XXVI. The Cyclops, the Sibyl and the Poet

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I. The Dance of the Cyclops

In an article published recently reference was made by the writer to the political implications of the badinage between the two *scurrae* in Horace's *Satire* (1.5.51–70).[1] We need only refer to the statement of J. W. Duff that the mime in Rome was "outspoken in many ways" and hence "admitted an undercurrent of political satire."[2] Horace's address to the Muse to aid him in recording in brief fashion the contest between Sarmentus and Messius Cicirrus constitutes a mock heroic preamble to the verbal battle of wits which follows. Unlike the display of family pride evinced by the heroic contestants in the sixth *Iliad* (119 f.), we are introduced here to the genealogy of the two *scurrae* in the briefest manner possible:

> Messi clarum genus Osci;
> Sarmenti domina exstat: ab his maioribus orti
> ad pugnam venere.

Sarmentus ("twig") begins to upbraid Messius (associated with *messis*, "harvest"?) by comparing him with an *equus ferus*, "unicorn." This remark raises a laugh, at which point Messius shouts, "Well, what of it!" and tosses his head as a *ferus equus* would. Since Messius has already been introduced (52) with the

[1] "'Flentibus amicis'—Horace, *Sat.* 1.5.93," *Class. Bull.* 36 (1959) 3. In pointing out in that paper the satirical reflection by Horace of the seventh verse—there are 63 verses—of Vergil's famous pastoral ("namque...didici.../nec, si quid miri faciat natura, deos id / tristis ex alto caeli demittere tecto," *Sat.* 1.5.101–3), it did not then occur to me that Horace in assigning to the 63rd verse of that *Satire* his description of the dance of the Cyclops had affected by the use of this number a symbolic and ironic theme of contrast with political overtones, as we shall see. This verse ("pastorem saltaret uti Cyclops rogabat") forms part of the climax of the invective of Sarmentus against Messius. On the symbolic use of the number 63 see below under *Amphrysia vates* in part II and under *Anchises vates* in part III. On the use and application in general of a symbol, see C. G. Jung, *Collected Works*[2] (New York 1958) 254.

[2] *A Literary History of Rome* (New York 1932) 222. For the history of the mime in general, see W. S. Teuffel, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* I[6] (Leipzig 1916) 7–14.

ornamental epithet "Cicirrus" ("fighting cock"), this stage business is doubly appropriate.

At this point his opponent Sarmentus is introduced in the act of vilifying Messius on several counts. First he draws attention to the ugly scar (*foeda cicatrix*) on his rival's hairy forehead:

> "O, tua cornu
> ni foret exsecto frons," inquit, "quid faceres, cum
> sic mutilus minitaris?"

"When you are so dangerous without a horn, what would you have done with your horn intact?" There seems to be a play on words here as frequently in Horace. The ugliness of Messius' features, which Sarmentus would associate with the effects of what he calls *morbus Campanus*, leads to Sarmentus' final request "to perform the dance of Cyclops the Shepherd." For this role Messius would not need a mask nor a pair of tragic buskins. This is in reference of course to his forbidding appearance and to his huge bulk:

> pastorem saltaret uti Cyclopa rogabat;
> nil illi larva aut tragicis opus esse cothurnis.

Messius, being the "straight man" in this set-up, is the butt of most of the abuse. Horace elsewhere points out the characteristics of the secondary role: *vel partes mimum tractare secundas* (*Epist.* 1.18.14). The "bore" in *Sat.* 1.9.45 implies that he could fill that part if he were to become an accepted guest in the household of Maecenas: "haberes magnum adiutorem, posset qui ferre secundas." The leading actor in the mime which is the subject of this section of my paper is the clown Messius Cicirrus. Sarmentus, a frail little *scriba*, performs a secondary role. He "plays up to" Messius by repeating his gestures and actions—in this case, we are to assume, also dancing the part of the Cyclops. The farcical duet continues at the expense of the character playing the part of the *stupidus*.

However, the butt of all this joking has the last word. The tables are turned. He makes pointed remarks on Sarmentus' recent escape from the shackles of slavery, on his puny figure, on his attaining the position of *scriba* while still under the sway of his mistress. By playing on the insignificant stature of his opponent, Messius tried in his simulated rage to offset the torrent of abuse on his ungainliness to which he had been subjected. He

plied Sarmentus with questions on the reasons for his recent escape from the chain gang (65–66):

> Donasset iamne catenam
> ex voto Laribus, quaerebat.

Although he is now a dignified *scriba*, he is none the less subject to his owner. Messius' final query had a pertinence to political and economic events for which Sextus Pompey—here under the stage guise of a monster, a unicorn, a Cyclops—was largely responsible. "Cyclops the Shepherd" is of course the Polyphemus of Theocritus, whose symbolic identification (with a sex-change = Galatea) with Sextus Pompey is discussed below. The partial famine (Suetonius, *Aug.* 16.1) induced in Italy by the cutting off the grain supplies by the naval forces of this commander seems to be suggested by Messius' satirical remark to his puny opponent:

> rogabat
> denique, cur umquam fugisset, cui satis una
> farris libra foret, gracili sic tamque pusillo.

In effect, Sarmentus' former owner would have no difficulty in rationing her little slave despite the scarcity of grain in Italy before and after the treaty of Misenum (39 B.C.). One is tempted to read into Horace's characterization of Messius more than immediately meets the eye. Did the poet choose this stage name because of its association with *messis*? The dramatic background of what would appear to be a Sicilian farmstead is further emphasized in Messius' *nom de guerre*—Cicirrus, the game cock. The irony of the political and economic situation at this moment of crisis is enhanced by the fact that the staging of this little mime took place in the "well-stocked villa" (*plenissima villa*, 50) of L. Cocceius Nerva.

The two actors of this little skit, which might be entitled "The Buffoon and the Clerk," had of course rehearsed this piece with the purpose of pleasing and amusing a sophisticated audience of eight notables,[3] who were traveling in a serious diplomatic mission to win over Antony to an alliance with Octavian in his attempt to offset his severe defeats by Sextus in naval battles off

[3] L. Cocceius Nerva (the owner of the villa), Maecenas, Fonteius Capito (friend of Antony), Vergil, Plotius Tucca (friend of Antony and Octavian), Varius Rufus along with the writer of the script and apparently also Heliodorus the rhetor.

the northeast coast of Sicily. The sketch or mime was in a way symbolic of the nature of their mission. Brutality and uncouthness on one side was represented by the actor who simulated both a unicorn and a Cyclops. The frail figure of the scribe expressed, it would seem, the fragile character of such written and signed pacts as those of Brundisium with Antony in 40 B.C. and of Misenum in the following year with both Sextus Pompey and Antony.

Our study of "The Art of Third Eclogue" (*TAPA* 89 (1958) 152–56) has pointed out the political symbolism which Vergil weaves into such Theocritean motifs as the wooing of Polyphemus and Galatea. The audience which was amused by the farcical duet of Messius and Sarmentus had read Vergil's *Eclogues*—at least the first and third—in which the Theocritean folk-tale furnishes a basis for a symbolic expression of the attempt to win Sextus Pompey over to the side of Octavian. These two *Eclogues* can now be dated as late as 38 B.C. These poems reflect therefore political events chronicled poetically by both Vergil and Horace. The latter in his fifth *Satire* (*ca.* 38–37) presents us with a report of a mime in which a Theocritean—and Vergilian—Cyclops performs an amusing skit appropriate to a situation in which members of a diplomatic mission were on the way to appease Sextus Pompey.

The identity of the role in which Messius acted as the dancing "Cyclops the Shepherd" would be clear to the eight important personages who formed the audience for this topical mime. The author himself was part of the group and would no doubt give his companions a clue to the skit—if clue were needed.

What of Sarmentus? Critics seem to have neglected to cite an interesting anecdote relating to Dellius the historian—Horace's Dellius in *Ode* 2.3—recorded by Plutarch in his life of Antony (59). Here a short time before he finally went over to Octavian's side, Dellius is reported to have been fearful for his life because he had offended Cleopatra by stating that Octavian's favorite slave was accustomed to Falernian wine, whereas he was offered a poor substitute. The incident seems to have taken place a year or two before the battle of Actium. All we are interested in here is the fact that Sarmentus can be identified with a *scriba* of the same name who appears to have lived in the household of Octavian during the period 38–37. Messius' slur

("scriba quod esset, nil deterius dominae ius esse," 66–67) would suggest that Sarmentus was closer to Livia than to Octavian. About six years later Horace wrote his *Ode* (2.3) for Dellius, in which he is recommended to follow a life of moderation ("Aequam memento rebus in arduis / servare mentem") and enjoyment in the delightful environment of Tibur, while—and here Plutarch's anecdote[4] seems appropriate—partaking of the *choicest brand of Falernian wine* (*interiore nota Falerni*, 8).

In this celebrated *Ode* Horace paints a variegated picture of an Italian landscape with its protecting shades (*umbram hospitalem*, 10) provided by native pines and poplars and with its near-by "hurrying stream" (*lympha fugax*, 12). Horace seems to have intended this poetical canvas as a vivid contrast to what Dellius was exposed in the Nile valley with its physical discomforts and its political dangers. Life is brief, says the poet in his most sober manner: prince and pauper are both destined for eternal exile. The soberness of this *Ode*, we repeat, is relieved by two contrasting images: a subconscious delineation (Io, daughter of Inachus, flees to Egypt) of the hazards of life in the Orient (*divesne, prisco natus ab Inacho*) and a picture of a serene Epicurean life in a country-club atmosphere in Dellius' native Italy without such distractions and with plenty of excellent wine to boot!

