

VERGIL'S 'GEORGICS' AND JEROME,  
EPIST. 125,11,3-4<sup>1</sup>

The influential vade-mecum of the ascetic life which Jerome addressed to the Gallic monk Rusticus shortly after the sack of Rome (Epist. 125)<sup>2</sup> places particular emphasis on manual labour. The specific precepts which Jerome issues in this connection take the following form:

- vel fiscellam texe iunco vel canistrum lentis plecte  
viminibus, sariatur humus, areolae aequo limite  
dividuntur; in quibus cum holerum iacta fuerint semina  
vel plantae per ordinem positae, aquae ducantur*
- 5 *inriguae, ut pulcherrimorum versuum spectator adsistas:  
ecce supercilio clivosi tramitis undam  
elicit, illa cadens raucum per levia murmur  
saxa ciet scatebrisque arentia temperat arva.*
- 10 *inserantur infructuosae arbores vel gemmis vel surculis,  
ut parvo post tempore laboris tui dulcia poma decerpas.  
apum fabricare alvearia, ad quas te mittunt Proverbia,  
et monasteriorum ordinem ac regiam disciplinam in parvis  
disce corporibus. (11,3-4)<sup>3</sup>*

Though Hagendahl observes that "the letter is abundant in reminiscences of classical literature, as suits the culture of Rusticus"<sup>4</sup>, in the section just cited he registers a debt to only one Vergilian passage: this is the explicit quotation of 'Georgics' 1,108-110 (*ecce ... arva*). Hagendahl's arrangement of Jerome's text shows that he regards the phrase *pulcherrimorum versuum* (l. 5) as a proleptic reference to this citation<sup>5</sup>. The same assumption that *versuum* denotes these lines of the 'Georgics'

<sup>1</sup> Works are cited according to Thesaurus Linguae Latinae: Index Librorum Scriptorum Inscriptionum, Leipzig <sup>2</sup>1990.

<sup>2</sup> A date "um 411" is given by H.J. Frede, Kirchenschriftsteller: Verzeichnis und Sigel, Freiburg <sup>4</sup>1995 (Vet. Lat. 1/1), 516 (hereafter: Frede, Kirchenschriftsteller).

<sup>3</sup> Text of I. Hilberg, S. Eusebii Hieronymi epistulae, 3, Vienna <sup>2</sup>1996 (CSEL 56/1), 130-131.

<sup>4</sup> H. Hagendahl, Latin Fathers and the Classics: A Study on the Apologists, Jerome and Other Christian Writers, Göteborg 1958 (Acta Univ. Gothob. 64,2), 254 (hereafter: Hagendahl, Fathers).

<sup>5</sup> Similarly A. Luebeck, Hieronymus quos noverit scriptores et ex quibus hauserit, Leipzig 1872, 171, had associated these words with the Vergilian quotation. The latest authority to subscribe to this opinion is R.A.B. Mynors, Vergil: Georgics, Oxford 1990, 23 (hereafter: Mynors, Georgics; "108-110 were particularly admired by St. Jerome"). Here it may

is regularly made by translators; however such an interpretation requires them to do serious violence to the Latin. Hence Schade renders the clause *ut pulcherrimorum versuum spectator adsistas* as "damit man sieht, daß auch Dir die nachstehenden hübschen Verse geläufig sind"<sup>6</sup>. Here Schade presumably had in mind Terence, 'Eunuch' 566 (*quam elegans formarum spectator siem*), where Georges had assigned the meaning 'Kenner' to *spectator*<sup>7</sup>. Such a term is not however a natural way to express 'Geläufigkeit': Donatus glosses *spectator* instead as *probator* (Ter. Eun. 565,2). Nor is "damit man sieht" an acceptable rendering of *ut ... adsistas*; there is in any case no reason whatever why Rusticus should be thought anxious to demonstrate his literary connoisseurship<sup>8</sup>. Wright on the other hand attempted to treat the clause in question as parallel to the preceding one (ll. 4–5): "bring water down in channels and stand by like the onlooker in the lovely lines"<sup>9</sup>. Here it must

be observed that Jerome nowhere else introduces a quotation of Vergil with such a commendatory epithet, although he cites him lavishly and holds an immense admiration for the *poeta eloquentissimus* (epist. 129,4,3; cf. also Hagendahl, Fathers 276 for further documentation of Jerome's unique esteem). Moreover on the very rare occasions when a term of approbation does accompany the citation of some other poet, it is invariably the apt and concise formulation that Jerome praises, not the aesthetic appeal: in Ezech. 1,6 ll. 250–251 (*de quibus pulchre uno versiculo dictum est: ver, aestas, autumnus, hiems, et mensis, et annus*); in Gal. 5,19 p. 417<sup>B</sup> (*pulchre quidam de neotericis ... elegiaco metro de invidia lusit, dicens: iustius invidia nihil est: quae protinus ipsum / auctorem rodit, excruciatque animum*); in Is. 8,27,1 ll. 61–64 (*pulchre quidam poeta in Gigantomachia de Encelado lusit: quo fugis, Encelade? quascumque accesseris oras, / sub deo semper eris*); ib. 18,66,18 ll. 36–37 (*de quibus pulchre Lucanus: Gallorum Celtae miscentes nomen Iberis*); in Matth. 2,11 (*pulcherrime munerum sacramenta Iuvenus presbiter uno versiculo comprehendit: thus aurum murram regique hominique deoque / dona ferunt*). It is noteworthy that in all of these cases Jerome employs an adverbial form of *pulcher*, whereas the letter to Rusticus evinces an adjective instead. Such use of *pulchre* is in fact a regular feature of Jerome's exegetical vocabulary; cf. (e.g.) tract. in psalm. I p. 317 l. 122 (*quam pulchre non dixit 'canto', sed 'cantabo'*); ib. p. 319 ll. 174–175 (*pulchre dixit 'similitudo templi'*); ib. p. 320 l. 211 (*pulchre dixit 'eructantia'*); ib. l. 231 (*pulchre dicit 'boves crassi'*). The same phraseology occurs in the epistle to Rusticus itself at 14,2 (*pulchreque 'persecutio pacis' dicitur*; apropos of Psalm 33,15).

