carthage as described by Virgil in *A.* 1.159-168:[319]

V., *A.* 1.159-168

Est in secessu longo locus: insula portum
efficit obiectu laterum, quibus omnis ab alto
frangitur inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos.
Hinc atque hinc vastae rupes geminique minantur
in caelum scopuli, quorum sub vertice late
aequora tuta silent; tum silvis scaena coruscis
desuper, horrentique atrum nemus imminet umbra;
fronte sub adversa scopulis pendentibus antrum,
intus aquae dulces vivoque sedilia saxo,
Nympharum domus. (...)

There in a deep inlet lies a spot, where an island forms a harbor with the barrier of its sides on which every wave from the main is broken, then parts into receding ripples. On either side loom heavenward huge cliffs and twin peaks, beneath whose crest far and wide is the stillness of sheltered water; above, too, is a background of shimmering woods with an overhanging grove, black with gloomy shade. Under the brow of the fronting cliff is a cave of hanging rocks; within are fresh waters and seats in the living stones, a haunt of Nymphs. (...)

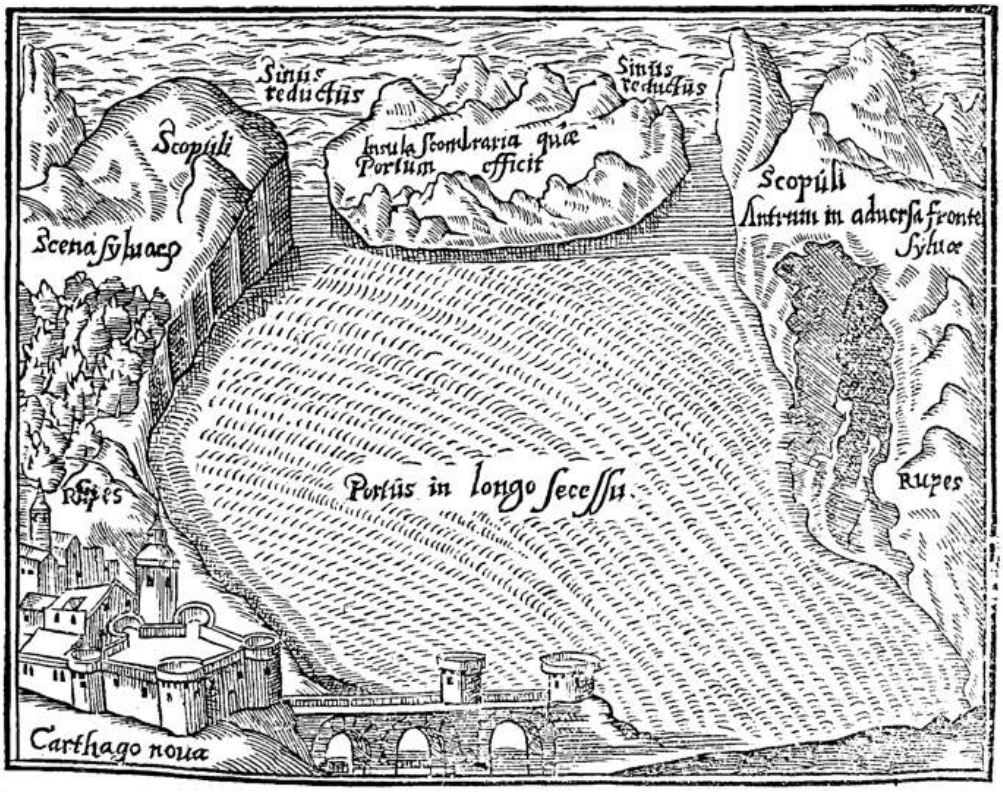
Again, La Cerda starts by referring to the classical sources, in this case a passage in Livy from which many had concluded that this port had to be that of *Carthago Nova* in Spain. After comparing the passage from Livy with Virgil's description and briefly referring to Juan de Mariana, *Historiae de rebus Hispaniae*,[320] La Cerda introduces the image (see ill. 3) as follows: 'But I pass over the writers, and prove the matter through its very description, which is conscientiously portrayed as follows.'[321]

[318] La Cerda: *Haec nota modum excedet*. ['This *nota* will exceed the limit'].

[319] Translation by Rushton Fairclough (1956).

[320] Juan de Mariana (1536-1624), a Spanish Jesuit. His *Historiae de rebus Hispaniae* appeared at Toledo in 1592 in twenty volumes (with then books added in 1605).

[321] La Cerda: *Sed omitto scriptores, et rem probo ipsissima descriptione quae fideliter expressa sic habet*.



Ill. 3 Illustration accompanying La Cerda's lemma on *A.* 1.159 *est in secessu longo locus*.

The elements of the description of the port of Carthage by Virgil in verses *A.* 1.159-168 are all put onto the map of the landscape surrounding the city of Carthago Nova in Spain (modern Cartagena).[322] In spite of offering this prominent piece of evidence for the identification of Virgil's port with the Spanish city, La Cerda continues the lemma by remarking that Virgil's description of the port of Carthage was in fact driven by a desire to imitate Homer – implying that the search for geographical identification of the port is not very relevant.[323] With reference to

[322] *Portus in longo secessu* and *Insula Scombraria quae portum efficit* pertain to *A.* 1.159; *sinus reductus* to *A.* 1.161; *rupes* to *A.* 1.162; *scopuli* to *A.* 1.162-3; *scena sylvae* to *A.* 1.165; and *antrum in adversa fronte sylvae* to *A.* 1.166. The way in which Virgil's description is projected onto the map of the port of Carthago Nova would in fact fit any harbor that is located in a bay.

[323] According to La Cerda the image has great, but non-cogent probability: *Quae dixi magnam habent probabilitatem, sed ita tamen ut sua probabilitate inclinent, non cogant*. ['The things I have said have great

Scaliger and Turnebus,[324] he notes how in this case it is not so much topography that is at work, but topothesy – the description of an imagined place.[325] This presents La Cerda with the opportunity to go into the issue of Virgilian imitation of Homer, and in fact of comparing Virgil's description of the port of Carthage to that of Homer: *Ab hac diligentia pergo ad Virgilii et Homeri comparationem* ('From this carefulness [i.e. that the description is not topographical], I proceed with the comparison of Virgil and Homer'). La Cerda is thus well aware of the literary dimensions of the text and in fact refutes the validity of the – traditional - search for the topographical location mentioned in the *Aeneid*. More fundamentally, his *modus operandi* in dealing with the description of the port mentioned by Virgil, lets the text of Virgil speak for itself: La Cerda mentions all the authorities that affirm that the port in question is indeed that of Carthago Nova in Spain, but the ultimate 'proof' that is adduced by him is an image that fits Virgil's description. In the end, however, fiction and imitation take precedence over factuality: La Cerda interprets Virgil's description not so much as a depiction of an actual topographical phenomenon, but as an imitation of Homer.

