

THE UNITY OF THE *ECLOGUES*: ARCADIAN FOREST, THEOCRITIC TREES

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The idea of a *Liber Bucolicorum*, the principle of artistic unity by which the *Eclogues* form a book, is a kind of philosopher's stone of classical scholarship.¹ Accounts are legion and contradictory.² The book itself, however, closes with a representation of the unities of its making: to sit, to weave, and to love a poet (10.70–74). From the Arcadian vantage point of the tenth poem, the poet sees his own work as a whole and gives expression to his own recollective, assiduous, passionate self-consciousness in the symbol of Arcadia. The Arcadian is a key, offered by the poet, to the unity of the book.

The origin of the poetic symbol, Arcadia, is another philosopher's stone. Arcadian poetry has been sought in sources outside the *Eclogues* and also has been considered the invention of Virgil in them.³ Prudently taking a middle course, Karl Büchner has suggested that Virgil made Arcadia the land of poetry because of the well established tradition

¹ This study took impetus from an observation by Mr. David Kuhn on the usefulness of an idea of the whole when one is trying to grasp the separately elusive elements of a poem; the study kept constantly in mind a lucid expression of the idea of the *Liber* by Professor Wendell Clausen in "Callimachus and Latin Poetry," *GRBS* 5 (1964) 193; finally, in the face of a certain aporia—mutual contradiction among various studies of individual poems—it seemed necessary to attempt some sort of apperception of the whole, if only to understand the parts, as Dante puts it in the letter to Can Grande, dedicating the *Paradiso*: "volentes igitur aliqualem introductionem tradere de parte operis, oportet aliquam notitiam tradere de toto, cuius est pars."

² For examples, Karl Büchner, *RE* 15A (1955) 1256–57, s.v. "Vergilius." If, with Clausen (above, note 1), we imagine "a certain amount of rewriting," the tangle of chronological arrangements of the *Eclogues* becomes more than ever illusory, while the arrangement in the book takes on importance as the product of the poet's *extremus labor*.

³ For a useful summary and dismissal of earlier proposals, see Günther Jachmann, "L'Arcadia come paesaggio bucolico," *Maia* 5 (1952) 161–67, first published as part of *Miscellanea Max Pohlenz* (1952).

that it was home of Pan. Büchner cites Meleager's oath by Pan the Arcadian and also Lucretius' treatment of Pan (4.524-94).⁴ Surely also he should have adduced the Pan of the seventh *Idyll* of Theocritus (7.103-14) and above all the Pan of the first *Idyll*. He was an object of deference and present awe for the rustics (1.1-6, 15-19); but in the song Daphnis dying summoned him from Arcadia to inherit the singer's pipe (1.123-26). Without looking beyond Virgil's most familiar source we can find Arcadian material. The question of the origin of Arcadia as a poetic locus can thus be assimilated to the question of how Virgil used Theocritus. If we understood the one, we would understand the other as well.

This paper proposes, in short, to reformulate three familiar problems into one: the unity of the *Liber*, the origin of Arcadian poetry, and the Virgilian imitation of Theocritus. A new reading of Theocritus is also implicit in the enterprise, though we can give no more than hints of that here.

The familiar problems are symptoms of a fourth, more fundamental problem that is latent in recent studies of pastoral and that, once recognized and stated, will be well on its way to solution. Scholars have been finding statements of poetics piecemeal in various *Eclogues* and in *Idylls*. The tendency has been to speak of a poetics in, say, the first or seventh *Idyll* or in the ninth or fourth, sixth or seventh *Eclogue*, as if poetics could be the property of one or another poem. This is criticism by a principle of divide and conquer. In fact, every bucolic *Idyll* and every *Eclogue* contains a poetics, which is to say that it reflects on its own nature as poetry. Each poem reflects on its own peculiar way of shaping and knowing; some also reflect their relation to others and even a quality of the whole. Pastoral poetry is symbolist in the sense that, far from representing country matters, it uses country

⁴ Büchner (above, note 2) 1261-62; Jachmann (above, note 3) 170, suggests that even the mention of Arcadia in *E.* 4.58-59 implies traditional associations of Arcadia with poetry. The association with Pan and song at least is certain, suitable for what Virgil does with it but hardly anticipating him. For a more penetrating view of the relationship between *silvestris Musa* in Lucretius (4.589) and Virgil (*E.* 1.2), see Philip Damon, "Modes of Analogy in Ancient and Medieval Fiction," *UCPCP* 15 (1961) 281, 286. Cf. also *Lucr.* 5.1398 with *E.* 6.8, and contrast *E.* 6.8 with *E.* 1.2. Tityrus' second Muse is more ambitious after the expansion of *E.* 3, 4, and 5. We never hear a simple song of Amaryllis.

matters to represent a new kind of art, to mediate experience.⁵ Pastoral is poetry in reduced circumstances, cut off from the public media and heroic mediators of other times. Its heroes are poets, with the significant exception of the fourth *Eclogue*; and through this momentarily expansive vision comes another, the discovery of Arcadia as a poetics of the whole. In order to read the *Eclogues*, then, it will be necessary and enough to look with new attentiveness and discrimination at the Arcadian elements in the book.

Arcadia is a poetic symbol, poetics of gradually realized, carefully proportioned, and deeply felt relations within and among poems. In the book, first it is a distant hope, then a fuller remembrance of past voices. It collects itself at last, circumstantially and visibly, into a poetic locus. Three poems, Four, Seven, and Ten, broach, enlarge, and perfect the idea. Set at equal intervals in the book, they establish a framework for the poetry of the others.

The fourth *Eclogue* begins with talk of going somewhat beyond the usual matter of Sicilian Muses (4.1-3), though the Sicilians take part in much of the poem. The furthest stretch of imagination in the fourth, however, is expressed as an ambition of the poet alone for a poetry such as would surpass even Pan, even if the singing match were held in Arcadia itself (4.53-59, contrast *Id.* 1.1-6). The poetic trajectory, from Sicilian toward Arcadian, foreshadows what the *Eclogues* as a whole accomplish.

