XVI. The Art of the Third *Eclogue* of Vergil (55–111)

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The third *Eclogue* of Vergil is the longest in this collection. Its 111 verses are devoted to an interchange of song between two shepherds, Damoetas and Menalcas. Midway in this poem a certain Palaemon, a neighbor, is invited to act as a referee. We are concerned in this paper with what is recorded by the poet after the arrival of Palaemon (49). The two shepherds up to this point have in a series of love ditties been rather cutting in their recriminations of each other. The 24 couplets[1] which follow are introduced by references to Jupiter (by Damoetas) and to Apollo (by Menalcas). These themes also recur at the close of the long duet.

The source of the riddle proposed by Damoetas (104–5) has been discussed elsewhere.[2] This problem, long debated by ancient and modern critics, seems to find its solution in another riddle woven about the theme of Terminus and Jupiter which has been preserved for us by Aulus Gellius (12.6). The shrine of Terminus formed part of the great temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Both Livy (1.55) and Ovid (*Fasti* 2.667–78) relate the incident in which the divinity of boundaries refused to yield place to the king of the gods. Gellius presents us with this very old and clever riddle without attempting to solve it. He describes the *aenigma* as one written in *tribus versibus senariis*[3]:

> Semel minusve an bis minus sit, non sat scio,
> an utrumque eorum; ut quondam audivi dicier,
> ipsi Iovi regi noluit concedere.

[1] Critics have not been aware of the prevalence of the pattern based on the number 12 in Vergil. There are twelve songs in *Ecl.* 1, 7 and 9. There are 24 songs, arranged in couplets, in the third *Eclogue* (60–107). The list could be considerably extended. We find this number of heroes in *Aen.* 7.641 f.; in the list of nymphs in *Geo.* 4.334–44; in the number of scenes in the shield in *Aen.* 8.626–728; in the list of sea divinities in *Aen.* 5.822–6 and in the augury of the swans in *Aen.* 1.393. See the list of recent articles (covering the years 1940–56) compiled by G. E. Duckworth in *CW* 31 (Febr. 1958) 123, 126 which indicate certain Pythagorean influences on the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*.

[2] "The Riddle of Vergil's Third *Eclogue*," *CW* 47 (1954) 81–3. On page 82, in the middle of the first column, read "it is *not* unlikely . . .".

[3] I cite from the text as presented by Bücheler, *RhM* 46 (1891) 159.

In his usual informal manner Gellius leaves the reader to sharpen his wits in attempting to solve the puzzle: ut legentium coniecturas in requirendo acueremus.

Let us assume for the moment that a tolerable case has been made for a solution of the enigma propounded by Damoetas:

> Dic, quibus in terris—et eris mihi magnus Apollo—
> tres pateat caeli spatium non amplius ulnas.

We have what appears to be interesting parallels between the old Latin enigma of three verses and the two verses of Damoetas. Gellius presents us with two clues: "The first is the play on *ter* which is suggested by *semel*, *bis* and *utrumque eorum*, that is, *ter minus* is the sum of *semel minus* and *bis minus*."[4] The association of Jupiter with Terminus is finally made clear—with the aid of Livy and Ovid—in the last verse of the enigma preserved for us by Gellius.

As we are dealing here with "the art of the third *Eclogue*" it will be necessary to repeat what we have stated in the paper from which a quotation has just been made. The opening verse of this series of 24 couplets is sung by Damoetas on the invitation of the referee Palaemon:

> Ab Iove principium musae: Iovis omnia plena;
> ille colit terras, illi mea carmina curae.[5]

Note the emphasis on *terras* which Damoetas repeats in his closing verses (104–5): Dic, quibus in terris.... If we postulate a symmetrical arrangement[6] for this lengthy interchange of song, we should expect that Damoetas would interpose a conundrum based on his opening theme, that of Jupiter. Certainly Menalcas in his verses which follow Damoetas' opening couplet presents us with a definite theme, that of Apollo and the hyacinth flower. This theme is repeated in the final couplet by the same shepherd who makes a riddling reference to the legend of the

[4] Savage (above, note 2) 83: Damoetas' statement that "tres ... non amplius ulnas" were to be found in the "spatium caeli" means that the "exiguum foramen" in the roof of the temple of Jupiter described by Ovid (*Fasti* 2.672) measured in Vergil's riddle "three *ulnae* and no more." The "minus ter" of the old Latin riddle is transmuted into "tres ... non amplius."

[5] H. W. Benario in *CW* 47 (1954) 199 seems to be correct in translating "principium musae" as "the beginning of the song."

[6] For the subject of symmetry in the *Eclogues* see the bibliography by G. E. Duckworth already cited (above, note 1) 123.

metamorphosis into a flower of the same name of Hyacinthus, slain inadvertently in Sparta by Apollo in a game of quoits:

> Dic, quibus in terris inscripti nomina regum
> nascantur flores . . .

