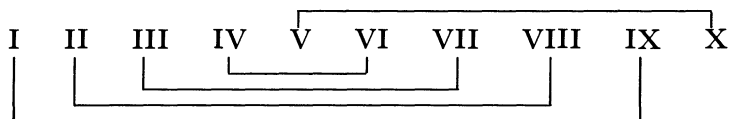


The Art of the Seventh *Eclogue* of Vergil

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There seems to be a general agreement among Vergilian critics at this moment that the poet of the *Eclogues* arranged his work according to the following pattern:



If we concede that a certain proportional arrangement—known as the “Golden Mean”—exists in all the poems of Vergil, it should not surprise us, if we follow Prof. G. E. Duckworth’s analysis, that such a mathematical pattern is to be found also in a significant manner in the third and the seventh *Eclogues* taken as a unit. Since the external links—in conformity with the theory of the “Golden Mean”—are so clear between the poems of this group, it would be interesting to present a study of the symmetry of the *contents* of the seventh pastoral in a manner not unlike that which I ventured to propose for the third *Eclogue* in the *Transactions* a few years ago.¹ Critics will be inclined to note more factual parallels in the pastorals of Vergil if it is conceded that the poet worked within the structural frame-pattern of the whole collection which modern scholars have revealed, as outlined above. Since the correlate of the seventh pastoral is, according to this analysis of mathematical relationship, the third,

¹ John J. H. Savage, “The Art of the Third *Eclogue* of Vergil (55–111),” *TAPA* 89 (1958) 142–58 (hereafter cited as *Art III*); “The Art of the Second *Eclogue* of Vergil,” *TAPA* 91 (1960) 353–75 (cited as *Art II*); “The Cyclops, the Sibyl and the Poet,” *TAPA* 93 (1962) 410–42 (cited as *The Cyclops*). For the “Golden Mean” in the *Eclogues* see now G. E. Duckworth, *Structural Patterns and Proportions in Vergil’s Aeneid* (Ann Arbor 1962) 39 f. with bibliography; 43, notes 13–15.

I wish to express my gratitude to the anonymous referee for his constructive suggestions.

then it would be interesting to determine whether these two poems have certain common patterns in content also.²

Some other external resemblances or parallels between the two pastorals can be noted here before we discuss in more detail certain formal patterns in the two poems which seem to indicate that the poet had in mind more than just externals in his artistic attempt to polarize the song contests in both poems.

The *carmina* in both contests are of the same length taken as a unit (48 verses in each). The poet has varied the pattern by simply changing from the distichs of the third pastoral to the quatrains of the seventh. The fifth and sixth quatrains in the latter—which are concerned with the folktale of Galatea and Polyphemus—are on a Theocritean subject with political overtones somewhat alien to the bucolic or rustic themes of the rest of the pastoral. Similarly in the third poem we have in distichs 13–16 a treatment of contemporary events (Pollio's poems and those of Baevius and Maeuius—also with a political slant). The concluding sections of both song contests end in a note of *anxiety* (cf. *Art* III.156). The tendency to suggest uneasiness in this part of the seventh *Eclogue* is less pronounced although the treatment is more extensive—24 verses in contrast to 16 in the third poem. In the *finale* of the seventh pastoral, nature is depicted as fickle with its alternations of heat, cold, or drought. Only the arrival of the loved person (Phyllis, Alexis, Lycidas) will restore a balance in nature after the Theocritean manner (*Idyl* 8.41–48). These patterns will be more evident from the chart on page 250.

Elsewhere (*Art* III.148–50) evidence was presented to indicate that, in the entire scene in the third *Eclogue* (49–111) where the poet has introduced a neighbor (*vicinus*) Palaemon as a judge in a song contest, he had in mind a *masque* in which Octavian presided at a competition of song between two contemporary poets, Menalcas (Vergil) and Damoetas (Aemilius Macer). It would be interesting if it could be shown that the poet conceived the character of Daphnis, the “master of ceremonies”—not the judge—in the seventh pastoral as a parallel with variations to the neighbor who is impartial in his office as referee in the third

² Commentators on Vergil's *Eclogues* have not sought for balancing—or contrasting—motifs or patterns such as seem to exist, as we shall see, between the third and the seventh pastoral. Jacques Perret in his recent edition (*Virgile: les Bucoliques* [Paris 1961] 83 compares “sur ce type de développement” *Ecl.* 7.61–68 with 3.80–83).

pastoral. The judge, as a matter of fact, in the seventh poem is another shepherd (Meliboeus) who was however invited to witness the important contest (certamen . . . magnum) by Daphnis himself. The poet has, by changing the formal pattern in each poem, followed the rhetorical principle of *varietas*. In the seventh *Eclogue* we are immediately introduced to Meliboeus, the narrator and eventually also the judge of the amoebean contest in song which follows between Corydon and Thyrsis. Corydon, it should

TWO CYCLES OF SONGS

Eclogue 3

- a. *Overture* (24 verses).
Praises of Jupiter; Phoebus (hyacinthus) (4 verses).

Songs for Galatea, Amyntas, Delia, Phyllis, Amaryllis (20 verses).
 - b. *Intermezzo* (8 verses).
Pollio's poems and those of Bavius and Maevius (political).
 - c. *Finale* (16 verses).
Dangers to flock in spring drive (12 verses).
-
- Riddles of Jupiter-Terminus and Apollo-Hyacinthus (4 verses).

Eclogue 7

- a. *Overture* (16 verses).
Praise and dispraise of Codrus' verses (*proxima Phoebi*).
Fistula sacra pinu (8 verses).

Honor to statuettes (wooden) of Delia and Priapus (8 verses).
 - b. *Intermezzo* (8 verses).
Theme of wooing of Galatea (political).
 - c. *Finale* (24 verses).
Songs of seasons and trees (fraxinus, populus, abies, pinus).

