VIRGIL AND ARCADIA*

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There is an obstacle to our natural appreciation of Virgil's *Eclogues* which looms as large in their case as in that of any poetry whatever. The *Eclogues* form probably the most influential group of short poems ever written: though they themselves take Theocritus as a model, they were to become the fountainhead from which the vast and diverse tradition of pastoral in many European literatures was to spring. To use them as a model was in itself to distort their character: it is one of the greatest ironies of literary history that these elusive, various, eccentric poems should have become the pattern for hundreds of later writers. Moreover, the growth of the later pastoral tradition meant that many things were attributed to Virgil which are not in Virgil. Sometimes they were derived from interpretations which were put upon Virgil in late antiquity but which we now believe to be mistaken; sometimes they are misinterpretations of a much later date; sometimes they originated from new developments in pastoral literature which their inventors had not meant to seem Virgilian, but which in the course of time got foisted back on to Virgil nevertheless. It is hard, therefore, to approach the *Eclogues* openly and without preconceptions about what they contain, and even scholars who have devoted much time and learning to them have sometimes continued to hold views about them for which there are upon a dispassionate observation no good grounds at all. No poems perhaps have become so encrusted by the barnacles of later tradition and interpretation as these, and we need to scrape these away if we are to see them in their true shape. My aim here is to do some of this scraping by examining the use of Arcadians and the name of Arcadia in Virgil's work.

Many people have been introduced to this topic by Bruno Snell's famous essay, 'Arcadia: the discovery of a spiritual landscape', which he incorporated into his book, *The Discovery of the Mind*, as its final chapter.[1] He begins it with a fine epigram: 'Arcadia was discovered in the year 42 or 41 B.C.' He is not of course referring (he goes on to say) to the actual geographical region of Arcadia, an austere, mountainous area of the Peloponnese, but to Arcadia as an imaginative creation. 'The Arcadia which the name suggests to the minds of most of us today,' he explains, 'is a different one; it is the land of shepherds and shepherdesses, the land of poetry and love. And its discoverer is Virgil.'

Though Snell's essay contains much of permanent value on the subject of Virgil's creation of a 'spiritual landscape',[2] I shall argue that the statements about Arcadia which I have just quoted are simply wrong.[3] Instead of 'in the year 42 or 41 B.C.' we should read 'around A.D. 1500', and for Virgil we should read the name of Jacopo Sannazaro. I shall come back to Sannazaro later; for the moment a few words about his most famous work, *Arcadia*, will suffice. It is a romance, a mixture of prose narrative and verse eclogues, in which Silvio, a gentleman suffering from the woes of love, retires into an idyllic countryside populated by shepherds and shepherdesses; to this countryside Sannazaro gives the name Arcadia. The book was a success all over Europe, and spawned many imitators, notably Montemayor's *Diana* (now chiefly remembered for its effect upon Don Quixote) and, finest of all, Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, which again enjoyed an international esteem. It was one of the most popular

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[1] B. Snell, *The Discovery of the Mind*, tr. T. G. Rosenmeyer (1953), ch. 13.

[2] 'Spiritual' translates the German *geistig*, which includes the connotations 'mental', 'imaginative'. The German title of Snell's book is *Die Entdeckung des Geistes*.

[3] The simplicity of this claim should perhaps be stressed. Because the *Eclogues* are pre-eminently poetry for which the lazy words—'ambiguous, multivalent, polysemous'—work so well, it is easy to slip into supposing that nothing can be said of them which is plainly right or plainly wrong; but this is not so. Cf. G. B. Conte, *The Rhetoric of Imitation* (1986), 103 (in an essay on *Ecl.* 10): 'We need a method that is internally coherent and also devises a critical discourse that is consistent with the text, not an undisciplined surrender to arbitrary inferences sanctioned by supposed ambiguity.'

works of fiction in this country for a hundred and fifty years, and was still widely read up to the end of the eighteenth century; Richardson called his novel *Pamela* after one of Sidney's two heroines. Out of the enormous popularity of such pastoral romances (which inspired, among other things, two of Shakespeare's plays) grew a vast literature of pastoral prose and poetry; the setting was often though not always Arcadia, and the place became so familiar that it was commonly anglicized as Arcady. A mood of idyllic beauty combined with a kind of melancholy was summed up in the phrase 'et in Arcadia ego'. This motto was invented in the seventeenth century, in the course of which it changed meaning, as Erwin Panofsky demonstrated in a well-known article.[4] Originally it was death who spoke: 'Even in Arcadia, there am I.' Soon the words were transferred to the dead shepherd, who declares, more evocatively but with inferior Latinity, 'I too was once in Arcadia'. The history of these famous words is a remarkable example of an apparently classical tradition growing and changing since the Renaissance; it may warn us to look at Virgil's Arcadia too with a sceptical eye.

What I have said about Arcadia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is uncontroversial; I now move on to less safe ground. The view so eloquently expressed by Snell, which is in essence what has been believed for centuries, has continued to be held by scholars. Gilbert Highet wrote, 'Vergil was the discoverer of Arcadia, the idealized land of country life, where youth is eternal, love is the sweetest of all things even though cruel, music comes to the lips of every herdsman, and the kind spirits of the country-side bless even the unhappiest lover with their sympathy.' For Jacques Perret, Virgil's Arcadia is 'the ideal land of leisure and pastoral song, of nature at its loveliest and of the most exquisite refinement'. According to Friedrich Klingner, Arcadia was for Virgil a dream landscape, the soul's homeland, an enchanted realm of higher existence in the midst of a brutal and destructive reality. Thomas G. Rosenmeyer states simply that Virgil 'replaced Theocritus' Sicily and Cos with Arcadia'.[5] In the high authorities of recent date a note of discomfort can sometimes be detected. Robert Coleman believes that 'Vergil saw in the myth of Arcady ... an embodiment of certain moral ideals that he could himself identify closely with the real countryside: a simple way of life, contentment with little, delight in natural beauty, homely piety, friendship and hospitality, devotion to poetry and to peace'; and he claims that the seventh *Eclogue* is set in this mythical Arcady. But he allows that 'the definitive presentment of this Arcady occurs only in the last pastoral that he wrote, *Ecl.* 10', and concedes that the poet's 'references to [Arcady] are infrequent'. Wendell Clausen comes close to the truth when he remarks, in parenthesis, that 'pastoral Arcadia is mainly the invention of Sannazaro and Sir Philip Sidney', but he continues to hold that 'la pastorale Arcadia' is 'the ideal, harmonious landscape Virgil discovered as a young poet'.[6] A more radical approach is needed.

