in 55 (within about a year of Atticus' marriage to Pilia), then the date of Agrippa's marriage to Attica needs to be reconsidered. My own earlier reasons for proposing that the marriage took place in 37 B.C.[25] are, I am now convinced, not valid, since they were largely based upon the erroneous 51 B.C. date of birth for Attica. The two controlling elements are the age of Attica and the fact that Marcus Antonius was *harum rerum conciliator*. Attica was legally *nubilis* (at age twelve[26]) in 43, and it was indeed in that year that Cicero inquired about matches (*condiciones*) for Attica.[27] Accordingly, the marriage of Agrippa and Caecilia Attica may have taken place as early as 43/42, at some time when relations between Octavian and Antony were cordial. This marriage lasted certainly until 32, the death of Atticus, and may have endured until it was dissolved to enable Agrippa to marry Claudia Marcella in 29/28.

We must admit the possibility that there were other children of this marriage besides Vipsania Agrippina. If there was another daughter, she would have been old enough to have married Quinctilius Varus before 25 B.C., and to have had a son old enough in 4 B.C. to serve on his father's staff when he was governor of Syria. Such a marriage and the status of Agrippa's son-in-law as early as about 25 B.C. would account for Varus' favored position in the imperial family circle at such an early date. If Varus was not Agrippa's son-in-law by virtue of a union with a granddaughter of Atticus, then he acquired this status about a decade later when he married a daughter of Agrippa by Claudia Marcella. But in that case Varus had a son by a third, earlier marriage.

The new data on P. Quinctilius Varus' family connections afford further evidence that "the schemes devised by Augustus in the ramification of family alliances were formidable and fantastic. He neglected no relative, however obscure, however distant, no tie whatever of marriage . . ."[28]

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25. Reinhold, *op. cit.*, pp. 36–37. Leon, *loc. cit.* (n. 23), accepting 37 B.C. as the date of the marriage of the sickly Attica, commented: "She was about eighteen, a little older than the average Roman bride."

26. See M. K. Hopkins, "The Age of Roman Girls at Marriage," *Population Studies*, XVIII (1965), 309–27.

27. *Ad Brut.* 25. 7 (= 1. 17. 7).

28. R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford, 1939), p. 378.

THE CONTEST IN VERGIL'S SEVENTH *ECLOGUE*

Vergil's seventh *Eclogue*, like the third, has as its focal point a poetic contest between two herdsmen; unlike the third *Eclogue*, the seventh ends with a clear decision in favor of one of these herdsmen. Many reasons for the judgment at the end of the poem have been advanced, ranging from supposed metrical lapses in the loser's verses to Vergil's preference for the person presumed to be hidden under the winner's mask.[1] The Eclogue also has been viewed as a paradigm of pastoral poetry in which the poetic approach of the contestants determines the winner.[2]

Another approach, developed particularly by J. Perret and V. Pöschl, depends on the differences of Corydon and Thyrsis as they are presented in their verses. Perret sees their personalities as markedly dissimilar on a moral level: "Thyrsis est dénigrant, jaloux, vulgaire, toujours occupé de soi; Corydon est capable d'admiration et de spontanéité."[3] Pöschl develops the contrasts presented in each pair of opposing quatrains similarly, writing of Corydon's "frommer Demut" and Thyrsis' "ehrfurchtsloser Anmassung."[4] One facet of the temperaments of the two herdsmen depicted by Vergil calls for particular attention: their attitudes toward love in its widest sense are

1. V. Pöschl includes among many reasons the former explanation on pp. 110, 111, etc., of *Die Hirtendichtung Vergils* (Heidelberg, 1964). John J. H. Savage discusses the latter one extensively in "The Art of the Seventh *Eclogue* of Vergil," *TAPA*, XCIV (1963), 248–67.

2. Michael C. J. Putnam, *Virgil's Pastoral Art: Studies in the Eclogues* (Princeton, 1970), esp. pp. 251–54, and John B. Van Sickle, "The Unity of the *Eclogues*: Arcadian Forest, Theocritean Trees," *TAPA*, XCVIII (1967), 491–508, esp. 501–2.