With the image, La Cerda ends the discussion and turns to *imitatio*. But what to think of his reference to the remark by Scaliger on topothesy (see note 325)? This implies that the quest for the identification of geographical locations on the basis of a literary text can in some cases be problematic, because the poet was not always

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probability, but nevertheless in such a way that because of their probability they incline, but do not compel.'].

[324] La Cerda: *Itaque bene Turnebus scripsit lib. 18 Advers. C. 32 descriptionem hanc accomodari portui Hispaniae casu potius aliquo, quam Poetae voluntate.* ['And Turnebus writes rightly in chapter 32 of book 18 of his *Adversaria* that this depiction conforms to the port in Spain more by chance than because of the intention of the poet.'].

[325] La Cerda : *... et Julius Scaliger ait, hanc esse topothesiam, non topographiam, id est, fictam, non veram loci descriptionem.* ['... and Julius Scaliger says, that this is topothesy, not topography, which means, the description of an imagined place, not a real one.']. This goes back to Servius, who writes: *topothesia est, id est, fictus secundum poetam licentiam locus. Ne autem videatur penitus a veritate discedere, Hispaniensis Carthaginis portum putatur descripsisse.* ['Topothesy, which means, a place imagined at liberty by the poet. But, so that he is not perceived to deviate completely from the truth, he is believed to have described a port in Carthaginian Spain.']. Cf. Williams (1972), *ad loc.*: 'This imaginary description of a harbour is based on Homer's description of the harbour of Ithaca. ...' and Austin (1971), *ad loc.*: '(...) Yet, 'literary' though Virgil's harbour is, it has enough of an authentic ring to make critics try to identity it: Servius' *putatur* shows that he refers to a traditional theory, according to which Virgil describes the harbour of New Carthage in Spain ...'.

concerned with representing the real world. This stance seems quite odd when compared with the intricate discussion La Cerda offers on the shape of the Roman toga: how can he write so extensively on a, to a modern reader, relatively obscure topic (especially in relation to the story of the *Aeneid*) and discard the discussion about the exact location of the port where the great Roman hero Aeneas and his comrades landed with their ships, an issue which could bring together in a very direct way the narrative of the epic and the contemporary world? Unlinke with the lemma on the Roma toga, where the *Aeneid* is used as the starting point for an antiquarian discussion, the approach visible in the lemma on the port of Carthage seems to be consistent with a view of the *Aeneid* in which the work is primarily seen as a work of literature, rather than as a source of knowledge. On the other hand, a common factor between the two lemmata is that the commentator rather than Virgil is the one offering – through the compilation and organization of the texts of other classical writers and other scholars. The commentator attaches information to the text of the *Aeneid*, using it as a sort of steppingstone and information management tool for lemmata like the one on the toga, and in fact also like the beginning of his lemma on the port of Carthage, which also fits La Cerda's interest in accommodating the contemporary world.[326] Unlike the lemma on the toga, however, La Cerda is not interested in dwelling too long on the question where the Virgilian port – which he deems purely fictional – might be located. The question arises what conception of the classical world underlies this kind of selection?

The same question comes to mind when reading the dedicatory letter which precedes La Cerda's commentary on the *Aeneid.* In this letter La Cerda stresses the importance of the study of literature for the nobility and others who play a role in the leadership of the country. He contrasts current practices (the negative attitude of nobility towards literary study) to those in the classical world:

> La Cerda, *Dedicatory letter*
> Longe aliud antiquorum aevum. Euntes ad bellum duces libri comitabantur et qui in dextris gladios gerebant, libros in pretiosis scriniis repositos portabant, ut post ardorem diurnae pugnae, nocturnum tempus illorum lectioni dicarent, et ita a militari strepitu conquiescerent.
>
> This was very different in antiquity. Books accompanied generals going to war and those who wielded swords in their right hands, carried books stashed in valuable

[326] Laird (2002), 190-191.

> receptacles, so that after the excitement of battle by day they dedicated their nighttime to reading, and thus could find rest from the military uproar.

Thus, part of the answer to the question of selection lies in the conceptualization of the role and position of classical literature. In this passage La Cerda not only emphasizes the use of the study of classical literature, but of that of reading in general. In the dedicatory letter, the value of the Classics for contemporary life is found in the moral importance of classical works – not only for scholars, but also for generals, diplomats and other members of the elite. Thus, according to La Cerda, the study of literature is not only relevant to scholars and others pursuing the *vita contemplativa*, but also to generals, the very exponents of the *vita activa*, who in classical times took their books with them to the battlefield. This is further emphasized by La Cerda's remark that these books were carried in 'valuable receptables' (chests) and were read to find rest from the tiresome military life. Though this type of argumentation is conventional, La Cerda contrasts this use of the Classics with the lack of attention members of the higher classes pay to this important field of knowledge. In the dedicatory letter that precedes the second volume of his *Aeneid* commentary, which is dedicated to four brothers from the Genoan Squarciafico family,[327] the value of the lessons one can learn from studying the classical world is stressed again and presented as the prime reason for La Cerda to write his commentary. His dedicatees, who according to La Cerda descended from the Romans themselves,[328] stemmed from a family of which the members had always fulfilled important public tasks.[329] He goes on to enhance

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[327] *Ioanni Baptistae, Vincentio, Iosepho, Fabio Squarciaficis nobilissimis doctissimis humanissimis concordissimis fratribus Joannes Ludovicus de la Cerda S.D.* '['Juan Luis de la Cerda hails the most noble, most learned, most kind and most concord brothers Giovanni Battista, Vincentio, Giuseppe and Fabio Squarciafico.'].

[328] La Cerda remarks that unfortunately the archives of Genoa had burned down, but that otherwise the Roman descent of the Squarciafico family would be even easier to prove: *Fuisset res ista clarior nisi Genuensia archiva anno centesimo supra millesimum misero incendio corrupta periissent: quam calamitatem non florentissima modo Squarciaficorum familia, sed reliquae Genuenses lugent, ut in qua maxima antiquitatis decora, et maiorum monumenta perierint*. ['This matter would have been even more clear if the archives of Genoa, ruined through a wretched fire, had not been lost in the year 1100: which calamity not only the most prosperous Squarciafico family but also the other Genoans deplore, because in that <calamity> the highest honors of antiquity and the monuments of the ancients were lost.'].