We should note, first of all, that there is no sign of anyone in the ancient world realizing that Virgil had discovered a spiritual Arcadia symbolic of pastoral. The writers of pastoral subsequent to Virgil—Calpurnius Siculus, Nemesianus and the author of the Einsiedeln eclogues—are unaware of what Virgil is supposed to have done (one might add that Mantuan, writing Latin eclogues imitative of Virgil in the fifteenth century, is equally innocent of such awareness).[7] Servius has no knowledge of such an Arcadia either. He knows that 'silvae' are one of Virgil's symbols for the pastoral world; he knows that allusions to Sicily are allusions to pastoral; but he does not say this of Arcadia. The observation is a simple one, but it should be stressed; it

[4] E. Panofsky in R. Klibansky, H. J. Paton (eds), *Philosophy and History: Essays presented to Ernest Cassirer* (1936), 223–54; reprinted in Panofsky, *Meaning and the Visual Arts* (1955), 295–320.

[5] G. Highet, *The Classical Tradition* (1949), 163; J. Perret, *Virgile: l'homme et l'oeuvre* (1952), 32; F. Klingner, *Virgil* (1967), 14; T. G. Rosenmeyer, *The Green Cabinet: Theocritus and the European Pastoral Lyric* (1969), 232.

[6] R. Coleman (ed.), *Vergil: Eclogues* (1977), 32, 22, 209; Clausen, *Virgil's Aeneid and the Tradition of Hellenistic Poetry* (1987), 66.

[7] 'Henceforth Arcady became *the* pastoral setting' (Coleman on *Ecl.* 7. 4); this, the conventional view, ignores later classical poetry and the pastorals of the Carolingian period, the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance. On this extensive literature see e.g. H. Cooper, *Pastoral: Mediaeval into Renaissance* (1977), E. Lambert, *Placing Sorrow: A Study of the Pastoral Elegy Convention from Theocritus to Milton* (1976).

would be extraordinary, if Virgil had really created the myth of Arcadia, that no ancient writer known to us should have noticed the fact.

Let us then look at the references to Arcadia in Virgil's own text. The process is like melting snow in a bucket: there is surprisingly little water left at the end, and what there is looks rather muddy. To start with, there is in more than half of the eclogues, six out of ten, no reference or allusion to Arcadia whatsoever: these eclogues are 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, and 9. Suppose that we simply read through the *Eclogues* in succession (the critics tell us that we should regard the ten poems as a single work; so let us take them at their word). We shall not find any mention of Arcadia until near the end of the fourth *Eclogue*:[8]

> Pan etiam, Arcadia mecum si iudice certet,
> Pan etiam Arcadia dicat se iudice victum.
>
> Pan too, if he were to compete with me with Arcadia as judge, Pan, even with Arcadia as judge, would confess himself beaten.

Once we rid ourselves of preconceptions, it becomes clear that this is just a passing reference: Arcadia is mentioned because it is the region traditionally associated with Pan. If Virgil had been speaking of some beautiful woman and said, 'She is more lovely than Venus, as even Cyprus would admit', no one would suppose that the scene was set in Cyprus. The phrase 'Pan deus Arcadiae', 'Pan the god of Arcadia', comes not only in the tenth *Eclogue* but also in the third book of the *Georgics*, and in the latter case at least it is surely plain that Arcadia carries no distinctly private or symbolic meaning for the poet. In any case, the fourth *Eclogue* is not in a straightforward sense a pastoral poem at all. Servius noted that Virgil diverged from his model Theocritus in that only seven of his pieces were 'merae rusticae', purely rustic, but in three of them he departed from pastoral to some degree (two of these are the fourth and sixth *Eclogues*—Servius himself tells us so—the third presumably *Eclogue* 10).[9] The fourth and sixth *Eclogues* differ from the others in that they have no landscape background; all the rest are set in some kind of landscape, elusive and imaginary though it may be. *Eclogue* 4 is not set in Arcadia for the simple reason that it is not set anywhere at all; it is just not that sort of poem. It is an address to a patron, a panegyric, a *genethliacon*; it is not dramatic or descriptive of locality. The point need not be further laboured; one has only to read the poem to see why it cannot be 'placed' in a geographical area.

Let us read onwards. As I have said, there is no trace of Arcadia in *Eclogues* 5 or 6; so we have now got through more than half of the poems without any indication that Arcadia is the symbol of Virgil's 'spiritual landscape'. Of the four eclogues that remain, the ninth again has nothing of Arcadia in it; the other three will require a longer scrutiny.

The eighth *Eclogue* does not name Arcadia as such; however, three lines of Damon's song describe the mountain Maenalus, which is in Arcadia:[10]

> Maenalus argutumque nemus pinusque loquentis
> semper habet, semper pastorum ille audit amores
> Panaque, qui primus calamos non passus inertis.
>
> Maenalus ever keeps its sounding woods and whispering pines, it ever hears the loves of shepherds; it hears too Pan, who first forbade the reeds to remain idle.

Moreover, the refrain of Damon's song is 'incipe Maenalios mecum, mea tibia, versus', 'My flute, begin with me my songs of Maenalus [or "Maenalian songs"]'.[11] The reason for Maenalus' appearance here seems tolerably clear: it is associated with Pan, as Delphi and Delos were associated with Apollo, and Cyprus with Aphrodite; Maenalian songs are songs accompanied by the Pan pipes.

So there is an undoubted reference to Arcadia in the eighth *Eclogue*; are there any

[8] *Ecl.* 4. 58 f.

[9] Servius, *Buc. prooem.* (Thilo-Hagen III, p. 3) ('sane sciendum, VII. eclogas esse meras rusticas ...').

[10] *Ecl.* 8. 22–4.

[11] First at *Ecl.* 8. 21 and repeated eight times before its final appearance, in altered form, at l. 61.

grounds for thinking that the poem is itself set in Arcadia? The answer is no, and for various reasons. Damon is not singing *in propria persona*; he is assuming a role that is not his own. This should be clear enough from his song itself. The *mise en scène* is that two shepherds, Damon and Alphesiboeus, are having a singing competition (like the herdsmen of *Eclogues* 3 and 7). Damon goes first; his song, told in the first person, describes a blighted and despairing love, ending with the speaker's declaration that he will take his life by casting himself from a high rock into the sea. Are we to suppose that Damon, racked by these torments himself, has the heart to turn them into the matter of a competition; or that he politely waits to hear Alphesiboeus' song of response before carrying out his plan of suicide? Evidently not. And if anyone should be misguided enough to think so, he ought to discover his mistake when Alphesiboeus takes up the challenge; for he assumes the role of a woman. It is part of the restricted, enclosed character of the *Eclogues* that no woman ever speaks in them; this one exception proves not to be an exception at all, but rather draws attention to the absence of women from the foreground of the poems. The songs of the two shepherds parallel one another, and just as Alphesiboeus assumes a role, so too does Damon. We see here one of Virgil's distancing techniques, a consciousness of the poem as exquisite artefact, a careful avoidance of the tragic note.