<sup>6</sup> L. Schade, Des hl. Kirchenvaters Eusebius Hieronymus ausgewählte Briefe, 1. Briefband, Munich 1936 (Bibl. d. Kirchenväter 2,16), 227 (hereafter: Schade, Briefe). This translation has recently been reproduced without modification in: Hieronymus, Briefe über die christliche Lebensführung; Deutsche Übersetzung von L. Schade, bearbeitet von J.B. Bauer, Munich 1983 (Schrift. d. Kirchenväter 2), 146.

<sup>7</sup> K.E. Georges, Ausführliches Lateinisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch, 2, Leipzig 71880, 2467. Likewise C.T. Lewis and C. Short, A Latin Dictionary, Oxford 1879, 1738, had supplied the translation 'connoisseur' for this Terentian passage.

<sup>8</sup> It could be taken for granted in one who was *liberalibus studiis eruditus* (epist. 125,8,2). Reference might also be made in this connection to the extensive description of Rusticus' superlative education earlier in the letter at 6,1. In the present passage the accomplishments at issue are not belletristic, but bucolic: *ut ... laboris tui dulcicia poma decerpas* (l. 10).

<sup>9</sup> F.A. Wright, Select Letters of St. Jerome, Cambridge, Ma.-London 1933, 417 (hereafter: Wright, Letters).

be objected that initial *ut* would naturally be understood as a conjunction, not a relative adverb; moreover such use of a subjective genitive ("onlooker in the ... lines") is extremely awkward<sup>10</sup>. Fremantle had instead provided the following translation: "that you may see with your own eyes the lovely vision of the poet"<sup>11</sup>. While however "see with your own eyes" requires the addition of *ipse*, "vision of the poet" is a gross over-interpretation of the simple term *versuum*. A similarly unwarranted periphrasis of this word marks the efforts of other translators to make sense of Jerome's statement<sup>12</sup>. The Latin phrase *versuum spectator* merely signifies 'viewer of the *versūs*'; if *versus* here means 'line of verse', the words are simply nonsense. What then can be the solution of this crux?

Jerome's language throughout the foregoing description of the creation of Rusticus' kitchen-garden exhibits a remarkable preoccupation with 'orderliness': *areolae aequo limite dividantur; in quibus cum ... fuerint ... plantae per ordinem positae ...* (ll. 2-4). It is therefore noteworthy that a similar concern with orderly arrangement should characterize Vergil's own prescriptions for planting at 'Georgics' 2,277-287. Since Jerome proceeds immediately to a verbatim quotation from Book 1, a further echo of the same poem would not be surprising in the words currently at issue<sup>13</sup>. Such indebtedness here has so far escaped the attention of scholarship; careful comparison of the pertinent texts would seem however to place it beyond dispute. The Vergilian lines read *indulge ordinibus; nec setius omnis in unguem / arboribus positis secto via limite quadret* (2,277-278). The theme of 'or-

<sup>10</sup> Employment of the demonstrative adjective *ille* might also have been expected.

<sup>11</sup> W.H. Fremantle, *The Principal Works of St. Jerome*, Oxford 1893 (Sel. Libr. of Nic. and Post-Nic. Fath. 2,6), 248 (hereafter: Fremantle, Works).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. J. Labourt, *S. Jérôme: Lettres*, 7, Paris 1961, 124 (hereafter: Labourt, *Lettres*; "ainsi tu pourras assister au spectacle décrit dans les magnifiques vers que voici"); D. Ruiz Bueno, *Cartas de S. Jerónimo*, 2, Madrid 1962 (Bibl. de Aut. Crist. 220), 609 ("contempla a tu sabor cómo se verifican aquellos hermosísimos versos"); S. Cola, *S. Girolamo: Le lettere*, 4, Rome 1964, 253 (hereafter: Cola, *Lettere*; "potrai così assistere allo spettacolo descritto da questi magnifici versi"). It is noteworthy that translators feel obliged to add terms like 'nachstehende', 'que voici', 'aquellos', 'questi'. Jerome does so himself when he quotes Vergil elsewhere; cf. (e.g.) in *Ezech. lib. 14 praef. ll. 2-3* (*illius versiculi memor*); in *Os. lib. 3 praef. l. 135* (*illiusque semper versiculi recordamur*); *adv. Rufin. 3,28* (*quomodo oblitus sis illos versiculos ponere*). It is therefore significant that in the letter to Rusticus such a demonstrative is absent.