3. J. Perret, ed., *Virgile: Les Bucoliques* (Paris, 1961), p. 83. I should like to thank Charles Henderson of Smith College for bringing this book to my attention.

4. Pöschl, *op. cit.*, p. 108, on verses 21–28.

a contributing, if not controlling, factor in Menalcas' verdict and a reader's easy acquiescence to it.

A perusal of the vocabulary used by Corydon and Thyrsis during their contest immediately reveals an interesting difference. Forms of *amo* and *amor* are found only in Corydon's quatrains, and he is the only one to refer to Venus by name. On the other hand, the only occurrences of words related to envy are found in Thyrsis' lines. There is danger in drawing conclusions from individual words like these, particularly in a passage of only forty-eight lines; moreover, a negative can reverse a word's meaning. It is necessary to study these and other similar words in the context of the poem.

The difference in the attitudes of the two herdsmen emerges clearly even in the opening exchange of their contest. Corydon begins with *Nymphae noster amor* (21)[5] and asks that they favor him as they have favored Codrus. He also admits with humility the possibility that he may hang up his pipe in defeat. His opponent, apparently certain of victory, asks that the shepherds begin to wreathe him now so that Codrus, whom Corydon merely hoped to equal, may burst with envy. At the beginning of the match, the two contestants appeal to very different feelings. Further, although Thyrsis appears sure of himself, he nonetheless expresses fear "ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro" (28); he sees potential hostility around him.

In the second pair of quatrains, Corydon addresses the chaste goddess Diana; a colorful marble image will be set up, but only if it is proper to do so. Thyrsis responds by calling on the rude and wanton Priapus, who suggests a vulgar sort of love. Priapus' image is already marble in Thyrsis' "poor" garden; if he is kind and the herd prospers, Thyrsis decrees that the god, usually wooden,[6] will be gold, using an imperative emphatically placed at the very end of his piece. Not only the gods themselves but even the manner in which they are addressed mark the speakers as different. Further, Corydon, through Micon, gives Diana two magnificent hunting trophies, while Thyrsis seems to begrudge Priapus the minimal annual sacrifice, despite the promise of an ostentatious statue.[7]

In the third exchange, Corydon calls Galatea *dulcior thymo*, *candidior cycnis*, and *formosior hedera* (37, 38). The three adjectives all are appropriate to the idea of love suggested in Corydon's opening line; they all have connotations of a pleasant purity of the sort which could easily be associated with Diana. *Formosus* in particular deserves attention, for it is used twice in the lament of the love-sick Corydon of the second *Eclogue*, both times in the vocative form, and it is also the opening word of that poem, agreeing with *Alexin*. Yet of these three adjectives, Thyrsis in the entire seventh *Eclogue* uses only *formose*, in connection not with Venus, whom he never names, but with Lycidas. In this exchange, Thyrsis does indeed use three phrases in answer to the three of Corydon, but they are of an entirely different tone: *amarior herbis*, *horridior rusco*, and *vilior alga* (41, 42). While it is himself whom he is denigrating, the concepts seem inappropriate, unless, perhaps, Thyrsis might be viewed as a kind of Priapus himself. It is also interesting to note that the closest Thyrsis comes to the sound of any form of *amo* is here in the word *amarior*, which entirely perverts the sense of the near homonym *amari*.

Corydon closes his third stanza by asking Galatea to come "si qua tui Corydonis habet te cura" (40). *Cura* and its cognates are used thirteen times in the *Eclogues*, but the three occurrences in the second *Eclogue* seem particularly relevant. In line 6, the first of his lament, the Corydon of the second *Eclogue* addresses Alexis as *crudelis*, apparently in part because "nihil mea carmina curas." In line 33, "Pan curat ovis oviumque magistros," and in line 56, "nec munera curat Alexis." The connotations of the word seem to include the kind of tender concern which a lover might have toward everything connected with his beloved. This interpretation accords with the word's use by Corydon in the seventh *Eclogue*. The abruptness of the imperative *venito* in a prominent position could be justified: a lover

5. References are to the Mynors OCT.
6. Putnam, *op. cit.*, p. 236.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 234.

might easily feel impelled to come because of *cura*. In contrast, Thyrsis, in the answering passage, impatiently laments the length of the day; without any sign of regard for his flocks, he orders with a repeated imperative that they go home immediately. His impatience, which has no evident justification, reinforces a Priapean image, while his lack of concern for his flocks contrasts with Corydon's attitude.