Such technique can be found also in the tiny scene of the children in the orchard in Damon's song, which some have thought the most affecting thing in all the *Eclogues*; Macaulay held these five lines to be the finest in the Latin language, and as unfanciful a scholar as E. J. Kenney has been prepared to risk anachronism by comparing them, as an evocation of the lost paradise of childhood, with *Le Grand Meaulnes*:[12]

> saepibus in nostris parvam te roscida mala
> (dux ego vester eram) vidi cum matre legentem.
> alter ab undecimo tum me iam acceperat annus,
> iam fragilis poteram a terra contingere ramos:
> ut vidi, ut perii, ut me malus abstulit error!

> I saw you in our enclosure as a little girl (I was your guide) gathering dewy apples with your mother. At that time I had just reached my twelfth year, I could just reach the brittle branches from the ground. When I saw, how I died, how wretched delusion carried me away!

In this picture all is so small, all so tender. The girl is little ('parvam'), and she is found in an enclosure ('saepibus in nostris'). This is a telling change from the lines of Theocritus taken by Virgil as his model here, in which the girl came 'wanting to pick hyacinths from the hill';[13] the whole little scene is delicately enclosed by the landscape just as the brief passage itself is enclosed by the rather different poetry around it. The image is all the more tender in that the enclosed garden was a common symbol in antiquity for a girl's virginity and the protection that her parents afford her;[14] and indeed her mother is seen accompanying her.[15] There is a sort of shy urgency in the way in which 'dux ego vester eram' is put into a parenthesis; and there is delicate exactness in the lines that follow. The language focuses upon the detail of time and scale: we see this in the repetition 'iam ... iam', in the first case with an accompanying 'tum'.[16] The boy is *just* eleven years old.[17] Now it is true that the adjective 'duodecimus' cannot be fitted into a hexameter; still, the periphrasis in 'alter ab

[12] *Ecl.* 8. 37–41. (T. Pinney (ed.), *The Letters of Thomas Babington Macaulay* III (1976), 62; E. J. Kenney, *ICS* VIII (1983), 44–59, at 53).

[13] Theocritus, *Id.* 11. 26 f.

[14] For examples see R. Jenkyns, *Three Classical Poets* (1982), 33, 42 f., 50 f.

[15] Despite the uncertainty voiced by Servius, the plurally possessive adjective 'vester' makes it certain that the mother in the scene is the girl's, not the boy's. Here too Virgil has departed from his model: at *Id.* 11. 26 the mother is explicitly the male's.

[16] The constant repetition of 'iam' in the fourth *Eclogue* also has a 'focusing' effect, as Virgil watches the gradual process by which man will move in stages towards a return of the golden age. At *Aen.* 7. 643, 8. 349 and 8. 350 'iam tum' has an impressive but slightly different effect, as the poet studies the combination of change and continuity in the operations of history. Virgil is a master of the monosyllable.

[17] This seems the natural interpretation of the Latin. Servius, however, maintains that 'alter ab undecimo ... annus' means that the boy is *two* years past his eleventh year; in other words, that he is, as we should say, twelve years old.

undecimo' helps the focusing effect: one year past the eleventh—we feel the searching for precision. And as this line focuses on the boy's age, so the next focuses on his height: *now* he could reach the boughs of the tree. The whole scene is on tiptoe, so to speak. 'Fragilis' is the perfect epithet for those branches, since the whole scene seems delicate, vulnerable, easily broken. And broken it shall be in the very next line, as the boy is swept away into disaster.

These four or five lines have an extraordinary intensity and clarity, and yet consider how far from immediacy they are. Virgil introduces the poem in his own person (there is no parallel for this in his other pastoral dialogues); he then invents the shepherd Damon; Damon then invents an imaginary lover; this imaginary lover then recalls an event long ago in his past. It is like looking through a telescope the wrong way round: we see the scene in the orchard with extreme precision, but far away and very small. It is thus important to the aesthetic effect that we should be aware of the separateness of Damon from the *persona* that he assumes in his song; and there is no reason at all to place him and Alphesiboeus in Arcadia.

Might one, though, make a more limited claim: that Damon has placed the invented hero of his song in Arcadia? No, even this is not the case. The imagined singer says something of Maenalus, but he does not in fact say that Maenalus is where he now is; I note this without attaching importance to it one way or the other. More significant is that a few lines later he does provide another and different geographical indication: 'sparge, marite, nuces: tibi deserit Hesperus Oetam', 'Scatter nuts, bridegroom; for you the Evening Star is leaving Mount Oeta'.[18] Oeta is of course in Thessaly. One could say, I suppose, either that the imagined scene is set in Thessaly, or in a fantasy world that momentarily becomes Thessaly, or that this morsel of geography is a brief, romantic flourish which is not to be further pressed; if I had to make a choice, I should prefer the third of these formulations, but one may perhaps doubt whether Virgil himself would have been greatly concerned to choose between them.[19] There is, in theory, one more geographical indicator at ll. 59–60: the blighted lover will cast himself from a mountain into the sea. Are we to search for some coastal region of Greece with cliffs along the shore? Surely not. Here is another poetical flourish, derived, I would imagine, from the story of Sappho and Phaon; another artificial, operatic gesture. One thing, at least, can be firmly stated: there are no grounds for saying that the imaginary *persona* which Damon assumes (a role so sketchy that he does not have a name) is an Arcadian or that he is living in Arcadia; the former claim would have to be based on a misunderstanding of ll. 21–4, the latter is ruled out by l. 30.

We have now passed eight out of the ten *Eclogues* in review, and already it should be clear that the traditional belief in Virgil's Arcadia is untenable; but let us press on with our quest. In *Eclogue* 7 the herdsman Meliboeus describes two other herdsmen, Thyrsis and Corydon, as 'Arcades ambo', 'both Arcadians', in l. 4; in l. 26 Thyrsis apostrophizes Arcadian shepherds. There are no other references of any sort to Arcadia in the poem. What are we to make of this?

At ll. 12 f. we are not in Arcadia, or even in Greece, for the simple reason that we are in North Italy, on Virgil's own native patch:

> hic viridis tenera praetexit harundine ripas
> Mincius
>
> Here Mincius fringes his green banks with tender reed

Virgil was evidently pleased with this description, for he reworked and expanded it in the proem to the third book of the *Georgics*:[20]

[18] *Ecl.* 8. 30.

[19] Catullus at 62. 7 associates Oeta with the rising of the Evening Star, to be followed by Virgil, Statius and the author of the *Culex* (R. Ellis, *A Commentary on Catullus* (2nd ed., 1889), ad loc.); Servius alleges a cult of Hesperus on Oeta. Whether Virgil simply echoes Catullus or alludes to some older convention is unclear. Coleman on *Ecl.* 8. 30 ('So this could be a clue to the notional setting of the singing contest') wrongly conflates the world of the singer with the world of his song.

[20] *Geo.* 3. 13–15.

et viridi in campo templum de marmore ponam
propter aquam, tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat
Mincius et tenera praetexit harundine ripas.

And I shall build a marble temple in a green expanse, by the waterside, where huge Mincius wanders with sluggish windings and fringes his banks with tender reed.