Meantime in the years when the fifth *Satire* was written (38–37) the mention of the name Sarmentus, the *deliciae* of Octavian and Livia, did not arouse such reflections. The figure of the little *scriba* served merely as symbol of the party of Octavian who was pitted against an uncouth adversary who did not need a mask or tragic buskins (*larva aut tragicis . . . cothurnis*, 64) in order to inspire fear and trepidation. The mime was heartily enjoyed by the company reclining at dinner in the luxurious villa of Cocceius (*prorsus iucunde cenam producimus illam*). Their host was a friend of Octavian and of Antony. He undoubtedly joined in the outburst of laughter in which a new Sicilian Cyclops was lampooned.

If it has been shown that Horace, the author of the mime, as well as seven other members of the audience which included two other poets, Vergil and Varius, were aware of the significant

[4] Cf. F. R. Bliss, "The Plancus Ode," *TAPA* 91 (1960) 37, on Plutarch's treatment of the association of Plancus with Antony and Cleopatra and his return from Egypt in 32.

roles of Messius and Sarmentus, then an important corollary presents itself. Octavian's adversaries in the naval campaigns between the years 38 and 36 had their center of operations in the northeast coast of Sicily. Sextus Pompey and his lieutenants were associated in the minds of both Vergil and Horace with the outlandish figure of the mythical Polyphemus whose monstrous exploits were long connected with that area. We have noted above that Horace in his *Satire* had applied in the form of a mime the political symbolism inherent in Vergil's *Bucolics*.[5] Further evidence of the extension of the symbolism implied in the character of the Cyclops and his *inamorata* Galatea has been presented by the writer in a recent paper.[6] Can we not assume that when Vergil introduced Polyphemus and his fellow Cyclopes into his epic (*Aen.* 3.641 f.) he intended that the reader who was aware of his symbolism in his *Eclogues* should feel the force of his depiction of the fearful and the horrible (*concilium horrendum*, 679) as a vivid recollection of recent disastrous events? The appearance of the shepherd Polyphemus is unforgettable: *monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum* (658).

Octavian's lack of success in the early part of his naval campaign against Sextus Pompey is described by Appian (*BC* 5.84–87) with details which may have influenced the poet in his well-known portrayal in the first *Aeneid* of the spirited action of Aeneas after the recovery of himself and his crew from the effects of the terrific storm. A recent writer has shown the *literary* backgrounds of the celebrated address of Aeneas to his followers (*Aen.* 1.198–207)[7] which begins: "O socii (neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum), / O passi graviora..." But we must assume contemporary history here also. The poet reminds his comrades that they had recently experienced the perils of the *Cyclopea saxa* (201). Appian gives details of the naval engagement off the northeast coast of Sicily in 38. Octavian's ships were scattered and wrecked on the shores of Rhegium. Octavian shared the

[5] Cf. "The Art of the Third *Eclogue* (55–111)," *TAPA* 89 (1958) 151–54.

[6] "The Art of the Second *Eclogue*," *TAPA* 91 (1960) 355–70, especially 356, note 6. On certain features of the Greek dance which might be applied to the antics of the Cyclops of Horace see L. B. Lawler, *TAPA* 70 (1939) 497 f. (on the "peering-*schema*").

[7] Cf. F. R. Bliss (above, note 4) 44. Vergil had definitely in mind two passages in Homer (*Od.* 12.208–12 and 271). In the first of these places Ulysses addresses his men and exhorts them to put aside their fears of calamity after leaving the island of the Sirens. He pointed out that they had already beaten the *Cyclops* in his den: this incident too "will be a memory for us one day."

deprivations of the sailors, going around to each group on the shore. He exhorted them to endure (*cacopathêsai*).[8] Octavian's navy suffered a setback in another storm in 36 before Sextus Pompey was finally defeated off the same coast in September of that year.

II. *Amphrysia vates*

Let us see if this Cyclopean symbolism is extended also to the sixth book of the *Aeneid.* When the Sibyl and Aeneas had skirted the "adamantine walls" of Tartarus, they get a momentary glimpse of the horrors within the city of Dis. The Sibyl had been rehearsed by Hecate on the details of the punishments inflicted on those spirits who dwell in these *durissima regna* (564–65). Her description of Tartarus is therefore a "Ballad of Lost Spirits" (562–624)[9]—those who in their lives on earth were either rebels against the authority of the supreme gods or of their duly constituted rulers.

The Sibyl makes what appears to be definite references to the principal leaders in the civil strife between 38 and 31—the period of the outbreak and the conclusion (36) of the campaigns against Sextus Pompey and the final defeat five years later of Antony at Actium. The verses which are generally conceded to refer to Sextus Pompey emphasize the motley assemblage of slaves who joined his fleet (612–13):[10]

[8] Octavian's tactical errors as described by Appian (5.85) in this naval engagement in hesitating to fight the enemy until reinforcements came cost him dearly. The principles underlying Octavian's strategy are stated by Suetonius (*Aug.* 25.4): "proelium quidem aut bellum suscipiendum omnino negabat, nisi cum maior emolumenti spes quam damni metus ostenderetur."

[9] The actual description of Tartarus begins at 562 (*Tum vates sic orsa loqui*) and ends at 624 (*Ausi omnes inmane nefas ausoque potiti*). The three concluding verses are spoken by the Sibyl, but are presented as a sort of "aside" after the long description of 63 verses. She asserts that even if she had a hundred tongues or a hundred mouths and a *ferrea vox* she could not relate all the varied crimes and punishments in Tartarus. The epithet *ferrea* is quite appropriate for her chant lays stress on the iron rule of Tartarus (*solidoque adamante columnae*, 552; *ferrea turris*, 554; *stridor ferri tractaeque catenae*, 558; *stridentes cardine . . . portae*, 573–74).

[10] Cf. Servius on 6.612–13: "Hoc loco videtur blandiri Augusto, quia contra Caesarem, patrem eius, multi quibus ignovit arma sua ceperant. . . Melius ergo est ut bellum a Sexto Pompeio, Pompei filio, in Siculo freto gestum accipiamus. Nam occiso patre Siciliam tenuit et collectis inde servitiis vastavit sex annis ultro citroque Siciliam, postea victus est ab Augusto et Agrippa: Horatius (*Epod.* 9.9): minatus urbi vincla quae detraxerat servis amicus perfidis. Et in hoc sensu tam "arma impia" quam "dominorum" congruit commemoratio.

quique arma secuti
impia nec veriti dominorum fallere dextras...

For our purpose the more important passage perhaps is that which follows (621–22). Critics are inclined to accept the reference of Cicero to a certain illegal act of Antony (*Ad Att.* 14.12.1) and the statement of Macrobius (6.1.39) that these two verses are borrowed from a lost work of Varius Rufus.[11] These complimentary verses are further intensified by a reference in the following verse to the story of Thyestes which furnished the theme of a much admired tragedy by Varius presented on the stage soon after the battle of Actium—a play which seems to have excoriated Antony and which won the hearty approval of Octavian and a substantial award in cash besides.[12] It would seem therefore that these recollections of the poetic work of Varius are fittingly placed here by the poet to form the culmination of the Amphrysian seer's "Ballad of Lost Spirits" just before the Cyclopean walls are pierced by the two pilgrims.

The initial stages of Vergil's imagery as expressed in his bucolic poems linked Sextus Pompey and his attempts to blocade the ports of Italy with the mythical character of the Sicilian Cyclops. The composition of the first three *Eclogues* can now be dated as late as 39/38—a time very close to the accepted dramatic date of the fifth *Satire*. The Cyclopean symbolism evolved in his early poems was extended, it would appear, several years later by Vergil to the sixth *Aeneid*. After the defeat of Sextus Pompey in 36, Antony remained an even more formidable adversary. It was natural therefore for the poet to extend the basis of his Cyclopean symbolism to include Marcus Antonius.

The Amphrysian seer at the conclusion of her vivid description

[11] The precise nature of the "borrowing" is found at the beginning of the two verses attributed to Varius (*Vendidit hic auro patriam...*) and at the end (*fixit leges pretio atque refixit*, 622). Macrobius states that we have here (and in Varius) reference to certain illegal actions on the part of Antony. Servius (on 622) is not so definite ("possumus Antonium accipere secundum Ciceronem in Philippicis..."). Cicero in his letter to Atticus refers to the publication of a law by Antony under suspicious circumstances in which the Sicilians became Roman citizens ("Ecce autem Antonius accepta grandi pecunia fixit legem a dictatore comitiis latam, qua Siculi cives Romani").

[12] According to the so-called "Didascalia" preserved in an eighth century MS. (Paris. 7530): "Lucius Varius cognomento Rufus Thyesten tragoediam magna cura absolutam post Actiacam victoriam Augusti ludis eius in scaena edidit. Pro qua fabula sestertium deciens accepit (W. S. Teuffel [above, note 2] 2.21–22).

of the penalties of the condemned in Tartarus gives orders and directions to her companion (629–32):

> "Sed iam age, carpe viam et susceptum perfice munus;
> acceleremus," ait. "Cyclopum educta caminis
> moenia conspicio atque adverso fornice portas,
> haec ubi nos praecepta iubent deponere dona."

Servius[13] gives an explanation of the *longe petitum epitheton* applied to the *Amphrysia vates* by the poet (398) at the moment when, in order to satisfy Charon, she revealed to him the magical "golden bough" and thus assured him that the otherworld travelers were on a peaceful mission. This commentator furnishes us with a clue to the significance of the Sibyl's association of Apollo, whom she served as a priestess, with the mythical activities of the Cyclopes. These fabulous craftsmen, we are told, were slain by Apollo for forging the thunderbolts of Jupiter which slew his son Aesculapius. For this deed Apollo was punished by being compelled to serve nine years as a shepherd of the flocks of King Admetus beside the river Amphrysus in Thessaly.[14] The political symbolism which we have detected elsewhere[15] in Vergil's *Eclogues* presents an adaptation by the poet of the motifs of the folktale of Polyphemus and Galatea with the activities of the political enemies of Octavian in 39/38. This symbolism has projected itself, apparently by design, into the most significant book in his epic. The Cyclopean walls must be pierced by

[13] Servius on *Amphrysia vates* (398): "Apollinea: et est longe petitum epitheton. Nam Amphrysus fluvius est Thessaliae, circa quem Apollo spoliatus divinitate a Iove irato Admeti regis pavit armenta ideo, quia occiderat Cyclopas, fabricatores fulminum, quibus Aesculapius extinctus est, Apollinis filius, quia Hippolytum ab inferis herbarum potentia revocaverat." Cf. also Euripides *Alcestis* (prol.); Tibullus 2.3.11–28; 3.4.65–72 (Apollo speaks). Cf. *Verg. vita. Don.* 13.233 (below, note 23) for the statement that some would connect the origin of bucolic poetry with Apollo *nomios*.