The difference between the two singers is further reinforced in the next two quatrains. In one, Corydon calls to mind a pleasant scene of shade, fountains, and *somno mollior herba* (45). The idealized, Arcadian landscape provides delight for a herdsman and his herd alike; it is a relaxed, pastoral scene, one suitable for love and Diana, despite the natural heat of the season. Thyrsis responds with a winter scene of a hearth, torches, and fires; these sources of warmth, the results of human effort, have made the timbers black with soot. It is necessary to remain close to the flames to avoid the cold and the wolf who may be lurking around the flock. In this description, Thyrsis uses *curamus* (51), but he does so in a perverted sense, paralleled with the way a wolf cares nothing for due measure.[8] Thyrsis' picture is one of a cold world where human movement is constricted. Even the pleasant and refreshing springs in Corydon's picture are changed to *torrentia flumina* (52).

Omnia rident for Corydon in his next stanza, at least while *formosus Alexis* is present as he now is (55). Regardless of the ill times that would come should Alexis depart, the world is now a pleasant place. In the answer of Thyrsis, the field is drying up, the grass is dying, and *Liber invidit* (58) the shade because Phyllis is absent. Only in the event of her return would the grove become green and the *laetus imber* (60) fall. The picture presented by Thyrsis is a bleak one in comparison with that given by Corydon. While Corydon cautiously suggests that the present delightful circumstances may not be permanent, Thyrsis can only hope that the current unpleasant situation will improve. As suggested in the earlier stanzas, Thyrsis seems to be standing alone in a hostile, unloving environment.

The final stanzas of the contest refer, in an appropriately bucolic fashion, to various trees. In his final lines, Corydon uses *gratissima*, *formosae Veneri*, *amat*, and *amabit* (61–63), bringing together the themes touched on earlier in his verses, especially the theme of *amor*. Corydon connects the trees to various gods and goddesses, but because Phyllis loves *corylos*, Corydon will prefer them to all other plants (63–64). The only echo of the words of Corydon found in Thyrsis' close is the far weaker *Lycida formose* (67). *Formose* here is used not of a god but of a person, and, in fact, gods seem to be almost consciously excluded. More important, the idea of love put forth by Corydon is still not appropriately answered or elaborated by his opponent. The decision of Meliboeus seems entirely justified.

If a similar study is made of the third *Eclogue*, there is no such clear difference found between the vocabulary of Damoetas and that of Menalcas; both use forms of *amo* and related words repeatedly, and both describe pleasantly idyllic scenes. The themes suggested by one are echoed by the other. Sometimes they even use the same words, most strikingly with "Dic quibus in terris" in verses 104 and 106. On this basis, at least, there is reason for Palaemon's indecision, which would be inappropriate at the end of the seventh *Eclogue*.

The idea of pastoral love, with many other themes, is seen in most of the *Eclogues* from the second to the tenth. Its role seems particularly decisive in the seventh *Eclogue*, where the two contestants are carefully described as "et cantare pares et respondere parati" (5). Technically, they may be on the same level. Yet as soon as they begin their verses, one is shown to be mild and concerned with love in a basically pleasant world; the other appears as coarse and isolated by a malignant environment. The different attitudes and expectations about love and being loved can provide an explanation for Corydon's victory at the end of the poem, "si quis / captus amore leget" (*Ecl.* 6. 9–10).

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8. As a parallel to this meaning for *numerum*, cf. Hor. *Epist.* 1. 18. 59–60: "quamvis nil extra numerum fecisse modumque / curas."