In the first passage the descriptive elements are the green bank and the fringe of reeds; in the second passage the greenness (now applied to the surrounding fields) and the reed fringe remain, but some new details are added: the width of the river, the meandering course, the slow current.

It is worth giving some attention to Virgil's feelings for rivers in general, and for Mincius in particular; the digression will prove to have a relevance to our scrutiny of Arcadia. Unlike Homer, Virgil had no feeling for the romance of the sea; the plot of the *Aeneid* gave him large opportunities to exploit this theme, but he does not choose to evoke the mystery of ocean or its perennity or even its salt indifference. Rivers, by contrast, haunted his imagination, and he turns to them when he wishes to explore the relation of landscape to man's local or national identity. The 'laudes Italiae' in the second book of the *Georgics* praise the land but barely describe it at all, except in two vignettes, which depict the work of nature and the work of man together:[21]

tot congesta manu praeruptis oppida saxis
fluminaque antiquos subterlabentia muros.

so many towns piled up by man's hand upon precipitous rocks and rivers flowing beneath ancient walls.

In the *Aeneid* the Tiber is of such interest to the poet that he refers to it by no less than four different names, and it is Tiberinus who welcomes Aeneas to Italy on behalf of the Italian earth.[22] Mincius too received Virgil's keen attention.

Now most Italian rivers, small or large, are really mountain torrents: in dry season their streams run shrunken through boulders or gravel; after rain, or when the snows melt, they are turbid and swollen. The Tiber is conventionally 'flavus', yellow, because it is thick with the soil that it has scoured from its banks in its rapid descent from the Umbrian plateau; in the seventh book of the *Aeneid* Virgil describes its mouth, the river bursting forth from among thick forest, its yellow eddies spreading out into the clear sea-water. The rivers of the northern plain, including the Po itself, mostly do not differ much from other Italian rivers in this respect, since they are fed either from the Apennines or the Alps. Mincius, however, is something of an exception. Its headwaters are collected in the enormous basin of the Lake of Garda, which in any case lies unusually low for a mountain lake, its southern end lapping the Italian plain.[23] The lake supplies a relatively steady flow of water throughout the seasons, and the modest declivity between the lake and the river's confluence with the Po makes the current slow; today, in fact, wide marshy lakes have formed around Mantua, apparently since Virgil's lifetime; reed beds remain a distinctive feature of its course. He seems to have recognized the link between the Lake of Garda (Benacus) and the distinctive character of his local river, for he returns to Mincius again in the *Aeneid*—it is indeed his *sphragis*, present in each of his three works—where it is described as 'patre Benaco velatus harundine glauca', 'veiled in grey reed by father Benacus' (or 'coming from father Benacus, veiled in grey reed').[24]

'How prosaic is this topography', some may think; wrongly, for the interplay between fantasy and a surprisingly solid reality is at the heart of the *Eclogues*. The moral is this. Virgil's description of Mincius is particularized; it is not a generalized description of nature—like, say, the description of Maenalus in *Eclogue* 8—but brings out the distinctive character of this one river. One of Virgil's inventions, indeed, was

[21] *Geo.* 2. 156 f.

[22] The four names are Thybris, Tiberinus, Tiberis and Albula. Tiberinus' welcome: *Aen.* 8. 36 ff.

[23] It is only 65 m above sea level; compare Maggiore (193 m), Como (199 m), Lugano (270 m). (The more northerly Alpine lakes—Geneva, Lucerne, Constance, etc.—lie much higher still.)

[24] *Aen.* 10. 205 f.

the linking of the abstract emotions of patriotism with vignettes of locality, sharply observed. Propertius shows that he has learnt the lesson in the first poem of his fourth book, where he connects his ambition to sing the national and patriotic theme of Roman *aitia* with some distinctive features of his native patch: the way that Assisi, unlike most Italian hill towns, climbs the flank of its hill from a comparatively low altitude; the hollow in the hills at Mevania, where the mist lingers.[25] Mincius in *Eclogue* 7 is not just a name or a passing allusion to the poet's origins; it is meant to put a rather special sort of Italian landscape sharply and immediately before our eyes. And this is a landscape extremely unlike that of Arcadia, which is fiercely mountainous, not flat and green.

It might be disputed whether the whole of *Eclogue* 7 is consistently in a north Italian setting or in an imaginary world which for a moment becomes north Italy; I prefer the latter description, but the issue does not affect my immediate argument. What can be firmly said, once again, is that there are no grounds at all for supposing that Virgil intended to place the herdsmen of this poem in an Arcadia either literal or metaphorical. We can go further: there is in fact a decisive reason, even apart from the appearance of Mincius, why the setting cannot be Arcadia, and it lies in the words 'Arcades ambo' themselves. If some character in a book says 'I have just met two Englishmen', we can be virtually certain that the scene is not laid in England. I would not say this in Surrey; I might well say it in Paris. When Meliboeus tells us that his friends are both Arcadians, the poet has indicated to us that we are somewhere other than Arcadia; I think that no one would doubt this, had we not been brought up to believe in a Virgilian Arcadia for which there is no evidence.

So a new question arises: what are these Arcadians doing away from their native soil? I do not have a complete answer (and I shall try to show why I think that a complete answer is not available to us), but we may hope for partial answers which will give us a reasonably good understanding of what Virgil was trying to do. First, we should keep in mind that the *Eclogues* are teasing, riddling, playfully elusive poems; some modern interpreters lose sight of this and impose upon them a consistency and purposefulness—a degree of 'message'—alien to their character. 'Arcades ambo' is perhaps one of Virgil's teases. The alert reader will realize at this point that we are not in Arcadia, but even he may presume that we are somewhere in Greece (the herdsmen all of course have Greek names) and be brought up short when a north Italian scene is set before him with an especial clarity and precision. This would be similar to the technique which Virgil employs in the first *Eclogue*. As his first readers we open the book of *Eclogues* (remember, we do not have two thousand years of scholarship to lead us astray), and we see a Greek shepherd piping melodiously; we suppose, naturally, that we are in some part of the Greek world; perhaps, if we know Theocritus, in Sicily. Soon we hear of things that are likely to make us think of recent events in Italy, but possibly only by way of allusion or parallel; eventually, with the massive spondees of l. 19, great Rome is placed monumentally before us: 'urbem quam dicunt Romam ...', 'the city which they call Rome'. And Virgil celebrates his piece of mischief by following the resonant name of Rôme immediately with the repetition of one of those Greek names: 'urbem quam dicunt Romam, Meliboee ...'. There is a piquancy in this.

Another reason why Thyrsis and Corydon in the seventh *Eclogue* are Arcadians is apparently because of an association of Arcadia with rustic song. This seems clear enough at ll. 4 f.: the two Arcadians are well-matched singers, ready to answer each other's verses. There is presumably the same implication in the words of Thyrsis' song at 25 f.:

> Pastores, hedera crescentem ornate poetam,
> Arcades, invidia rumpantur ut ilia Codro.