[14] Serv. and Serv. Dan (Cod. *F*) on *Aen.* 7.761 (*Hippolyti proles*): "Hunc [Aesculapium] postea Iuppiter propter revocatum Hippolytum interemit (ab inferis fulmine peremit, Cod. *F*): unde Apollo iratus Cyclopas fabricatores fulminum (fulminis, Cod. *F*) confixit sagittis: ob quam rem a Iove iussus est Admeti regis novem annis (VIII, Cod. *F*) apud Amphrysum armenta pascere divinitate deposita." Cf. *Mythol. Vat.* 2.128; Luct. Placid. *ad* Stat. *Theb.* 5.434; schol. *ad* Pers. *Sat.* 6.56.

[15] This symbolism is found in some of the other pastorals besides the first, second and third. On these poems see Savage (above, note 5) 144, 152–54 and (above, note 6) 353–63. When Galatea (Sextus Pompey?) appears elsewhere in the *Eclogues* (7.37; 9.39) and when Amaryllis (Antony?) is mentioned in other pastorals (8.77, 78, 101; 9.22) we are to assume that the poet is reflecting themes from the contemporary political scene.

Aeneas and by Apollo's Amphrysian priestess before the long review of Roman notables is proudly presented to them by Anchises. The two otherworld travelers advance side by side in military formation and seize their objective, an opening in the Cyclopean wall in Tartarus which separates the doomed rebels against divine and civil law and justice from the elect of Roman statesmen who dwell in the *sedes beatae*. Aeneas purifies himself with fresh water, takes over the *ramus* from the *vates Amphrysia* and plants it like a military standard at this point of vantage:

> Occupat Aeneas aditum corpusque recenti
> spargit aqua ramumque adverso in limine figit.

Varius Rufus formed part, as we have seen, of the little group of eight important personages who, according to Horace's description of this real or imaginary event, witnessed the mime of Messius and Sarmentus. The symbolism by means of which Vergil in playful fashion had conveyed the intricacies of the politics of the period between 39 and 38 B.C. in his *Eclogues* finds its echo, it seems, not only in Horace's *Satire* but also in the symbolism of the "Amphrysian" seer and the Cyclopean walls in the sixth *Aeneid*. To assure his most interested readers who were already aware of his Cyclopean symbolism, Vergil places at this crucial point in his epic ideas and phrases borrowed from Varius, a writer already well known in the field of epic and tragedy. Varius would recognize the phrase "fixit leges pretio atque refixit" (622) as an actual transcription of a verse of his which is extant in Macrobius (6.1.39) and may refer to one of the accusations against Antony.[16] By virtue of the association of the cult of Apollo with the religious reforms of Octavian which reached its climax at the battle of Actium (Suet. *Aug.* 18.2), we can assume another very important and appreciative reader in the *princeps*. The descriptive adjective *Amphrysia* for the Sibyl seems to us as it seemed to Servius an epithet *très recherché*. It was intended, it seems, to convey to Octavian that he had a notable exemplar in Apollo who became a shepherd on earth for a period of nine years as a result of his slaying of the Cyclopes.[17] Again Octavian had certainly read the *Eclogues* of Vergil, especially the third poem where the shepherd Palaemon seems to represent the *princeps* (cf. *TAPA* 89 (1958) 149–52).

[16] See above, notes 11 and 12.
[17] See above, notes 13 and 14.

The significance which Vergil attributed to the folktale of Polyphemus and Galatea in his *Eclogues* was not lost on Octavian. Marcus Agrippa had noted—hardly with approval—the preciosity of the early work of the poet in formulating an example of stylistic exoticism which he attributed to the influence of the poet's mentor Maecenas (*TAPA* 91 [1960] 371–74). The Etruscan knight formed part of the little group which, as we have noted, witnessed with delight and comprehension the presentation of Horace's little mime. We have ventured to call this little sketch "The Dance of the Cyclops."

The Cyclopean walls which separated in the sixth *Aeneid* Tartarus from Elysium were wrought in the forges of the Cyclopes. Hence they were made of steel or iron. Since the gate of entrance into Tartarus was made of adamantine steel (552), it might be profitable to note the references to this metal in the Sibyl's dirge of the condemned. Tisiphone keeps her watch night and day in an iron tower (*ferrea turris*, 554). The condemned drag their iron chains (*stridor ferri*, 588). The hinges of the infernal gates grate on the ears (*horrisono stridentes cardine*, 572). The whole effect of the Sibyl's description (which would require a *ferrea vox* to relate in full, 626) of these infernal punishments is implied in the phrase *durissima regna* (566). We seem here to revert back to an *aetas ferrea*—in another world, it is true—but still colored by the poet's depiction of the savage penalties meted out by Jupiter during the age of iron.[18] The thunderbolts of Jupiter flashed and drove into Tartarus such mighty rebels as the brood of Titan, the twin sons of Aloeus, Tityos, "nursling of earth," and Salmoneus who mocked the god by simulating his thunder (580—600).

We are presented in this whole passage with what might be termed the obverse of the song of the Cumaean Sibyl in the fourth *Eclogue*. The Sibyl, now under other auspices—*Amphrysia vates*—seems to depict a golden age, as it were, in reverse. In his early poem Vergil, inspired by the Sibyl of Cumae, declared that at the birth of the child "the iron brood shall first cease and a golden race spring up throughout the world" (Fairclough):

> Tu modo nascenti puero, quo ferrea primum
> desinet ac toto surget gens aurea mundo,
> casta fave Lucina: tuus iam regnat Apollo.

[18] This aspect of Jupiter seems to be reflected in Horace's *Ode* 1.12 (last stanza).

These two *carmina Sibyllina*, one celebrating new life, hope and eternal happiness, the other, death, despair and everlasting misery, are songs of identical length. There are 63 verses in *Ecl.* 4 and a similar number here in the sixth *Aeneid*, if we consider that the Sibyl's description of the otherworld punishments begins actually at verse 562 and ends with verse 624. At this point she breaks off her description with three verses which acclaim the impossibility of any one, even with a thousand tongues and—appropriately enough—a *ferrea vox* to do justice to this relation (625–27) of the tortures of the condemned in these *durissima regna*. The Amphrysian Sibyl's *carmen* of 63 verses is given in response to a request of Aeneas who at this moment is terrified by the din within the gates: "quis tantus clangor ad auras?" Her report of the *scelerum facies* has been learned from Hecate[19] who placed her over the Avernian groves (564). Since Hecate is Diana's underworld double, it may be significant that Lucina (i.e. Diana) is addressed in the opening prayer in the fourth *Eclogue* that she may look with favor on the birth of the child under whom an iron race will cease to rule and a golden one succeed throughout the world: Diana's brother is now king ("tuus iam regnat Apollo"). If Vergil depicts the age of iron or the *gens ferrea* in the Sibyl's dirge of the tortured, as has been suggested above, did he intend to represent certain features of the golden age in reverse in this same chant of similar length?

The ruler of Tartarus is the Cretan Rhadamanthus. Was the poet conscious of the equation Apollo : Rhadamanthus, as well as Hecate : Diana? The poet may have had in mind the fundamental opposition of a new race of men descending from high heaven and the ancient race of earthly origin who sought like the twin sons of Aloeus to tear down with their hands *magnum caelum*. The "ancient race" of earth-born Titans comes first in the list of condemned rebels against authority. According to Servius (on 580) these earth-born Titans warred against Saturn. We seem to see the poet's mind at work here. The golden age during Saturn's reign depicted by the Sibyl of Cumae in the fourth

[19] Cf. Brooks Otis, "Three Problems in *Aeneid* 6," *TAPA* 90 (1959) 169: "The 'moral' Hades—Tartarus and Elysium— is far less important in the book: Aeneas merely *hears* about Tartarus and hastily goes through Elysium with his mind entirely on Anchises." This statement is hardly justified from the importance which we place on the Amphrysian Sibyl's chant of Tartarus—learned from Hecate—and on the song of Anchises which has echoes of the famous pastoral as we shall see.

Eclogue is here polarized at the very beginning of this Amphrysian *carmen*. The contrasting picture is next emphasized by the depiction of the attempt of the sons of Aloeus "to tear down heaven" rather than as in *Ecl.* 4 descend from there. Furthermore these brothers Otus and Ephialtes claimed Neptune as their sire. Elsewhere (*TAPA* 89 [1958] 152) we have pointed out that Sextus Pompey considered himself to be like Polyphemus a son of Neptune. Octavian made sport of this piece of propaganda on two occasions (Suet. *Aug.* 16.2).

Did Vergil intend to contrast *Ecl.* 4.7 ("Iam nova progenies caelo demittit alto") with *Aen.* 6.580–84:

> Hic genus antiquum Terrae, Titania pubes,
> fulmine deiecti fundo volvuntur in imo.
> Hic et Aloidas geminos immania vidi
> corpora, qui manibus magnum rescindere caelum
> adgressi superisque Iovem detrudere regnis?