These 24 couplets do not form a unit on one theme. The first group of 10—apart from the two introductory couplets on Jupiter and Apollo—is devoted to the bantering wit of two typical Theocritean shepherds on the subject of the pleasures (Menalcas) and disappointments (Damoetas) of love. The scheme is as follows:

	Damoetas		*Menalcas*
64–5	Galatea	66–7	Amyntas
68–9	munera (palumbes)	70–1	munera (aurea mala)
72–3	Galatea	74–5	Amyntas
76–7	Phyllis-Iollas	78–9	Phyllis-Iollas
80–1	Amaryllis	82–3	Amyntas

It should be noted further that Damoetas' love affairs are lackadaisical: Galatea is the pursuer rather than the pursued. Again he merely extends an invitation to Phyllis and Iollas, whereas Menalcas describes an affecting separation from them. Damoetas has his eye on (notavi) an appropriate gift of doves for his beloved, while Menalcas is much more definite and positive. He has already sent ten golden apples to his loved one.[7] He promises to send another ten tomorrow! Damoetas' affair with Amaryllis is a sad one: her anger is like a storm of rain that ruins a ripened crop. Menalcas' affair is likened to the gentle rain from heaven at seed time!

Then follow the four couplets which play on the names of Pollio (polleo?) and the mention of the rustic names of two minor poets Bavius and Maevius.[8] This *paronomasia*, as we shall see, is carried over into Macer in vs. 100. Preceding the final distichs which, as we have noticed, present us with two conundrums (Jupiter–Terminus and Apollo–Hyacinthus) we have a total

[7] Menalcas seems to indicate that he is conscious of the symbolism implied by Damoetas' verses on Galatea by interposing this definite echo of Theocritus (3.10) on Amaryllis who is introduced by Damoetas later on (80). The association in the mind of the poet of Galatea and Amaryllis with Sextus Pompey and Antony is here assumed (see below p. 153).

[8] Cf. Horace, *Epod.* 10.2; cf. J. W. Duff, *A Literary History of Rome* (New York 1932) 1.273: "poetasters like Bavius and Maevius . . . cutting sorry figures because they fought against the talents to which the future belonged."

change of theme or mood. No longer do the shepherds sing songs on the waywardness of love. We have instead a more serious note: the dangers which the shepherds' flocks or the shepherds themselves undergo. There is danger from snakes lurking beneath the leaves of plants; the river banks are unsafe for the flocks; the excessive heat, *ut nuper*, will dry up their udders. The bull has become lean in the midst of plenty. The lambs seem to have been bewitched—they are just skin and bone.

It is perhaps of some significance that Damoetas sings of *angues*, *capellae* and *taurus* whereas Menalcas confines his interest to sheep and lambs. This division of labor seems to have been intentional on the part of the poet. Does he not follow up these differences of emphasis with the implications of Damoetas' enigma (the altar or stone of Terminus in the temple of Capitoline Jupiter) and the associations which the conundrum of Menalcas would evoke (Apollo–Hyacinthus)? The animals appropriate to the former divinity are the bull and the goat.[9] The association of Apollo with sheep and lambs is well known.

Critics have generally agreed that Menalcas in the *Eclogues* represents dramatically the poet himself. The central—and therefore the most important—distich in Menalcas' group of three songs in this series of six seems to point to a contemporary event:

> Cogite ovis, pueri; si lac praeceperit aestus,
> *ut nuper*, frustra pressabimus ubera palmis.

Menalcas expresses himself in somewhat more positive terms than does his companion in regard to the problem of keeping his flock out of danger with the aid of his *pueri*, although they are both equally aware of danger from hidden enemies (snakes or the evil eye). At any rate Menalcas—in this case the poet himself—seems to show his awareness of a certain event recorded by the historians of the difficult years following the Peace of Brundisium (40 B.C.). The vessels which supplied Rome and Italy with grain had been intercepted by the fleets of Sextus Pompey especially during the years 39–8, before and after the Treaty of Misenum, signed by Octavian, Antony and Sextus Pompey. Our sources do not seem to be clear on the precise period of the year 39—spring or fall—when this event took place, although we are

[9] For the goat Amalthea and Jupiter see H. J. Rose, *A Handbook of Greek Mythology*[6] (London 1958) 48; cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 5.111–28.

presented with vivid details of the actual transaction.[10] The dramatic time or season of this contest in song is given very definitely by Palaemon (56–7): nunc omnis parturit arbos,/nunc frondent silvae. . . . The shepherds are driving their flocks presumably to the hills in mid-spring. Does Menalcas' reference to his failure to obtain milk "during the recent heat-wave" (aestus, ut nuper) indicate a recent spell of hot weather in the spring; or is the word "nuper" used loosely of the preceding summer? If the latter possibility is more likely, then we may be led to assume that Menalcas' statement that the milk supply failed in the course of extreme heat (that is, famine threatened Italy at that season) points towards the summer of 39, either before or after the Treaty of Misenum. The dramatic date of our *Eclogue* would therefore be the spring of the following year 38.