Shepherds, Arcadians, garland with ivy your rising poet, so that Codrus may burst his guts with envy.

[25] Prop. 4. 1. 65 f. and 121–6.

We might look ahead to *Eclogue* 10. 32 f., where we hear of 'soli cantare periti | Arcades', 'Arcadians who alone are skilled at singing'. The association of Arcadia with country singing is again probably due to Pan, god of Arcadia, and his pipes; but it is now time to bring another piece of evidence into play.

Among the epigrams of the *Palatine Anthology* is one attributed to a poet whose name is given as Ἐρύκιος (in conventional Latinized form 'Erycius'); however, it is clear that this is a transliteration of the Roman name Erucius.[26] In this poem there are two oxherds described as Ἀρκάδες ἀμφότεροι, both Arcadians.[27] Erucius is probably to be dated to the second half of the first century B.C.[28] There are three possibilities (other than pure coincidence, which can be ruled out); first, that Erucius is echoing Virgil; second, that Virgil is echoing Erucius; third, that both poets are echoing a common original, either directly or at a remove. Let us consider these possibilities in turn.

Is Erucius echoing Virgil? Notoriously it is rare for any Greek poet to display the influence of even the finest Roman verse; an echo of Latin literature in a Greek epigram would be a surprise.[29] Moreover, if he were following in Virgil's footsteps, we cannot explain why he should have made his two herdsmen Glaucon and Corydon, rather than Thyrsis and Corydon as in the *Eclogue*.[30] Since Erucius bears a Roman *nomen*, we may surmise that the poet was a Greek who had acquired Roman citizenship and taken his patron's name.[31] So it might possibly (though not plausibly) be argued that he could have been untypically subject to the influence of Latin poetry. If this were so, Erucius would not shed any light on the seventh *Eclogue*.

Is Virgil echoing Erucius? One is perhaps reluctant to think that he would bother to echo anything so insignificant, but there is a more substantial reason for doubt, which is that he is echoing—or if not echoing, pretending to echo—someone else. For his phrase is virtually a fragment of Greek, but not of Erucius' Greek. There is a parallel in the second *Eclogue*, when Corydon suddenly utters the bizarre line, 'Amphion Dircaeus in Actaeo Aracyntho'.[32] This line draws attention to its oddity in that it has in terms of Virgil's usual practice no less than three irregularities of scansion: a weak caesura in the third foot without a strong caesura in the fourth to follow; a hiatus between the last two words; and a tetrasyllabic ending. But the line can be turned directly into Greek, using ἐπί in place of 'in', and it then becomes regular according to the prosody of that language: Ἀμφίων Διρκαῖος ἐπ' Ἀκταίῳ Ἀρακύνθῳ. Virgil is either quoting a Hellenistic poet or pretending to do so (I imagine the former), and he has chosen a line which by its metrical character will advertise its Greekness. In *Eclogue* 7 the poet plays a similar game: the ordinary Latin for Arcadians is 'Arcadii'; instead, he uses a poeticism of Greek derivation, and moreover one which again advertises its Greekness, because 'Arcades' has to belong to the Greek declension in order that the last syllable may be scanned short. In fact, 'Arcades ambo' is virtually an exact transliteration of the Greek Ἀρκάδες ἄμφω. Virgil is again either quoting or pretending to quote the end of a Greek hexameter; and again I would suppose the former. He is not quoting Erucius, who used the word ἀμφότερος. Virgil and Erucius therefore seem to descend from a common original; whether Erucius' descent is through Virgil (in which case the first and third possibilities that I

[26] The data held on computer by the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (which does not yet comprise the whole Greek world) indicate no other Ἐρύκιος or Ἐρούκιος except in places where Roman nomenclature is being used. I am grateful to Mrs Elaine Matthews for help with this.

[27] *Anth. Pal.* 6. 96. 2.

[28] A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page (eds), *The Greek Anthology: the Garland of Philip and some contemporary epigrams* (1968), II, p. 279.

[29] Though not impossible; G. Williams, *Change and Decline* (1978), 124–36, argues (not altogether convincingly) for echoes of Augustan poetry in some Greek epigrams. On p. 126 he suggests that Erucius imitated Virgil, 'since it was Virgil who first set pastoral in Arcadia (that fact rules out both the possibility of the opposite (that Virgil imitated Erucius) and of a common source)'. On the contrary: the likelihood of a common source is an argument against the belief that Virgil 'set pastoral in Arcadia'.

[30] Gow-Page, loc. cit. (n. 28).

[31] Fourteen epigrams are attributed to him; in one place the *Palatine Anthology* describes him as being from Cyzicus, in another as Thessalian. It is not even certain whether we are dealing with one man or two (Gow-Page, p. 278).

[32] *Ecl.* 2. 24.

mentioned earlier would both be true) or independent of him is a matter of no importance to us.[33]

So Virgil is making an allusion to Greek poetry here; and it seems to be virtually certain that he is quoting a specific Greek text. Now in other parts of the *Eclogues* where we know Virgil to be quoting or alluding (for example the quotation of 'a, virgo infelix' from Calvus' *Io* at *Eclogue* 6. 47 and 52; the reference to the prologue of Callimachus' *Aetia* earlier in the same poem; the many echoes of Theocritus throughout the book) we commonly find that some knowledge of the context is necessary to a full understanding of Virgil's meaning. We cannot expect fully to understand the allusion in *Eclogue* 7, because we have lost the key. I suspect that Pan had a part to play here; but if we reflect upon the subtlety and wit of Virgil's allusive technique in other places, we shall realize that it is vain to seek for an accuracy of appreciation which we have not the power to attain. What should be clear is that an allusion to a Greek poet is a very different thing from the construction of a new 'spiritual landscape' to which the name of Arcadia is to be given.

We can now turn to the tenth *Eclogue*. Now this poem is indeed set in Arcadia, and of course we want to know why. It is as well to realize right away that our curiosity must remain in part at least unsatisfied. We have already seen reason to believe that there was something about Arcadia in some Greek poet now lost to us. Gallus is the hero of this poem; it is beyond reasonable doubt that Gallus' verse would be essential for a full understanding of it. We should not therefore be downcast if we cannot explain everything in the poem; on the contrary, we can be confident at least of one thing: that an account of the poem which does explain everything in it is sure to be wrong.

However, we can still understand enough to demonstrate that the poem is incompatible with the traditional belief in Virgil's Arcadia; we have not found this traditional Arcadia in nine out of the ten *Eclogues*; we shall not find it in the tenth either. Let us look a little closer.