In one case Vergil celebrated the joys of the approach of the *Saturnia regna* as told in a song by Sibyl of Cumae; in the other we have a *carmen* by an Amphrysian Sibyl in which the grim penalties of the giant offspring of *Terra* are recorded as they lay prone in a joyless realm (*durissima regna*, 566).

If the poet intended that these two *carmina*—one written in expectation of the peace in 40 and the other after Naulochus and Actium in 36 and 31—should serve as complementary works of literary art, then the pictorial element of contrast in these Sibylline chants may have been purposely revealed not only at the beginning, as we have noted, but also as we shall see, at the end of these separate pieces of equal length.

The concluding verses in the fourth *Eclogue* point to an apotheosis for the *puer* (62–63). We present the reading of the major MSS.:

> Incipe, parve puer; cui non risere parentes,
> nec deus hunc mensa, dea nec dignata cubili est.

The child's future acceptance at the table of a god or in the couch of a goddess is conditioned by the happy recognition of his parents. The concluding verses also in the chant of the Amphrysian Sibyl, echoing, it seems, the content of Varius' famous tragedy *Thyestes*, condemn in horror the violation of marriage rites and the dreadful crime of incest:

> Hic thalamum invasit natae vetitosque hymenaeos:
> ausi omnes immane nefas, ausoque potiti.

The theme of Varius' lost tragedy, which won Octavian's hearty approval, may have emphasized the hideous crime of Atreus in serving the flesh of his brother's sons to be eaten at a banquet. Thyestes fled in horror and the gods cursed Atreus and his house. Had this tragedy a topical interest when it was presented before Octavian in 29 B.C.? The choral odes, perhaps, gave pointed references to the wars in which relatives—even brothers-in-law such as Octavian and Antony—were engaged in a struggle for existence. The act of incest which Vergil highlights has associations also with the mythical horrors of this fraternal strife: Pelopia, daughter of Thyestes,[20] had incestuous relations with her father. This outrageous story is a far cry from the expectation of the hospitable reception at the banquet table of a god and the ready acceptance of a goddess as a marriage partner predicted of the *puer* at the end of the fourth *Eclogue*.

The poet has given in his portraits of the condemned in Tartarus a background which the intelligent reader of his day would readily evaluate. The emphasis there on iron and steel, either as symbolic of punishment or as a wall of separation built by the Cyclopes, would not be lost to readers—or listeners—like Octavian, Varius and Horace. The history of the period between 39 and 31 could be envisaged as an *aetas ferrea*. The penalties, therefore, conform to the punishments meted out to rebels against the state and against violators of treaties like those of Brundisium in 40 and Misenum in 39 with Antony and with Sextus Pompey respectively. These were the originators of *impia arma* (612–13), men who despised justice and set themselves up as *domini potentes* (622). The dread plight of the condemned in the regions of gloom is the substance of the song of the Amphrysian Sibyl before she and her companion pass the Cyclopean walls of steel and enter the *laeti loci* where Anchises, who in his turn has assumed the role of *vates* foretells to his mortal visitors the coming of a golden age (792–93).

This golden age will return notwithstanding the interval in which the proponents of a new age of iron were given their quietus. The expectations celebrated in song many years before by the Cumaean Sibyl have now been revived. The same Sibyl but under different auspices has depicted both ages in symbolic fashion—one an age of joy and of anticipation, the other, a chant

[20] Cf. Servius on *Aen.* 11.262.

of the past, a veritable *à la recherche du temps perdu*, in which symbolically only the calamitous events in the life of the state are recalled. The Sibyl points out the obstacle of the walls forged in the workshops of the Cyclopes (630–31). She urges her companion to hasten with all speed (*sed iam age, carpe viam*, 629). Their haste is orderly however; they advance in formation (*pariter gressi*, 633) and like soldiers in revived spirits and new *élan* force an entrance through an aperture in this Cyclopean wall. The Sibyl now doffs her mask as *Amphrysia vates*. Hereafter—except for her interrogation of Musaeus—she is a silent witness of the review of Roman notables. She leaves the scene along with Aeneas, still listening to Anchises as he prophesies to both pilgrims, not a new golden age, but an age of strife to be faced, however, with an assurance to Aeneas of future fame ("incenditque animum famae venientis amore," 889).

In our discussion of the symbolism of the first three *Eclogues*[21] it would appear that the poet was consciously applying in several passages certain Theocritean motifs to some well known contemporary personages and events. The folktale of the Cyclops Polyphemus and his beloved Galatea appears to have provided a mythical background for the poet's attempt to portray the political maneuvers which involved Octavian in his many endeavors to placate Sextus Pompey and—to a lesser degree—Mark Antony. The outlandish qualities in Theocritus' fanciful depiction of the "wooing" of these Sicilian rustics served as an appropriate setting for the extraordinary events of the period before and after the Peace of Misenum in 39/38.

But even in the *Eclogues* and a little later in the *Georgics* the poet was aware of the extension of the myth or folktale to include the story of Apollo's expulsion by Jupiter from the abode of the gods to serve as a shepherd in the country of King Admetus *apud Amphrysum fluvium*.[22] Apollo was angry because Jupiter had slain by his thunderbolts his own son Aesculapius who by his powers of healing had restored Hippolytus to life. In the fifth *Eclogue* Vergil depicts Mopsus as a shepherd who sings of the effects on nature caused by the death of Daphnis: even Pales and Apollo *nomios* have fled the world (35):

Ipsa Pales agros atque ipse reliquit Apollo.

[21] See above, notes 5 and 6.

[22] See above, notes 13 and 14.

At the beginning of the third *Georgic* the poet invokes appropriately the same divinities as he proceeds to detail the manifold labors of the farmer and the shepherd:

> Tu quoque, magna Pales, et te memorande canemus
> pastor ab Amphryso, vos, silvae amnesque Lycaei.

We are informed by Donatus that the poet read his work on agriculture to a group which included Octavian and Maecenas soon after the decisive victory at Actium.[23] The linking of Pales with Apollo as a shepherd (*nomios*) in the *Eclogues* and as a *pastor ab Amphryso* in the Georgics indicates that Vergil was aware at the time of the composition of these earlier poems of the myth which involved the death of the Cyclopes at the hand of Apollo. In effect he had in mind both the Theocritean folktale of a Cyclops (and/or a Galatea)[24] and the more involved tale which included more than one Cyclops. In the latter case we have to supply a conscious link in the mind of Vergil—as well as in that of Horace—that Octavian is a surrogate for Apollo *nomios* since he, like Apollo, was chiefly responsible for the pursuit and for the eventual destruction of certain Cyclopean monsters in two naval engagements, Naulochus and Actium. When Horace wrote his *Satire* in 37 he was only aware of *one* opponent who might be compared to a Cyclops. Antony, though he did not claim to be a son of Neptune (like Polyphemus and Sextus Pompey), easily fitted into a characterization already accepted and in vogue when Sextus Pompey was the principal opponent of Octavian.

In the artistic creations of Vergil these Cyclopean monsters are represented as reminders of the struggles of Octavian against adversaries whose images appear in playful fashion in the more

[23] *Vita Donatiana*, ed. J. Brummer (Leipzig 1912) 6.91–95. Vergil and Maecenas took turns in reading the *Georgics* on this occasion.

[24] The Galatea mentioned by Horace (*Ode* 3.27.14) may have had a contemporary connotation. The poet terms himself *providus auspex* (8). He is searching for favorable omens for Galatea's voyage and wishes her happiness wherever she may abide. He has even a personal note (*et memor nostri, Galatea, vivas*, 14) and even recalls his own experiences in the Adriatic (*Ego quid sit ater / Hadriae novi sinus*...18–19). This *propempticon* with its lengthy description of the rape of Europa contains 64 verses (13–76). See Plutarch (*Ant.* 53) on Octavia's voyage to Athens with a large retinue in an attempt to win back Antony. This took place a year after the defeat of Sextus Pompey. Octavia seems to be acting here the part of Galatea to Antony's Polyphemus—a role which Horace equates also with that of Europa and Zeus. The time for reconciliation seemed opportune for Sextus was slain that same year by one of Antony's lieutenants (cf. *CAH* 10.77). For "wooing" themes in Vergil's *Eclogues* see above, notes 5 and 6.

serene period of his pastoral poems, that is, up to *ca.* 38 B.C. These images reached their climaxes in his description many years later of the guilty enemies of the state among the condemned in the lower regions of Tartarus, hemmed in by a wall of steel forged in the workshops of the Cyclopes. Their tragic story is related by a seer who is appropriately termed *Amphrysia vates*. The chant of this Sibyl serves as the antithesis of that of the Cumaean Sibyl in the fourth *Eclogue*. Each *carmen*, as we have stated, has the same number of verses[25] and each poem furnishes contrasting panels: one of joy and of a new race of gold (*nova progenies, gens aurea*), the other, of an earth-bound *antiquum genus*, a race of iron *gens ferrea* (*Ecl.* 4.9–10), which meets its tragic doom in Tartarus, shackled in iron bands and surrounded by a Cyclopean wall of steel.

Vergil, Horace, Maecenas and Varius Rufus formed part, as we have seen, of an appreciative audience at the production of the real or fictitious mime recorded in 37 by Horace in his fifth *Satire*. The buffoon Messius was called upon to perform the dance of the Cyclops by the little *scriba* who acted in the role of Sarmentus, a favorite slave in the household of Octavian. The implications of this symbolism, which as early as 39 had been already projected by Vergil into his pastoral poems, did not escape the members of the audience dining in the comfortable villa of Cocceius. Vergil must have felt confident, therefore, that the further development of this symbolic picture to include the myth of the slaying of the Cyclopes by Apollo would be recognized by members of the same or similar audience who listened to the dramatic recital of the sixth *Aeneid* at a later date.[26]

[25] Cf. above, note 9. It would be interesting to conjecture whether the poet designedly introduced a *personal* note at the end of the chant of the Amphrysian seer (6.618–20) to parallel the lyrical character of the concluding verses of his pastoral and, as we shall indicate, at the end of the song of Anchises (847–53). Phlegyas, a mythical character, is connected in legend with Apollo and Aesculapius. He disdained Apollo as a son-in-law and burned his temple: "incendit Apollinis templum et eius sagittis ad inferos trusus" (Servius *ad* 618). This myth belongs to a legendary cycle which depicts the god in the role of an avenger—a parallel theme to that of his Cyclopean misadventure and his subsequent exile. These facts may help to elucidate the personal note in the song of the Amphrysian Sibyl:

> Phlegyas miserrimus omnis
> admonet et magna testatur voce per umbras:
> Discite iustitiam moniti et non temnere divos.