[329] And through their mother's family, La Cerda remarks, they descended from the family of the Justiniani: *Quid si memorem ornamenta militiae Ioannem et Iacobum Iustinianos? Quorum prior dux maximus Imperatoris Constantini ultimi Principis Byzantinorum Constantinopolim menses octo supra decem ab impetu Barbarorum defendit, ac tunc illa concidit cum ille concidit. Posterior in bello Genuensium contra Alphonsum*

their glory on the basis of connections to the classical world by comparing the *concordia* ('concord') between the four brothers[330] with the often violent relations between members of the imperial family in Rome. Without going into the value and merits of his own commentary, La Cerda presents the classical world not as just a set of moral examples, but as highly relevant to statesmen and members of the nobility. From the argumentation in both prefatory letters, one would thus surmise that La Cerda in fact sees the classical world as highly relevant for issues in his own day. Such an hypothesis however only makes one wonder even more how such an approach that is grounded in the continuing social and political relevance of the Classics relates to La Cerda's apparent avoidance of topics of ideology (as with his discussion of the speech of Jupiter) and to lemmata like the one on the toga, in which the classical world is approached as an object of scholarly study that is only accessible through thorough examination and evaluation of classical texts. This question can only be answered when La Cerda's approach to the classical world is discussed on a more conceptual level (**section 7**) and contextualized within early modern antiquarianism (**section 8**). As will become clear, and was already indicated by La Cerda's fundamental interest in the Roman toga, but his lack of interest in the location of the port described by Virgil in *Aeneid* 1, the solution for the apparent contradiction between both conceptualizations of the classical world seems precisely to be found in the connection La Cerda establishes between the intricate study of classical knowledge and phenomena still relevant to his own day. The next section will show another example of this

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Regem Aragonium et Neapolitanum non solum egregiam operam navavit… (…). ['What if I call to mind those jewels of the army Johannes and Jacobus Justinianus? The former as the highest commander of the emperor Constantine, the last emperor of the Byzantines, defended Constantinople for 18 months from the barbarian attack, and she [Constantinople] only fell, when he fell. The latter had not only accomplished outstanding work in the Genoan war against king Alfonso of Aragon and Naples … (…)'].

[330] La Cerda: *restat virtus illa omni aevo ut magna, ita etiam rara, quam in vobis stupeo, fraterna scilicet concordia … (...) Quale, Deus Maxime, spectaculum aevo isto mortales cernimus, fratres scilicet concordissimos, aequaliter non dico sentientes, sed etiam exspirantes: domum officinam amoris, penum benevolentiae, emporium charitatis! Penates in quibus habitant tres Gratiae uno nexu, uno nodo, uno vinculo!* ['This virtue remains forever as great, as it is rare, by which I am stunned in you, namely the fraternal concord … (...) What kind of a spectacle, Greatest God, do we mortals see in this period, that is these most harmonious brothers, alike – I won't say in their thinking, but even in their breathing. Their home a workshop of affection, a store of benevolence, a market of lore! The *Penates* in whom live the three Graces in one joining, one knot, one fastening!'].

process of making classical knowledge productive in, and for the benefit of a new contemporary context.

7. A 'modern commentary'?

Andrew Laird (2002) – in an article which explores La Cerda's commentary and identifies aspects of it that might be of use for modern commentators – has pointed out that in some respects La Cerda's commentary appears to be very modern, in the sense that he takes *a distanced position* towards antiquity to accommodate contemporary events and that the commentary takes priority over the text of the *Aeneid*. On the other hand, La Cerda's work is very different from 19th- and 20th-century commentaries in that he tries to *connect* the classical world to his own time in a very direct way (of the later an example will be discussed a bit further on).[331] This combination of distancing and connecting is what makes La Cerda such an interesting commentator, but also accounts for some at first sight puzzling features of his commentary. On the one hand, as has been observed above, it is clear that La Cerda's interest in the classical world is in a sense encyclopedic, namely in that he wishes to bring together all sorts of knowledge on a huge variety of topics related to the classical world. This can explain lemmata such as that on the toga – in which indeed the lemma takes prominence over the text of Virgil. On the other hand, however, when one takes into account the prefatory material to the commentary in which the continuing moral value of the classics is emphasized, one finds that La Cerda's interest in compiling knowledge of classical culture and organizing that with the help of the *Aeneid* does not necessarily point to a view of the classical world that is purely that of a distanced scholar.[332] La Cerda's approach to the

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[331] For Laird (2002) this is precisely the point in which La Cerda could serve as an example for modern commentators, 171: 'Commentators could seek to involve their work more directly with the contemporary cultural moment – from which the study of antiquity and its texts at present seem so far removed.' And 198: 'The literary nature of La Cerda's work in conjunction with his remarkable erudition is salutary for those writing classical commentaries today. There are good reasons for encouraging more flexible, fluid, and adventurous methods of exegesis and to plead for a discourse of commentary which is not merely academic.'

[332] Laird (2002) seems to agree with this point, 184: 'It [La Cerda's commentary] is in fact just as much concerned with sources which help a reader to understand Virgil's text in its cultural and historical background as it is with purely poetic sources. This concern reflects an interest, going beyond Virgil's poetry, in the nature of the society which produced it.' At first sight, this observation seems to be contradictory to what I have found in discussing La Cerda's comments on the speech of Jupiter (namely an absence of interest in the ideology at work in the speech). I will come back to this in my conclusion to this article.

world of the Greeks and the Romans is characterized by a point of view that appears more distanced and less engaging than that which is characteristic of a commentator like Landino – who in fact used the *Aeneid* as a receptacle for his Neoplatonic theory of poetical inspiration and morality –, but still La Cerda is involved in connecting knowledge about the classical world to his own time, of which I will show a clear example below.[333] Thus he is reworking the knowledge that is the result of intricate study of the classics and actualizing and revaluating these bits of information with the help of the *Aeneid*.