We are now faced with the preceding and transitional group of four couplets which touch chiefly on Pollio's achievements, including his *nova carmina*. What is Pollio doing in this gallery? Damoetas starts off here as he has already done at the beginning of the contest with a new subject: Pollio's admiration for the singer's own songs. Menalcas replies in similar fashion: Pollio has written "new songs" which too deserve a prize. Then follow the enigmatic verses:

> Qui te, Pollio, amat, veniat, quo te quoque gaudet;
> mella fluant illi, ferat et rubus asper amomum.

At first sight we seem to be dealing with the art of poetry, not the art of politics. Menalcas in his concluding couplet follows in the same vein: the mention of poor poets like Bavius and Maevius suggests the incongruity of "yoking foxes and milking he-goats!" What the "new songs" of Pollio were we have no means of determining. We seem to see dimly a controversy involving two schools of thought—one inside the court circle, the other malevolently looking in. All that we state with any feeling which even remotely approaches certainty is the possibility inherent in much of the literature of this age of a strong link in this *Eclogue*

[10] Our principal sources for details concerning the "Treaty of Misenum" are: Plutarch, *Ant.* 32; Dio 48.36–8; Appian, *B.C.* 5.77. According to J. Carcopino, *Rev. Arch.* 22 (1913) 259, the last mentioned historian is the most coherent. The Peace of Misenum should rather be called the "Peace of Puteoli" (269). Our sources differ on the precise terms of the treaty. All agree that Sicily and Sardinia were allotted to Sextus Pompey; Dio adds to these Achaea and Appian adds Corsica.

between reality and literature. Those who "admired" Pollio's poems also admired his political achievements as a mediator in the year 40 in the reconcilement between Octavian and Antony at Brundisium. There are certainly overtones of this event in "Mella fluunt illi, ferat et rubus asper amomum."[11] Did not Vergil's poem to Pollio predict a golden age when "Assyrian spice would spring up everywhere" (*Ecl.* 4.25) and in the same *Eclogue* (30) "the oak shall distil dewy honey?"

In order more fully to appreciate the art of the concluding couplets, something more should be said in regard to the possibility of identifying the characters involved, that is, Menalcas, Damoetas and Palaemon. Some indications of the identity of one of these *dramatis personae* have already been given. Critics generally are convinced that Menalcas performs the role of the poet himself. Ancient commentators[12] (and some modern critics) have ventured to state that Vergil intended to portray the character of Octavian here in the guise of a shepherd-poet.

It may not seem too risky to determine the name of the character represented by Vergil as Damoetas from a punning remark made by the latter (100–1):

> Heu, heu! quam pingui MACER est mihi taurus in ervo!
> idem amor exitium pecori PECORISQUE MAGISTRO.

The master of the flock is *lean* from love just like his bull in the midst of fattening tares! The owner of the herd appears to give his name in this disguised and witty manner, in accord with the jocose play on words elsewhere in this poem. If Damoetas stands for Aemilius Macer of Verona, a contemporary and friend of Vergil, there is a certain flavor in his remarks on certain plants and animals. Macer's poems, lost for the most part, included

[11] The marriage of Scribonia, sister of Lucius Scribonius Libo, to Octavian in 40 B.C. was intended to unite the houses of Pompey and Caesar and to provide a male heir. Scribonia was divorced after the birth of her daughter Julia in 39 (Dio 48.34.3; Suetonius, *Aug.* 62.2). The daughter of Scribonius was the wife of Sextus Pompey. Is there a play on Libo's name in the verse following the commendation of Pollio (89): mella fluant illi, ferat et rubus asper amomum (libo-liba?)? The humor here seems to lie in the association of the *new* mediator for Octavian at Misenum with the name of Antony's representative at Brundisium in the previous year (cf. *Pros. Imp. Rom.* 3.210 and 220; *OCD* s.v.). The echoes from *Ecl.* 4.25 and 30 are obvious. On these political marriages see three articles in *TAPA*: E. A. Hahn 75 (1944) 209–11; M. W. Singer 79 (1948) 271–3; E. F. Leon 82 (1951) 169. See also H. J. Rose, *The Eclogues of Vergil* (Berkeley 1942) 264, note 162.

[12] *Schol. Veron.* to *Ecl.* 3.50 (3.2, p. 395H); Philargyrius on *Ecl.* 1.1 (3.2, p. 48H).

such titles as *Ornithogonia*, *Theriaca* and *De herbis*.[13] Besides the "taurus" already mentioned, we have in his Vergilian repertoire "capellae," "anguis," "palumbes," and in his Vergilian collection of plants "amomum," "fraga," "ervum."

Palaemon's introduction to the scene of the contest, as we have noted, gives Damoetas an opportunity to flatter the accepted referee by calling him "neighbor." Furthermore Damoetas seems to confirm our tentative identification of Palaemon with Octavian by a humorous reflection of Octavian's favorite phrase or motto as supplied to us by Suetonius.[14] Palaemon in highly dignified language then describes the time and the place of the contest and invites Damoetas, in return for his compliments, to introduce the contest in song—a favorable point in such a setting. Cartault[15] has drawn our attention to the rhetorical art illustrated in Palaemon's opening verses:

> Et nunc omnis ager, nunc omnis parturit arbos,
> nunc frondent silvae, nunc formosissimus annus.