[26] *Vita Don.* (above, note 23) 7.104–14. Only Augustus and Octavia are mentioned here, but the *recitatio* must have occasioned a larger audience from the court circle.

III. *Anchises vates*

The celebrated example of a *logos panegyricos* (Norden) spoken by Anchises in 6.791–853 had attentive listeners in both Aeneas and the Sibyl. The poet makes that clear in his passage of 63 verses (minus two feet in verse 835) in the emphatic opening verse:

Hic vir, hic est, tibi quam promitti saepius audis . . .

Did the poet consciously design this verse to suggest that the "promise" of the fourth *Eclogue* is to be fulfilled in the person of Augustus Caesar? The Sibyl's chant is, as we have said, identical in length with the *carmen* of Anchises except for one incomplete verse. The affective note in this verse ("Proice tela manu, sanguis meus," 835) seems to refer especially to the civil strife under Augustus, since the wars of Caesar and Pompey have just been mentioned (829–31). The incompleteness of this verse may have been intended to suggest in pathetic fashion the imperfect nature of the prophecy in the Sibyl's song of a golden age 17 or 18 years before!

Is it too venturesome to consider the possibility that these two chants of equal length by two different seers may have certain parallel themes or motifs—not antithetical as we have noted in the song of doom by the Amphrysian Sibyl—but rather comforting and idealistic? The opening notes in each *carmen* stress in one case the return of "the reign of Saturn" (*Ecl.* 4.7), in the other, the recurrence of the same era under Augustus (792–94):

Augustus Caesar, Divi genus, aurea condet
saecula qui rursus Latio, regnata per arva
Saturno quondam.

In the former instance the birth of an anonymous *puer* coincides with this happy event; in the latter, we are specifically told the name and divine descent of the ruler who, according to Anchises, will inaugurate a period of imperial expanse. This prophetic utterance of a golden age to come ends with the celebrated declaration that a Roman's aim should not be merely conquest but that he should be guided by the norms of clemency and peace. It is noteworthy that the address "Romane, memento" in this oft quoted passage ("Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento") is distinctly an echo of the phraseology used in an extant Sibylline prophecy (*μεμνῆσθαι, Ῥωμαῖε*).[27]

[27] Zosimus, *Historia nova*, ed. L. Mendelssohn 2 (Leipzig 1887) 6, verse 3. Ovid

The concluding lyrical note of Anchises can be compared with the finale of the fourth *Eclogue* only in terms of spirit and form. Surely the author of the *Essay on the Sublime* would be likely to classify both passages in his favored category. The poet's declaration of hope in one case is paralleled by the lofty aspirations of the seer—in this instance of the poet too—in the other chant. What aspirations were proclaimed in the year 23 had already been uttered in the year 40. On that occasion hopes were expressed in a more personal manner as something in store when the poet eventually reached a mature age. It is necessary to cite here only two of the seven verses (*Ecl.* 4.53–59):

> O mihi tum longa maneat pars ultima vitae,
> spiritus et quantum sat erit tua dicere facta...

Before the poet gave expression to Anchises' final ecstatic note—also in *seven* verses—in the sixth *Aeneid* (847–53) it may be of some significance to observe that he was careful to make use of a verse from Ennius on the exploits of Fabius Maximus in singly restoring prosperity to the state ("unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem"). This famous verse on Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator was selected to epitomize the *facta* of Augustus as sole restorer of peace by his delaying tactics. We know that Augustus had a favorite maxim *speude bradeôs* which he extended to include naval and military operations.[28] The fervid personal note in Vergil's bucolic poem finds its parallel in the verses which form the conclusion of the later chant (*Aen.* 6.847–53):

> Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera
> (cedo equidem), vivos ducent de marmore vultus...
> tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
> (hae tibi erunt artes), pacisque imponere morem,
> parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.

The future expectations in this instance, however, are founded in a somewhat broader base: we are introduced to arts other than

uses a similar phraseology in reporting a Delphic oracle (*Met.* 15.637): " quod petis hinc, propiore loco, Romane, petisses." Cf. I. S. Ryberg, "Vergil's Golden Age," *TAPA* 89 (1958) 128, where it is pointed out that the golden age is embodied in Latinus—a true Roman who wears the traditional *trabea* of a Roman official.

[28] Cf. Suetonius, *Aug.* 25.4 and Aulus Gellius 10.11 whose observations on this maxim of Octavian are noted elsewhere (see above, note 5, 148). On the application of this principle to Octavian's naval strategy, see above, note 8.

that of some form of heroic poetry envisioned in the earlier poem.[29]

A more notable parallel, perhaps, may be observed by comparing the verses in the pastoral poem on the future glory of the *puer* with the content of the utterances of Anchises before the concluding verses just cited. In the bucolic vision the child will grow up to see "heroes mingled with gods and he shall be seen by them and shall sway the world to which his father's virtues have brought peace" (4.15–17):

> Ille deum vitam accipiet divisque videbit
> permixtos heroas et ipse videbitur illis,
> pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem.

The poet here conceives this to be a *realizable* dream in the future era of an unnamed individual. These verses serve as an admirable commentary on the whole of Anchises' chant in praise of Augustus (*Divi genus*) and of other Roman heroes which harks back in length and ideal form to the earlier prophetic song. The vision of Anchises is a *realized* one from the point of view of the reader, of course—in which one personage takes precedence over all the Roman divinized heroes from Numa to Quintus Fabius. "Im Anfang war die Tat." The idealization in the fourth *Bucolic* of a world at peace as a result of innate prowess (*patriis virtutibus*) is echoed in the famous concluding verses which we have just cited from Anchises' song. The *heroes* of the bucolic poem may be equated with the four verses (801–5) in which Anchises foretells an *imperium* for Augustus as extensive as the territories covered by Hercules and Liber during their lifetimes.[30] The conscious art of the poet is clearly seen, moreover, in the clever way in which he introduces towards the end of this *carmen* and near the middle of his bucolic poem two very definite parallel motifs. Three verses in the pastoral poem (34–36) refer to the possibility of another Tiphys and another Achilles arising as examples of *priscae vestigia fraudis*. A similar number of verses convey the prediction of Anchises that another Achilles will appear in the person of Perseus, the last king of Macedon, who claimed descent

[29] Cf. E. K. Rand, *The Building of Eternal Rome* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1943) 59–60; I. S. Ryberg (above, note 27) 119. The reading *cedo* (848) is that of Cod. Palat. (*P*).

[30] Cf. Savage, "Apollo–Hercules: Two Themes in the Fourth *Eclogue*," *Vergilian Digest* 2 (1956) 5–9.

from the Homeric hero and was defeated by Aemilius Paulus in 168 B.C. at Pydna (838–40):

> Eruet ille Argos Agamemnoniasque Mycenas
> ipsumque Aeaciden, genus armipotentis Achilli,
> ultos avos Troiae, templa et temerata Minervae.

If we concede that the expedition against Perseus was both a naval and military affair, there may be some significance in the mention in the bucolic poem of Argo and Tiphys as well as in the clear reference to Achilles:

> Alter erit tum Tiphys et altera quae vehat Argo
> delectos heroas; erunt etiam altera bella
> atque iterum ad Troiam magnus mittetur Achilles.

The poet makes it clear by such echoes as these that he intended the chant of Anchises to be a reminder of the Cumaean Sibyl's own song in the fourth *Bucolic*. The Sibyl is represented by the poet as mingling with Aeneas in a "murmuring throng" of heroic spirits (752–53).

She listens with approval to another prophetic song which she must have felt was inspired by her own of an earlier period. She has doffed her Amphrysian mask now that she is being instructed and entranced by the chant of the return of another Saturnian age by a seer who recalls by indirection happier portents recorded many years before. Anchises had stated in his vision to his son in the fifth *Aeneid* that he expected the Sibyl to arrive in Elysium and to serve as a guide to Aeneas where "you will learn," he prophesies, "of all your race" (*genus omne tuum*, 737). She will appear as *casta Sibylla* (735)—presumably without her mask as an Amphrysian seer. He is now a more potent *vates* for he announces in this vision that he has been sent by Jupiter ("imperio Iovis huc venio," 726). Apollo's seer of the fourth *Eclogue* and of the early part of the sixth *Aeneid* has been superseded by a seer who has the approval of the highest divine authority.

The series of pictures of celebrated men of Italian stock (*Itala de gente*, 6.757) including the descendants of Aeneas (*Dardania proles*) and of the heirs of Romulus (*Mavortius Romulus*) serve as a suitable preamble of 32 with three transitional verses (788–90) to Anchises' review of "Roman" heroes (*Romanosque tuos*, 789). One and a half of these three verses (789–90) are in the nature of a

transition to the *laudatio Augusti* and also serve as a pregnant introduction to this chant:

> Hic Caesar et omnis Iuli
> progenies, magnum caeli ventura sub axem.

Here we have certainly a foreshadowing of the implications of the chant to come. Are not these words, specifically *Iuli progenies*, intended to be an echo of a celebrated verse in the song of the Cumaean Sibyl,

> Iam nova progenies caelo demittur alto?