In the seventh poem, a palpable Sicilian, Daphnis (7.1), had taken a seat easily if paradoxically on the banks of a north Italian river (7.13). In this purposefully mixed context, so reminiscent yet far from the sixth and eighth *Idylls* and representative of the gradual change of pastoral from Sicilian to Arcadian, the narrator is no longer the poet of the fourth and cohort of Sicilian Muses, but rather now a figure from an earlier *Eclogue*. He represents an internal memory within the book, and the voices he recollects are the first Arcadians.

⁵ Interpreting a symbolist poem, C. M. Bowra, *The Heritage of Symbolism* (Schocken, New York, 1961; first publ. 1943) 31, writes of *Les Pas* by Valéry, "The steps belong not to a human mistress but to poetry, the poetic impulse, for which the poet waits." Mallarmé after all entitled *The Afternoon of a Faun* an *Eclogue*. Symbolism, however, is not a recurrent fashion but a perennial, half-hidden tradition in poetry. Every poem is about its own making. Poetry is both much more and less than the scholars style it. For "poetics" in pastoral, see notes 23 and 25, below.

Finally, in the tenth poem, Gallus dies in the Theocritean myth of a poet's death. Yet we hardly have to be reminded that Gallus is a rather different lover dying under new circumstances. In the first *Idyll*, after a cryptic reminder of Love's triumph (1.95-98), Daphnis called Pan to come from Arcadia to take the pipe (1.122-30). In the *Eclogue*, Pan and a motley company of Italians, Virgilians, and *hapax legomena*—the new Arcady—come of their own accord (10.19-26), like the he-goat to the place of song in the seventh poem (7.7, cf. 11), or the goats to the child in the incipient golden age of Four (4.21). The presence of Pan is a crucial element in the new, Arcadian reading of Theocritus.

That, in barest outline, is the Arcadian forest which Virgil fabricated from Theocritean wood: Sicilian toward Arcadia; Sicilian and Italian as a context for Arcadians; Gallus (Daphnis, Arethusa) among Arcadians. The fourth *Eclogue* first articulates a change of locus, while the unique manner of its construction effects the departure. The fourth is the most historicizing and public, most Catullan and Lucretian, said to be the least Theocritean of the *Eclogues*. We cannot treat all these matters here, but we shall consider one characteristic of the fourth *Eclogue* that raises questions about the nature of Arcadian poetry, about Virgil's relations to Theocritus, and about the poetry of Theocritus itself. Speaking of change and growth in poetry, the fourth *Eclogue* uses number and numerical symmetry so boldly that it poses a question about numerical composition in other—Theocritean and Virgilian—products of the Sicilian Muses. Arcadian poetry, Virgil's imitation of Theocritus, appears to take numerical, as well as the more familiar, forms.

The structure of the fourth *Eclogue* is a function of the single number seven, a more exclusive principle than in other pastoral. It has seven sections, disposed symmetrically and corresponding to units of sense:⁶ thus 3-7-7-(4 × 7)-7-7-4, for a total of 63 lines. Such a structure imposes itself, is meant to impose number as part of poetic experience, whether we should then think of poetry aspiring to music or to

⁶ For a sketch of the form and content of *E.* 4, see J. B. Van Sickle, "The Unnamed Child: A Reading of Virgil's Messianic Poem," *HSCP* 71 (1966) 349-52, Summary of Dissertation. Among other things, the lines that mention Arcadia and Pan each have seven words: "... etwas vom Zauberspruch," Büchner (above, note 2) 1202, line 48.

philosophy.⁷ The poem deliberately breaks through to a new order of art, consonant with its new themes, raising a new question of order in the poetry left behind.

The fourth *Eclogue* speaks of leaving Sicilian norms; in fact among the *Idylls*, not to mention other *Eclogues*, we find nothing with quite the same numerical singleness. The second *Idyll* is Theocritus' most elaborately visible exercise in symmetries of number. After a proem of 16 lines, the incantations of the feverish girl fall into four-line stanzas, arranged by groups of three for a total of nine stanzas. Then her song of the cause of her passion falls into five-line stanzas, arranged in two groups of six for a total of twelve. The example of this paradox of more than usual order in a speech of more than usual agitation was not lost on the eighth *Eclogue*, with its Maenalian, Arcadian verses (8.21, cf. 68; 25, cf. 72; and so on). The symmetries of the third *Idyll*, a paraclausithyron, turn on a bold dissymmetry (3.24).

One manner of symmetry in the fifth *Idyll*, the great contest, is immediately apparent and resembles that of the second *Idyll*: in the contest, each singer has fourteen catches; but a further mode of symmetry in the poem is less obvious. Komatas, who wins the singing match, has fourteen catches, plus a last word, in which he says that his rival is fond of quarrelling, *φιλεχθής* (5.137). This echoes his earlier charge—in effect framing the contest—that the rival and former student

⁷ Given such attention to number on the part of the poet, it will not do to say with Professor E. L. Brown (*Numeri Vergiliani*=*Coll. Latomus* 63 [1963] 16), among others, that the first three lines of *E.* 4 "may be reserved without undermining the structure. . . ." Mr. Brown himself does not choose to reserve them when, for example, he numbers the lines of the *Eclogues* all consecutively and finds that line 216 falls at the imitation of Aratus, *ab Iove principium* (3.60), and that *Pergite Pierides* (6.13) follows a second cycle of 216, or that *surget gens aurea* (4.9) coincides with consecutive line 276, another important Pythagorean number (Brown, p. 67). Between mentions of Jove at 3.60 and 4.49, just 100 lines elapse. Professor Otto Skutsch has pointed out to me that if we exclude 8.75, the extra refrain, then the lines of *Eclogue* 8 fall into three groups of 36 each, consisting of 36 and 36, the songs, and 36 of refrains and introduction. The songs themselves are composed of stanzas of 3×3 verses, 3×4 , and 3×5 , apparently a formal analogue to the enigmatic talk of distribution, *terna . . . triplici* (8.73). In the book as a whole, there are thus 828 verses, so that 5.85 is number 415 of the whole, the first line of the second half, the point at which Menalcas gives the retrospective pipe, recalling poems two and three, and Mopsus replies with the staff, foreboding new journeys. *Idyll* 1 is distributed into sections of 63 + 63 (+ 19 of refrain) + 7, and *Idyll* 4 has 63 lines.