Is there any indication that Palaemon in his judicial statement giving both contestants an award was flattered by anything that Menalcas (Vergil) has expressed in *his* final couplet?

> Dic, quibus in terris inscripti nomina regum
> nascantur flores . . .

In our former paper (cf. note 2) we took note of the fact that the theme of the flower hyacinth, presented in Menalcas' inaugural

[13] Cf. W. Morel, *Fragmenta poetarum Latinorum* (Leipzig 1927) 107–10; M. Schanz–C. Hosius, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*[4] (Munich 1935) 2.268–9. The poetic works of Macer preceded those of Vergil (Quintil. 12.11.27). Ovid (*Tristia* 4.10.43–4) heard Macer read his poems on "volucres" and other subjects: Quaeque nocet serpens, quae iuvat herba. . . . Macer was then advanced in years (grandior aevo). His death took place three years after that of the author of our *Eclogues*. Macer's fragments include two hexameter verses on "swans" (Serv. and Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* 1.393) and two on "snakes" (Isid. *Orig.* 12.4.24).

[14] *Augustus* 25.4; cf. Aulus Gellius 10.11: . . . nam et dicere in sermonibus et scribere in epistulis solitum esse aiunt *speude bradeôs*. Palaemon in his opening address to the shepherds, inviting them to sing, gives Damoetas the preferred position in the coming contest. He will be the first to sing. See below (p. 155) for an appraisal of the favorite phrase or motto of Octavian ("hasten slowly") and Damoetas' apparent reflection of it as he sees the referee approaching (52–53).

[15] A. Cartault, *Etude sur les bucoliques de Virgile* (Paris 1897) 116–17. The fourfold repetition of "nunc" in these two verses of Palaemon is notable. Is Vergil introducing here what appears to have been a characteristic trick of style which was much favored according to Suetonius (*Aug.* 86.1) by Octavian: . . . neque coniunctiones saepius iterare dubitavit? Cf. K. Büchner, "P. Vergilius Maro" in *RE* 8A. 1192, 1190–5 for a study of the third *Eclogue* as a whole.

couplet, in which Phoebus is associated with *lauri et suave rubens hyacinthus*, forms a symmetrical pattern with the same shepherd's closing distich. What escaped our notice in that presentation of what appears to be a symmetrical arrangement in this final couplet is an apparent reference therein to more than one heroic personage. We are given a picture of the hyacinth flower which according to legend was inscribed with the names of two "kings." This flower sprang from the blood of the young prince Hyacinthus, accidentally slain by Apollo, and from the blood of Ajax who killed himself by falling on his sword. The supposed arrangement of the petals of this flower gave rise to the belief that the Greek initial letters of the names of these "kings" could be read thereon.[16]

Why did the poet introduce this double motif here, when a single theme would have sufficed for the needs of symmetry? The answer may well be found in the poet's attempt to attract the attention of the judge (Octavian). Suetonius (85.2) has preserved for us a witty remark made by Octavian to the query of his friends: quidnam Aiax ageret? He replied: Aiacem suum in spongiam incubuisse. Octavian's tragedy *Ajax* apparently was never completed. Vergil may have been familiar with this piece of court gossip—hence the complimentary reference to the death of the Greek hero. Ajax suffered death twice—the second time on Octavian's tablets. What Ovid aptly called the "littera communis" (*Met.* 13.397) found in the hyacinth was a delicate reminder of Octavian's interests in literature. After all is not the third *Eclogue* a literary contest?

Does Palaemon (Octavian) convey in his decision any recognition of the complimentary remarks of the two shepherd-poets? Aside from the awards made to them for equal dexterity in song, there does not appear on the surface to be any clear acknowledgment that such was the case on the part of the judge. But his two concluding remarks may yield some clues if they are subjected to analysis. There is first of all the much discussed—and often emended[17]—statement of Palaemon:

> Et quisquis amores
> aut metuet dulcis aut experietur amaros.

[16] Cf. H. J. Rose (above, note 9) 142.

[17] F. A. Hirtzel (OCT 1930) reads "haud . . . haud." R. Sabbadini (Rome 1930) retains the reading of the MSS: "aut . . . aut."