Remember Servius' observation that only seven of the *Eclogues* were 'merae rusticae': three depart from bucolic song to some degree. It is curious that these are the three in which Virgil begins by advertising his pastoral credentials by allusion to Sicily, homeland of the first pastoral poet, Theocritus. He opens *Eclogue* 4 with an appeal to the muses of Sicily, 'Sicelides Musae'; he speaks in the first line of the sixth *Eclogue* of his 'Syracusan verse'; and at the start of the tenth *Eclogue* he calls in aid Syracuse's fountain nymph, Arethusa. It is part of the teasing nature of these poems that Virgil should proclaim his adherence to a literary ancestry at the very moments when he is moving most away from it. Now there is indeed a difference between *Eclogues* 4 and 6 on the one hand and *Eclogue* 10 on the other. *Eclogues* 4 and 6 are not pastoral at all, or if pastoral only in the most vestigial sense. The tenth *Eclogue*, by contrast, in a passage of more than ten lines conspicuously echoes the scene of the dying Daphnis in Theocritus' first *Idyll*. (It might perhaps be noted, though, that this echo is of the song of Thyrsis; in other words, it is an allusion to the remote, fantastic, artificial world conjured up in the song of one of Theocritus' herdsmen, a world quite unlike that inhabited by those herdsmen themselves.)

Eclogue 10 has a pastoral content, but it is not straightforwardly pastoral, because it seems to express a dissatisfaction with the pastoral mode, a desire to escape from its limits. The poem begins by announcing that it is to be the last of these pastoral pieces: 'extremum' is the very first word. It would be strange indeed if Virgil were to be creating in Arcadia a new symbol for pastoral at the very moment that he is affirming his intention to abandon it henceforth. A note of satiety enters the poem towards the end: 'Haec *sat* erit, divae, vestrum cecinisse poetam', he declares at l. 70; 'This will be

[33] A common original was already the conclusion of R. Reitzenstein, *Epigramm und Skolion* (1893), 132 n. E. L. Bowie, *CQ* n.s. xxxv (1985), 67–91, at 82 f. suggests Philetas as the ultimate source both for the name Corydon (also found in Theocritus) and for the Arcadian setting. The links in his avowedly speculative chain of argument are made the more tenuous by two assumptions which are in my view wrong: (1) that Corydon in *Ecl.* 2 is to be identified with Corydon in *Ecl.* 7; (2) that Virgil 'relocated' pastoral in Arcadia. Of course, the identity of any common original does not affect my present argument.

enough for your poet to have sung'. And in the last line he says, 'ite domum *saturae*, venit Hesperus, ite capellae'; 'Go home full fed, my goats, go home, for the Evening Star comes'.[34] There is a note of restlessness in the echo of 'sat ... saturae'; and there is a change in one of the pastoral symbols. Shade is one of the charms of the pastoral life, providing rest from the heat. Shadows end the day, and six of the ten *Eclogues* end with the coming on of evening. The countryman's life follows the rhythms of nature: when the shadows fall, he ceases his work; the day closes and the poem closes with it. So too in the tenth *Eclogue*; but now, for the first time, the shade is harmful to the poet:[35]

> surgamus: solet esse gravis cantantibus umbra,
> iuniperi gravis umbra; nocent et frugibus umbrae.
>
> Let us rise; the shade is wont to be troublesome to singers, the shade of the juniper is troublesome; the shadows harm the crops also.

The sphere of pastoral poetry, so the poet implies, is no longer enough; it is time for him to move on.[36] This is not a straightforwardly pastoral poem partly because much of the treatment of Gallus is not pastoral in any ordinary sense, partly because its pastoral allusions contain within themselves a resistence to pastoral, a desire to get beyond it. No poem could be less suited to be normative; it is a grand irony that it should be the main basis for the Arcadia created by Sannazaro and handed down from him to the later pastoral tradition.

We have found no cause to regard the Arcadia of the tenth *Eclogue* as standing for the pastoral world; and once again we can go further: there is good cause not to. The Arcadia of this poem is much unlike the rolling, verdant landscape of the Renaissance Arcadia, populated by sociable shepherds and studded with purling brooks and enamelled meads. It is unlike Virgil's pastoral landscapes also, which contain woods and bushes, mossy springs and shade and greenery by flowing streams, beeches and elms, myrtle and tamarisk; these are well-populated landscapes, with not only flocks and herds, but also viticulture and arable farming, and small towns at no great distance. All of which is a far cry from the Arcadia of *Eclogue* 10, which is romantic and beautiful indeed, but cold, strange, lonely and remote. Virgil creates his atmosphere through a mixture of diction, sound and content. In the phrase 'Aonie Aganippe' we hear an exotic name with bare long vowels and Grecian metre (again a hiatus and a tetrasyllabic ending).[37] There follow such phrases as 'sola sub rupe', 'beneath a *lonely* rock'; 'gelidi ... saxa Lycaei', 'the rocks of *chill* Lycaeus'; 'in silvis inter spelaea ferarum', 'in the woods among *the caverns of the wild beasts*'; and 'non me ulla vetabunt | frigora Parthenios canibus circumdare saltus', 'No *cold* will prevent me from circling the glens of Parthenius with my hounds'.[38] One has only to read l. 14 or l. 52 aloud to hear their lovely cold romantic sounds. This is a world of rocks and resonance, as Virgil says in another line bleakly beautiful to the ear: 'iam mihi per rupes videor lucosque sonantis | ire', 'Already I seem to myself to pass through rocks and echoing woods'.[39] Thus Virgil makes for us a mysterious world at once austere and entrancing; it is all very strange and riddling, and—here is the point of vital aesthetic significance—we miss the special tone and quality of this poem if we assimilate it to the Arcady of later tradition or to an Arcadia falsely supposed to exist

[34] *Ecl.* 10. 77.

[35] *Ecl.* 10. 74 f.

[36] On this matter see further Jenkyns in *JRS* LXXV (1985), 60–77, at 72. Though the tone of the tenth poem is new, it should be observed that recurrent in the *Eclogues* is the expression of an urge to write upon grander themes: *Ecl.* 4. 53 ff., 6. 3 ff., 8. 6 ff., as well as *Ecl.* 10. This note is distinctive to Virgil, and is not simply to be explained away as a response to the exigencies of the poet's patrons: it is an idea that he has himself chosen to thrust into prominence. In our own time the belief has been commonly held that Virgil at the time of writing the *Eclogues* would have been content to go on indefinitely composing small, exquisite pieces in the neoteric manner; the poet himself tells us otherwise.

N. Hopkinson, *A Hellenistic Anthology* (1988), 99, notes that Callimachus' 'contrast between slender Muse and fat victim lies behind the concluding lines of the *Eclogues*', but it is important to recognize also that Virgil is giving the old Callimachean material a radically new twist: interpretation here depends hardly at all on Callimachus but rather on the witty transformation that Virgil has wrought upon him.

[37] *Ecl.* 10. 12.

[38] *Ecl.* 10. 14, 15, 56 f.

[39] *Ecl.* 10. 58.

in other eclogues. In the last poem of the collection there sounds a new note, not heard before, and if we are not alert to this novelty, we fail to do justice to Virgil's originality and command of subtle variety.