A nice example in which knowledge about a classical phenomenon is actualized by explicitly connecting it to contemporary practice, is La Cerda's lemma on *A*. 7.115 *quadris*. At this point in the *Aeneid*, Aeneas and the other Trojans, having arrived in Italy, set out to explore the inland of the Italian coast. Just before they will first meet king Latinus of the Latins, Virgil describes how a prophecy made by a harpy in book 3 (*A*. 3.257) comes true: the Trojans are forced to gnaw on their 'tables', that is the bread they use as platters. In his lemma La Cerda discusses the form of the bread and connects this to the role of bread in the Christian Eucharist. It should be noted beforehand, that in many ways this lemma is very similar to that on the toga which I have discussed above: again the lemma starts from a specific hypothesis ('The Roman toga was round, not rectangular'; 'Virgil speaks of cakes, not of pans') leading to an extensive discussion of literary material. I cite the first half of the lemma in full:

> La Cerda on *A*. 7.115 *quadris*
>
> *A*. 7.115 *quadris*] Quadrae erant iam patinae, iam placentae. De patinis nihil, cum nihil hic de illis Virgilius, nam accipiendum illum de placentis, clare liquet, et ex contextu, et ex lib. 3. Aeneid., nam quod hic ait, *patulis nec parcere quadris:* in 3. dixerat,
>
> *Ambesas coget*[334] *malis absumere mensas.*
>
> Ergo placentae istae in orbem formabantur; sed ita, ut decussatae essent per medium incisione quadam hac figura ⊕, et quaeque pars quadra dicebatur, quia pars quarta placentae integrae. Liquidum hoc ex Poeta coniungente orbem cum quadris.[335] Sed clarius idem in Moreto:
>
> *Format opus, palmaque suum dilitat in orbem,*

[333] For further examples, I refer to Laird (2002), 190-192, who adduces some nice instances of La Cerda accommodating the recent Spanish conquests in the Americas.

[334] *A*. 3.257. Modern editions read *subigat* ('compels').

[335] *A*. 7. 114-115 : *... orbem* // *fatalis crusti*.

Et notat expressis aequo discrimine quadris.

A qua forma veteres de hoc pane dicebant σταυροειδῶς, quia haec figura crucem refert. Inde lucem capiunt loca quaedam Poetarum. Horat. Epist. 17. Lib. 1. dixit:

Et mihi dividuo findetur munere quadra.

Martial. Epig. 76 lib. 3.

Nec te liba iuvat, nec secta quadra placenta[336]

Et Epig. 95. Lib. 9.

Libetur tibi candidas ad aras
Secta plurima quadra de placenta.

In quibus *fissio* et *sectio* aperte notant, quadratam placentam ex decussatione. Huius moris rationem tibi aperiam. Homerus saepe convivium vocat aequale δαίτα εἶσιν [iotacized accusative of δαὶς ἴση], quia aequa omnibus pars data, nisi qui ἔξοχοι essent, ut Duces, aut Principes. Quin inde volunt panes quadrati, ut divisi iam essent iusta portione. Mansit postea in Christianis mos idem a Gentilibus acceptus, sed mutua ratione, ut in multis aliis: nam factum in honorem Crucis, quod ab Gentilibus ad aequam distributionem. (...)

A. 7.115 *squares*] 'squares' sometimes refers to pans, sometimes to cakes. <I say> nothing about pans, because Virgil <wrote> nothing about them, for the fact that it has to be accepted that he speaks about cakes is evident, both from the context, and from book 3 of the *Aeneid*, for what he says here [*A.* 7.115] as 'Not sparing the wafer-like squares', and in book 3 [*A.* 3.257] he has said,

'*Will force you to consume with your jaws your tables,*[337] *gnawed at the edges.*'

Accordingly these cakes were shaped round; but in such a way, that they were divided crosswise through the middle by an incision of this shape ⊕, and each part was called a *quadra* [litt. 'square'], because it is a fourth part of the whole cake. This is evident from the Poet connecting the orb with *quadrae*. But the same wrote clearer in his *Moretum*:[338]

'*He shapes the work and spreads it out with his hands in a circle,*
And he marks it by quarters expressed at an equal distance.'

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[336] Mart. 3.77,3: *Nec te liba iuvant, nec sectae quadra placentae.*

[337] 'Tables' here refers to pieces of bread, used as plates for food.

[338] The *Moretum* is a work in the *Appendix Vergiliana* (a collection of works that were traditionally ascribed to Virgil but of which the authorship is in fact uncertain).

> From this shape, the ancients called this bread 'stauroeidôs' [Greek, litt. 'Cross-resembling'], because this shape reminds us of the cross. From this certain instances of the Poets become clear. Horace said in *Ep.* 1.17[, 49]:
>
> *''And me!' The quartered bread will be split, dividing the gift.*
>
> [And] Martial in *Epig.* 3.76 [3.77,3]:
>
> *'Neither the pancakes please you, nor the quarter-cut cake'*
>
> And in *Epig.* 9.95 [9.90,17-18]:
>
> *'And may an offer be made to you on your white altars*
> *of many quarter-cut slices of cake.'*
>
> In some they write openly 'a cleaving' [Hor.] and 'a cutting' [Mart.], a quartered cake by dividing cross-wise. I will show you the reason for this custom. Homer often calls a festive meal 'equal', 'daita eisin' [δαίτα ἐίσην: 'equally divided'], because all are given an equal part, except those who were 'exochoi' [Gr. 'eminent'], such as the commanders or the leaders. Because of this quartered breads signify that they were already divided in just portions. This same custom stayed with the Christians who had taken it over from the pagans, but with a changed meaning, as with many other customs: for what was done by the pagans for equal distribution is practiced in honor of the cross. (...)

As I noted before, in this lemma La Cerda again, just as in the lemma on the Roman toga, wishes to establish a point, namely that *quadris* in *A.* 3.115 refers to cakes and not to pans. Again, he first introduces the question at hand, followed by references to classical and postclassical literature (in this case Virgil, Horace, Martial and Homer). I have only quoted the first half of the lemma, for it continues with many references to classical authors and Christian writers about the shape of bread (and tables). Interestingly, this lemma makes explicit how La Cerda discusses an element from classical literature in a frame that is relevant for his contemporary readers, in this case Christianity. As I have noted above, La Cerda's intricate discussion of the shape of the Roman toga may equally have sprung forth from its relevance to Christians, because of the relation to the clothing of Christian priests. Here, in the lemma on *quadris*, the connection is made explicit. Additionally, the small drawing of a quartered bread printed in the text of the lemma to enhance understanding of the explanation given by La Cerda points to the contemporary importance of the phenomenon to his readers. It is well conceivable that the depiction of the possible location of the port of Carthage that was discussed above also points to a special interest of readers of the commentary in the possible connections of classical and contemporary practices or places.