It seems natural to suppose that the complimentary remarks of Menalcas in his opening song to the love that Phoebus has for him and the gifts of laurel and "sweetly-blushing hyacinth" which he holds for Phoebus should have some significance when he proposed his final riddle. It would be natural to assume that the judge in a contest of poets should act the role of Phoebus Apollo, the leader of the Muses (Camenae, 59). Palaemon (Octavian) is addressed in a complimentary way as Apollo. Hence Damoetas' remark (et eris mihi magnus Apollo) that he who solves his difficult riddle will be as great as Apollo. This theme is taken up by Menalcas—the riddle of Hyacinthus-Apollo. To this is added, as we have seen, still another conundrum, that of Ajax. This too is complimentary, as we have noted, for it brought into notice Octavian's interest in the theme of Ajax and his vain attempt to obtain the arms of Achilles. The much-debated verses, therefore, seem to be an expression of a recognition on the part of Palaemon that he believed the meaning of the final riddle of Menalcas to be that of the vicissitudes of love or friendship as exemplified by the experiences of Hyacinthus and those of Ajax.[18]

Finally—and this should not be overlooked—in this interlocking of the tragic histories of the two Greek heroes, a reward to the one who offers a solution to the riddle is superimposed by Menalcas: Et Phyllida solus habeto. This brings forward another romantic—and tragic—love story, that of Phyllis and Demophon. Elsewhere Vergil has shown that he is aware of this myth (*Ecl.* 7.59):

Phyllidis adventu nostrae nemus omne virebit.

Palaemon's words, therefore, seem to have been intended to convey his realization as judge that all three elements in the riddle of Menalcas were known to him. All these three characters in fiction had experienced the bitter-sweetness of love or friendship.

[18] Cf. Servius on vs. 109 (3.1, p. 43 Th.): . . . ad cuius [Amyntae] similitudinem pertinet "aut metuet dulces"; namque hic Menalcas et amabat et metuebat, ne unquam posset amor ille dissolvi. Contra Damoetas amaritudinem amoris expertus fuerat ex amicae Amaryllidis iracundia. Palaemon in his generalizations on "bitter-sweetness" may also have included the tragic tales of Hyacinthus and Ajax, suggested by Menalcas in his conundrum which immediately precedes. Cf. Sophocles, *Ajax* 966 (with the observations of N. O. Brown, *TAPA* 82 [1951] 15 f.). See also K. Büchner (above, note 15) 1193.

All three were transformed into flowers or plants.[19] The shepherd-poets had, each in his own way, already developed this theme in a series of "amoebean" love songs. Their neighbor who acted as umpire had advised them to adopt this framework: Alternis dicetis; amant alterna Camenae.

The final verse comes as a surprise: Claudite iam rivos, pueri, sat prata biberunt. The usual interpretation—and the most obvious one—is that the shepherds and their helpers are asked by one of the proprietors to close the streams of song. The poet has elsewhere (*Geo.* 3.322–30) given instruction on the best methods of tending the flock in the course of a typical summer's day. The sheep would be given an opportunity to satisfy their thirst "at the fourth hour" either at the wells or at the deep pools from which the water is drawn through the wooden pipes: currentem ilignis potare canalibus undam (330). The time has come for the flock to take their rest and for the poet to end his song. The shepherds have already urged their helpers to drive their flocks to the shade. This was necessary if one were to avoid what happened recently (ut nuper) when the animals failed to give their usual supply of milk.[20]

As Damoetas had stated to the referee, the contest in song, extending to 24 verses, would not contain themes traditionally suited to such an interchange. The contest was to be concerned with no trifling matter (res est non parva, 54).[21] Hence the mention of *Galatea, lasciva puella* (64) seems to have a serious motif. The well-known myth, made familiar especially by Theocritus,[22]

[19] For the transformation of Phyllis into the tree "amygdalus sine foliis" see Serv. and Serv. Dan. on *Ecl.* 5.10. The myth of Phyllis may have been introduced by Menalcas as a delicate compliment for Damoetas (Macer) who wrote a work called *De herbis.*

[20] It should be noted that the farm animals depended on the importation of cereals for part of their food supply. Cf. C. A. Yeo, "Transportation in Imperial Italy," *TAPA* 77 (1946) 227 (rising demand in large cities for milk, cheese, beef and poultry); 229 (importance of Sicily for the grain supply). According to Varro (*RR.* 2 praef. 5) it was often more profitable to feed the livestock with cereal foods than to sell the grain in the open market (cited by Yeo 228, note 25). Cf. below, note 23.

[21] Octavian was interested in listening to recitations of a serious nature, given by outstanding individuals on subjects that concerned himself: componi tamen de se nisi et serio et a praestantissimis offendebatur (Suetonius, *Aug.* 89.3).

[22] Cf. Theocritus 6.6 f. (Damoetas and Daphnis sing of Galatea and Polyphemus). The contest was a tie. The poem was dedicated to the contemporary poet Aratus; also 11.7 f. on Galatea and Polyphemus. This poem is dedicated to a contemporary, the poet-physician Nicias. Cf. also Bion 2.3 and 12.3; Moschus 3.57–63. In *Ecl.* 7.37 Vergil associates Galatea with the region of Hybla near Mt. Etna.

is used by Vergil seemingly as a symbol of the waywardness displayed by Sextus Pompey in his naval manoeuvres off the coast of Sicily, leading up to the temporary reconcilement with Octavian at Misenum. As has been already noted (cf. note 20), the poet seems to convey in vs. 98–9 the serious results of this cutting off the grain supplies from the harbors of Italy during the years 39–38.[23] The locale of the story of Galatea and Polyphemus was of course near Tauromenium where Octavian later suffered a defeat in a naval engagement in 36 B.C. with the fleet of Sextus Pompey (cf. Dio 49.5). The humor in these references to the story of Galatea can only be appreciated if we equate this Sicilian nymph with "the son of Neptune" as Sextus Pomey liked to call himself.[24] The reader of these verses would readily have called to mind the fact that Polyphemus was also a son of Neptune. There had been introduced of course a sea-change of sex.