The chant of Anchises is modeled in length, as we have seen, and in certain internal features as well in the Cumaean Sibyl's song—in each instance are predicted the intermingling of gods and heroes; in both we find the Achilles motif (Achilles–Perseus) together with the concluding lyrical notes of seven verses each—all projected into the future. In Anchises' prophecy the historical continuity—for Numa (808–12) follows Augustus who is significantly placed after Romulus (cf. *Aen.* 1.286–88)—has been violated to give place to an artistic design which the poet must have felt had a validity in conformity with the involved nature of his poetic conception of a "dynamic symmetry" so conspicuous throughout his poetic work.[31]

[31] Cf. G. E. Duckworth, "Mathematical Symmetry in Vergil's *Aeneid*," *TAPA* 91 (1960) 184–220. What appears to be further confirmation of Professor Duckworth's remarkable discoveries is indicated, as we shall see, by the almost formulaic tendency of Vergil to follow in the sixth *Aeneid* the pattern of 63 verses found in his famous pastoral. It should be noted that the conclusion of the third *Eclogue* is in the nature of a *postlude* to the pastoral which follows. When Palaemon (Octavian) is first introduced (49) there follows a series of interchanges in song which end at verse 111 (= 63 verses). My study on this bucolic poem (*TAPA* 89 (1958) 142–58) should have begun with verse 49, not 55. That this mathematical motif in Vergil was not a haphazard one is shown by examples of passages or poems of oracular content in other contemporary or near-contemporary poets.

Catullus (64.320–83) in his oracular song of the Fates in 64 verses (3 intr. and 2 concl.) seems to have influenced a series of such *carmina* (cf. the elaborate chart of D. F. S. Thompson, "Aspects of Unity in Catullus 64," *CJ* 57 [1961] 50). First we have Vergil's famous pastoral of 63 verses (or 60 with 3 intr.). There are two examples in Tibullus: the birthday song of the Fates on Messala's triumph in 1.7 (64 verses); the Sibyl's song on the installation of Messalinus (2.5.1–64) into the priesthood in charge of the Sibylline Books (64 verses). In Propertius we have what appears to be one instance of such an influence, 4.1.87–150 (prophetic song of Horus to the poet, divided into two equal parts—*historiae* and *tua astra*—totaling 64 verses). Horace's *Ode* 1.12 which, as we shall see (below, notes 34 and 35) represents the fusion of the noted pastoral of Vergil with the song of Anchises (6.791–853), is 60 verses long.

The Sibyl accompanies Aeneas through the *laeti loci*. She takes the initiative in questioning Musaeus, another *vates* (*tuque optime vates*, 669). It is noticeable that the Sibyl has clearly in mind that the purpose of the visit of the two pilgrims is solely to find Anchises ("Illius ergo / venimus, 670–71). The two seers have a common heritage, that of *divinatio*.[32] Anchises during his lifetime was at times a fallible prophet.[33] Are we not to expect

Horace addresses Galatea (Octavia?) as an *auspex* (*Ode* 3.27.13–76 = 64 verses); cf. above, note 24. It may or may not be significant that Augustus expresses his great satisfaction in a letter (dated IX Kal. Oct.) to his grandson Gaius that he had passed the ominous 63rd year (Aulus Gellius 15.7.3). Augustus was conscious of time: his birth sign was Libra (*Geo.* 1.32–35) which was also that of Vergil himself—a fact usually ignored. Hence the astrological aspect in *Ecl.* 4.50 (*aspice convexo nutantem pondere mundum*); cf. Manilius 4.777 (*frenat pendentem nutibus orbem*). In the *Culex* the *sedes piorum* extends from 295 to 357 (but 318–20 are corrupt) making a dubious 62/63 verses. The description of Tartarus is found in 231–95 (with two half verses) = 64 verses. On the other hand the song of the Amphrysian Sibyl on Tartarus is composed of 63 verses (above, note 9).

[32] H. T. Rowell, "The Scholia on Naevius in *Parisinus Latinus* 7930," *AJP* 78 (1957) 12–58; R. B. Lloyd, "Anchises in the *Aeneid*," *TAPA* 88 (1957) 53–55.

[33] The prophecy of Anchises, following a communication from Thymbraeus Apollo delivered in his famous temple at Delos (*Aen.* 3.84–146 = 63 verses), turns out to be deceptive, resulting in a trip to Crete and a backward look. "Thymbraeus" Apollo here harks back to *Geo.* 4.323 where the same epithet is introduced for this god as the father of Aristaeus who went in search of ways and means to restore his wasteland. We are to assume that the poet by the use of this epithet intended to introduce a parallel between the oracle of Apollo in the third *Aeneid* and the oracle of Cyrene (divinely inspired as the consort of Apollo) in the fourth *Georgic* (387–449 also of 63 verses). In both places there is the motif of the avoidance of *morbus* and *fames* (*Aen.* 3.137–42 of Crete; *Geo.* 3.317–18 of *Peneia Tempe*). There is the additional theme of Apollo as the source of guidance to a promised fatherland or to a mother's fostering care.

Like "Amphrysius" (above, note 13) "Thymbraeus" is an epithet *très recherché*. Information on the source of this descriptive adjective is given by Serv. Dan. on *Aen.* 3.85 ("...dicitur a loco Troiae...et bene Deli positus Thymbraeum appellat quem in Troia adsueverat colere in agro, in quo eius et nemus est et templum..."). The epithet, therefore, is suggestive of the *home* of Aeneas and the rites familiar to him there. Hence the injunction of Apollo, *Antiquam exquirite matrem* (96), and Anchises' incorrect reference to Crete as *gentis cunabula nostrae* (105). In the *Georgics* Aristaeus refers to his father as "Thymbraeus Apollo"—that is, Apollo of Troy, the *homeland par excellence*—for the reason that he is in search of his mother in order to discover from her the source and cure of his troubles.

In the later books of the *Aeneid* there appear to be two well attested instances of Apolline prophetic utterances which follow the mystic pattern of 63 verses. Evander, an exile like Aeneas and Anchises, stresses the fact that the revelations of the prophecies of his mother Carmentis (8.306–68 = 63 verses) were inspired by Apollo (*et deus auctor Apollo*, 336). To his guest Evander discloses the present and future history and topography of the *urbs Romana*—in other words, the genesis and growth of the city and of Latium in which the occurrence of a golden age is depicted, to be succeeded by a *decolor aetas*. We are back once more in the atmosphere of the famous Apolline

that his predictions in his *regio* in the Elysian Fields will have a finality in keeping with his exalted position? The Sibyl has seemingly doffed her mask as *Amphrysia vates* with which she announced the penalties of the condemned in Tartarus. That chant—learned from Hecate—showed evidence, as we have seen, of being modeled in its length and perhaps in certain elements of form with the chant of the Cumaean prophetess. Noticeable too are what seem to be contrasting patterns—doomsday *versus* birthday. Our Sibyl is evidently eager to learn from a mortal seer, now *divinus*, what shall be the fulfillment of the expectations so confidently enunciated some 17 or 18 years before of an imminent age of gold.

We seem to have drifted a long way from the audience who saw with approval Horace's mime as recorded in his fifth *Satire*. The political symbolism therein depicted was recognized by (among others) Vergil, Varius and Maecenas as they witnessed the portrayal of Messius as a dancing Cyclops who engaged in a contest of wit with a certain *scriba* named Sarmentus of the household of Octavian. On this single figure of a monster (along with his wayward beloved Galatea) which furnished many a theme for his *Eclogues* was superimposed a more complex myth or folktale. Apollo was compelled to live as a shepherd *apud Amphrysum fluvium* (Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* 7.761[34] and Serv. *Aen.* 6.398) as

Eclogue. It is interesting to note that Apollo's sister Diana shows her prophetic powers in a passage of 63 verses (532–94) in the eleventh *Aeneid* where she foretells to Opis the fate of her own ward Camilla.

It would seem futile to attempt to determine the reasons why the poet so frequently (see above, note 31) repeated the pattern first clearly established in his early Apolline poem. Have we here to do with a Pythagorean "Even-Odd" number as adumbrated in *Ecl.* 8.75: "numero deus impare gaudet?" Cf. *LSJ*[9] s.v. ἀρτιοπέριττος, "even-odd of even numbers, the halves of which are odd, as 6, 10 etc." See also Aristotle, *Metaphys.* A 5.986A, 15 (odd and even numbers are equated with the limitless and the limited). Note also the observations of M. E. Hager "Philolaus and Even-Odd," *CR* 12 (1962) 1–2.

[34] In *Aen.* 7.761–82 Vergil graphically depicts the myth of the restoration to life of Hippolytus by the arts of Apollo and Diana together with its aftermath the slaying by thunderbolt of the *repertor medicinae* (Aesculapius) by Jupiter because of his restoration of Hippolytus to life. "Ipse repertorem medicinae talis et artis / fulmine Phoebigenam Stygias detrusit ad undas." The poet here clearly enunciates his knowledge of this myth which, as we have seen, he has used in its more developed form by the inclusion of the story of Apollo's destruction of the Cyclopes for forging such a deadly weapon. We seem to see here a mythical forerunner of the modern attempt to ban—or else—the hydrogen bomb! Hippolytus' mythical restoration to life took place, according to the poet, in Aricia (7.762). The fact that this was the birthplace of Octavian (Suetonius, *Aug.* 4) brings this whole complex of myth close to the family of Augustus. There

punishment for his slaying of the Cyclopes in revenge for Jupiter's killing of Apollo's son, Aesculapius, by means of a Cyclopean thunderbolt. This supplementary myth—the elements of which were already discernible in Vergil's fifth *Bucolic* and in his third *Georgic*—was developed, as we have seen, in some features of portrayal of the Amphrysian Sibyl in the sixth *Aeneid*. The walls of steel in Tartarus, built ironically by the Cyclopes, enclose all those who when alive perpetrated deeds of *immane nefas* against human and divine authority. This was the subject of the Sibyl's chant of 63 verses apparently designed to be a picture in reverse—an age of iron—of her earlier song of a golden age of peace and joy. Anchises in his character as *peritus divinandi* is provided with an opportunity by the poet to sing a song of a future golden age with several thematic and structural parallels to the *carmen* of the Cumaean Sibyl.[35] This prophecy of Anchises constituted actually Vergil's own dream—and, as we shall see, Horace's fervent wish also—of a Roman empire under the clement and peaceful rule of Augustus.