Invitations to Alexis, Phyllis, Lycidas.
-
- Pinus in hortis* (4 verses).

be noted, has appeared before as the singer of the solo in the second *Eclogue*. Elsewhere (*Art* II.360) I have attempted to identify Corydon with the poet Domitius Marsus who was Vergil's contemporary and friend. Thyrsis appears here as a shepherd singer in our collection of bucolic poems for the first and only time. He too may represent another poet of the same or similar literary circle at Rome. A conjectural attempt to identify Thyrsis will be made later in this paper.

We are left with the problem of the possible identification of another seemingly more important personage who is introduced by Meliboeus as a sort of master of ceremonies. His name is Daphnis. We are inclined at first reading to link this Daphnis with the person of the hero whose death and deification are related in the fifth *Eclogue*—the central panel of nine of the bucolic poems. Since this personage is generally considered to represent Julius Caesar—yet Daphnis looks up at “Caesaris astrum” in *Ecl.* 9.46–50—we are completely puzzled when his presence is announced by the narrator in the first line of the seventh pastoral in what appears to be an account of a *live* singing contest. One of the contestants is the goat-herd Corydon; the other is the sheep-herder Thyrsis. Corydon, if I have correctly revealed the *dramatis persona* here, is represented by Vergil as a contemporary poet (Domitius Marsus) in rustic guise in the second *Eclogue* (*Art* II.360–62). The personality of the Theocritean Daphnis (*Idyl* 6.6–19)—vaguely identified by Vergil with “Caesar”—has been allowed “to shimmer through” to the reader, borrowing a striking phrase from the late E. K. Rand.³ Daphnis became to the poets the ideal singer of rustic songs. In the dream world of bucolic song it would be proper only for the most important personage to assume the mask of Daphnis, who is a *boukolos* in Theocritus (6.1; 8.1), not a mere herder of sheep or goats. The reader may then be willing to concede that Daphnis may represent some prominent personage presiding over a contest in song at a crucial moment in history when in 38 B.C. the struggle for power over the Mediterranean world was still a matter of concern for both poet and ruler. As complementary poems *Ecl.* 7 and 3 fall in the same year; see *Art* III.146 and 147, note 11, where evidence from the text of *Ecl.* 3.98–99 seems to point towards a date for that pastoral as 39–38 B.C.—a year or two later than the dramatic date of *Ecl.* 4 (*Ecl.* 2 is later than *Ecl.* 3; cf. *Art* II.360, where Corydon declares himself to be the heir in *Ecl.* 2.36–39 to the flute of Damoetas in *Ecl.* 3). The *populus Quirini* (Horace, *Odes* 1.2.47)⁴ was optimistic enough to feel that the two treaties

³ Cited by W. F. Jackson Knight in *Proceedings of the Virgil Society* (1961–62) 4.

⁴ This phrase occurs in Horace’s expressed wish for the safety of “Caesar” (*Odes* 1.2.45–46): *serus in caelum redeas, diuque laetus intersis populo Quirini*. In connection with the alleged recurrence of Augustus’ favorite adage (*speude bradeôs*) which I have discussed elsewhere (*Art* III.155) it would be interesting to consider the possibility that Horace may be paraphrasing this maxim here, especially if we complete the

(Brundisium in 40 and Misenum in 39) would bring an era of peace, confident in the power and prestige of the heir of Julius Caesar.

The first verse of this seventh pastoral in the simple anecdotal style of Meliboeus presents to us, in a way, the keynote for the dramatic piece to follow:

Forte sub arguta consederat ilice Daphnis.

If we grant that the leisurely Daphnis, seated under a "whispering ilex" (Fairclough), "shimmers through" here as an important personage masquerading as an ideal shepherd (or cattle-herder or, as we would say, "cowboy"), we may not go far astray if we—because of the playful repetition of the names of trees and shrubs in the song contest which follows—try to detect the poet's intent in this dream world of *masque*. The mention of "ilex" in the first line hardly prepares us for the astonishing array of trees and shrubs acclaimed by the poet-shepherds. We are reminded of the remarkable number of trees and plants depicted on the walls of Livia's suburban villa at Prima Porta.⁵ It would be interesting to compare the collection of flora in our poem with the extraordinary series of trees and plants depicted in the extant frescoes of Livia's villa. It may not be too venturesome to suggest that Vergil may have composed what might be termed "A Ballade of Trees and the Poet" as a contribution to the celebration of the recent wedding of Livia Drusilla with Octavian. This *Eclogue* would seem to have been designed as a song in honor of Phyllis rather than of Daphnis, for her name appears three times in this

quotation from the same *Ode*: neve te nostris vitiis iniquom / ocior aura / tollat. The phrase "ocior aura tollat" seems to stem from the language of Daphnis (*Ecl.* 7.8–9) discussed below with the hypothesis that Daphnis in that pastoral is a *dramatis persona* for Octavian. Another variation of this adage seems to occur elsewhere in Horace (*Sat.* 1.3.9–11). The poet is describing the Bohemian antics of a certain Tigellius, a boon companion of the *princeps*: Nil aequale homini fuit illi: saepe velut qui / currebat fugiens hostem, persaepe velut qui / Iunonis sacra ferret.

⁵ Cf. Mabel M. Gabriel, *Livia's Garden Room at Prima Porta* (New York 1955) 2 ff. The villa was situated nine miles outside Rome. The building with its paintings was first excavated in 1863. The National Museum at Rome now houses the paintings. This underground room with its paintings may date as early as 38 B.C. when Livia married Octavian (*op. cit.* 3–12)—the date which I have assigned to the seventh *Eclogue*. These frescos are marvelously executed. Scores of trees (including the *ilex*, *pinus*, and *populus* of our pastoral) are represented along with numerous plants and flowers. Here also are depicted *fontes*, *volucres*, *ranae*, *cicadae*, *capellae*. Suetonius (*Tiberius* 14.2 and *Galba* 1) has interesting details on the origin of the name of the villa "Ad Gallinas" and its associations with Livia.

interchange of song. But the name of Codrus appears conspicuously in the initial quatrains. He is cited twice as an important poet, once by Corydon and once by Thyrsis. (For a possible identification of Codrus with Maecenas see the "Excursus" at the end of this paper.)