<sup>13</sup> In this period Jerome cites adjacent passages of the second book on a number of occasions. *Georg. 2,256* is adduced at *epist. 121,10,5*, which is roughly contemporary (cf. Frede, *Kirchenschriftsteller* 516); since moreover Jerome is also indebted here to Donatus (cf. F. Lammert, *De Hieronymo Donati discipulo*, Leipzig 1912 [Comm. Philol. Ien. 9,2], 38-39), he had evidently subjected this section of the poem to very careful study. *Georg. 2,272* had been quoted earlier at *adv. Rufin. 1,30*, while *2,325-327* are cited shortly afterwards in *epist. 133,3,4*.

der' is then reinforced by a striking metaphor of considerable length<sup>14</sup>, after which Vergil resumes as follows: *omnia sint paribus numeris dimensa viarum; / non animum modo uti pascat prospectus inanem, / sed quia non aliter viris dabit omnibus aequas / terra* (2,284–287). The *ordinibus* of the 'Georgics' (277) matches Jerome's *per ordinem*<sup>15</sup>, while the epistle's *limite* exactly reproduces the same Vergilian term (278)<sup>16</sup>; moreover the epithet *aequo* which Jerome attaches to this noun finds a correlate in several of Vergil's phrases<sup>17</sup>. The *dividuntur* of the letter to Rusticus echoes *dimensa* in the 'Georgics' (284)<sup>18</sup>; in addition Jerome's *positae* duplicates the Vergilian *positis* (278)<sup>19</sup>. Most significantly for the purpose of the present article Vergil's *prospectus* (285) is evidently the source of Jerome's *spectator*: both words share the same stem *spect-* and occupy the penultimate position in a clause introduced by *ut* which rounds off the respective narrative. The *prospectus* at issue in Vergil is that of the orderly rows of plants he has just described: *spectator* will accordingly have the same reference in the letter to Rusticus. Here it should be borne in mind that besides denoting a line of poetry the term *versus* can also signify precisely such a row of plants<sup>20</sup>: this is clearly the meaning of *versus* in the epistle to Rusticus.

<sup>14</sup> *Ut saepe ingenti bello cum longa cohortis / explicuit legio et campo stetit agmen aperto, / derectaeque acies, ac late fluctuat omnis / aere reudenti tellus, necdum horrida miscet / proelia, sed dubius mediis Mars errat in armis* (2,279–283).

<sup>15</sup> Servius also glosses *numeris* (284) as *ordinationibus*.

<sup>16</sup> Both writers employ the ablative immediately before a jussive subjunctive. Significantly translators of the letter to Rusticus tend to ignore *limite*; cf. Schade, Briefe 227 ("teile in Deinem Garten gleichmäßige Beete ab"); Wright, Letters 417 ("mark it [sc. the ground] out into equal plots"); Fremantle, Works 248 ("mark out your garden into even plots"); Cola, Lettere 253 ("tracciare solchi regolari nel tuo campicello").

<sup>17</sup> *Viz. in unguem ... quadret* (277–278); *paribus* (284); on this term as a synonym of *aequus* cf. TLL 10,1, col. 277,64–69 [s.v.] and Jerome, epist. 52,9,1 [*aeque ... pari modo*]; *aequas* (286).

<sup>18</sup> *Dimetiri* is regularly glossed as *dividere*; cf. G. Loewe and G. Goetz, Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum, 6, Leipzig 1899, 346. Similarly Jerome's Vulgate version of Numbers 34,29 employs the term *dividere*, where the Old Latin had instead used *dimetiri* (cf. TLL 5,1, col. 1195,36 [s.v. *dimetior*]); since the object of the verb here is *terram*, the context is the same as in 'Georgics' and letter to Rusticus.

<sup>19</sup> Vergil's ablative absolute (*arboribus positis*) corresponds to the temporal clause of the epistle to Rusticus (*cum ... fuerint ... plantae ... positae*). A very large number of synonymous verbs was available for use with *planta* besides *ponere*; cf. (e.g.) *demittere in terram, deponere, deprimere, disponere, figere humo, inserere terrae, mergere, pangere, plantare, transferre, transponere*.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Oxf. Lat. Dict. 2041, sect. 3a. Vergil himself employs the word in this sense at georg. 4,144 (*ille etiam seras in versum distulit ulmos*), where Servius glosses *in versum* as *in ordinem*. Moreover this application of *versus* is found in the Elder Pliny in exactly the same context as the passage from 'Georgics' 2 which Jerome is imitating in the letter to Rusticus: *in disponendis arboribus arbustisque ac vineis quincuncialis ordinum ratio vulgata et necessaria, non perflatu modo utilis, verum et aspectu grata, quoquo modo intueare, in ordinem se porrigente versu* (nat. 17,78).

If then Jerome is simply imitating the second 'Georgic' in this passage<sup>21</sup>, the consequent recognition that his *spectator* is similarly engaged in nothing more than the inspection of his rows of seedlings conveniently dispels all the awkwardness generated by the tortuous efforts of translators to wrest sense from impossible Latin: the statement "so that you may stand by as a viewer of your most attractive rows" is by contrast perfectly natural syntax. Jerome's stress on order in the antecedent clauses finds an apt climax in this concluding picture of the husbandman admiring his orderly rows. The same tableau also forms an appropriate prelude to the ensuing citation of 'Georgics' 1,108-110; in particular *spectator* is picked up by the initial *ecce* of the quotation, as the survey of his handiwork causes the proud nurseryman to ejaculate a cry of delight<sup>22</sup>. Here the further point may be made that after the preceding horticultural language the reader would naturally assume *versus* to have a similar reference; the 'verses' of the 'Georgics' on the other hand are only introduced subsequently and without forewarning. Use of the epithet *pulcher* to qualify these rows is also entirely felicitous<sup>23</sup>. It is of course far more apposite for Jerome to commend a monastic husbandman for his agronomic accomplishments than to compliment a pagan poet for his pretty verses.