loves to jeer, is φιλοκέρτομος (5.77), while Komatas himself does not boast and all that he says is true. Their exchange (You're a babbler! No! I purvey truth! But you love to jeer.) occupies the exact center of the poem (5.74-77), so that the entire structure turns on a question of the love of truth versus love of strife.⁸

In the fifth *Idyll*, the truth-teller wins; truth also is a poetic touchstone in the seventh, where young Simichidas is hailed as a sprout of Zeus, fashioned all for truth (7.44):

παῦν ἐπ' ἀλαθείᾳ πεπλασμένον ἐκ Διὸς ἔρνος.

Truth conspicuously is absent from the *Eclogues*, though it might be expected where the third *Eclogue* imitates the form of the fifth *Idyll* (as we shall see in a moment), or where the fourth *Eclogue* translates the just cited praise of Simichidas in one of its most striking lines (4.49):⁹

cara deum suboles, magnum Iovis incrementum.

If Virgil's child is made *for* any end, it would seem to be the *honores* mentioned in the line before, or else for growing, as the epithets *suboles* and *incrementum* suggest: natural and political processes, not truth. Instead of a concrete term, ἔρνος (7.44), Virgil uses an abstract word in the separative pattern framing the god's name—*incrementum*—which refers to processes, instruments, and products of growth in the language of philosophy, linguistics, history, and agriculture—later too of rhetoric.¹⁰ In the place of truth, Virgil authenticates his prophecy

⁸ Cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 91A, for a distinction in modes of argument, φιλοσόφως from φιλονίκως. The nature of Theocritean truth may perhaps best be inferred from the instruction offered in the fifth *Idyll*.

⁹ Eduard Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes* (Leipzig 1924) 129, calls E. 4.49 the richest in art of all the verses.

¹⁰ The earliest uses of *incrementum* include Cic. *De fin.* 2.88, moral philosophy, 45 B.C.; Varro, *De ling. Lat.* 8.17, about the same time, of changes in words (cf. Schanz-Hosius 1.161, 191); Cic. *De senec.*, about one year later, in a description of Cato's agricultural interests, first recorded use of the plural (*ThLL* wrongly cites Ovid, *M.* 3.103 as the first); Varro, *Res rust.* 2.4.19, of 37 B.C.; and cf. Livy 1.33.8, 5.54.4, 27.17.4, etc. On the origins and meanings of words in *-men* and *-mentum* see Jean Perrot, *Les dérivés latins en -men et -mentum* (Paris 1961). For an appreciation and partial summary of Perrot, J. W. Poultny, *AJP* 85 (1964) 206-9. On the relationship of an idea of *incrementum* to E. 4, see Van Sickle (above, note 6). E. 4.1, 49 reverses *Id.* 7.35-41, but then E. 7.25-28 implies reversal of E. 4, and E. 9.30-36 reaffirms *Id.* 7.35-41.

by reference to the utterances of the Parcae (4.46-47), *fata*, mere reflection thus of words—here an imitation of Catullus.¹¹

Among the remaining *Idylls*, that one which our editions place fourth seems remarkably lacking in symmetry or number. A. S. F. Gow speaks of the "absence of restriction in the subject matter."¹² Gilbert Lawall, in an article called "Animal Loves and Human Loves," and now in his Coan pastoral book, speaks rather of "apparently random conversation."¹³ He suggests that in fact "juxtaposition of polar types of erotic behavior produces both the poem's irony and its thematic coherence."¹⁴ Mr. Lawall's proposal marks a considerable advance. He entertains as he instructs; and yet he concentrates on theme to the neglect of other, complementary modes of organization.

The fourth *Idyll* begins with two groups of 14 lines each, followed by a group of 14 plus one. It concludes with groups of six, eight, and six, making a total of 63 lines. Within the first three groups, form and content progress together. Talk gets started with the famous challenge, *Εἴπ' ἔ μοι* (4.1), that starts off 14 lines of strict stichomythy. This gives rise in turn to a two-line, then three-line strophic response as the new manager, Corydon, gradually gains confidence. He defends his practical capacities against a querulous critic who is nostalgic for what used to be. From this crescendo of self-justification (4.1-14, 15-28), Corydon rises in the third group to a climax. He vindicates his own skill at music in a nine-line spurt, the longest single stretch of speech in the poem. The critic melts. Corydon even ventures a snatch of song with the name of a town and an echo of Homeric language in line 32, which is the poem's exact center: praise of Croton and a recollection of "bonny Zacynthus" which is not integrated with the syntax of the rest.¹⁵ Lawall observes that this

¹¹ Catullus 64.327 etc., first noted by Macr. *Sat.* 6.1.41; studied briefly by Professor E. K. Rand, "Catullus and the Augustans," *HSCP* 17 (1906) 21; cited as requiring further study by Büchner (above, note 2) 1260, cf. 1206; treated by Van Sickle (above, note 6).

¹² A. S. F. Gow, *Theocritus*² 2 (Cambridge 1952) 76.

¹³ G. W. Lawall, "Animal Loves and Human Loves," *RFIC* 94 (1966) 47, and *Theocritus' Coan Pastorals: A Poetry Book* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967) 42, where reference is made to the "seemingly uncontrolled, realistic flow of conversation."

¹⁴ Lawall (above, note 13) *RFIC* 94.50, and now in the *Pastoral Book*, 51.