The introduction of Phyllis ("leaf"—cf. Drusilla, "little oak") as a *sole* reward for those who would solve the last riddle in the festival of song in the third pastoral raises an interesting question. If, as I have attempted to show (*Art* m.153-55), the presiding referee in that contest is a real person (Palaemon=Octavian), then Menalcas' presentation there of a final riddle to all and several—including the referee—has some ulterior motive. The participants, as I have shown, are real. The offer that the shepherd who solves Menalcas' (Vergil's) conundrum (106-7),

Dic, quibus in terris inscripti nomina regum
nascuntur flores,

shall be given a definite award (at Phyllida *solus* habeto) strikes us as a surprising finale to the whole song contest with its climactic series of riddles. In fact the poet has piled another conundrum on top of two others, one of which has presented some problems for the modern critic.⁶ At any rate the referee (Palaemon) in his closing words in the third *Eclogue* does not give us a hint that he understood the innuendo—if such it be—in Menalcas' final remark.

In fact the emphasis on "solus" is a little daring on the part of our pastoral poet.⁷ The amoebean songs in that poem, however, are full of good humor; and the reference, as I take it, to the tangled marital affairs of Octavian was intended as a gentle jest. Octavian divorced his first wife Scribonia in 39 and soon after (38) celebrated a marriage with Livia Drusilla, former wife of Tib. Claudius Nero when she was already pregnant with the future Drusus ("oak"). Vergil passed off as a jest an event which caused considerable adverse criticism at that time and later.

⁶ In an article published in 1954 ("The Riddle in Vergil's third *Eclogue*," *CW* 47.81-83) I ventured to propose a solution for the "Terminus" riddle in the third *Eclogue* 104-5. This solution has been accepted by Professor Perret (*op. cit.* [above, note 2] 44) for these enigmatic verses of Damoetas.

⁷ Vergil was conscious of the boldness of his approach to life and letters in his bucolic poems. At the conclusion of his *Georgics* he makes a confession: *carmina qui lusi pastorum audaxque iuventa, / Tityre, te patulae cecini sub tegmine fagi.*

The second marriage of Octavian took place about the time when, as I have shown (*Art* III.153), the third *Eclogue* was composed.⁸

Now we return to the casual humor in the opening verse of Meliboeus' narration in the seventh *Eclogue*. Is it too far-fetched to see any wit in "sub arguta ilice"? The lady who masqueraded as Phyllis the shepherdess (as Livia Drusilla?) in the third pastoral, who was the occasion also for a prize—a prize not to be shared with another—is mentioned again in the course of Meliboeus' narrative and description in the seventh *Eclogue* of the rustic scene which furnished the background for the *alterni versus* of Corydon and Thyrsis (21–68). We shall return to the problem of Phyllis in a moment.

These rustics are introduced as "Arcades ambo"—one a herdsman, the other a goatherd—who are rounding up their herds at milking time. Meliboeus relates that a *caper* wandered over in his direction as he was protecting his tender myrtles from the cold. At that moment he spies Daphnis (7) who addresses him:

"ocius" inquit
"huc ades, o Meliboe; caper tibi salvus et haedi;
et, si quid cessare potes, requiesce sub umbra."

This apparent casual remark of Daphnis does not seem to warrant any comment. However, since we have noted above that the seventh *Eclogue* in the poet's scheme would call for certain parallels with the third, there is here also, unless we are mistaken, a subtle recollection of one of Octavian's favorite mottos (*speude bradeôs*; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 25.4, and Aulus Gellius 10.11) as seems to have been the case in the third *Eclogue* (52–53). Daphnis addresses Meliboeus: "Come here *quickly* [the opposite of Augustus' *bradeôs*], your flocks are safe" (Daphnis tells Meliboeus that he is no longer an exile, a landless man as in the first *Eclogue*); and "if you can find it possible to relax a little, rest here in the shade" (of an *ilex*). It must be admitted that Meliboeus' report of the invitation of Daphnis to hasten and relax ("if you can idle awhile," Fairclough) is not as pointed as is the corresponding

⁸ The exact date of Livia's marriage with Octavian is attested by an entry in the Calendar of Veroli (Verulae): XVI Kal. Febr. feria(e) s(enatus) c(onsulto) quod eo die Augusta nupsit divo Augusto (cited by J. Carcopino, *Passion et politique chez les Césars* [Paris 1958] 65). See also bibliography in *Art* III.147, note 11.

reflection of Octavian's favorite maxim by Damoetas in the third *Eclogue* (52-53).⁹

After this invitation from Daphnis to forget the troubles which he had dwelt on in the first *Eclogue*¹⁰ and to come speedily and idle in the shade, Meliboeus was in a quandary. There was work to do. Who would take care of weening the lambs when they were brought back to the fold? He did not have an "Alcippe" or a "Phyllis" to help him in his necessary chores—but there was the jolly prospect of witnessing a contest in song.

If my tentative identification of Phyllis with Livia Drusilla is correct, Meliboeus is delicately hinting that *he* does not have willing shepherdesses to give him valuable assistance. Daphnis had *his* helpers—a fair example of rustic wit.