What the discussion of the lemma on *quadris* makes clear in addition to my analysis of the lemma on the toga above is how La Cerda makes knowledge about the classical world productive for contemporary scholarship and readership by connecting it to contemporary practices or phenomena.[339] In the case of the lemma on *quadris*, one might perhaps even say that La Cerda is in fact providing a cultural etymology of the quartered bread in Christian religion. Thus, although there is a certain modernity in the commentary of La Cerda in the sense that he approaches the classical past as a distanced scholar, one should remain conscious of the fact that a scholar like him regarded the text, the Classics, and the classical world as something that mattered not only to intellectuals, but to all people who wanted to fulfill any position of importance within society (which is a distinctive difference with modern scholars and commentators). One could even say that La Cerda's effort in compiling knowledge, forms a tribute to the importance of the classics. On the other hand, this effort is grounded in what Ann Blair has called the desire to 'safeguard the material they collected against a repetition of the traumatic loss of ancient learning' which had occurred in the past.[340] La Cerda's stance on the classics is thus based on a combined effort of (re)valuation and organization of the available material. His interpretation and method in approaching the classical world tell us much about how he viewed the past and especially about the relevance of the past. In the next section I will focus on an important aspect of this conceptualization of the past, namely the early modern antiquarian movement.

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[339] That this approach is not evident can for example be seen in a 19th-century *Aeneid*-commentary which in commenting on this passage makes use of La Cerda (Staughton, W. (ed.), *The Works of Virgil: with the Latin interpretation of Ruaeus, and the English notes of Davidson. With a clavis. To which is added a large variety of botanical, mythological, and historical notes, selected and original, with a view to facilitate the acquaintance and the meaning, and to promote a taste for the beauties of the illustrious author, by William Staughton D.D.* Philadelphia: 1825). In a lemma on *A.* 7.115 *patulis quadris* the American commentator William Staughton (1770-1829) writes: 'How comes it that the poet here calls them squares, when at the same time he mentions their circular form, *orbem fatalis crusti*? The antiquaries reconcile this, by telling us they were a kind of circles divided into quadrants by two lines drawn through the centre at right angles; in conformation of which Cerda quotes Moretus: *Format opus, palmaque suum dilitat in orbem // et notat expressis aequo discrimine quadris*. Of these quadrants of the circle each was called *quadra*, as being the fourth part of the whole cake. This explains Horace, 1 *Ep.* XVII. 49. *Et mihi dividuo fundetur munere quadra,* and other passages in the Roman authors. See Mart. *Epig.* LXXVI. Lib. III. and *Epig.* XLV. Lib. IX.' Interestingly, Staughton has clearly read La Cerda's lemma and incorporated parts of it in his own, but he seems to have deliberately left out the connection to the breaking of bread in Christian liturgy (which can perhaps be explained from the fact that La Cerda was a Jesuit and Staughton a Baptist clergyman).

[340] Blair (2010), 6.

8. Viewing the Classical World: the Antiquarian Movement.

The cultural history of classical antiquity can be considered to be a particular early modern interest.[341] It originated in mid-15th-century Italy, with the *Roma Triumphans* (1459)[342] by Flavio Biondo[343] and the *De varietate fortunae* by Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459) which had appeared ten years earlier. In this work, the author connected in a revolutionary way the visible remains of the ruins of Rome with classical literature (both Latin and Greek texts, some of which he had rediscovered himself).[344] This type of approach was new in that it tried not just to observe the material remains of antiquity, but to understand them – quite comparable to what humanists sought to do in their dealings with classical literature.[345] The first methodological account of the classical remains of Rome, however, is found with Flavio Biondo in his *Roma instaurata*.[346] In his effort to come up with a topographical reconstruction of classical Rome, Biondo combined detailed study of the material remains with that of classical (and even medieval) literature – in many ways just as Poggio had done before him. But Biondo went further than Poggio in consulting various sources, because, for example, he also had an eye for information that could be gained from the study of ancient coins.[347]

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[341] The medieval study of classical antiquity did not perceive it as a different period and the interest in the remains of antiquity was in many ways of a more utilitarian type (for example using remains of classical buildings as decoration for new buildings) than of a true interest in the remains as antiquities. Weiss (1988), 1-6; 59; 203. For antiquity, early modern scholars saw Varro's *Antiquitates Rerum Humanarum et Divinarum* (of which only fragments have been preserved, which were lost during the Medieval period but partly transmitted in the works of St. Jerome and St. Augustine) as an important precursor for their own interest in Roman antiquity. Mazzocco (1985), 126-127; 134n.28.

[342] Interestingly, ideological motivations may also have been involved for Biondo when writing the *Roma triumphans*, as is stated by Mazzocco (1979, 4): 'One of the objectives of the *Roma triumphans* was to inspire and prod the potentates of contemporary Europe into overcoming the Turkish peril.'

[343] Mazzocco (1979), 1.

[344] Weiss (1988), 64.

[345] 'The critical approach introduced into philological studies by Lorenzo Valla had a counterpart in the methods used by Poggio and Biondo when considering what remained of Roman antiquity.' Weiss (1988), 205. See also Levine (1987), 73.

[346] Weiss (1988), 66; Mazzocco (1985), 127-131.

[347] 'Poggio may have begun humanist archaeology, but with Biondo archaeology took a great step forward, and it was only with the second edition of Marliani's handbook on Roman topography in 1544, that Biondo's work was finally superseded.' Weiss (1988), 68. As becomes apparent from this citation, Weiss uses the term 'antiquarianism' mostly in its restricted sense that refers to the interest in and study of the material, that is archaeological, remains of antiquity. As is pointed out by Mazzocco (1985, 124) this definition is much too limited: 'However, a close reading of Renaissance antiquarian literature

Because of its wide scope and thoroughness in describing the ancient monuments, the *Roma instaurata* stood at the basis of a new type of interest in classical antiquity, an interest that was moreover no longer only focused on seeing classical antiquity as a source for moral examples, but that was interested in classical culture as a whole.[348] From this point on, the cultural history of classical antiquity – not only the visible archaeological remains, but all aspects of life in the ancient world – was a highly popular interest that became overtime more and more institutionalized and, for example, also led to establishing private collections of antiquities.[349] Especially in the sixteenth century it began to take shape as a distinct discipline, with important works like the *Romanarum Antiquitatum Libri Decem* (1583) by Joannes Rosinus in which an attempt was made to reconstruct life in ancient Rome.[350] The systematic study of the material remains of antiquity, often in combination with the reading of classical texts, not only emerged from the humanists' interest in understanding antiquity, but also from the fear of losing access to antiquity: already in the *Roma instaurata* we find Biondo deploring the ongoing deterioration and destruction of the monuments visible in the city, a sentiment shared by many humanists and antiquarians.[351]

In his works, Biondo showed a wide interest in various topics from classical culture. More importantly, he discusses these topics with the awareness that antiquity was a fundamentally different period from his own time. This is an important conceptualization of history, since it made it possible to discuss also those elements from classical culture that were problematic for a contemporary

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indicates that for the scholars of the Renaissance antiquarianism implied much more than the reconstruction of archeological remains.'