¹⁵ In the *Pastoral Book* (above, note 13) 50, Lawall paraphrases Miss Wildberger, *Theokrit-Interpretationen* (Diss. Zürich 1955) 43-48, on "the gradual elevation of subject matter and tone, as the conversation moves away from the initial discussion of

Idyll lacks the song which forms a core in others.¹⁶ In fact the fourth *Idyll* is engaged in poetic preliminaries, like the third, circumstantial, positioning, and testing, with a rustic prick of passion toward the end and only a hint of song at the center.¹⁷

Four of the *Eclogues* also place a crucial motif at the exact center. In the first *Eclogue*, it is the epiphany of the young god at Rome: *hic illum vidi iuvenem* (1.42). The second *Eclogue*, at the exact mid-point, displays a coveted poetic tool, *fistula*, invented by Pan, prominently set off as the first word in the line and framed within a five-line section by the name of Amyntas, who covets it (2.37). It is interesting that this poetic center of the poem is by no means the highest pitch of its art (cf. 2.45–55). The voices of lover and narrator do not quite yet coincide.

The more obvious symmetries of the third *Eclogue* point to the fifth *Idyll*, while a bold echo of the fourth *Idyll* introduces a run of testy, positioning talk. Again, transfer of control over material is at issue, as in *Idyll* 4. When the apparent dialectic finally resolves itself into mere responson, a judge comes on the scene, ostensibly as in the fifth *Idyll*. But the Theocritean judge was a city man who broke into speech only after the contest (5.138). He was a woodcutter (5.64) who cut off song, declared a victor, and showed unseemly eagerness for the slice of the prize (5.140). We may suspect that he favored the singer who would sacrifice a tender *capretto* over the one whose prize would be a tough he-goat. Virgil's judge, by contrast, is a neighbor from the country, party to the desires of Camenae. He speaks both before and after the contest, acclaiming both singers, and any lover, worthy to win; making an affirmation more than a

the flock and turns to the herdsmen's poetic and emotional interests. In this central part of the poem, the rustics are no longer merely commonplace figures drawn from the real countryside, but conscious artists whose interests extend beyond the horizons of their limited rustic world." Consciousness of art, of its gradations, powers, and limits, would seem to be more controlling even than this suggests. The wandering into distant, musical matters has its immediate analogue in the straying of the calves which follows: a symbolist device reflecting the movement of the language. The calves nibble tender shoots, and it takes shouting, harsh language to return them, the poem, to a balance.

¹⁶ Lawall (above, note 13) *RFIC* 94.45, *Pastoral Book* 42.

¹⁷ Lawall (above, note 13) *RFIC* 94.48, *Pastoral Book* 49, on the thorn in the foot as a rustic counterpart to Eros' shaft.

judgment. In keeping with these innovations, Virgil's rustics are less acrimonious from the start, turn quickly toward poetical responsion (3.28), and, once the contest begins, show skill at comprehensive variation only, though their Theocritean counterparts were contentious to the last (5.116-23, 142-43). Virgil's innovations altogether represent a symmetrical, incremental poetics.¹⁸ The poem is preoccupied with moments when speech of different kinds begins: *dic mihi* (3.1) and *dicite*, spoken by the judge near the center (55), then *dic quibus . . . dic quibus* (104, 106), a mutual, dark hint at further speech.¹⁹ At the exact center, the judge bases his invitation to the contest on the favorable analogy of nature's own production (3.56-57):

et nunc omnis ager, nunc omnis parturit arbor,
nunc frondent silvae, nunc formosissimus annus.

It is the season if not yet the decisive moment for new art.²⁰ Natural fecundity occasions facundity in a way unparalleled in Theocritus or the other *Eclogues*, though by very universality the third anticipates the confident language of poems Four, Five, and in a way also Six.²¹ The Theocritean judge in the fifth *Idyll* spoke neither at the center nor on behalf of both poets, nor did he set poetry any such universal example; on the other hand, nature, not truth, appears at the center of the *Eclogue*.

One other *Eclogue* places an important motif in the exact center. It is clear that the ninth *Eclogue* moves counter to the seventh *Idyll*, taking singers toward the city and away from favorable conditions for

¹⁸ Caution must be exercised in speaking of the "gentler pastoral atmosphere diffused over the whole poem," which a recent writer attributes to *Idylls* 1 and 5. In One to be sure; but less true of Five or Four: Charles P. Segal, "Vergil's *Caelatum Opus*," *AJP* 88 (1967) 296, see also 292 (comments on *E.* 3 that would describe *Idyll* 4 almost as well) and 281-99 (detailed treatment of the dialectical turn toward song of the *Eclogue's* first half).

¹⁹ Segal (above, note 18) 297-99 interprets the riddles in terms of other themes and alternations in the poem (cf. 281); he also observes the centering effect, 292. After the Sicilian, proto-Arcadian *E.* 2, *Camēnae* (3.59) would seem to anticipate Italian, perhaps Roman, matters: the turn to Pollio at 3.84, and to Pollio and much else in 4.1-17. In *E.* 7, after the *recusatio* of 6.4-5, song will be a matter of volition, not love, and of Muses, not *Camēnae* (7.19).

²⁰ Professor Martin Ostwald pointed out to me that *nunc* (3.56) would be more generic, more diffuse than the incisively repeated adverb of time in *E.* 4.4, 6, 7 *et passim, iam*.

²¹ Not only Pollio, but Jove (3.60, 4.49) and the exotic balm, *amomum* (3.89, 4.25).

song like those the Theocritean travellers were entering. Two singers flee the composite Sicilian, Italian locus, murmuring fragments of Italian, Sicilian songs and salvaging nothing else but two kids of dubious ownership.²² Their master poet is absent; the disaster would appear total, but for the fact that he, though not they, will reappear in the Arcadia of the tenth *Eclogue*.²³ The ninth *Eclogue*, then, as if replying to the fortune and the structure of Tityrus in the first, sets a statement of poetics in the center. Young Lycidas, whose name and poetic principles recall the seventh *Idyll* (7.35–41), rejects an honorific title in poetry—*vatem*, “bard”—set at the beginning of line 34, emphasized like *fistula* before it. Singers may be compelled to repeat the journey to the city, but they reject a more ambitious, perhaps then implicitly Tityran, art.