We shall postpone for the moment a discussion of the first four quatrains in this interchange of song and make some comments on the fifth and sixth quatrains which introduce us suddenly to the character of the Theocritean Galatea.¹¹ These two chants form a sort of political interlude, as we shall see, in the general pattern of the song contest. Besides the subject matter was one which Corydon had elsewhere (*Ecl.* 2.25-27; 69-73) intimated that he was acquainted with. Corydon in comical fashion plays here the part of the giant shepherd Polyphemus:

Nerine Galatea, thymo mihi dulcior Hyblae,
candidior cycnis, hederæ formosior alba,
cum primum pasti repetent praesepia tauri,
si qua tui Corydonis habet te cura, venito.

This is a Theocritean topic—the serenade of Galatea by Polyphemus. Since elsewhere I have tried to equate the Galatea-

⁹ Damoetas won the favor of the judge Palaemon (Octavian) by his clever version of the latter's motto: *in me mora non erit ulla, / nec quemquam fugio* (cf. *Art* III.148). See above (note 4) for Horace's portrayal of the lively Tigellius who *acted out* Octavian's adage. Horace's "*currebat fugiens hostem*" certainly reflects Vergil's representation of the comic scene in *Ecl.* 3.52-53, "*nec quemquam fugio.*"

¹⁰ Commentators do not seem to have noted any parallels between Meliboeus' situation in the first pastoral and his happier lot in the seventh. If any parallel exists, it is the result of my tentative identification of Daphnis as Octavian in the second of these dramatic pieces.

¹¹ The transition from the mention of the wooden statuettes of Delia and Priapus in the preceding quatrains to the fantastic story of Galatea and Polyphemus does not seem easy. Perhaps the poet was unconsciously rating the folktale—now become a whimsy for a satirist or a cartoonist—with the rustic but real figures of Diana and Priapus.

Polyphemus fantastic love affair with the peace offensives of Octavian with Sextus Pompey and Antony (*Art* iii.151–54), there is no need to state anymore than that Corydon here—and Thyrsis in his *alterni versus*—interject these two quatrains at this point—quatrains which are to be interpreted as having contemporary interest serving as a sort of musical *adagio* after the opening *allegro* of the first four measures.

If my identification of Corydon of the second *Eclogue* (*Art* ii.359–60, 364–65) as the poet Domitius Marsus is acceptable, then it may be profitable to glance at some of the topics which he brings up in the course of his six individual songs in the seventh pastoral. His topics are conditioned by his concluding remark in the first quatrain—a remark which arouses the memories of Thyrsis (i.e. Horace?) about a painful experience in his past. His remarks are apparently innocent, but, as we shall see, we must think of “stage business” at this point: Thyrsis *feels* for that part of the head which had suffered injury (*Pastores, hedera crescentem ornate poetam*, 25). Here is Corydon’s initial quatrain which gave rise to the humorous response of his fellow shepherd:

Nymphae, noster amor, Libethrides, aut mihi carmen,
quale meo Codro, concedite (proxima Phoebi
versibus ille facit); aut, si non possimus omnes,
hic arguta sacra pendebit fistula pinu.

From that point on—except for the interlude on Galatea—he sings of *wooden* images of Delia to be whimsically turned into gold, then of trees and shrubs and certain seasonal pleasures.

Thyrsis follows closely on Corydon’s topics. At this point it is appropriate that we inject the hypothesis—which I have subsumed above—that Corydon’s fellow poet (*crescens poeta*) is none other than Q. Horatius Flaccus, at this date the obscure author of a few *Epodes* and *Satires*¹² and a contemporary of both Domitius Marsus and of Vergil. Corydon’s phrase “sacra pinu” in his opening quatrain his rival in song construes mentally as “devota arbor” (*Odes* 3.4.27) and immediately in humorous fashion—as a simple reflex—puts his hand on his head and forehead, which he invites the shepherds to crown with ivy and foxglove. The mental image of the falling pine(?) tree in his

¹² Three of Horace’s *Epodes* (7, 16, and perhaps 13) and four of his early *Satires* (1.2, 4, 7, and 8) were to all appearances written before 38.

ancestral farm (agro meo, 2.13.10)¹³ reminds him of the impact (arboris ictu, 3.8.8) of the *triste lignum* on his undeserving head (2.13.11–12) and of a *truncus inlapsus cerebro* (2.17.27):

Pastores, hedera crescentem ornate poetam,
Arcades, invidia rumpuntur ut ilia Codro;
aut, si ultra placitum laudarit, baccare frontem
cingite, ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro.

Again it is fitting to draw the reader's attention to the somewhat rude humor conveyed by the phrase "crescentem ornate poetam"¹⁴ in the reaction of Thyrsis to Corydon's concluding verse (hic arguta sacra pendebit fistula *pinu*). Corydon has struck the

¹³ It is usually believed that Horace's nearly fatal accident from the fall of a (pine?) tree took place at his Sabine farm (cf. Shorey on 2.13). At the anniversary celebration of that escape from death on the first of March (29 B.C.) Horace vows a sacrifice to Liber, "prope funeratus arboris ictu," *Odes* 3.8.7–8). If "agro meo" (2.3.10) means Horace's ancestral farm, as I maintain as the result of my equation in the seventh *Eclogue* of Thyrsis-Horace, then in the description of the festival *anno redeunte* in *Ode* 3.8 the poet refers to an incident which took place perhaps even before he met Maecenas in 38. The expression he uses in *Ode* 2.13.3–4 (arbos, in nepotum perniciem) seems to point in humorous fashion either to an ancestor or former owner who in an evil day planted that tree. That this tree was a pine we gather from the fact that Horace associated it with Faunus (Pan) by whose aid he was saved on that occasion (2.17.28). The pine tree was sacred to Faunus (Ovid, *Fasti* 3.84: pinigerum Fauni . . . caput).

Propertius (2.34.67–68) in his usual dreamy mood may be recalling the *leitmotiv* of the seventh *Eclogue*:

Tu canis umbrosi subter pineta Galaesi
Thyrsin et attritis Daphnin harundinibus.