IV. *Horatius vates*

The personal lyrical note in Vergil's famous pastoral consists, as we have noted, of seven verses corresponding in length to the finale of the prophecy of Anchises. Two of these highly emotional verses in the pastoral have been already cited in the course of our weighing the possibility that the later prophecy of Anchises may

would appear, therefore, to be no difficulty in equating Apollo *nomios*—the god becoming a shepherd—with the career of the ruling *princeps*. In Vergil's first pastoral (41–42) we seem to discover a hint by Tityrus at this motif of a god become mortal: "Nec tam praesentes alibi cognoscere divos."

Ovid referred to the fate of Hippolytus as a parallel to his own tragic relationship with Augustus (*Met.* 15.493–546; cf. *Tr.* 1.3.73–76; *Fasti* 1.479–96). See H. Fränkel, *Ovid: a Poet Between Two Worlds* (Berkeley 1945) 226, note 105. As Hippolytus was restored to life by Apollo's son Aesculapius, so Ovid hoped to be restored from the death in life of an exile. The theme of Apollo's term of exile as a shepherd is treated by Tibullus (cf. above, note 13). The Cyclopean smiths and the giant shepherds were purposely confused by the poets: the Lipari Islands were considered to be an extension of the volcanic area around Mount Aetna (cf. Serv. *Aen.* 8.416).

[35] Both Vergil (844) and Horace (1.12.37 and 40) mention Serranus (= Regulus) and Fabricius. These were proverbial examples of rustic simplicity appropriate to the golden age. Regulus is depicted by Vergil as a Cincinnatus type: *vel te sulco, Serrane, serentem*. Is the poet conscious of his pastoral idyl of many years before: *non rastros patietur humus* (*Ecl.* 4.40) and is Fabricius an historical and idealized example of one who minimized commerce and financial gain: "cedet et ipse mari vector nec nautica pinus / mutabit merces" (38–39)? Cf. Servius on 6.844.

have clear echoes of its earlier exemplar. The latter points to the future purpose of the poet to sing of the deeds of the unnamed *Iovis incrementum*, praying that a long life may present him with an opportunity and with an inspiration to fulfil this ambition. In this poetic enterprise the poet fervently expects to equal the achievements of Orpheus and Linus (55–57):

> non me carminibus vincet nec Thracius Orpheus
> nec Linus, huic mater quamvis atque huic pater adsit,
> Orphei Calliopea, Lino formosus Apollo.

This conceit wherein the poet welcomes a contest in song with Orpheus or Linus, even if the former is aided by his mother or Linus by his father, did not pass unnoticed by his fellow poet Horace.

Horace's opening themes in the twelfth *Ode* of his first book,

> Quem virum aut heroa lyra vel acri
> tibia sumis celebrare, Clio?
> quem deum?

are treated in Homeric fashion, *hysteron proteron*. The *vir* here as in Anchises' prophecy (*Hic vir, hic est...*) is of course Augustus. Now the significance—and the subtlety—of the verses which follow this address to Clio can best be understood if we have Vergil's theme in mind in his pastoral poem, that is, his ambition to compose a future song of praise that will surpass those of Orpheus or of Linus. Horace appears to raise a rhetorical question: whose name (of gods, heroes, Augustus) shall the playful echo of his muse (*iocosa / nomen imago*, 3–4) resound in Helicon, in Pindus or in cool Haemus (7–10):

> unde vocalem temere insecutae
> Orphea silvae,
> *arte materna* rapidos morantem
> fluminum lapsus...

The echo of the voice of Horace's muse will resound in the wooded slopes of a mountain which furnished a background for the vocal skills of Orpheus. Calliope, the mother of Orpheus, had taught him songs which stilled the rivers and moved the listening oaks (*auritas...quercus*, 11–12). Vergil had envisioned in his pastoral his future praises of his hero to surpass in beauty and effectiveness the songs of Orpheus, even if Calliope, his mother, were to come to his assistance (*huic mater quamvis...adsit*). Thus does Horace

initiate *his* praises of Augustus—Horace's muse will project an echo in song which will resound in the fabled haunts of Orpheus whose magic art has been learned from his mother, the muse Calliope.

The pattern of Horace's twelfth *Ode* is 3–9–3, in which three introductory stanzas echo in subdued tones the desire already expressed by the pastoral poet to outdo Orpheus or Linus in a future song extolling the unnamed "scion of Jupiter." The concluding three stanzas of Horace's prophetic ode seem to furnish another Vergilian parallel to this lyrical praise by Horace of Augustus to whom fate has assigned a place which will be next in power to that of the son of Saturn ("tu secundo / Caesare regnes," 51–52). In fact Horace here seems to present his own interpretation of the identity of the enigmatic *Iovis incrementum* concealed in the song of the Cumaean Sibyl. Could this be merely a playful guess of a *nomen* in accordance with the spirit of the sportive echo of his muse ("cuius recinet iocosa / nomen imago," 3–4)?

If this analysis of the twelfth *Ode* is correct, Horace, by incorporating two themes from the pastoral poem of his friend to serve as a framework for his motifs borrowed from the song of Anchises, takes on the position as interpretative critic of Vergil's basic theme of major import, the implementation of a prophecy of a golden age.[36] There are certain variations, however, from the chant of Anchises in this central panel of nine stanzas. Instead of L. Aemilius Paulus, for instance, who was a victorious general in the campaign against the modern Achilles (Perseus of Macedon), Horace chooses to select the father of this Paulus who distinguished himself against Hannibal (37–38). Since the injection of the motif of "another" Achilles in the pastoral poem of Vergil and his song of Anchises afforded an opportunity for a display of artistic balance, as we have seen, it would be interesting to enquire

[36] The final stanza of this ode with its emphasis on the power of Jupiter's thunderbolt ("tu gravi curru quaties Olympum, / tu parum castis inimica mittes / fulmina lucis") seems to have been influenced by the description of the date of the giant "sons of Earth" in the song of the Amphrysian Sibyl rather than specifically with a theme (*magnum Iovis incrementum*, 49) in the famous pastoral. The fact that Horace's poem contains 60 verses may be an indication of the poet's indebtedness to the form of such oracular chants as those of the 64th poem of Catullus as well as that of the Cumaean Sibyl (60 verses with 3 introd.)—a form followed in a modified fashion, it would appear, in certain prophetic poems of Propertius and Tibullus (see above, note 31).

whether the younger poet was aware of—or ignored—some features of the conscious artistry of Vergil in his attempt once more to satisfy his overwhelming desire for a certain measure of balance and contrast so evident throughout his poetic work.[37]

v. Conclusion

This paper begins with an interpretation of the mime in Horace's fifth *Satire* ("The Dance of the Cyclops") and ends with an analysis of the same poet's later attempt (in *Ode* 1.12) at fusing motifs prominent in the *carmen* of Anchises (*Aen.* 6.791–853) and in the fourth *Bucolic* (*Horatius vates*). The symbolism of the Cyclopes as enemies of Octavian—first adumbrated in Vergil's *Eclogues*—was understood by the group who witnessed the performance of this political skit on their journey to Brundisium. These included the author himself, Vergil, Varius and Maecenas. Superimposed on the folktale of Polyphemus and Galatea with its political implications was an extended myth which, by associating Apollo *nomios* with Octavian, depicted the god as driven into exile because of his slaying of the Cyclopes. These giant smiths had furnished Jupiter with the thunderbolts which brought about the death of Apollo's son Aesculapius. Apollo served a term of nine years as a shepherd to King Admetus on the shores of the river Amphrysus. Hence the epithet bestowed on the Sibyl as she entered the otherworld bearing the golden bough (*Amphrysia vates*). The symbolism of the Cyclopes as enemies of the state is developed in her chant of the condemned in Tartarus of 63 verses (562–624) which might be termed a song of the "golden age in reverse." This is the length also of the chant of Anchises. This song has been shown to have parallels in theme and in length with the earlier song of the Cumaean Sibyl—also of 63 verses—and to have been incorporated along with themes from the early pastoral into Horace's twelfth *Ode*.

Excursus on Cornelius Gallus and the Number 664

It has been noticed above (note 31) that there was a variation in the *mystique* of number in certain oracular passages in writers

[37] For a study of the correspondence in form between the entire revelation of Anchises (6.760–892) and the six "patriotic *Odes*" of Horace (3.1–6) see G. E. Duckworth, "Animae Dimidium Meae," *TAPA* 87 (1956) 304–5; on Horace's *Ode* 1.12 ("an epic theme in lyric stanzas") and the prophecy of Anchises, *ibid.* 297–98.

of the Augustan era. Vergil (and Catullus?) set the pattern of 63 verses inspired in many cases by Apollo. Authors who used a verse structure other than that of the hexameter were forced to compromise with 64 verses in similar oracular pronouncements. Tibullus—with his tongue in his cheek—produced a scabrous song of Priapus (1.4) of 64 verses (9–72). An incidental verse in this poem (*carmine purpurea est Nisi coma*, 63) harks back to the mythological poem *Ciris*, which many scholars hold is the work of Cornelius Gallus. It is well known that in the song of Silenus (*Ecl.* 6.23–86 = 64 verses) mention is made of Scylla, daughter of Nisus (*Quid loquar aut Scyllam Nisi*, 74)—a departure from the story of the Homeric Scylla. This variation furnished the author of the *Ciris* with the motif for his aetiological poem.