[348] Enenkel (2001), 76; Mazzocco (1985), 124, 130; Mazzocco (1979), 1. This is not to say that the idea of the practical value of the study of the classics – especially as a foundation for a career in administration, politics or diplomacy – was abandoned (see Levine (1987), 75; Pade (2005), 63). The new antiquarian interest was, however, chiefly limited to *Roman* antiquity. The material remains of Greek culture were much less studied. On the one hand this can be explained by reasons of practicality – the remains of ancient Greece being part of the Ottoman empire; the limited knowledge of Greek and, therewith, the inability to bring about the same kind of combination of material and literary sources as in the study of Roman remains. See Weiss (1988), 144.

[349] Weiss (1988), 180-202.

[350] Mazzocco (1985), 124-125. In fact, Rosinus' work can be considered to be the first comprehensive and systematic attempt at reconstructing the life of ancient Rome since the *Roma triumphans* of Biondo. Mazzocco (1979), 9, 14.

[351] Weiss (1988), 67-68; 98-104; 205. See also my discussion of Blair (2010) in section 2 of this chapter.

reader (for example pagan religion).[352] What mattered was not the search for moral lessons from classical sources, but the reconstruction of antiquity in all of its sometimes bewildering aspects.[353] The findings that emerged from this reconstruction were deemed of importance to many other kinds of disciplines, as is remarked by Rosinus, and especially to the better understanding of classical literature.[354] In this reconstruction classical literature played an important role as a source of information. This is precisely what one encounters in La Cerda's commentary: a conceptualization of the study of history in which classical texts offer a window to the cultural history of the classical world, and in which the classical world is seen as a distant but still relevant point of reference for contemporary issues. Moreover, antiquarian works are often characterized as compilatory works, as a sort of encyclopedias, especially where the incorporation of citations from classical literature is concerned.[355] These features – the interest in classical *realia*, the prominence of references to classical works and the compilatory nature of the information provided – are all also characteristic of the work of La Cerda. In fact, a lemma like that on the Roman toga can be compared to the many digressions that are present in Biondo's works.[356] But La Cerda, as we have seen, still stresses the moral and exemplary value of the *Aeneid*, which is not surprising in the context of Jesuit education.

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[352] 'It can be observed that in the course of the sixteenth century the interest in antiquarian treatises in strange and remote aspects of Antiquity was ever growing.' Enenkel (2001), 91. See also Mazzocco (1985), 131: 'Moreover, by viewing mythological figures as socio-historical phenomena rather than as *fictiones poeticae*, it [Renaissance antiquarianism] added a new dimension to classical mythology. In fact, classical myths became to be regarded not as repositories of hidden moral truths, but as manifestations of a heathen and misguided society.'

[353] Enenkel (2001), 76-77.

[354] See Mazzocco (1985), 125 and (1979), 9.

[355] Enenkel (2001), 76 ('a source book'); Mazzocco (1985), 129, 130 ('encyclopaedic intent'); Mazzocco (1979), 9 ('because of its [the *Roma triumpans*'] encyclopedic quality...').

[356] For example when Biondo writes on the *Velabrum*: 'Digressions are by no means rare in Biondo's treatise and some of them are really short dissertations on some antiquarian point. His section on the 'Velabrum' [*Romae instauratae libri* II, 52-55], for instance, strives to explain this rather obscure name. This he starts to do by rejecting the medieval corruption 'velum aureum', whence he passes on to examine and discuss the evidence offered by Varro, Ovid, Livy, Tacitus, and the inscriptions still left in the locality. The whereabouts of the 'Aerarium' gave him an excuse for a historical dissertation on Roman coinage, mainly drawn from the Elder Pliny.' Weiss (1988), 69-70.

9. Conclusion

Clearly, the foregoing observations on early modern antiquarianism and on La Cerda's approach to the classical world can be connected to the discussion at the beginning of this chapter on the humanist conceptualization of the past. Momigliano was one of the first to emphasize the connection between antiquarianism and the gradual development of a new historical method.[357] Lemmata like the one on the Roman toga in La Cerda's commentary clearly are part of a larger field of lemmata concerning antiquarian interests. In turn, the antiquarian lemmata in La Cerda's commentary are grounded in the broader antiquarian interest which is characteristic for classical scholarship in the early modern period. This explains why a commentator like La Cerda writes an extensive lemma on the shape of the Roman toga in a commentary on the *Aeneid*: explanation of the text of the poem is no longer the prime objective of the commentator, the lemma stands for a goal in itself, namely giving information about an item of antiquarian interest. La Cerda's lemma is more of a scholarly essay in which he offers a well-informed contribution to the state of scholarship in this particular field. This type of knowledge organization also points to a specific function of the main text that is commented upon, namely to serve as an index to the commentary: the well-known verse *A.* 1.282 serves as a mnemonic aid for the reader to find information on the Roman toga. The commentary thus dominates the text, not vice versa, while the text becomes a tool for organizing and retrieving information. This is clearly visible in La Cerda's lemma on the toga: the line *Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam* serves as an index to the encyclopedic knowledge in the lemma. Retrieval of the knowledge in the lemma is further enhanced by the marginal pointers that are printed in the margin (*Togae Romanae forma*). In an age in which scholarly information is organized in treatises, compilations of *adversaria* or common-place books, the commentary is in fact one of the most practical interfaces for knowledge organization – especially in the case of an author like Virgil, whose works were still thoroughly studied in schools. The specific type of lemmata which I have discussed in this article are thus in more than one way encyclopedic: in terms of content and in terms of knowledge organization. In the case of La Cerda's commentary this also becomes clear from the extensive indices that accompany his work and that are essential tools for accessing the overload of information contained in the commentary.