The young god at Rome, pipe of Pan, conscious liaison with nature—all represent a new poetry, though the centering structure still recalls Theocritus. The fourth *Eclogue* makes change explicit, going to an extreme with the poetry of Rome, nature, and more elaborate number, broaching Arcadia in defiance of Pan. The eighth *Eclogue* offers a garland to the poetic, public man already honored in the third and fourth poems (8.6–13, cf. 3.84–89, 4.11–14); yet the Arcadian verses of Eight oppose their formal rigidity to interior turbulence and

²² Damon (above, note 4) 289 speaks of 9.57 ff. as “the one instance of true pastoral singers addressing a silent, unresonant nature. . . . This is a terrain without echoes, one which wastes pastoral song as the *trivium* (3.26–27) does.” Menalcas used to leaf over springs (9.20); now farmers are stripping the leaves (9.61). *Migrate* (9.4) recalls the exile of Meliboeus. I am happy to acknowledge the usefulness of several conversations on the *Eclogues* held in Rome with Professor Michael Putnam in the spring of 1964. He first brought to my attention, as I recall, the paradox of the displaced songs of *E. 9*.

²³ Charles Segal, “*Tamen Cantabitis, Arcades*—Exile and Arcadia in Eclogues One and Nine,” *Arion* 4 (1965) 255, observes that *Idyll* 7 “is not simply an autobiographical account, but is concerned primarily with poets and poetry. Hence in using it, Vergil may be suggesting that the farm and dispossessions, however vivid and distressing in themselves, are but parts of a larger issue, that is, the nature of pastoral poetry, and in a sense all poetry, in a time of violence and disruption.” Segal moves well beyond the conventional impasse in studies of Virgil’s land question (cf. note 2, above) and is consonant with the approach of a Lawall (note 13, above) to Theocritus. His particular interpretation of the ninth *Eclogue*, however, is far more optimistic than Damon’s (note 22, above). In a sense, Segal takes the viewpoint of Lycidas, sanguine about the possibilities of song, anticipating the guarded optimism of *tamen cantabitis* (10.31), the Arcadian solace. Damon takes more the viewpoint of Moeris, the dismantling of the Italian, Sicilian locus.

loss of the woods. Eight has been justly called a kind of caricature of the dream of Four.²⁴ The poem closes with an effort to force Daphnis from the city. In the ninth *Eclogue*, the effort of the eighth, *ab urbe* (8.110, etc.), collapses, giving way to *in urbem* (9.1), and yet Lycidas rejects poetic ambition, specifically the poetics of the first and fourth (*E.* 9.30–36 reaffirms the poetic limits of *Id.* 7.35–41, but *E.* 4.1, 49, reversed, exceeded them). In the seventh *Eclogue*, too, a withdrawal from public to interior, private concerns, Arcadian voices, took place. The Arcadian series, which began with a challenge to Pan, completes itself in the tenth poem with a reported epiphany of the god (10.26–27). Arcadia first appears on the crest of poetic ambition, in public language and innovating structure, 63 lines in contradiction of the seventh *Idyll*. It reappears detached from the public, but as a fuller poetic idea, in the seventh poem, 70 lines; and finally is a complete poetic locus, far from Sicily, Italy, or Rome, in the tenth poem, 77 lines. Seven is the numerical principle of the poem in which Arcadia first appears and it measures the growth of the idea in the Arcadian series. Progression by sevens carries on from the innovation of *Eclogue* 4 to represent the growth of a principled structure, Arcadia, the poetry book. Nothing so concerted took place among the *Idylls*, although the third and fourth amount to consecutive multiples of nine—54, 63: the passion and then the nostalgia for Amaryllis.

Scholars have been talking of a poetics in the middle of the Arcadian series, in *Eclogue* 7. It is agreed that the contest of Seven weighs two different conceptions of bucolic: but most recently the winner has been called Arcadian, *ipso facto* Virgilian, while the loser was said to be uncouth, realistic, Theocritean.²⁵ Such would be the Theocritus of the handbooks. Yet Virgil himself emphasized that both singers were Arcadians (7.4); and both sing in the mingled context of *Idyll* 6 and *Idyll* 8, while the winner has affinities with the seventh and the loser with the first *Idyll*. I would suggest therefore that the poem be

²⁴ Charles Fantazzi, "Virgilian Pastoral and Roman Love Poetry," *AJP* 87 (1966) 181; suggestive comments on the ironies of *E.* 6 and 10, p. 184.

²⁵ "The suggestion has been made that in some of the *Eclogues*, again the Sixth and also the Seventh, Vergil is attempting to sketch his 'poetics' of pastoral or even his view of poetry in general." Segal (above, note 18) 279. Hellfried Dahlmann, "Zu Vergils siebentem Hirtengedicht," *Hermes* 94 (1966) 228–29, suggests that the contrast is between Virgilian and *derb*, *realistik* Theocritean.

taken more at its word. It says that there was a wish to recollect alternation in verse: *alternos . . . meminisse* (7.19). This alternation which the seventh *Eclogue* intends to recall must simply be that of the dialectic which runs through all the poems, from the polarity of Tityrus and Meliboeus to its final transformation into Gallus and Arcadia. The singers of the seventh poem must be Arcadians precisely because they do represent and recollect the polarities of other poems. Through memory of other poems, the poet's own revision of his own work, the seventh *Eclogue* makes an important step toward realization of Arcadia and the book. The judgment of the seventh prefigures the opposition and yet unity of Gallus and Arcadia in the tenth poem. At the same time, Theocritean associations of the contestants call attention to a polarity between the first and seventh *Idylls* and to the opposition between their echoes in the fifth *Eclogue*, and, further, between the ninth and tenth *Eclogues*.