In order to appreciate more fully the humor in the interplay of song between the two shepherds, Vergil and Macer, culminating in the decision of the judge, Palaemon-Octavian, something more should be said on the identity of Galatea. The tactics of Sextus Pompeius, as we have noted, are suggested by the teasing coyness of Galatea: Et fugit ad salices et se cupit ante videri (65). Damoetas (Macer) develops this theme and points out the faithlessness of the Sicilian nymph and adds another subject to his repertoire, the tantrums of Amaryllis (81).[25]

Where are these two characters found together in Vergil? In a very interesting but baffling passage in the first *Eclogue*, Tityrus is represented as an old man recounting his past experiences with Amaryllis and Galatea:

Postquam nos Amaryllis habet, Galatea reliquit.

[23] For the story of famine and the resulting riots in Rome see Suet., *Aug.* 16.1; Appian *B.C.* 5.67–8 and 77; Dio 48.18. Cf. M. Hadas, *Sextus Pompey* (New York 1930) 89; T. Rice Holmes, *The Architect of the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1928) 102–6; R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford 1939) 221.

[24] For this title assumed by Sextus Pompey see Dio 48.19; Appian *B.C.* 5.100 and Horace, *Epod.* 9.7–8: Neptunius dux.

[25] Cf. Corydon in *Ecl.* 7.37 and Thyrsis in 41 (Sicily and Sardinia). References to the *irae* of Amaryllis are found in *Ecl.* 2.14 (tristis . . . iras) and in 3.81 (Amaryllidis irae). This character is favored by Tityrus and called "formosa" in *Ecl.* 1.5; he is invited to weave "three hues in three knots" in 8.77 (Antony as triumvir?). Octavian's political interest in Sicily was intense enough to induce him to write a poem in hexameter verse entitled *Sicilia* (Suet. *Aug.* 85.2).

Tityrus relates the fact that while he was "a slave of love"[26] to Galatea, he had no hope of freedom nor care to save his earnings (nec cura peculi). Although many a victim from his flock had been sacrificed to the gods and many a cheese had been pressed for the thankless city, Tityrus returned home from the market empty-handed:

> Quamvis multa meis exiret victima saeptis,
> pinguis et ingratae premeretur caseus urbi,
> nec unquam gravis aere domum mihi dextra redibat.

If Galatea represents Sextus Pompeius and his attempts to bring pressure on Rome and Italy by cutting off the grain supply from Sicily, then this enigmatic passage makes some sense. If we link this with the exhibition of word-play in the third *Eclogue* which we have discussed, there seems to be no compelling reason why we should not adopt the equation Galatea: Sextus Pompeius and what appears to be its natural corollary Amaryllis: Marcus Antonius.[27]

The difficulties of the years 39–38 which seem to furnish the background of the third *Eclogue*—and apparently also in part of the first—are depicted in the witty interchange of song between the two shepherd-poets, Vergil and Macer. The year 39 was a crucial one. Men had begun to realize that the treaty of the previous year at Brundisium had failed to bring enduring peace. Besides that the Roman people had experienced the futility of the agreement of Octavian, Antony and Sextus Pompey at Misenum

[26] Cf. *Class. Bull.* 28 (1951) 19–20 with the reference to F. O. Copley, "Servitium amoris in the Roman Elegists," *TAPA* 78 (1947) 285–300. Propertius (2.34.71) in his survey of Vergil's early verse links the gift of apples (to Amyntas) in *Ecl.* 3.71 as told by Menalcas to the theme of unkind (ingratae) love sung by Tityrus in the first *Eclogue* (30–1, Amaryllis and Galatea). Propertius does not seem to be aware of any possible symbolism here. The author of the third *Catalepton* (5) states that "grave servitium" was imposed on Rome by a conqueror whose identity is not disclosed (Antony?).