The lemmata on classical antiquity in La Cerda's commentary are clearly embedded within the wider antiquarian tradition. But what view of the classical

[357] Momigliano (1950), 286.

world underpins La Cerda's remarks? It should be observed that his way of approaching the classics in lemmata such as the one on the toga or the one on the *quadris* is in fact quite innovative. Instead of providing a sort of encyclopedic lemma based on classical scholarship, La Cerda offers his reader an intricate discussion of the topic including references to classical and post-classical sources of information. Moreover, he engages with the material he discusses, rhetorically stressing the, sometimes innovative, line-of-thought he himself prefers. This is even the case in lemmata such as the one on the port of Carthage in which La Cerda restrains himself somewhat more, but still presents a clear decision to the reader as to the way in which the passage should be read, again referring to contemporary sources. The picture that arises from all this is that of a commentator whose point of view is on the one hand that of a scholarly observer who views the classical era from a distance, as a period which is very different from his own and of which many aspect still deserve further clarification. On the other hand, the effort La Cerda makes in discussing his material, the host of references he provides, and the interest he seems to take in establishing definitive interpretations of classical source material that goes beyond the text of the *Aeneid* as a work of literature, gives the impression of a commentator who, although not assimilating the ancient world to his own time or appropriating its concepts for contemporary use, still very much thought that the classics mattered to his own world and who frequently tries to establish connections between the classical and the early modern world. In that approach it is the text of the *Aeneid* which offers a window onto the cultural history of the classical world, which a commentator such as La Cerda can exploit to get into discussions that go far beyond the philological discussion of the literary text. In this way, while, like most other early modern commentators, staying away from political, ideological or religious interpretations of the *Aeneid* (which were not uncommon in the Virgilian tradition), La Cerda fills in the argument made in his prefatory material in which he stresses the use and need of the study of the classics for the contemporary world and castigates members of the ruling class who are not interested in classical literature; and he also claims – referring to classical practices – that thorough study of the classics is still indispensable for the well-educated man who wants to pursue a public career. La Cerda's approach to the classics in his commentary in fact makes this claim explicit. Moreover, what La Cerda's emphasis on the use of classical studies shows, is how in a world that was rapidly changing – in the Spanish context one need only think of the effects of the discovery and conquest of the New World – the position of his contemporaries towards the study of classical texts began to change. And although commentaries on the *Aeneid* still appeared throughout the 17th century (in a much

smaller and much less dense format), La Cerda's monumental work in fact would be one of the last of its kind.

10. Appendix: La Cerda on the Roman toga

La Cerda on V., *A.* 1,282: *Gentemque togatam*

Laberius[358] etiam *gentem togatam* et *stirpem togatam* vocat Romanos, citante Macrobio.[359] Et Propertius lib. 4 *Eleg.* dixit *turba togata* de Romana. Scripserunt multi notas varias de Romana toga. De colore eius docte Lipsius, lib. 1 *Electorum.* cap. 13. In Sigonio et Baysio non pauca sunt, multa in Tertulliano lib. *De Pallio*. Ego hinc tractatiunculam assumam de forma, quae non satis comperta. Est difficultas maxima, an toga Romana fuerit quadrata? An potius circularis, seu semicircularis? Primum coniicit doctissimus Petrus Victorius lib. 19. *Variarum lectionum* cap. 7. ductus Athenaei loco hoc ex lib. 5: τῶν δ' ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων οἳ μὲν θεῶν ἀγάλμασι προσπεπτώκασιν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ μεταμφιεσάμενοι τετράγωνα ἱμάτια τὰς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πατρίδας πάλιν ὀνομάζουσι: *Ex aliis Romanis, quidam ad Deorum simulacra confugientes procumbunt, alii mutata veste quadrata, patriam, quam principio gestabant, nunc rursum induunt*. Et quidem sic Romanos vitavisse iras Mithridatis Cicero quoque *Pro Rabirio Posthumo* scripsit, cuius verba adducam, ut adductus Athenaei locus intelligatur: *Facilius certe P. Rutilium Rufum necessitatis excusatio defendet, qui cum a Mithradate Mytilenis oppressus esset, crudelitatem regis in togatos vestitus mutatione vitavit*. Sed redeo. Pace Victorii, Romana toga rotunda fuit, non quadrata. Isidorus clare libr. 19. cap. 24 *toga forma rotunda, et fusiore.* Tertull. illi dat *umbonem*, et *ambitum*, quae duo cum rotunditate consentiunt. Sed vis tota posita mihi in verbis Dionys. libr. 3. *Antiq.* qui ita de toga Romanorum: περιβόλαιον πορφυροῦν ποικίλον, οἷα Λυδῶν τε καὶ Περσῶν ἐφόρουν οἱ βασιλεῖς, πλὴν οὐ τετράγωνόν γε τῷ σχήματι, καθάπερ ἐκεῖνα ἦν, ἀλλ' ἡμικύκλιον: *togam purpuream et pictam, quales solent et Lydorum et Persarum reges gestare, praeterquam, quod non figura quadrata, ut illae, sed semicirculari*. Et loqui illum de toga Romana, certum, nam statim [no Greek cited]: *talia vestimenta togas Romani, Graeci, Tibenon vocant*. Hinc facilis solutio ad Athenaeum (quo Victorius nititur) si dicas, togam apud Lydos primos inventores quadratam fuisse, ut ait Dionysius. Atque adeo Romani, qui in Lydia apud Mithridatem versabantur, formam illam retinebant, sed non inde sequitur Romae, et in Italia eam esse formam. Itaque fecerunt togati in Lydia, quod

[358] Decimus Laberius (105-43 BC).

[359] Macrob., *Sat.* 6.5.15.

Antonius in Aegypto, de quo Appianus lib. 5: καὶ στολὴν εἶχε τετράγωνον Ἑλληνικὴν ἀντὶ τῆς πατρίου: *stolam quadratam Graecorum more pro patria et domestica induit*. Et de eodem iterum, cum Octavia Athenis degente, σχῆμα τετράγωνον ἔχων καὶ ὑπόδημα Ἀττικὸν: *habuit vestem quadrangulam et Atticum calceamentum*. Itaque solutio est Romanos usos Romae toga circulari, in Lydia tamen quadrata, ut referrent primam togae originem. Fuit enim toga Romana primum aliarum gentium. Tertull. *De Pallio*: *Toga vobis oblata est. proh quantum circummeavit a Pelasgis ad Lydos, a Lydis ad Romanos*. Artemidorus illam ducit a Timeno quodam Arcade. Lege illum libr. 2. cap. 3. de *Somn.* Scio apud Romanos vestes quasdam fuisse quadratas, ut sagus apud Afranium in *Deditio 'Quadrati sunt sagi'*, et ricinum apud Sextum Pompeium et id quoque ex Plauto liquidum Epidic.