The fourth *Eclogue* enunciates the terms of imitation and departure from Theocritus. The seventh *Eclogue* brings them into focus. If *Eclogue* 4 may be said to gainsay the seventh *Idyll*, the principle of the *Idyll* reasserts itself in *Eclogue* 5, but especially in *Eclogues* 7 and 9 (9.30-36), and in the Arcadian elements of *Eclogue* 10.

In *Eclogue* 7, the contest exemplifies two tendencies in the poetry of Virgil. The name of the loser, Thyrsis, suggests the bacchant's wand and recalls the singer's name in *Idyll* 1. Ambitious, expecting even to become a *vates*, he has as deities Priapus, Liber, and Jupiter, mentioned as the god of abundant rain (7.25-28, 33, 60, 58). The winner, Corydon, has a name that suggests the larks of the seventh *Idyll* (7.23) and the hazels of the first *Eclogue*, where Meliboeus assisted at the difficult birth of two kids (1.14). The poetic ambition of Corydon is circumspect; his deities are the nymphs, Phoebus, Delia (7.21-24, 29; cf. 61-64). On the hint of Corydon and Thyrsis, we prick out, retracing, a dialectic of Bacchus and Apollo through all the poems.

Thyrsis claims to be going to be a *vates* (7.28; cf. the refusal of 9.34). His language actually echoes the fourth *Eclogue*, as Servius observed (7.25, 27; 4.19, 49), so that his defeat implicates Four as well. He is a swelling poet who vows to erect a golden phallus in a modest garden: the effect is almost a parody of the rise of the golden race (7.36, 4.9). His energies also recall the Mopsus of the fifth poem,

who pushed on from the familiar pastoral shade to a grotto (5.6), who was testy (5.9), competitive (5.15), somewhat crass—or perhaps one might say detached, esthetic, in his apprehension of poetry (5.13–15, 81–84)—and who was content to embroider on Daphnis as Theocritus left him, which is to say dead: a completed, closed tradition in literature. Thyrsis was the name of the singer of the first *Idyll*. In the *Eclogues* it also has further associations with the Dionysiac singer of the sixth and also then with Tityrus, of the first and sixth, with his equivocal *libertas* (1.27). Tityrus, Silenus, and Damon of the eighth poem, and Gallus of the sixth and tenth, are lovers of women, but not all as the Arcadians love.

On the other hand, Corydon has affinities with Menalcas of the third, fifth, second, ninth, and tenth poems. Menalcas composed at least the introduction to the second, placing the *fistula* in the center, and he took part in the third. In the fifth, he is more restrained than Mopsus, finer since for him poetry is a restorative (5.46); yet he declares his part in the second and third poems (5.86–87), and goes beyond Theocritus to sing of Daphnis resurrected, surpassing the first *Idyll* with echoes of the seventh (*E.* 5.72–73; *Id.* 7. 71–73). Since his figure unifies the first half of the book, he will appear appropriately as an Arcadian in the tenth *Eclogue* (10.20).²⁶ Corydon's self-limiting poetics are consonant too with the rule of Apollo in *Eclogue* 6, directing and restraining Tityrus and Silenus (6.4–5, 82), while his poetic tool is still the *fistula* that Corydon offered in the second poem. In short, the contest initiates a train of associations and reflections that draws all the poems together.

So much was in the memory of Meliboeus. It has been said that he, not Tityrus, was the more poetic soul in the first *Eclogue*.²⁷ Yet Tityran *libertas*, with all its compromising, public connotations,²⁸ was clearly a condition both for the tranquillity and also for the energy and authority that a major creative enterprise demands. A Tityran, Roman, Dionysiac poetics grows through *Eclogues* 3, 4, and 5, mounting

²⁶ Cf. above, note 7.

²⁷ Segal (above, note 23) 241–43, with an especially nice touch in *tanta* (1.26), p. 241.

²⁸ On the relationship of *Liber* and *Libertas*, see remarks and references in Robert J. Rowland, Jr., "Numismatic Propaganda under Cinna," *TAPA* 97 (1966) 417. See also Chap. 11, "Political Catchwords," in Ronald Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford 1960).

the challenge of a new Marsyas to Apollo; broaching the idea of Arcadia in Catullan, Lucretian language, over against Apollo, Calliope, even Pan (4.53-59)—Roman poetry over against Theocritus (*E.* 4.1, 49; *Id.* 7.37-44). These poems see a god who is not Pan (1.42, 5.64).

Apollo is reasserted in the sixth poem, with a Callimachean reaction to ambitious, public poetry (6.3-5). Apollo's famous tweak of Tityrus' ear has the effect of purging *libertas* of its public, too Roman connotations; it finds its full, natural expression in Silenus, limited only by time and by form (6.82-86). *Eclogue* 6 returns to the origins of poetry, to the pure dialectics of passion and form, as well as to a beginning of the book (1.2, 6.8). *Origo*, with its suggestion of etiology, is the poem's most important word. *Eclogue* 6 makes a shift to natural, interior energies, propagative after a run of what might be called propaganda.

The seventh *Eclogue* takes stock of rise and fall, alternation. In the sixth, Tityrus of the first poem reappeared and, freed of dependence on the city, sang a song far bolder than the didactic, echoic praise of Amaryllis he was said to be meditating when first sighted (1.1-5); thus *pergite Pierides* (6.13). His sensitive, poetical alternate, Meliboeus, returns in the seventh, not to distinguish between Virgil and some other poetry but between the expansionist and the recollective—which is the ultimately Arcadian—in Virgil himself. Artistic unification and conscious intent to recall are the poetics of the seventh poem, and of Arcadia. In the introduction to Seven, Corydon and Thyrsis had driven their herds together, both young, Arcadians both, and there was intention to recollect poetry. Unifying separate materials and newly sorting them out, remembering all and making distinctions within, is the process of this poem, symbolized by the apparent reference to a gathering of herds (7.2-3, cf. 19). It was a *certamen*, a means or a process of sifting out, making distinctions in poetics.