Our story is not quite at an end; for we must examine the *Aeneid*, in which Virgil comes back to the pastoral note and also to Arcadians. It has been supposed that he here returns, or makes allusion, to the pastoral Arcadia of his earlier work; in fact the *Aeneid* will provide us with a last proof that he did not mean by Arcadia what he has usually been taken to mean, for he has pastoral allusion in one place and Arcadians in another, and he makes no connection between the two. I shall examine first where Virgil does bring pastoral colouring into his epic, and then turn to the Arcadians in the poem.

For much of his life Virgil was fascinated by the variety of Italy. Variety is one of the leading themes of the second book of the *Georgics*,[40] and it is in this part of the poem that he places his 'laudes Italiae', a panegyric in praise of his native land which is again devised to bring out its diversity. He explores the nature of Italy again in the later parts of the *Aeneid*, above all in Books 7 and 8, and once more with a keen sense of variety and idiosyncrasy. At the start of the seventh book the coast of Latium is presented as a *terra incognita*, haunted by the howling of Circe's animals, densely forested and, it seems, without signs of human habitation. This is in contrast to the city of Latinus, rich and grand, its civilization rooted in a deep antiquity, primordially Italic, but proleptic also of future Rome. Very different from this is the simple, pastoral world of Latinus' rustic subjects, Tyrrhus' family and their neighbours (of whom more shortly). The catalogue of Italian forces which concludes the book is designed, in contrast with Homer's catalogue of ships, to bring out the diversity of Italy's peoples, who range from romantic figures with the aura of Grecian mythology about them to rough bandits from the hills.[41] Evander's Pallanteum introduces us to yet another style of society, presented with a peculiar subtlety; a sort of modest country-gentlemanliness, blending heroic dignity with a simplicity of life. From another point of view, Pallanteum embodies one form of Greek presence in Italy, a Greekness blurred at the edges and merging into the new land, its nature encapsulated in Pallas, the young man who gives the place its name, son of a Greek father and a Sabine mother.[42] Later Diomede's city will show us another form of Greekness in Italy, newly arrived and sharply separate. Constantly Virgil is concerned with difference, with discriminations of tone and character, sometimes obvious, sometimes refined.

It was an original stroke by Virgil to put pastoral colouring into his epic, for is not pastoral *tenuis* in style, and at the opposite pole from epic's high grandeur? It is to Tyrrhus and his neighbours that this pastoral colour is applied; among whom the most prominent is the girl Silvia, a name and a person invented by Virgil himself. Servius saw the point: 'bonum puellae rusticae nomen formavit', he remarked, 'It was a good name that he invented for this country girl'; for Servius knew that in the *Eclogues* 'silvae' were Virgil's favourite symbol for pastoral.[43] Silvia's stag is rather like a shepherd itself: it used to wander in the woods, 'errabat silvis',[44] not unlike (say) Corydon in the second *Eclogue*; when it was shot it was either swimming in the

[40] See, for example, B. Otis, *Virgil: a Study in Civilized Poetry* (1963), 163 f.

[41] There is full analysis in B. Rehm, *Das geographische Bild des alten Italien in Vergils Aeneis* (1932), 92 ff., and R. D. Williams, *CQ* n.s. XI (1961), 146–53.

[42] Significantly Evander, though a Greek immigrant, speaks of 'we Italians' at *Aen.* 8. 331 f. ('Itali ... diximus ...'). It is surprising that some recent commentary has seen this either as an oversight on Virgil's part (C. J. Fordyce) or as Evander representing the poet himself (K. W. Gransden). R. D. Williams observes, rightly, 'Evander now regards himself as an Italian'. The point was first made by Servius auctus.

[43] Servius on *Aen.* 7. 487. This is not the whole story, however. Silvius is to be a name of the royal house of Alba Longa, descended from Aeneas; Virgil, through the mouth of Anchises, is curiously emphatic about this in the sixth book (*Aen.* 6. 760–70). Indeed, he has moved Aeneas Silvius from his usual place in the sequence of kings so that the dynasty shall both begin and end with a Silvius; and he stresses that the first Silvius, Aeneas' posthumous son, bears an Alban name and is of mixed Trojan and Italian blood (6. 762 f.). When we are told of Silvia in the seventh book, her name suggests a country simplicity; but behind this we hear also a heroic resonance, and a note of hope in the reminder, so soon before war breaks out, that the two enemy peoples are before long to be peacefully united.

[44] *Aen.* 7. 491.

stream, we are told, or else relaxing from the heat on a green bank[45]—and this latter is the classic pose of the pastoral shepherd. A few more small touches continue to sketch in the pastoral colour: 'pestis enim tacitis latet aspera silvis', 'A harsh plague lies hidden in the silent woods';[46] again we hear the word 'silvae', while the sentiment, of danger lurking amid the pastoral charm, might recall the third *Eclogue*: 'frigidus, o pueri (fugite hinc!), latet anguis in herba', 'Flee hence, lads, a chill snake lies hidden in the grass'.[47] Allecto sounds a 'pastorale ... signum', a herdsmen's alarum, at which all the grove and the depths of the woods resound ('qua protinus omne | contremuit nemus et *silvae* tremuere profundae').[48] Galaesus, one of the casualties of the first skirmish, is rich in flocks, much as the Corydon of *Eclogue* 2 had once boasted himself to be: five flocks of sheep, five herds of cattle came home to his folds.[49] Constantly we are reminded that these are country people: they are 'pastores', 'agrestes', 'agricolae'.[50] Sometimes there is a touch of the more robust colour of the *Georgics*: they are 'duros ... agrestes', 'indomitae agricolae', tough countryfolk, farmers unsubdued;[51] Galaesus, besides his pastoral wealth, is also an arable farmer on a large scale.[52]

The sounds of distant war had already been heard in the *Eclogues*; they were one of Virgil's original contributions to the pastoral mode. Here in the *Aeneid* the use of pastoral colour lends a further pathos to the invasion of this charming, simple society by forces which it cannot control or understand. Perhaps this is not the whole story, and Virgil means also to suggest that there is something imperfect and inadequate about this sweet, pretty world;[53] but that is another matter. What concerns us immediately is that this pastoral colour is one of his means for picturing the diversity of Italy. In other words, it is a tone distinctive to Tyrrhus and his society; we should not expect to meet it again in the quite different milieu of Pallanteum.