[27] This is not allegory, for the maidens Galatea and Amaryllis do not, except as poetic symbols, correspond with these two great captains of land and sea forces. On the differences between symbolism and allegory see G. E. Duckworth, "Animae Dimidium Meae," *TAPA* 87 (1956) 306: "Allegory confines; symbolism liberates and allows the poet several levels of meaning simultaneously." For the *Aeneid* see the recent studies of V. Pöschl, *Die Dichtkunst Virgils: Bild und Symbol in der Äneis* (Innsbruck 1950) 36 f. and *passim*; J. Perret, *Virgile, l'homme et l'œuvre* (Paris 1952) 183 f.; L. A. MacKay, "Three Levels of Meaning in *Aeneid* VI," *TAPA* 86 (1955) 183–4.

which resulted in partial famine in Rome and in Italy.[28] The two political marriages, Scribonia (aunt of the wife of Sextus Pompey) and Octavia minor (sister of Octavian) with Antony, did not furnish a male heir. Octavia's child was born "about August–September 39"[29] and Scribonia was divorced on the day on which her child Julia was born.[30] Back of Galatea and Amaryllis, therefore, we seem to have not merely the protagonists Sextus Pompey and Antony, but also their important female counterparts. All this when the fates of the Roman state were linked with the hopes of a male descendant of the Julian family, either through Antony's alliance with Octavia or through Pompey's with a daughter of Scribonius Libo—a niece of Scribonia. Scribonius Libo, brother of Scribonia, acted as intermediary in bringing about the treaty of Misenum, just as Pollio (a mutual friend) was responsible for the preliminaries of the meeting of Octavian and Antony which resulted in the more famous Treaty of Brundisium.

The amoebean verses which conclude the third *Eclogue* present us, therefore, with several interwoven patterns such as are discoverable in Vergil's major work, the *Aeneid*. In the early work there also seems to be a tendency to weave contemporary, legendary and historical into a formal unit. The third *Eclogue* reveals what appears to be a threefold interlocking of ideas.

There is first of all contemporary history (Galatea as Sextus Pompey, Amaryllis as Antony and Palaemon as Octavian). Beside this concept we find the pattern of contemporary poetry or literature (Menalcas as Vergil, Damoetas as Aemilius Macer and Palaemon as Octavian). Superimposed on these two principal patterns are the legendary motifs derived from Theocritus (Galatea, Amaryllis, Damoetas, Menalcas) who frequently introduced contemporary characters and events into his *Bucolics*. Recent studies (cf. note 27) have pointed out the way in which Vergil made use of symbolism in his major work—using this approach as a means of allowing the poet to present "several levels of meaning simultaneously."

[28] Cf. Suetonius, *Aug.* 16.1: Siculum bellum inchoavit in primis, sed diu traxit intermissum saepius . . . modo pace facto, flagitante populo ob interclusos commeatus famemque ingravescentem. See note 23.

[29] This is the date given by W. W. Tarn, *JRS* 22 (1932) 157 (cited by A. E. Raubitschek, *TAPA* 77 [1946] 146).

[30] See the discussions by E. A. Hahn and H. J. Rose (above, note 11).

It has been assumed above that Palaemon both in his introductory remarks (55–9) and especially in his final decree as referee of the contest of song is intended to portray the character of Octavian as a poet and statesman. Damoetas seems to echo Octavian's political principle "hasten slowly" in his remark (52–3): in me mora non erit ulla,/nec quemquam fugio.[31] However that may be, there appears to be more definite political associations in Palaemon's concluding statements. He recognizes the "bitter-sweetness" of the themes of the two contestants and terminates his decision that the participants in this poetic event were of equal merit with the enigmatic verse:

Claudite iam rivos,[32] pueri: sat prata biberunt.

The reader is brought back to the primary Theocritean pattern—sheep herders and their *pueri* who share in common irrigation water rights as *vicini*. The Roman reader would easily equate the character of Palaemon with Portunus,[33] the divinity who protects harbors, represented in art holding a key in his hand. The same reader would be likely to recognize the implications of Portunus with contemporary events already noticed in this *Eclogue*. Festus (Paulus p. 48.25L.) has a significant note on "Claudere et clavis." These activities were thought to be under the protection of Portunus. The importance of Misenum and the neighboring area of Puteoli as harbors for supplying Rome with the necessities of life seems to be implied by Palaemon's closing verse. There is also the more significant association with the immediate problems for warding off famine from Rome and Italy by a settlement—even though it was of a temporary nature—known as the Treaty of Puteoli (Misenum). The partition of the Roman empire there agreed on granted both Antony and Sextus Pompey dominion over most of the seas around Italy—terms which Octavian found to be impractical of realization. The contest with Sextus Pompey ended finally after many reverses with the naval victory in the year 36 B.C. The final verse, therefore, of Palaemon (Octavian) indicates that we have now

[31] We have here the familiar language of comedy. Cf. Plautus, *Trin.* 277–8: neque tibi ero in mora neque latebrose/me abs tuo conspectu occultabo; Terence, *Andr.* 420: neque istic neque alibi tibi erit usquam in me mora.

[32] The interest of Augustus in repairing the channels of the aqueducts (rivos aquarum) is attested by the *Mon. Ancyr.* 4.10–11 (ed. E. G. Hardy [Oxford 1923] 94).

[33] Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 6.547 with Fraser's note.

abandoned the masque of shepherd-poets and that we seem to have entered the realm of *Realpolitik*, the subject of the importance of sea-power for the protection of harbors and for keeping open the channels of trade and commerce.