The *magnum Iovis incrementum* of the fourth *Eclogue* (4.49), which is to say the growth from Sicilian toward Arcadian, required 63 lines. Then the *certamen . . . magnum* (7.16) takes place in 70 lines. The *extremus . . . labor* (10.1), that implies both unity and an end, has 77 lines. The fourth poem establishes seven as a principle of form; in the series, seven becomes the numerical token of Arcadia, one extreme in the dialectics of a new art, the Apollonian counter to some Dionysian

element as yet unplumbed. In the book, the sixth *Eclogue* is the most Dionysian, and if it has yet to receive a satisfactory reading, this is because we are not readers *comme il faut*, not off in some perfect fit of love, as Virgil imagined his reader (6.9–10):

. . . si quis tamen haec quoque, si quis
captus amore leget . . .

whether it be love of poetry or of the singer (6.13–26). Number and Apollo are easier to study.

The postulate of number in pastoral has already given scandal to some. The erection of a golden Priapus in that modest garden (7.36) ought to give scandal of another sort—or the commerce of Silenus (6.26) or the traffic of Pasiphaë (6.52–60). The life of pastoral consists in maintaining a grasp of both extremes; for pastoral is like the etymological Pan of Plato's *Cratylus*: not only that it "declares and always moves all," ὁ πᾶν μὲνύων καὶ ἀεὶ πολῶν, so that it is rightly the poetry of the goatherd, αἰπόλος; but especially that it too, like the god who is speech or the brother of speech, is both false and true, smooth in its upper parts, rough and goat-like in its lower parts.²⁹

We set out to theorize, to formulate the genesis of Arcadian from Theocritean in Virgilian pastoral. We postulate and we find evidence of unity, coherence, and dialectical consistency, a considerable and important enterprise in poetry. Yet our very position, positiveness, generates its contrary, demands a notice of the opposite if we are to be anything like readers of the *Eclogues*. The poems are keen on their own ambivalence, on the paradox of great in small, work as play, design in chance, the fortuitousness of contrivance, truth in a reflected image: *si numquam fallit imago* (2.27), *res est non parva* (3.54), *forte* (7.1), *mea seria ludo* (7.17), *pauca* (10.2), *maxima* (10.72), hints of slight reeds and more than Orphic powers of poetry.³⁰ The fourth *Eclogue*, like

²⁹ Plato, *Crat.* 408C–D, translation by H. N. Fowler (Loeb Classical Library, 1953).

³⁰ On the paradox of *forte* at the beginning of so carefully contrived a poem as Seven, E. E. Beyer, "Vergil: *Eclogue* 7—A Theory of Poetry," *AClass* 5 (1962) 39. Segal (above, note 23) 254, notes a fragility in pastoral, represented in the instrument of *E.* 2 and 3 by Menalcas at 5.85. Not only fragile, but broken by the end: thus the *patulae* . . . *tegmine fagi* (1.2), the *densas, umbrosa cacumina, fagos* (2.4), have become the *veteres, iam fracta cacumina, fagos* of a disintegrating locus (9.9). Segal (p. 255) also notes the poet of the sixth *Eclogue* "aware of poetry in its autonomous creative power."

the seventh and tenth, is equivocal about itself and its poetic enterprise. At the beginning, *paulo maiora canamus* raises the question of what is in fact large or small, what constitutes change in poetry.³¹ Interpreters have vacillated between excluding the fourth poem from pastoral altogether and finding ways to reduce and assimilate it to a humble

³¹ In Virgil's works, *paulo* occurs only here; *paulatim* (4.28) occurs also at *E.* 6.36, *G.* 1.134, 3.215, and seven times in the *Aeneid*; both are frequent in Lucretius, *paulo* 15 times, *paulatim* 23 times. B. Axelson, *Unpoetische Wörter* (Lund 1945) 95, comments: "Auch im Gebrauch von *paulo post* (*post paulo*) treffen Lukrez und Horaz zusammen: bei jenem steht es 6,1240, bei diesem an vier Stellen, von denen eine der Lyrik angehört (*carm.* 3, 20, 3); bei den anderen Dichtern [list p. 17] findet man es nicht." A note adds that *paulo ante* is more frequent in *Lucr.*, occurs twice in *Juv.*, elsewhere only at *Cat.* 66.51, *Sil.* 9.89, to which add *Statius*, *Th.* 6.756, 11.653; *paulo post* occurred also at *Plaut.* *Ps.* 380, *Tri.* 191, and in *Cinna*, *Zmyrna* ap. *Serv.* *G.* 1. 288 (cf. *RE* 8.1227, line 32, and *Cat.* 64.269, 62.35 Schrader). *Paulo prius* occurs at *Plaut.* *Ci.* 546, *Men.* 681, 873, *Ps.* 896. Note the other comparatives with *paulo* collected by H. C. Gotoff, "On the Fourth Eclogue of Virgil," *Philologus* 111 (1967) 67, note 4; add also *Lucr.* 3.602, *ut gravior paulo possit dissolvere causa*. Ovid uses *paulo* four times, all with the comparative. It does not occur in *Propertius* or *Lucan*. *Paulum* occurs five times in Lucretius, twice in the *Aeneid* (3.597, 4.649), and at *Cat.* 38.7, 10.25 (cf. *paulo* at 68.131). In short, *paulo* is used in comedy, satire, and especially in Lucretius. Links between the language of comedy and bucolic hardly surprise: take only the example of *Plaut.* *Amph.* 197, 201-2, "ea nunc meditabor quo modo illi dicam. . . sed quo modo et verbis quibus me deceat fabularier, prius ipse mecum etiam volo hic meditari"; cf. *E.* 1.2, 6.8, 9.37 (and *Lucr.* 1.143). The relations, however, between Virgil and Lucretius are more complex, more direct and programmatic: see note 4, above; and B. Farrington, "Virgil and Lucretius," *AClass* 1 (1958) 45 ff.; G. Radke, "Aurea Funis," *Gymnasium* 63 (1956) 82-86; Van Sickle (above, note 6); and for an unsorted compendium of Lucretian tags in Virgil, W. A. Merrill, "Parallels and Coincidences in Lucretius and Virgil," *UCPCP* 3.3 (1918) 135-247. Among the phrases on which Virgil's use of Lucretius turns is *paulo maiora lacessunt* (*Lucr.* 2.137), in a crucial passage on the direct relationship between small and greater in nature, which permits analogical investigation of the invisible: cf. C. Bailey, *Lucretius* 1 (Oxford 1949) 58-59. *Paulo maiora* (*E.* 4.1) raises the question of small and great in language; here the poet, not the atoms, exercises a *facultas*: poetry assumes for itself the natural power to make trees change (*silvae*, 4.3). For a comparably Orphic metaphor, *E.* 3.111, see Segal (above, note 18) 302. An invisible process in language, bucolic, is to make itself visible; it is to grow to get beyond the limits of words. Not everyone may understand the *incrementum* in the bucolic *silvae* proposed at the beginning (4.1-3); everyone can get the message of the mother and child, smile at the end (4.60). A smile is with the lips, yet beyond words. The very structure of the poem is, in this sense, self-denying, ironic. Attempts to recapture ironic tones in the language of the *Eclogues* are thus fundamental and useful (cf. suggestions by Fantazzi [above, note 24] 184). In particular, Gotoff (*Philologus* 111.67-68), supporting Deubner's perception of a light tone in *E.* 4.1-3, points to a real ambivalence of poetic language, and of the poet's attitude to his work. Yet, as it stands, Gotoff's reading of the fourth is as one-sided in its way as are the readings of the ninth mentioned above, notes 22 and 23.