Propertius has fused together three related concepts. 1. The "sub ilice" of Vergil becomes under the influence of the "sacra pinu" theme "subter pineta" in Propertius. 2. Propertius sets the scene of the seventh pastoral on the wooded (umbrosi) shores of the river Galaesus, thus equating in his mind the mythical Thyrsis with the poet Horace whose ode on the desirable haunts for his old age describes the fertile region along the river Galaesus (*Odes* 2.6.10) as a choice spot next only to Tibur. (Incidentally here consciously or otherwise he presents the exact opposite of the fertility of the vineyards around Mt. Aulon to the infertility depicted by *Thyrsis* in *Ecl.* 7.58: Liber pampineas invidit collibus umbras. Horace's picture in his ode is brighter: et amicus Aulon / fertili Baccho minimum Falernis / invidet uvis). 3. By the phrase "attritis harundinibus" Propertius wishes to compliment Vergil on the artistic finish of this pastoral. The picture of the plodding old *soldier and sailor* turned farmer on the banks of the Galaesus in Vergil's *Georgics* (4.125 f.) is surely the obverse of Horace's unrealistic ideal place for retirement: (lasso maris et viarum / militiaeque, 7–8).

¹⁴ The correct reading "crescentem" is found in the *Palatinus* and is preferred by the corrector in the *Mediceus*. This is the reading accepted by some editors (e.g. Hirtzel, Perret). The reading "nascentem" is in the first hand of *M*. This is approved by several editors (e.g. Sabbadini, Fairclough, and Servius *ad loc.*).

keynote for this interchange of song. The pine tree incident in Horace's early life on his father's farm produced a wealth of reference to trees and plants throughout most of the twelve quatrains. Vergil is presenting a symmetrical pattern here which he had already formulated in the amoebian songs of the third *Eclogue* (*Art* III.157) where the opening distichs of Menalcas and Damoetas on Jupiter and Apollo are balanced by the concluding distichs on Jupiter-Terminus and Apollo-Hyacinthus. Here is the final quatrain of Thyrsis (65–68) with its emphasis on the principal motif in this song contest suggested already by Corydon's seemingly casual reference to the "hallowed pine tree" in his introductory quatrain. In two *final* phrases Thyrsis stresses the "pine" theme:

Fraxinus in silvis pulcherrima, *pinus in hortis*,
 populus in fluviis, abies in montibus altis:
 saepius at si me, Lycida formose, revisas,
 fraxinus in silvis cedat tibi, *pinus in hortis*.

Let us at this point attempt to unravel this tangled web. In the tabulation which follows "III" stands for the pastoral scene and the song contest (24 distichs) portrayed in *Ecl.* 3.49–111 [not 55–111 as in the title of *Art* III].¹⁵ Number "VII" represents the rustic scene and the song contest depicted in *Ecl.* 7.

JUDGES AND/OR MASTERS OF CEREMONIES

III. Palaemon (Octavian), by his unspoken acknowledgment of Damoetas' shrewd rewording of Octavian's favorite maxim *speude bradeôs*, singles him out as the shepherd who is to begin the song contest. Damoetas reveals his identity by his humorous

¹⁵ The many ramifications of the number which coincides with the length of the fourth *Eclogue* (63 verses) in several passages elsewhere in Vergil has been noted in my article, *The Cyclops* 421, 426, and 431 (especially note 31) cited above (note 1). The scenario in the third *Eclogue* seems to call for the actual opening of the song contest with the announcement by Menalcas (Vergil) of the arrival of the presiding judge at verse 49.

Some surprising examples of the occurrence of the number 63 in oracular passages have recently come to my attention. The prologue to the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus (*OCT* ed. A. Sidgwick) is spoken by the Pythian priestess in 63 verses. In his *Agamemnon* the prophetess Cassandra, possessed by the Pythian Apollo (cf. 1255 and 1275) speaks oracularly for 63 verses in iambic trimeters (1256–1330) with choral interludes of 12 verses. Cassandra leaves the stage at vs. 1330. The chorus then sings a strophe in anapaestic meter which forebodes a major dramatic change. Has Vergil followed a literary (ritualistic?) model for his oracular fourth *Eclogue*?

pun on his own name "Macer" (cf. *Art* III.147). Palaemon is both judge and master of ceremonies.

VII. Meliboeus (not identifiable) is the narrator and acts as judge at the invitation of Daphnis (Octavianus Caesar) who betrays his own identity by the way he paraphrases the favorite maxim of Octavian. Daphnis acts not as judge but as master of ceremonies.

PARTICIPANTS IN THE SONG CONTESTS

III. (49–111 = 63 verses). Menalcas (Vergil) contends with Damoetas (Aemilius Macer). The latter reveals his identity by punning on his real name (100–1). Macer was a poet who wrote on the subjects of birds, animals, and plants.

VII. (From the first words of Daphnis ("Ocius . . . huc ades")) to the end of the poem there are 63 verses, 8–70). Corydon identifies himself as the admirer of Alexis (55). His love for Alexis is the theme of Corydon's solo in *Ecl.* 2, where he is identified as Domitius Marsus (cf. *Art* II.360–63), the author of a collection of poems entitled *Cicuta* (= *Fistula*). This fact is implied by Corydon's reference to his *fistula* which, if he does not surpass a certain Codrus in song, he threatens to hang on the "hallowed pine," thus establishing the principal motif for the song contest.

Thyrsis (Horace?) proclaims himself to be a *poeta* and a future *vates*. In humorous fashion Thyrsis takes up Corydon's cue (*sacra pinu*) which becomes his theme with many variations throughout the song contest. It is suggested that Thyrsis plays the part of Horace who here hints humorously at the nearly fatal accident of his youth—a favorite theme of the poet in later years (cf. *devota non extinxit arbor*, *Odes* 3.4.27).