Nor do we. There is no puzzle about why Evander and his people are Arcadians; this was simply the tradition that Virgil had inherited.[54] We might pause to note that the only reference to the land of Arcadia itself in the book, at l. 159, refers to its 'chilly regions', 'Arcadiae gelidos ... finis'. This may recall the tenth *Eclogue*; we should lay to heart the simple and telling fact that Virgil associates Arcadia especially with cold, while his pastoral settings are warm, and sometimes fiercely hot. The shivering shepherd was never a feature of the ancient pastoral myth. Evander's literary antecedents are, in fact, about as far from pastoral poetry as it is possible to get; the quiet country-gentlemanly tone, to which I referred earlier, is achieved in part through a most original use of two Homeric models. Two characters from the *Odyssey* go to the making of Evander. One is Eumaeus, a slave, yet of royal birth; a swineherd, but one whose piggery is a sort of pig palace, described in terms of scale and symmetry that recall the descriptions of kings' palaces elsewhere in the poem.[55] Eumaeus is, like King Alcinous of Phaeacia earlier in the *Odyssey*, a type of the good host, in contrast to the suitors occupying Odysseus' palace, harsh in their treatment of beggars and strangers. So Eumaeus is in himself a mixture of dignity and humbleness, but Virgil adds a subtlety by bringing another of Homer's characters to the making of Evander: Nestor, a king and a warrior hero. Evander's entertainment of Aeneas echoes Nestor's entertainment of Telemachus in the third book of the *Odyssey*; indeed, Virgil inverts a Homeric pattern. Telemachus proceeds from Nestor's kingdom of Pylos to the more glamorous court of Sparta, where the palace seems to his young eyes so splendid that it must resemble the house of Zeus.[56] Aeneas proceeds

[45] *Aen.* 7. 494 f.
[46] *Aen.* 7. 505.
[47] *Ecl.* 3. 93.
[48] *Aen.* 7. 513–15.
[49] *Aen.* 7. 538 f. (Corydon: *Ecl.* 2. 19–22).
[50] *Aen.* 7. 574, 504, 521. Some form of the word 'agrestis' comes at the end of ll. 482, 504 and 523; compare too Allecto's words at 551, 'spargam arma per *agros*', 'I shall sow warfare across the countryside'.
[51] *Aen.* 7. 504, 520.
[52] *Aen.* 7. 537–9.
[53] Cf. Klingner, op. cit. (n. 5), 513.
[54] The belief in Arcadians on the site of Rome can be traced back at least to Fabius Pictor (Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1. 79. 4 and 8 = Fabius fr. 5b Peter). For the literary and antiquarian tradition see C. J. Fordyce's commentary on *Aen.* 7 and 8 (1977) at 8. 51, and for the background to the idea J. Poucet, *Les Origines de Rome* (1985), 74 ff., 128 ff., 200, 210.
[55] *Od.* 14. 5–16.
[56] *Od.* 4. 74.

from Latinus, whose palace is also a temple, wherein he sits enthroned beside statues of father Italus and father Sabinus, as though he too were a divinized eponym of his race, to Evander's more modest realm. A radiant memory of an early heroic simplicity illuminates Evander and his world, and this aura is enhanced by the blend of Nestor and Eumaeus in his make-up. The tone and atmosphere that Virgil thus creates are affecting; the allusions that go into their creation are heroic, not bucolic, and it would be a grievous distraction to intrude here a pastoral reference. It would also, as we have seen, flatten out Virgil's delicate sense of diversity.

It is easy for us to be misled here because distressed gentlefolk are indeed a feature of Renaissance pastoral. The theme of the gentleman concealed among shepherds was taken over from Sannazaro by Sidney and is most familiar to us from Shakespeare's *As You Like It* and *A Winter's Tale*, in which noblemen find themselves living modestly, in pastoral disguise, among country people. But this is a new kind of pastoral developed in the Renaissance, partly out of Longus, who by putting pastoral motifs into the novel was to make himself one of the most influential of all Greek writers: his Daphnis and Chloe, a shepherd and a shepherdess, turn out in the end to be the children of gentlefolk, exposed as infants. Mixing verse and prose together, Sannazaro blended Longus and Virgil;[57] his Arcadia was inspired, presumably, by the tenth *Eclogue*, the scattered references to Arcadia in *Eclogues* 4, 7, and 8, and perhaps some admixture of influence from the eighth book of the *Aeneid*. The development of the 'gentleman in the country' out of Virgilian pastoral was no doubt encouraged by the fact that in some (partial) sense Menalcas in the fifth and ninth *Eclogues* represents the poet; to which should be added the idea, foisted on to posterity by Servius and not yet wholly extinct, that Tityrus in the first *Eclogue* is an allegorical cloak behind which Virgil himself is hidden. Whether Sannazaro consciously used Virgil as a springboard for his own invention or simply misread him I do not know; if he misunderstood, it was a misunderstanding with a touch of genius in it. But though we may be grateful to him for being midwife to the birth of a new myth, we should not allow him to throw our own appreciation of Virgil into confusion.

I have suggested that the traditional belief in Virgil's Arcadia is not just an antiquarian mistake but leads to misinterpretation of the poetry. Let me give one more example of this. The *Eclogues* shun consistency, evading our attempts to pin them down. The Tityrus of *Eclogue* 1 is not the Tityrus of *Eclogue* 6 (it was presumably a failure to see this that led to the notion that Virgil appears, allegorically disguised, in the first poem) and neither is the same as the Tityrus mentioned in *Eclogue* 8; the Corydon of *Eclogue* 2 is not the Corydon of *Eclogue* 7; the Daphnis of 7 seems to be a different sort of figure from the divinized Daphnis of 5. These ruptures of continuity are matched by changes of tone; the poems are at varying degrees of distance from reality. *Eclogue* 7 is set in a timeless world; *Eclogues* 1 and 9 allude to contemporary political events. We can hardly imagine a god or goddess wandering into the scene in *Eclogue* 1 or 9; but Corydon in *Eclogue* 2 can expect Nymphs and a Naiad to bring flowers to his beloved. Even so there is a down-to-earth element in Corydon, his situation and his landscape that makes him closer to reality than the divine shepherd Daphnis in *Eclogue* 5, or than Damon and Alphesiboeus in 8, who can astound the animals by their song, and stop the rivers in their courses. Different again is the riddling, literary-fantastical world of *Eclogue* 6, in which Silenus sings about Gallus (surely, we say, it should be the other way round?), and *Eclogue* 10, in which Gallus, who in sober reality was vigorously advancing a brilliant public career, is seen perishing in a far, lonely landscape. The trouble with putting Virgil's shepherds into a spiritual Arcadia is that it abolishes these differences; his pastoral world becomes a self-consistent universe like Tolkien's Middle Earth or, more

[57] *Daphnis and Chloe* first became widely known through Amyot's French translation, published in 1559, englished by Angel Day in 1587, and thus early enough to have been able to influence Lodge's *Rosalynde* (1590) and Greene's *Pandosto* (1588), the sources for *As You Like It* and *The Winter's Tale* respectively. I presume that Sannazaro at the least knew what was in *Daphnis and Chloe*; if his decision to write a pastoral tale in prose was wholly independent of Longus, the argument of this article is not in any way affected, but it seems very unlikely.

loosely, the 'Dickens world'. But the *Eclogues* are not like that; their pastoral worlds are fluctuating and elusive. It is perhaps a sign of that elusiveness that the proper place of Arcadia in these poems has escaped Virgil's readers for so long.

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