pastoral convention. When Pope asserted that his four pastorals "comprehend all the subjects which the critics upon Theocritus and Virgil will allow to be fit for Pastoral," he meant to exclude much of the matter of poems Four and Six, though he imagined his shepherds in a kind of golden age (*Discourse on Pastoral Poetry*). Taken in the context of the entire book, the opening of Four poses a question, whether the Arcadian is a very slight or a very great change from the Sicilian, whether this *paulo* is to be taken as descriptive, or prescriptive, or ironical understatement. Is birth itself a very great or a slight matter? The pastoral equivalent, or hint, of heroism perhaps? These are matters for a longer discourse. The fourth *Eclogue* poses the acute paradoxes of humility in high locations, the heroic brought low, one child gripping the whole cosmos (4.52), an indeterminate present moment controlling the entirety of historical and mythical future and past (5, 6, 8-9, 11-17).

A particular instance of the general paradox is the word *incrementum*, mentioned above. Itself abstract and prosaic, it is placed here in a separative pattern as old as Homer, forming a spondaic ending (the only one) in the forty-ninth verse of a poem constructed on the number seven, echoing and reversing a crucial poetic statement of Theocritus, part of a verse which Eduard Norden singled out for its great art in the midst of a very artful poem.³² In the context, the word can hardly be called elevated, nor yet colloquial and prosaic; nor can one refuse to call it either. Contraries persist, will not simply cede or be reduced to one another. The matter is both *tenuis* and *non parva*, like the poetry of the other poems, both small and great, *rus* and *urbs*. The dialectics cannot be simplified without violence to what was meant to be both still and still moving (*E.* 10.70-77).

Love defeated the Daphnis of the first *Idyll*, a symbol of limit to the poetic grasp of passion. Priapus and Aphrodite came, equivocal comforters. Daphnis called on Pan in vain; he said goodbyes to Arethusa (*Id.* 1.117). Love also defeats Virgil's obstreperous poet; but now

³² Norden (above, note 9) 129, comments on the spondaic ending and unexampled parison; for *incrementum*, see also note 10, above. An older treatment of it by Tenney Frank, "Magnum Iovis Incrementum," *CP* 11 (1916) 334 ff., loses itself in dichotomies which the linguistic phenomenology of Perrot (above, note 10) has nicely resolved; words in *-mentum* mean both process, instrument, and product: both the middle terms and the end, sometimes also the principle.

some comfort is to be had. At least the mortal discontent of Gallus becomes the eternal content of Arcadian song. The myth of poetry of the first *Idyll* passes into Arcadian dimensions; Arethusa returns from her exile. In the tenth *Eclogue*, the poetics of the seventh *Idyll* come to terms with the poetics of the first. The new formal circumstances, poetic feeling, promise a certain immortality in art.

Number and numerical symmetry have their importance in Virgil's reading of Theocritus and in the formation of the poetic book, but always in strict conformity with more apparent content. They blend easily into the shadows of the familiar trees. Yet, from the reader, numbers in pastoral invite a readiness to entertain opposites simultaneously, an awareness that every assertion will find its contrary in some other part of the whole. Arcadian number exacts a science, of the inner dialectics of poetry itself, whatever affinity one or another cipher may seem to show with some half-mythical figure of Sicily or of Croton.³³

³³ Delivered in slightly shorter form December 28, 1967, at the ninety-ninth annual meeting of the American Philological Association, Boston, Massachusetts. I am particularly grateful to the Editor of the Association and to its anonymous referee for encouraging me to give a more telling formulation to these ideas. I am grateful too for the interest of several of the Virgilians who heard my paper. I have heeded the counsel of Professor J. P. Elder in not expanding the present version, for the sake of stating the thesis but with the understanding and expectation that development will be required. It has been my experience that working with the present principles one can easily expand, concentrating on individual poems or parts of poems, assimilating and reformulating the most diverse critical methods. This paper then is only meant as a starting point. If inveterate Virgilians point to the strands left loose, traces omitted, exaggerations, and ellipsis, the dialectic with them and the poems will be well on its way and the purpose of this study well served. But it has also been my experience that memory is all too fallible, time short, the essentials for a valid reading of the *Eclogues* and of the best contemporary poetry lacking: *omnia fert aetas, animum quoque*.