OTHER CHARACTERS IN SEARCH OF AN AUTHOR

III. There are three references to Phyllis here: one by Damoetas (Aemilius Macer) and two by Menalcas (Vergil). Phyllis is invited to attend a birthday party by Damoetas, and Menalcas counters this proposal by expressing the mutual friendly relationship (*amor*) between Phyllis and himself. Our identification of Phyllis with Livia Drusilla is based on the following pieces of circumstantial evidence.

1. Both Daphnis and Meliboeus (the judge) sit under the shade of an *ilex* during the contest described below under VII. The holm-oak is symbolic of Livia Drusilla ("little oak").
2. The name "Phyllis" is associated with the Greek *phyllon* ("leaf").
3. The enigmatical reference in the presence of Palaemon (Octavian), the judge of the contest, to Phyllis as an award (*solus*) to the person who would solve the riddle propounded by Menalcas (Vergil). Livia's marriage with Octavian took place in January 17, 38 B.C.

VII. Thyrsis is the first to mention Phyllis (59). Corydon counters this complimentary reference by mentioning her name twice (63). (She is mentioned elsewhere by Gallus in 10.37 and 41 and by Menalcas in 5.10.) Thyrsis seems to play on the significance of her name in one of his quatrains (57–60): the vine leaves on the hill side are affected by drought. At the coming of Phyllis the vineyard will flourish. His description of a typical warm interior of lighted logs and *pine* torches has much in common with Horace's depiction of the preparations for the reception of "Phyllis" on the occasion of the celebration of the birthday of Maecenas (*Odes* 4.11.9–12).

A few remarks may be made on the nature of the final decision of the judge Meliboeus in favor of Corydon. Critics (cf. Perret on vs. 69) have noted the *urbanitas* of Corydon throughout his songs.¹⁶ This would be expected if Corydon is to be identified with Domitius Marsus, the author of a work on that subject (*Art* II.360). It does not seem to have been noticed that Corydon *flatters* the referee by echoing words or phrases: cf. Meliboeus in

¹⁶ If Vergil's characterization of Thyrsis in this pastoral represents Horace in the early stages of his poetic career, then the question arises whether Vergil's feelings towards his fellow poet at this time are here shown to be not over-enthusiastic. The sentiments expressed by Horace in his early *Epodes*, especially the seventh (pessimistic at the outbreak of civil strife in 38) and of course the realistic approach to political events in the sixteenth, were all certainly critical of the politics and the morale of that period (cf. above, note 12). Some critics like E. K. Rand, in his volume entitled *The Magical Art of Virgil* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1931) 117–18, are inclined to read more in Vergil's characterization of Thyrsis than seems justified by the context which calls for an exhibition of rustic buffoonery within a somewhat rigid "frame of reference." The fact, however, that Corydon is without reservations named the winner of the contest indicates at least that in the eyes of Vergil Horace's first poetic efforts did not win his entire approval.

7.63 and in 1.14; in the same pastoral (7.6 and 47) Corydon uses the word “defendo” in a way somewhat similar to the “dum teneras defendo a frigore myrtos” of Meliboeus in the introductory narration. Also the references of Meliboeus to the bees of Hybla in 1.54–55 are echoed in Corydon’s verse in 7.37. These may be trifling compliments, but they tended to tip the balance in Corydon’s favor. From the negative point of view Thyrsis chose less joyous topics on seasonal *vices* than did Corydon. Horace (Thyrsis) was even then the melancholy Dane. His partiality for depicting seasonal changes—with the lessons to be derived therefrom—is especially notable in *Odes* 1.4 (where “Lycidas” again appears [19] echoing there the final quatrain of Thyrsis [*Ecl.* 7.67]) as well as in the equally famous seventh ode of the fourth book.

EXCURSUS ON THE IDENTITY OF THE POET “CODRUS”

The two initial quatrains of the songs of the shepherds in the seventh *Eclogue* have been cited above in full in order to indicate the prime motif of the “hallowed pine,” which was to lead to many enigmatic interchanges of song centered about the themes of trees and plants. These two quatrains contain, however, another interlocking theme which is concerned with the appraisal of the work of a poet named “Codrus” whose appearance is unheralded elsewhere in these pastorals except for one reference in the fifth *Bucolic* (10–11). There Menalcas (Vergil) invites a shepherd named Mopsus to sing of Phyllis—whom we have identified above as Livia Drusilla—as well as proclaim the praises of an unknown called Alcon and—of all subjects—sing of the “raillery at Codrus” (Fairclough):

Incipe, Mopse, prior, si quos aut Phyllidis ignis
aut Alconis habes laudes aut iurgia Codri.

The phrase “iurgia Codri” implies a certain rude rustic familiarity and would hardly suit the character of the mythical Codrus, the last *king* of Athens who sacrificed his life for the good of his country. In proposing to identify the Codrus of our pastoral with Maecenas we are aided by two factors at the outset: Maecenas proudly claimed to be a descendant of Etruscan *kings* (Horace, *Ode* 1.1.1 and *passim*) and again he had, like Octavian in his youth, courted the Muse. Octavian gave expression to

adverse criticism of his friend's literary efforts. The statement of Suetonius on this subject (*Aug.* 86.2) deserves to be cited in its entirety inasmuch as both Corydon (Marsus) and Thyrsis (Horace) give vent in our pastoral to their critical appraisal of the poetry of Codrus in the presence of Daphnis (Octavian):

Cacozelos et antiquarios, ut diverso genere vitiosos, pari fastidio spreuit exagitabatque nonnumquam; in primis Maecenatem suum, cuius "myrobrechis," ut ait, "concinnos" usque quaque persequitur et imitando per iocum irridet.