Further corroboration for this interpretation of *versus* is provided by Jerome's usage elsewhere. The Vergilian boat-race on the anniversary of Anchises' death had contained the following description of one of the ships: *triplici pubes quam Dardana versu / impellunt* (Aen. 5,119-120). Here Servius glosses *versu* as *ordine*<sup>24</sup>; however Vergil himself introduces the same term *ordo* by a tautologous expansion in the immediately succeeding words: *terno consurgunt ordine remi* (ib. 120). The occurrence of the synonyms *ordo* and *versus* in this passage of the 'Aeneid' would

<sup>21</sup> It is true that Vergil is referring specifically to vines, whereas the *plantae* of the letter to Rusticus are indeterminate. However Jerome can be shown to have been partial to such borrowing of material from different contexts; cf. the present writer, Athanasius' 'Letter to Virgins' and Jerome's 'Libellus de virginitate servanda', in: RivFil 120, 1992, 201. It may also be observed in this connection that Jerome's echo of the Vergilian *prospectus* is a decisive argument against the *expectator* of Hilberg's three oldest MSS.

<sup>22</sup> The subject of *elicit* (1,109) is left suitably vague; since all Jerome's foregoing injunctions concerning the kitchen-garden have been phrased in the passive, it may be supposed that here an unspecified assistant is meant. Attention may also be drawn to the circumstance that *ecce* is found on only two other occasions in the entire 'Georgics'; since the two texts in question belong respectively to digressions on the myth of Nisus and Scylla (1,407) and on the Norican cattle-plague (3,515), the present passage is accordingly the only one in which the interjection is used with reference to farming itself.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. (e.g.) Cicero, leg. agr. 2,43 (*pulcherrimorum ... agrorum*); Martial 1,85,2 (*iugera pulchra*); Ovid, Pont. 1,8,37 (*pulchros ... hortos*). Here it may be noted that Servius had glossed the Vergilian *pascat prospectus* as *delectet*; such an exegesis would appear to have prompted Jerome's own employment of a term with similarly delectable connotations like *pulcher*.

<sup>24</sup> He also compares georg. 4,144 (*in versum distulit ulmos*), where his comment had likewise referred to the present passage of the 'Aeneid'.

appear to have inspired Jerome to adopt the same collocation on a number of occasions in his own works<sup>25</sup>. In this connection Jerome's Vulgate version of the bible is of particular importance. His translation of Exodus 28,17 reads: *ponesque in eo quattuor ordines lapidum; in primo versu erit lapis sardius ...* Similarly he renders Exodus 39,10 as follows: *posuit in eo gemmarum ordines quattuor; in primo versu erat sardius ...* His treatment of other biblical texts exhibits the same phenomenon in a less pronounced form<sup>26</sup>. Both *ordo* and *versus* in these Hieronymian translations regularly correspond to *tur* and *στίχος* in the Hebrew and Septuagint, which significantly employ these terms without variation. A similar alternation between *versus* and *ordo* is found elsewhere in Jerome's *oeuvre*<sup>27</sup>. The letter to Rusticus has also made use of the same *variatio*: here too *per ordinem* (l. 4) is immediately followed by *versuum* (l. 5)<sup>28</sup>.

The point was made above that Jerome's use of *spectator* in this passage furnishes an apt introduction to the theme of perustration, which is then continued with *ecce* in the explicit quotation of 'Georgics' 1,108–110; in the same way the motif of irrigation, which runs through this citation (*undam / elicit, illa ... / ... arentia temperat arva*), is adroitly anticipated by Jerome's insertion of the foregoing phrase *aquae ducantur inriguae* (ll. 4–5). Scholarship has hitherto failed to observe that these words are a verbatim reprise of Jerome's Vulgate version of Deuteronomy 11,10: *aquae ducuntur inriguae*. However this scriptural formulation would itself appear to have been inspired by Vergil's 'Georgics'<sup>29</sup>. The text of Deuteronomy in question reads in full: *ubi iacto semine in hortorum morem aquae ducuntur inriguae*. The sentence of the first 'Georgic' from which Jerome quotes

<sup>25</sup> The TLL article on *ordo* fails to deal with the employment of this word in conjunction with the synonymous term *versus*. The only other classical text that is comparable would seem to be Ovid, am. 1,11,21–22 (*comprimat ordinibus versus, oculosque moretur / margine in extremo littera rasa meos*). However Jerome shows no acquaintance with the 'Amores'; cf. Hagendahl, *Fathers* 283. Moreover Ovid's usage here is not unambiguously synonymous.

<sup>26</sup> While Jerome translates 1 Kings 7,17 as *septena versuum retiacula in capitello uno*, in the next verse he employs *ordo* instead (*duos ordines per circuitum retiaculorum singulorum*). 2 Chronicles 4,3 and 4,13 reproduce 1 Kings 7,24 and 7,42 respectively; in each case Jerome alternates between *ordo* and *versus* (2 Chron. 4,3 *celaturae quasi duobus versibus ... circuibant*; 1 Kgs. 7,24 *duo ordines scalpturarum*; 2 Chron. 4,13 *bini ordines malagranatorum*; 1 Kgs. 7,42 *duos versus malogranatorum*).