[Ep.] *Impluviatam, ut isthaec faciunt vestimentis nomina.*

[Pe.] *Ut in pluvium induta erat?*[360]

Quae verba Turneb. lib. 14. cap. 19. explicat (reiecta prius explicatione Nonii) de veste quae *quaternata, id est, quatuor quadrata lateribus, undique corpus ambiat, quae forma est impluviorum in cavaediis*. Sed hoc de toga quis affirmet, pugnante valide testimonio Dionysii? Et Athenaeo facilem habente exitum?

La Cerda on Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.282: 'people wearing the toga'

Laberius, too, calls the Romans 'people wearing the toga' and 'toga-wearing offspring', according to the quote in Macrobius. And Propertius in the fourth book of his *Elegies* said 'toga-wearing crowd' of the Roman people. Many have written various notes on the Roman toga. Lipsius has written learnedly on the color of the toga in book 1, chapter 13 of his *Libri electorum*. Not a few notes are found in Sigonius and Baysius, many in Tertullian, *De Pallio.* I will add here a little treatise on its form, which has not been established satisfactorily.[361] This is the greatest difficulty, whether the Roman toga was rectangular, or rather round or half-round. The first solution was surmised by the most learned Petrus Victorius in chapter 7 of the nineteenth book of his *Variae lectiones,* on the strength of this passage from book 5 of Athenaeus: 'And of the other Romans, some cling to the statues of the gods, while the rest, having removed their rectangular robes,[362] call themselves once more by their native countries' [Greek] 'And of the other Romans, some flee

[360] The 1968 edition by Lindsay gives:

EP. Impluviatam, ut istaec faciunt vestimentis nomina.

PE. Utin impluvium induta fuerit?

[361] In the margin: *Togae Romanae forma.*

[362] The Greek is ambivalent, one can also read 'having dressed themselves in rectangular robes'.

to the statues of the gods and kneel in supplication, others, having removed their four-sided gowns, now put on again the fatherly toga, which they had worn in the beginning [Latin]' And in fact Cicero has also written in his *Pro Rabirio Posthumo* that the Romans avoided the anger of Mithridates in this way, I will cite his words so that the aforementioned passage from Athenaeus may be understood: 'Certainly, even easier will the excuse of necessity protect Publius Rutilius Rufus who, when he was oppressed by Mithridates in Mitylene, avoided the cruelty of the king against those wearing togas, through a change of clothing.' But I turn back to the topic at hand. In spite of what Victorius thinks, the Roman toga was round, not rectangular. Isidore clearly writes in chapter 24 of his 19th book 'the toga is of a round and rather wide form.' Tertullian describes it as *umbo* [a protuberance][363] and *ambitus* [a revolution], both of which are consistent with roundness. But the full force of my argumentation rests on book 3 of Dionysius' *Antiquitates*, who writes the following on the Roman toga: 'the purple and colorful gown, such as the kings of Lydia and Persia used to wear, except that the form of it is not rectangular, like theirs, but semicircular.' [Greek] 'the purple and decorated gown, such as the kings of Lydia and Persia used to wear, except that the form of it is not rectangular, like theirs, but semicircular.' [Latin] And it is clear that he speaks of the Roman toga, for [he continues] straightaway: 'These types of clothing, the Romans call 'togas', the Greeks 'tibenon'.'[364] Here is an easy solution for what is said by Athenaeus (on whom Victorius bases himself), if you say that the toga was rectangular with the first inventors, the Lydians, as Dionysius says; and that indeed the Romans, who lived in Lydia under Mithridates, preserved this shape [i.e. rectangular], but that it does not follow from this that this was its shape in Rome, and in Italy. So the toga-wearers in Lydia behaved, just as Antonius did in Egypt, on whom Appianus in his fifth book writes: 'And he wore the rectangular Greek gown instead of that of his fatherland.' [Greek]; 'And he wore the rectangular Greek gown instead of the one customary in his fatherland.' [Latin]. And again on the same, when he lived in Athens with Octavia: 'he wore a four-sided cloth and an Attic type of shoe.' [Greek]; 'he wore a four-sided cloth and an Attic shoe.' [Latin]. Therefore the solution is that the Romans used a circular toga in Rome, in Lydia however a rectangular one, in remembrance of the first origin of the toga.[365] For the Roman toga originally came from other people. Tertullian

[363] The Oxford Latin Dictionary (2004) gives: 'The bunch formed by the folds of a toga drawn together across the chest.'

[364] Dion., 3.61.1: 'Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν τόγας, Ἕλληνες δὲ τηβέννας καλοῦσιν...'.

[365] In the margin: *Togae Romanae origo*.

writes in *De Pallio:* 'Your toga was presented to you. Io, how much has it travelled around from the Pelasgians to the Lydians, from the Lydians to the Romans.' Artemidorus derives it from a certain Arcadian named Timenus; read the third chapter from the second book of his *De Somniis*.[366] I know that with the Romans certain types of clothing were four-sided,[367] such as a '*sagus'* [a rough mantle] mentioned by Afranius in his *Deditio*: '*Sagi* are rectangular.' and '*ricinus'* [a veil] with Sextus Pompeius [Festus], and this is also clear from Plautus' *Epidicus*:[368]

> [EP.] '*Impluviata* ['Dressed in a skylight'], as they [women] give names to clothes.
>
> [PE.] Do you say she was dressed in an *impluvium*? ['Skylight']?'

Turnebus explains these words in chapter 19 of his 14th book (after having rejected the explication given by Nonius) on a piece of clothing which is "four-sided, that is, with four rectangular sides, it goes round the whole body, which is the shape of *impluvia* in antechambers." But who would maintain this with regard to the toga, when the strong testimony of Dionysius is at odds with it? And while Athenaeus can easily be resolved?

[366] In the margin: *Quadratae vestes*.

[367] In the margin: *Sagus quadratus fuit*.

[368] In the margin: *Impluviata vestis.*