In Silenus' song of creation, which has intrigued so many critics, the poet has introduced an incongruous reference to Gallus, which needs to be examined in connection with our assumed numerological problem stemming from his name. The Greek letters in GALLUS (not GALLOS = 334, cf. P. Maury, *Lettres d'humanité* 3 [1944] 143 and note 2) add up to a total of 664 (3 + 1 + 30 + 30 + 400 + 200). Vergil's reference to Gallus, strange as it may seem—it is certainly unexpected in its context—is introduced in a verse which by its number (64) points, as we shall see, to the association of number and name:

Tum canit errantem Permessi ad flumina Gallum . . .

This seemingly unaccountable insertion of a Gallus–Hesiod theme at this point in Silenus' chant of creation appears to label this *Eclogue* as one replete with themes from Gallus' poems. After this insertion of the injunction to Gallus to emulate Hesiod and extol Apollo's temple in the Grynaean grove, the poet takes up the theme of the *Ciris*, as we have noted. Three of Vergil's verses are found almost verbatim in *Ciris* (59–61). The problem has always presented itself: did Vergil borrow from the author of that poem or vice versa?

The verses which immediately follow in the aetiological poem may furnish us with a clue, if we bear in mind that Vergil projects his Gallus into a verse numbered 64. The text of *Ciris* has suffered considerable corruption in the course of its transmission: verse 12 is incomplete and another verse may have been lost at this point (*Vergil*, ed. Fairclough 2.404 [Loeb ed.] with references to

critical editions). The two verses in this poem immediately following the very close Vergilian reminiscence of 3 verses are as follows:

> Sed neque Maeoniae patiuntur credere chartae
> nec malus istorum dubiis erroribus auctor.

This last verse, numbered 63 (actually, it appears, it was 64 in the archetype) is, if I am right, the signature of the *auctor*. A tentative translation is as follows: "Nor does he who is the pernicious originator of those other works with their devious meanderings allow us to credit this tale any more than do the Homeric versions of the story of Scylla." Vergil's portrayal in his sixth *Bucolic* (verse 64) of Gallus as *errantem ad flumina* seems to have been influenced by the *dubiis erroribus* of the author of the *Ciris*, occurring also, it seems, in the 64th verse. Was Cornelius Gallus the author of this poem? (Cf. R. S. Conway, *The Vergilian Age* [Cambridge (Mass.) 1928] 64 with special reference to the pioneer works of F. Skutsch on this subject.)

These enigmatic verses in the *Ciris* may well convey a revelation of the identity of the *auctor* himself whose variations on the theme of Scylla, he maintains, are hardly as credible as those of Homer. The verse which follows (numbered 64 in the editions but = 65, if my analysis above is correct) points out the number of writers who have depicted Scylla under various guises ("namque alias alii volgo finxere puellas"). It is venturesome, of course, to claim Gallus as the author of the *Ciris* just from the evidence adduced from the numeral equivalent of his name. Vergil has subtly led the way. The name of Gallus appears in such illogical fashion, as we have seen, in an eclogue numbered 6 in his collection and in verse 64 (= *6.64*) where also the creation song of Silenus (23–86) is composed of 64 verses. Since we are drawn to the investigation of the influence of number in its various phases in the poems of Vergil because of the successful application of mathematical rules of symmetry by Professor Duckworth to the *Aeneid* (see above, note 31 with references to the works of G. Le Grelle, S. J. and P. Maury), would it appear to be too far-fetched to see the author of the *Ciris* signing himself with part of his name-number (64?) and with the number of the words in this verse of his poem to boot (6 words)? At least Vergil seems to have had here a forerunner in subtlety, for he has labeled the contents of

part—if not all—of the chant of Silenus with the significant numbers 6, 64, thus drawing attention in the 64th verse (ending with *Gallum*) of his sixth pastoral to his indebtedness to the poetic work of a soldier and statesman who committed suicide in 26 B.C. after falling out of favor with Augustus (Suet. *Aug.* 66.1–2). The song of the poet to Gallus and of Gallus to the poet (ratio = .609) in the tenth *Bucolic* (6–69) is composed, as one might expect, of 64 verses, if we are correct in believing that the song begins with *incipe*. Going further afield to what now appears to be the significant verse 664 in the sixth *Aeneid*, we come upon a memorable verse of lapidary character with its many vowels and liquids, perhaps in this respect following the model of a mortuary inscription:

quique sui memores aliquos fecere merendo . . .

(Cf. H. H. Davis, "Epitaphs and Memory," *CJ* 53 [1957–58] 173.) We seem to see in the expansion of the thought—the address of the Sibyl to the *vates*—of this verse which culminates in Musaeus (*Musaeum ante omnes*, 667) an adumbration of Vergil's friend, Cornelius Gallus, who is associated with those who by their merits made some men (*aliquos*) hold their benefactors in fond memory. Musaeus is consulted by the Sibyl on the location of the Elysian Fields. He is addressed as *optime vates* (669). The soldierly bearing of Musaeus (*ante tulit gressum*, 677; cf. Norden, *ad loc.*) seems to be in keeping with the career of his presumptive prototype.

A second century papyrus has recently been discovered. It is in content a *katabasis*, as is shown by the restored verses 5–6 (ες *Α*[ι]δος ηλθον . . . φιλους δ'εσα[ωσαν]) by Max Treu, "Die neue 'Orphische' Unterweltsbeschreibung und Vergil," *Hermes* 82 (1954) 29. Another restoration has been made by R. Merkelbach, *Mus. Helv.* 8 (1951) 9. These papyrus fragments would seem to substantiate the hypothesis that Vergil in his memorable verse (664) intended to commemorate his gratitude to his *friend* and benefactor by the use of the definite *aliquos* (reading of the best MSS. and by Servius; accepted by Sabbadini: *alios*, Hirtzel).

It is appropriate to introduce at this point the 63rd and 64th verses—note the numeration—of Ovid's *Amores* 3.9:

Tu quoque, si falsum est temerati crimen amici,
sanguinis atque animae prodige Galle tuae.

Since Ovid gives here a list of poets in the Elysian Fields, culminating in Gallus, we may note also the puzzling reference (Cf. L. A. MacKay, *TAPA* 86 [1955] 186–87) in the sixth *Aeneid* (430) immediately after mention of the souls of infants: "hos iuxta *falso* damnati *crimine* mortis." Was Ovid conscious of this verse of Vergil? On Vergil's "inconsolable grief" at the tragic fate of his friend, see R. Coleman, "Gallus, the *Bucolics* and the Ending of the Fourth *Georgic*," *AJP* 83 (1962) 69–70 on the Orpheus episode in the fourth *Georgic* as an "oblique tribute" to Gallus.

Now that we have noted several examples of prophetic utterances in Vergil which are patterned in length after the first of such a series in the famous pastoral, the question arises whether in the year 19 B.C. Ovid showed some awareness of what seems to be the significance of the numbers 63 and 64. In verse 63 of this poem Ovid mentions the false charge made by Augustus against his friend Gallus and in verse 64 definitely places the spirit of Gallus in the Elysian Fields. Was Ovid also conscious of Vergil's verses 664 ff. (Musaeus = Gallus?) in the description of the *laeti loci* in the sixth *Aeneid*? If we are right, Vergil artfully emphasizes his loyalty to Gallus by placing him in the guise of the mythical poet Musaeus in the happy otherworld along with Orpheus, *sacerdotes casti* and *pii vates* and among the founders of the Roman state (650). Musaeus is, moreover, placed in an important position as guide to the regions presided over by Anchises. He is addressed, as we have stated, as *optime vates*—a complimentary phrase reflecting, it seems, Vergil's reference to Gallus in the tenth *Bucolic* (17) as *divine poeta*.

While we are presented in Vergil's poems as Duckworth has shown (above, note 31) with an embarrassment of riches in the realm of Neopythagorean numerology, it seems necessary to add one more instance of a Vergilian trend towards arithmetical *enigmata*. *Eclogues* 1–9 are, it is generally agreed (Duckworth [above, note 31], 197 and 210 with the bibliography, note 45, on the "mystical" (?) numbers "333," "666") are grouped around the fifth pastoral in the series 1–4; 6–9. The number of verses in these two collections—if we accept the evidence of our extant MSS.—are respectively 330 and 332, giving us a total of 662. From previous observations in this paper on the recurrence of the mystical number "63" in Apolline prophecies we might well expect the total number of verses in these eight *Eclogues* to be 663—

not 662. Actually, if we can divine the mind of the poet here in this kind of *Zahlenspiel* (cf. E. Rohde, *Psyche* [Tübingen 1925], 2.168–69), he may have shrewdly added to the total number of verses in the sixth pastoral poem an initial line with just the name "Varus," if we can so understand his words (11–12):

nec Phoebo gratior ulla est,
quam sibi quae Vari praescripsit pagina nomen.

It is curious and worth noting, unless the reader by this time has become weary of our traffic in numbers, that the numerical equivalent of "Kaisar" is 332—one half the arithmetical value of Gallus' name. Cf. Horace, *Odes* 3.29 (To Maecenas = 64 verses. See V. Pöschl, *Die grosse Maecenasode des Horaz* [Heidelberg 1961] 20, in which the central theme is expressed in verses 32–33); 2.17 (To Maecenas = 32 verses); 1.37 (Fate of Cleopatra = 32 verses); 3.2 (with the favorite maxim of Augustus, 25–26 = 32 verses).

We have presented in this paper varied examples of the use and extension of Neopythagorean "number-play" in a form which would seem to accord with the statement of C. G. Jung (see above, note 1) of the application of the symbol in "a complicated situation": "The symbol always covers a complicated situation which is so far beyond the grasp of language that it cannot be expressed at all in any unambiguous manner." On myth and the "psyche's subconscious exploration of itself" see C. H. Whitman, *Homer and the Heroic Tradition* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1958) 297.