<sup>27</sup> Viz. in Dan. 7,5 ll. 502–503 (*tres ... ordines sive versus qui erant in ore eius*; the biblical text of Dan. 7,5 has simply *ordines*); epist. 64,16,2 (*... per quattuor ordines, ita ut in singulis versiculis ...*); in Ezech. 1,22 ll. 609–610 (*in versus et ordine lapidum*).

<sup>28</sup> The primary meaning of *ordo* is 'row (esp. of trees or plants)' according to Oxf. Lat. Dict. 1266, sect. 1a, while the particular locution *per ordinem* ('in a row') is dealt with ib., sect. 1e; cf. also the renderings of (e.g.) Wright, *Letters* 417 ('in rows'); Labourt, *Lettres* 124 ('en rangées').

<sup>29</sup> Jerome's wording here is quite different from the Massoretic text (*wehishqitha bheraghlekha*), which resembles the LXX (ποτίζουσιν τοὺς ποσίην).

in his letter to Rusticus (*ecce supercilio ...*) opens as follows: *quid dicam iacto qui semine comminus arva / insequitur ... / deinde satis fluvium inducit rivosque sequentis* (1,104-106). Jerome would seem to have appropriated *iacto ... semine* without change<sup>30</sup>. On the other hand the third line of this Vergilian passage (*satis fluvium inducit rivosque sequentis*) has undergone compression<sup>31</sup>: in particular Jerome has condensed the redundant hendiadys *fluvium ... rivosque sequentis* into the single word *aquae*. His *ducuntur* however preserves Vergil's *inducit*<sup>32</sup>; both verbs continue to occupy a medial position between terms denoting 'irrigation'. Use of *inducere* itself was precluded by Jerome's employment of *inriguae*<sup>33</sup>, which would also seem to be due to another passage of the 'Georgics': at 4,32 Vergil had written *inriguumque bibant violaria fontem*<sup>34</sup>. Jerome's own phrasing in this passage of Deuteronomy achieves a particularly elegant symmetry in which each word is longer than the preceding by exactly one syllable: *aquae ducuntur inriguae*<sup>35</sup>. This impressive locution is then redeployed in the epistle to Rusticus<sup>36</sup>:

<sup>30</sup> No other instance of this particular ablative absolute is provided by Cetedoc Library of Christian Latin Texts, CLCLT-3, Turnhout 1996. The much larger Patrologia Latina Database, Alexandria, VA 1995, fails to offer one that is earlier. From classical authors Packard Humanities Institute CD ROM # 5.3, 1991, supplies only two examples: both occur in technical writers (viz. Pliny, nat. 18,193; Varro, rust. 1,29,2). It may also be observed in this connection that Jerome had borrowed phraseology from an adjacent section of 'Georgics' 1 (145-146) at praef. Vulg. Dan. p. 6,18-19, which would appear to have been written shortly before his translation of Deuteronomy (cf. Frede, Kirchenschriftsteller 527). At a somewhat earlier date he had echoed georg. 1,153-156 in c. Lucif. 22 (cf. ib. 511).

<sup>31</sup> This verse is closely linked to the antecedent *iacto ... semine* by *satis*, which is glossed by Servius Danielis as *seminatis*.

<sup>32</sup> Plenty of synonymous expressions might have been adopted in place of one involving *ducere*; cf. (e.g.; with *aqua* as obj.) *agere, arcessere, corrivare, derivare, immittere, inferre, intromittere, ministrare, mittere, praeberere, subministrare, suppeditare*; (with *terra* as obj.) *irrigare, madefacere, rigare, umectare*.

<sup>33</sup> On the need to avoid *iotacismus* cf. (e.g.) Martianus Capella 5,514.

<sup>34</sup> TLL VII 2, col. 421,26-63 (s.v. *irriguus*), gives several examples of this active use of the word; however georg. 4,32 is the only text with which Jerome is likely to have been thoroughly familiar. It may be noted that Tibullus 2,1,44, which is also indebted to this line of the 'Georgics' (cf. P. Murgatroyd, Tibullus: Elegies 2, Oxford 1994, 45), resembles the letter to Rusticus in employing *aquae* in place of the Vergilian *fons*; Jerome would seem however to have been unacquainted with Tibullus' work (cf. Hagendahl, Fathers 413; id., Jerome and the Latin Classics, in: VChr 28, 1974, 219 [hereafter: Hagendahl, Jerome]). In both Vergil and Jerome the noun and adjective occupy the same marginal position around the central verb.

<sup>35</sup> The effect is further enhanced by homoeoteleuton (*aquae ... inriguae*) and by a cretic tribrach clausula, which corresponds accentually to the *cursus tardus*; cf. M.C. Herron, A Study of the Clausulae in the Writings of St. Jerome, Washington 1937 (Cath. Un. Am. Patr. Stud. 51), 43-47 (hereafter: Herron, Clausulae).