One can gather from this statement that Augustus not only made sport of Maecenas' attempts at verse—he even parodied them. As I have pointed out elsewhere (*Art* II.371) the good soldier Agrippa also expressed himself in such a way as to trace the source of Vergil's exoticism in his *Eclogues* to the influence of the poet's patron and man of letters.

Let us examine the purport of Corydon's appraisal of the verse of Codrus in the light of this sort of literary gossip emanating from the court salons (21–24):

Nymphae, noster amor, Libethrides, aut mihi carmen,
quale meo Codro, concedite (proxima Phoebi
versibus ille facit); aut, si non possimus omnes . . .

Corydon's fervent devotion to the nymphs of Libethra strikes us as unusual. His Muses are humbler than those over whom Phoebus (22) presides. He also attempts to make an important *synkrisis* here. The person of Octavian, the poet, "shimmers through" in this passage under the symbolic figure of Apollo. Elsewhere in the third pastoral under the mask of Palaemon, Octavian acts as judge of a literary contest of song in which one of the contestants by way of a conundrum reveals to the judge that he is aware of Octavian's early efforts to complete a dramatic poem entitled *Ajax* (*Art* III.148–50). "Phoebus" as leader of the Muses stands therefore as a surrogate for Octavian the poet. Corydon feels conscious that his qualified appraisal of Codrus's verses as *proxima Phoebi* (on "proxima" see *Aen.* 5.320 and Horace, *Odes* 1.12.18–19) would not be inappropriate here as excessive praise. He proceeds with caution to give expression to his hopes that his own verses may rival those of his friend Codrus (*meo Codro*). We should not forget the fact that, according to

Vergil's dramatic fiction, Octavian is himself present at this song contest under the guise of Daphnis.

At this point it is well to bear in mind that Domitius Marsus in the person of Corydon appeals to the nymphs that they should inspire him to compose verse to equal the efforts of Codrus (Maecenas?) who himself has achieved a perfection in this art not too far from that attained by Phoebus (Octavian?). This is high praise, which in accordance with the customary practice of amoebean verse, should call for critical appraisal that would balance Corydon's enthusiastic commendation. Thyrsis (Horace) in humorous fashion lays claim to the position of a budding poet—*crescentem ornate poetam*—drawing attention, as we have stated, to the impression made on his head by the falling tree. His listeners are addressed in familiar fashion, with the rustic background of oaks and pine trees in mind, as *pastores, Arcades* (25–28):

Pastores, hedera crescentem ornate poetam,
Arcades, invidia rumpantur ut ilia Codro;
aut, si ultra placitum laudarit, baccare frontem
cingite, ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro.

At first sight one would not expect an ambitious poet to address his patron-poet in such unpolished language (cf. Horace on "invidia" in *Odes* 1.13.4: *fervens bile tumet iecur*), unless the expressions regarding envy and bewitchment are intended to be taken, like the recollection of the falling tree, in a jocose manner. We are fortunately able to understand the reference by Thyrsis to the magic effects of undue praise. In the Suetonian life of Horace is preserved an epigram addressed to Horace by Maecenas:

Ni te visceribus meis, Horati,
plus iam diligo, tu tuum sodalem
ninnio videas strigosiorum.

(cf. Hesych. *νίννον· τὸν κα(τα)βάλλον ἵππον*; nimio, ninio, ninno *codd.*, innulo *Roth.*) The three verses in hendecasyllabic meter by Maecenas are intended to be considered as expressions of broad humor with evident stress on verbal puns. The Greek equivalent of the name Horatius leads to the verb "videas," and Cilnius Maecenas' own *nomen* seems to call for "ninnius" (pack animal). The use of this word may have been intended to reflect an association with *killos* = *asinus*, which is found in papyri and inscriptions from Egypt (*LSJ*, *s.v.*) where Maecenas held large

estates (see below). The relatively rare adjective "strigosus" ("scrawny" of animals) may have been suggested to the writer of the epigram by the verb *mékunô*, "lengthen." Cf. E. Boisacq, *Dict. étymol. lang. grec.* (1950) 455 and 603.

At any rate we seem to have in this early epigram of Maecenas material enough for the humorous evaluation by a poet like Horace of his patron's achievement as an epigrammatist, granting of course that we accept these identifications of Thyrsis and Codrus in Vergil's pastoral. Maecenas' choice of words such as "visceribus" and "strigosiorem" along with the assumed play on his *nomen* called for a *riposte* on the part of Thyrsis in similar "visceral" language, involving the bursting of Codrus' *ilia* with envy. Finally—to offset the implication of envy—the youthful poet under the mask of Thyrsis conveys his humble acknowledgment that his patron's extravagant expressions of high regard required a charm like *baccar* to avoid the evil eye.

That Maecenas actually associated his name with the lowly pack horse (or mule, if we read "innulo" instead of "ninnio") seems to have appealed to Ovid in the eleventh book of his *Metamorphoses* (146–93), where the contest in music between Pan and Apollo is presided over by Mount Tmolus. Ovid deftly introduces Mt. Tmolus as taking his place as judge of the contest (*consedit*, cf. *Ecl.* 7.1) at the base of his own mountain in Lydia. The picture of the judge crowned with oak wreaths and in the act of freeing his ears from the branches of the tree is thoroughly in the Ovidian manner. Then in curious fashion the referee speaks to Pan (160–61):

Isque deum pecoris spectans "in iudice" dixit
"nulla mora est."

Ovid is recollecting the dramatic situation in the third pastoral of Vergil. The phrase "nulla mora est" on the part of the judge has clear associations with the remark of Damoetas (Macer) at the beginning of the song contest in *Ecl.* 3.52–53, where this contestant wins the favor of the referee Palaemon (Octavian) by quoting the latter's favorite motto (*speude bradeôs*): cf. Suet. *Aug.* 25.4 and *Art* III.148):

Quin age, si quid habes: in me *mora non erit ulla*,
nec quemquam fugio, tantum, vicine Palaemon,
sensibus haec imis—res est non parva—reponas.