At this point it is well to state as briefly as possible the evidence so far adduced for certain symmetrical patterns in this long duet of 48 verses (60–107). The five introductory verses of Palaemon (55–9) inviting the two shepherds to engage in an amoebean contest of song are rounded out by his four verses (108–11) in which his decision on the merits of the contestants is presented. The two opening distichs of Damoetas and Menalcas—honoring Jupiter and Apollo respectively—are balanced by the two riddles at the end of the contest in song: (1) Terminus-Jupiter, 104–5; (2) Apollo-Hyacinthus-Ajax, 106–7. We have already charted the symmetry of the ten couplets which follow the introductory motifs to Jupiter and Apollo. The verses there given to Damoetas have as subject matter the coyness of Galatea (Sextus Pompey?) and the tantrums of Amaryllis (Antony?). The verses of Menalcas are devoted to the praises of Amyntas whose identity is not revealed.

The interval between these opening ten distichs and the eight concluding couplets introduces a new theme—that of Pollio and the poetasters Bavius and Maevius (84–91). These four couplets supply political and literary motifs, suggesting problems of current interest during the years immediately following the Peace of Brundisium.

The finale (92–107) consists of eight distichs. The underlying theme here is that of *anxiety*. The flocks and their herdsmen (pueri) are often in danger from lurking snakes and from the treacherous banks of streams. The owners of the flocks are much concerned about the failure of the sources of the milk supply because of the heat of the recent summer season. Menalcas (or Vergil) makes this statement which seems to have more than passing significance. It is suggested that the poet had in mind here the period of famine in Italy which resulted from the blockade of Italian ports by Sextus Pompey immediately preceding or following the Peace of Puteoli (Misenum) in the summer of 39 B.C. Damoetas tops this distich with one which seems to reveal his own identity—Aemilius Macer of Verona whose poems on beasts, birds and plants preceded Vergil's *Eclogues* in point of time.

One verse (Heu heu! quam pingui MACER est mihi taurus in ervo, 100) reveals both his name and his special interests, which have already been made known in the distichs leading up to this disclosure of his name (flores, fraga, anguis in herba, 92–3). Next Menalcas sings of *oves* and Damoetas mentions in his verses *capellae* and *taurus*. The divinities appropriate to these animals are reflected in the solutions of the two riddles which conclude the long duet: Menalcas offers a conundrum involving Apollo-Hyacinthus; Damoetas presents a difficult riddle the answer to which emerges from a recognition of the association in the Capitoline temple in Rome of the statue of Jupiter with the cult stone or altar of Terminus which was placed under a small opening in the roof of this temple (cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 2.672: exiguum foramen). This riddle has been shown to have been derived from another old Latin riddle preserved for us by Aulus Gellius and seems to have been introduced here not merely to indicate local boundary marks but state boundaries as well (cf. Ovid, *op. cit.* 684) in conformity with the over-all theme of this duet, the difficulties leading up to the Peace of Puteoli.[34] Each riddle then corresponds in substance to the themes offered by the contestants in their opening couplets. Damoetas begins with Jupiter and ends with the theme concerned with the temple of Capitoline Jupiter. Menalcas begins and ends with the myth of Apollo and Hyacinthus. The scheme of the 24 couplets can be indicated in this fashion:

$$2 - 10 - 4 - 6 - 2$$

Finally the character of Palaemon (Octavian?) seems to be revealed by certain evidences of style in his invitation to song (55–9) along with evidences of partiality shown at the beginning to Damoetas for what may have been intended as a complimentary

[34] The setting up of local boundary stones was the concern of Augustus in Cantabria as is shown by two inscriptions. See V. Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones, *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius* (Oxford 1949) 110, no. 263: (a) Ter. August. dividit prat. leg. IIII et agrum Iuliobrig.; (b) (T)er. Aug(u)st. dividit (p)rat. leg. IIII (et) agrum Se(gisa)mon. Elsewhere Vergil shows an interest in the boundaries of private property. In *Geo.* 1.126 there is reference to *limites* which did not exist before the time of Jupiter. The *Capitoli immobile saxum* (*Aen.* 9.448) is of course the Terminus of the temple of Jupiter. Finally there is the symbolism of the *saxum antiquum* in the duel (*Aen.* 12.896 f.) between Turnus and Aeneas which would suggest both private and state boundaries. For the literature on Terminus see S. B. Platner–T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Oxford 1929) 512; *RE* s.v. 783; G. Lugli, *Roma antica, il centro monumentale* (Rome 1946) 29.

echo on the part of this shepherd of one of Octavian's favorite mottos. Moreover in the guise of the divinity of harbors—the Roman Portunus—Palaemon ends his impartial decision on the merits of the two contestants with the enigmatic "Claudite iam rivos, pueri." We seem to have a hint once more of the main theme of the duet in this *Eclogue*—the immediate necessity of guarding the principal harbors of Italy against the inroads of Sextus Pompey.