<sup>36</sup> It would seem that the antecedent words of the letter (*cum holerum iacta fuerint semina*) have similarly been inspired by Deut. 11,10 and georg. 1,104-106; in both these passages the phrase *iacto semine* had likewise preceded the respective mentions of irrigation.

the passage of this letter in question here accordingly provides another instance of Jerome's partiality for *Selbstzitate* in which the wording at issue is due ultimately to a different writer and has undergone stylistic amelioration when first appropriated by Jerome<sup>37</sup>. Similarly this epistle's combination of the phrase from Deuteronomy 11,10 with the echoes of Vergil's exhortation to orderly arrangement (georg. 2,277–287) that were documented earlier supplies further exemplification of Jerome's tendency to conflate phraseological borrowings from classical and biblical sources<sup>38</sup>; however the present case evinces the novel complication that here the wording of the scriptural text is itself indebted to a secular author.

If then the *inriuous* of 'Georgics' 4,32 finds only an indirect echo in the letter to Rusticus, other passages from the beginning of the same book would appear to have exercised an unmediated influence on the wording of this epistle. The attempt has been made elsewhere to show that the phraseology of the pair of precepts which opens this section of the letter (ll. 1–2: *vel fiscellam texe iunco vel canistrum lentis plecte viminibus*) draws on 'Georgics' 4,34 (*seu lento fuerint alvaria vimine texta*)<sup>39</sup>. The initial section of this fourth book also contains the poem's only treatment of kitchen-gardening, which is presented in the form of a very striking *praeteritio* (4,116–148); since Jerome's instructions to Rusticus deal with precisely this topic, further indebtedness here would be no surprise<sup>40</sup>. The verse which immedi-

Some ten other verbs were available for use with *semen* besides *iacere*, which in the present context might appear to be slightly at odds with the pervasive concern for 'order'; for a list of the pertinent synonyms cf. A. Forcellini and V. De Vit, *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon*, 5, Prati 1871, 427 (s.v. *semen*). Here the letter to Rusticus would seem to exhibit a particular debt to georg. 1,104; since Jerome proceeds immediately afterwards to give a verbatim quotation of 1,108–110, such an echo would not be surprising. Both these texts evince the same hyperbaton (*iacto qui semine / iacta fuerint semina*), which in the letter cannot be ascribed to the clausula; in each a quinquesyllabic clause is also interposed before the succeeding reference to irrigation.

<sup>37</sup> For additional examples of this compositional feature cf. the present writer, *Falling Asleep Over a Book: Jerome, 'Letter' 60,11,2*, in: *Eos* 81, 1993, 227–230; id., *Tertullian's 'De idololatria' and Jerome Again*, in: *Mnemosyne* 49, 1996, 46–49.

<sup>38</sup> For a further instance cf. the present writer, *Some Features of Jerome's Compositional Technique in the 'Libellus de virginitate servanda'*, in: *Philologus* 136, 1992, 234–240.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. the present writer, *Vergil, 'Eclogues' 2 and 10 in Jerome (forthcoming)*, where it is argued that these injunctions also contain reminiscences of ecl. 2,72 (*viminibus mollique paras detexere iunco*) and 10,71 (*gracili fiscellam textit hibisco*). The same article also suggests that Jerome's next words (*sariatur humus*; l. 2) may have been inspired by the *rastro humum fodiens* of his *vita Hilar.* 3,5–6, which likewise echoes these two verses of the 'Eclogues'.

<sup>40</sup> The final couplet of this particular passage (georg. 4,147–148) had already been quoted in the very earliest of Jerome's letters (1,15,3; for a recent attempt to date this epistle instead to the beginning of Jerome's sojourn in Bethlehem cf. J. Schwind, *Hieronymus' 'Epistula ad Innocentium' [epist. 1] – ein Jugendwerk?*, in: *WSt* 110, 1997, 171–186). Jero-



ately precedes this excursus runs: *ipse feracis / figat humo plantas et amicos inriget imbris* (4,114-115)<sup>41</sup>. Here we perhaps have the inspiration for Jerome's identical juxtaposition of *plantae* and the stem *inrig-*: *cum ... fuerint ... plantae per ordinem positae, aquae ducantur inriguae* (ll. 3-5)<sup>42</sup>. The first of the numerous items to be listed in the 'Georgics' kitchen-garden is *holus* (4,130)<sup>43</sup>; Vergil's own use of the term is probably responsible for its recurrence in this passage of the letter to Rusticus, where it is similarly placed at the very beginning (*in quibus cum holerum iacta fuerint semina ...*; l. 3)<sup>44</sup>. Of greater import is the circumstance that the description of this kitchen-garden occurs in the context of Vergil's treatment of beekeeping<sup>45</sup>. It is therefore noteworthy that Jerome himself should also round off with an injunction to keep bees (*apum fabricare alvearia*; l. 11); here too he is evidently indebted to 'Georgics' 4. This dependence receives decisive corroboration from the fact that Vergil's digression on kitchen-gardening is immediately followed by a detailed exposé of the bees' polity (4,149-209) and of their devotion to a 'king' (4,210-218)<sup>46</sup>. Jerome's own exhortation to bee-rearing is likewise suc-

me's digression on kitchen-gardens is described as "one of the most famous passages of the poem" by R.F. Thomas, *Virgil: Georgics*, vol. 2, bks. 3-4, Cambridge 1988, 167 (hereafter: Thomas, *Georgics*).

<sup>41</sup> This line concludes a short section which in fact forms a transition to the ensuing theme of kitchen-gardening.