Ovid understood that Vergil's picture of the enigmatic "Macer" in the third *Bucolic* had the effect of inspiring Maecenas to an imitation of this conundrum in his epigram with its humorous comparison, introducing his own name "Cilnius": *ninnio (innulo?) videas strigosorem*. It is significant that the leanness of "Macer" is depicted in the third *Eclogue* (100) in terms of another animal: *Heu, heu! quam pingui macer est mihi taurus in ervo!* Ovid and Aemilius Macer were close friends (*Ex Pon.* 2.10.22-23). Hence Ovid in his fictitious story of Midas and his *aurēs aselli* (*Met.* 11.179) provides us with an extension of Maecenas' parody of Vergil's enigmatic reference to "Macer." Midas was king of a country bordering on Lydia, the traditional homeland of the ancestors of Maecenas (cf. *Aen.* 8.479-80). Ovid was aware because of his friendship for Aemilius Macer that Vergil represented him under the mask of Damoetas in the third *Bucolic*. With Maecenas he enjoyed the spirited song contest in that pastoral. Accordingly when Ovid proceeded to introduce Midas in the character of Maecenas in his contest he naturally followed a similar *mise-en-scène* of a judge and two singers or players. Ovid's originality is precisely indicated by the deft way in which the fable of Midas, the objector to the judge's decision in favor of Phoebus, is attached to this reflection of a Vergilian prototype in the bucolic genre.

Let us go back from the time of Ovid to the period when the members of the first circle of Maecenas included both Marsus (cf. Martial 8.56.21-24) and Horace himself. Horace under the mask of Thyrsis in the seventh *Eclogue* does not actually express his recognition of any name play in the epigram of Maecenas. He was, however, so impressed, as we have stated, by the excessive high regard his patron had of him—*si ultra placitum laudarit*—that he called for an apotropaic shrub to ward off the evil eye.

The epigram of Maecenas was of great interest to Horace. It is meticulously executed, as we have noted, so as to clinch to any contemporary reader the identifications of the writer and the person addressed. This is done by a double play on names—Horatius-videos; ninnius (innulus)-Cilnius. A full recognition by Horace of Maecenas' play on his own name is, however, expressed in the thirteenth *Epistle* of the first book. The addressee is a certain Vinnius Asina (cf. ninnius-innulus of the epigram of Maecenas). The person who is selected to present to Augustus a certain volume—the *Odes* of Horace—is humorously pictured as

a mule carrying a carefully arranged pack (*sic positum* . . . *onus*, 12) which contained the poet's precious bundle of books (*fasciculum* . . . *librorum*) (10–13):

Viribus uteris per clivos, flumina, lamas;
victor propositi simul ac perveneris illuc,
sic positum servabis onus, ne forte sub ala
fasciculum portes librorum ut rusticus agnum . . .

What arouses our interest in this excursus, which is concerned with the possible identity of the Vergilian creation, a poet named Codrus, with Maecenas, author of a significant epigram, is the witty reference to the paternity of the personage who is selected to present the volume or volumes to the *princeps* (6–9):

Si te forte meae gravis uret sarcina chartae,
abicio potius quam, quo perferre iuberis,
clitellas ferus impingas Asinaeque paternum
cognomen vertas in risum et fabula fias.

What important person is presented in this *Epistle* under the fanciful guise of a plodding mule? From our interpretation of the real significance of the epigram of Maecenas addressed to Horace in which Maecenas implies that his love for the poet makes him leaner than a pack animal, we are led to the conclusion that the messenger in Horace's introductory epistle is none other than Maecenas himself! The relations between patron and poet were evidently so close that the merging of identities—*ninnius-innulus* with Maecenas—once it was heralded humorously by the patron himself in an epigram, could be accepted even in a prominent poem which introduced Horace's collection of *Odes* to Augustus. The *princeps* would be expected to share in the hilarity aroused by such a *reductio ad absurdum*. See Paul Lunderstedt, *De C. Maecenatis fragmentis* (*Comm. Philol. Ien.* 9.1 [1911]) 53, on the familiarity implied by Maecenas' reference to himself as *ninnius* or *innulus*. My aim here is an attempt to add to this hilarity by associating with the great patron, as we have stated above, a word play on the meaning of Maecenas' *nomen* "Cilnius" in this pointed little epigram.

Horace chose for his metamorphosis of Maecenas in *Epist.* 1.13 the name "Vinnius" (associated with "hinnio," "to whinny"?) given to a person descended on the paternal side from Asina (*Asinaeque paternum / cognomen*, 8–9). The use of the Greek words

killios, killos for "asinus" occurs in Egyptian papyri (cf. *LSJ* cited above). It is significant that Maecenas had large profitable estates in Egypt and that their existence is often noticed in certain papyri from there. Horace, however, is incorrect in associating Cilnius (i.e. Vinnius Asina) with the *paternal* ancestry of the messenger in his *Epistle*. Maecenas' *nomen* (*cognomen*?) indicates that the Cilnii belonged to the mother's side of the family from Arretium (cf. Schanz-Hosius, *Gesch. Röm. Lit.*⁴ 8.2 [Munich 1935] 17–31 with select bibliography). See also A. Kappelmacher in *RE* 27 (1928), s.v. "Maecenas," 226–29 (Poesie).

It seems clear that Codrus represents Maecenas in Vergil's pastoral. A recent attempt to indicate that Codrus stands for Messalla is not convincing (A. Rostagni, "Virgilio, Valgio e . . . Codro. Chi era costui?" in *Studi in onore di Luigi Castiglioni* [Florence 1960] 2.807–33).