<sup>42</sup> Numerous alternatives to *planta* were at Jerome's disposal here; cf. (e.g.) Cicero, Cato 52 (*malleoli plantae sarmenta viviradices propagine*). This enumeration itself is far from exhausting the repertory of available synonyms; cf. in addition (e.g.) *clava*, *semen*, *surculus*, *talea*, as well as more general terms like *arbor*, *arbuscula*, *arbusta*. Conversely this line of the 'Georgics' is the only occasion on which Vergil employs the word *planta* outside of the second book, whose subject is exclusively arboriculture; moreover both Vergil and Jerome associate this noun with a verb that denotes 'bedding out' (*figere humo / ponere*). The further point may be made that Servius Danielis, who would seem to be identical with Jerome's own teacher Donatus (cf. P.K. Marshall, *Servius*, in: *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds, Oxford 1983, 386) glosses Vergil's use of *inriget* in this verse with a reference to his employment of *inriguus* some eighty lines earlier at 4,32, which has been shown to be the likely source for Jerome's own adoption of the same term here; correspondingly the gloss of Servius Danielis on this adjective itself is *qui irrigat*. It may also be noted that the letter to Rusticus shares Vergil's jussive subjunctive. The final observation may be made in this connection that Servius himself rephrases Vergil's *imbris* in the present passage as *aquas*, which is also the noun used by Jerome.

<sup>43</sup> The word is a Vergilian *hapax*. Besides initial position its conspicuity here is also accentuated by the gloss of Servius Danielis: *rarum holus: rarum pro praecipuo et summo*.

<sup>44</sup> Both authors employ the word in conjunction with a verb signifying 'to plant'; for the Vergilian *premere* in this sense cf. Mynors, *Georgics* 143 (on 2,346).

<sup>45</sup> A reference to apiculture is also found in the account of the kitchen-garden itself (4,139-141).

<sup>46</sup> Jerome had already quoted a line from the Vergilian description of the bees' social organization (4,176) at *quaest. hebr. in gen.* p. 3,9; another couplet from the concluding sentence of this section (4,221-222) had been adduced at in *Eph.* 4,5 p. 497<sup>A</sup>.

ceeded directly by the following amplification: *et monasteriorum ordinem ac regiam disciplinam in parvis disce corporibus* (ll. 12–13). Here *monasteriorum ordinem* is a clear allusion to Vergil's portrayal of the apian regimen<sup>47</sup>, while the ensuing mention of *regiam disciplinam* is due to the 'Georgics' similarly consecutive description of the bees' strict obedience to their king<sup>48</sup>. The words that terminate Jerome's sentence (*in parvis disce corporibus*) would also appear to have been inspired by a line from the 'Georgics' treatment of apiculture<sup>49</sup>. The concluding point may be made that Hagendahl records far more borrowings by Jerome from the first three books of the 'Georgics' than from the fourth and final one<sup>50</sup>; a particular significance accordingly attaches to the echoes of 'Georgics' 4 that have just been identified.

One last passage of the 'Georgics' would appear to have influenced the wording of Jerome's precepts in the section of the letter to Rusticus quoted at the start of the present article. Vergil's kitchen-garden had included trees that underwent grafting: *spinos iam pruna ferentis* (4,145)<sup>51</sup>. The same activity of making grafts had

<sup>47</sup> The following portions of the Vergilian depiction are especially applicable to monks: *magnisque agitant sub legibus aevum* (4,154), *in medium quaesita reponunt. / namque aliae victu invigilant et foedere pacto / exercent agris; pars intra saepia domorum ...* (4,157–159), *aliae spem gentis adultos / educunt fetus* (4,162–163), *omnibus una quies operum, labor omnibus unus: / mane ruunt portis; nusquam mora; rursus easdem / vesper ubi e pastu tandem decedere campis / admonuit, tum tecta petunt, tum corpora curant* (4,184–187), *post, ubi iam thalamis se composuere, siletur / in noctem, fessosque sopor suus occupat artus* (4,189–190), *illum adeo placuisse apibus mirabere morem, / quod neque concubitu indulgent, nec corpora segnes / in Venerem solvunt aut fetus nixibus edunt* (4,197–199). Reference might also be made in this connection to Vergil's concluding remarks in ll. 219–221 (*his quidam signis atque haec exempla secuti / esse apibus partem divinae mentis et haustus / aetheros dixere ...*).

<sup>48</sup> The Vergilian account opens as follows: *praeterea regem non sic Aegyptus et ingens / Lydia nec populi Parthorum aut Medus Hydaspes / observant. rege incolumi mens omnibus una est ...* (4,210–212). Whereas Jerome's antecedent mention of *monasteriorum ordo* had been wholly apropos in a letter on the monastic life, there is no reason for him to speak of *regia disciplina* in such a context: this slight inconcinnity provides convenient verification of his debt to 'Georgics' 4.

<sup>49</sup> At epist. 79,6,2 Jerome had already given a literal citation of the verse in question (4,83: *ingentis animos angusto in pectore versant*). Further echoes of the same Vergilian phrase are rightly posited by Hagendahl, *Fathers* 277 (following Hilberg) at epist. 54,13,5 (*cerneres in parvo corpusculo ingentes animos*) and 107,13,4 (*in parvis corpusculis ingentes animos intueri*). In particular the later of these two passages with its mention of 'bodies' in the plural would seem to be the immediate source for the wording of the letter to Rusticus: *in parvis disce corporibus*. Here however the formulation has been improved by hyperbaton and by a very elegant clausula (on the cretic tribrach cf. n. 35 above); in the two earlier texts on the other hand the words at issue had not occupied the same final position.

<sup>50</sup> Hagendahl, *Fathers* 415; id., *Jerome* 216–218.

<sup>51</sup> The reference of these words to grafts is assumed by both Thomas, *Georgics* 174, and Mynors, *Georgics* 277 (in each case ad loc.). It may also be noted that the immediately preceding line (4,144: *in versum distulit ulmos*) contains the same use of *versus* in the sense of 'row' as the present passage of the epistle to Rusticus.

been the subject of the sentence which came directly before Jerome's exhortation to bee-keeping: *inserantur infructuosae arbores vel gemmis vel surculis, ut parvo post tempore laboris tui dulcia poma decerpas* (ll. 9-10). Here Jerome's particular phrasing would seem however to have been suggested by the more extensive treatment that the second 'Georgic' devotes specifically to this topic. Vergil begins this section as follows: *sponte sua quae se tollunt in luminis oras, / infecunda quidem ... / ... tamen haec quoque, si quis / inserat ...* (2,47-50). This collocation of *infecunda* and *inserat* is evidently the source of Jerome's similar juxtaposition: *inserantur infructuosae arbores*<sup>52</sup>. Vergil then proceeds to describe two methods of such propagation: here Mynors remarks that "his arrangement ... is his own, for whereas most authorities know three kinds of grafting ..., he reduces it to a symmetrical pair of alternatives."<sup>53</sup> It is therefore noteworthy that precisely such a "symmetrical pair of alternatives" should recur in Jerome himself, who continues with the words: *inserantur ... vel gemmis vel surculis*. The particular pair of methods which Vergil describes is moreover identical to Jerome's own: while the 'Georgics' first alternative similarly involves *gemmae*<sup>54</sup>, the second method prescribed in the poem entails the same recourse to *surculi*<sup>55</sup>. Jerome's next words conclude his treatment of the subject: *ut parvo post tempore laboris tui dulcia poma decerpas*. This statement has evidently been inspired by the similarly ensuing lines of the 'Georgics', which likewise round off Vergil's own discussion: *nec longum tempus, et ingens / exiti ad caelum ramis felicibus arbos, / miraturque novas frondes et non sua poma* (2,80-82). The 'Georgics' inceptive *nec longum tempus* has clearly prompted Jerome's matching exordium: *parvo post tempore*. Similarly both texts close with mention of *poma*<sup>56</sup>. The remaining words of this

<sup>52</sup> His choice of *infructuosus* instead of the Vergilian *infecundus* is presumably due to a reminiscence of Jude 12 (*arbores ... infructuosae*). *Inserere* is again employed by Vergil shortly afterwards at 4,69 and 4,73; the first of these passages (*inseritur vero et fetu nucis arbutus horrida*) would appear to be particularly relevant to Jerome's own wording (*inserantur ... gemmis*). Both texts evince a passive form of the verb used in conjunction with a succeeding instrumental ablative; *inserere* is in each case the opening word of the sentence, while in Vergil it also occupies the initial position in the line, which acquires special prominence from its hypermetric syllable.

<sup>53</sup> Mynors, *Georgics* 110.

<sup>54</sup> This passage runs: *qua se medio trudent de cortice gemmae / et tenuis rumpunt tunicas, angustus in ipso / fit nodo sinus; huc aliena ex arbore germen / includunt* (2,74-77). Here the point may also be made that in a paraphrase of these verses Pliny, *nat.* 17,100 replaces *germen* with *gemma*.

<sup>55</sup> This time Vergil expresses himself thus: *aut rursum enodes trunci reseantur, et alte / finditur in solidum cuneis via, deinde feraces / plantae immittuntur* (2,78-80). Here 'Servius Danielis', who is evidently Jerome's own teacher Donatus, gives the following gloss: *plantis abutitur pro surculis*. The term *surculi* is also the one adopted by Jerome, who had already made use of *plantae* in the previous sentence.

<sup>56</sup> Here Jerome's specific wording is *dulcia poma decerpas*. It may be observed in this connection that the Vergilian treatment of kitchen-gardening, to which reference was made above, employs an analogous phrase: *primus ... carpere poma* (4,134). However the particu-

Hieronymian clause are the medial *laboris tui*, which would also appear to have been suggested by a line from this same portion of the second 'Georgic': *scilicet omnibus est labor impendendus* (2,61)<sup>57</sup>.

University of Nebraska at Lincoln

Neil Adkin

lar language of the present passage is a *Selbstzitat* inspired by in Mich. 4,1 l. 143 (*dulcia spiritus sancti poma decerpens*). This phraseology combines alliteration of initial 'd' with a cretic spondee clausula, which corresponds to the *cursus planus* and is Jerome's favourite; cf. Herron, *Clausulae* 12–16.

<sup>57</sup> The metrical impressiveness of this verse will have stamped its wording on Jerome's mind; cf. T.E. Page, *P. Vergili Maronis Bucolica et Georgica*, London 1898, repr. 1965, 249 (ad loc.: "the three opening dactyls without caesura fall hammer-like on the massy *impendendus*, vehemently emphasizing the great law of labour"). The line continues: *et omnes / ... multa mercede domandae*. Servius' gloss on *mercede* reads: *labore: a sequenti quod praecedat intellege*. Nonetheless Vergil's use of a word whose primary meaning is 'reward' may well have led Jerome to formulate his own sentence in similarly remunerative terms: *ut ... laboris tui dulcia poma decerpas*.