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I. INTRODUCTION

Historical and Biographical Contexts. Reception.

In hindsight the three major works of Virgil appear to trace out a predetermined poetic career, beginning with the humble fictional world of the shepherds of the *Eclogues*, passing through the practical concerns of the *Georgics*, aimed at countryfolk living in the real contemporary world, and culminating in the epic *Aeneid*, addressing the widest concerns of Roman history and politics.[1] At the same time all three works, which between them range from the bottom to the top of the hierarchy of genres, constitute a strongly unified *œuvre*; more perhaps than most poets, Virgil alludes to his own earlier works in his later poems.[2] In all three there is a strong sense of being located at a critical point in history, and (particularly in the *Eclogues* and *Aeneid*) an equally strong sense of the exposed position of the individual subject within the historical process.

According to the ancient Lives Virgil himself was very much caught up in the great historical events of his time, which he experienced both from the side of the losers, when (so it is said) his father's farm was confiscated in the land-confiscations after the Battle of Philippi in 42 B.C., and from the side of the winners, when his poetic talent brought him the patronage of Octavian/Augustus and Maecenas.[3] The story that Virgil recited the *Georgics* to Octavian at Atella during his return to Rome in 29 B.C. after the Battle of Actium (*Vita Donati* 27)

[1] On Virgil's construction and enactment of a poetic teleology within his three major works see C. Hardie, *The Georgics: A Transitional Poem* (Abingdon, 1971); R. F. Thomas, 'From *recusatio* to commitment: the evolution of the Virgilian programme', *PLLS* 5 (1986), 61–73; E. Theodorakopoulos in Martindale (1997), 155–65. The sense of an overarching unity in the Virgilian *œuvre* finds schematic expression in the medieval *Rota Virgilii*, a diagram showing the hierarchical sequence in the three works of style (plain, middle, grand) and subject-matter (pastoral, agricultural, martial): see Wilkinson (1969), 274; E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, tr. W. R. Trask (London, Henley, and New York, 1953), 201 n. 35, 232. For the influence of the Virgilian sequence on the careers of later poets (e.g. Spenser and Milton) see L. Lipking, *The Life of the Poet: Beginning and Ending Poetic Careers* (Chicago and London, 1981), p. xi.

[2] F. Klingner, 'Die Einheit des virgilischen Lebenswerkes', *MDAI(R)* 45 (1930), 43–58 [= *Römische Geisteswelt* (Munich, 1961⁴), 274–92]; Theodorakopoulos (n. 1).

[3] Wilkinson (1969), ch. 2 is still an excellent account of the facts and traditions about the life and times of Virgil; for a detailed up-to-date survey of the subject see Horsfall (1995), ch. 1. A translation of Donatus' *Life of Virgil* is conveniently accessible in Camps (1969), Appendix 1.

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gives a sense of his closeness to the centre of worldshaking events in the making. Although almost none of Virgil's poetry is in the first person, it is not surprising that Virgilian scholarship and criticism has from the first been marked by a strong biographical interest. This makes for good novels (Hermann Broch's *The Death of Virgil* is a landmark in the history of the modern novel),[4] but bad criticism. Despite the demise of the kind of biographical criticism that used literary texts as sources for reconstructing the life of the poet, this biographical interest survives in the form of the obsession, still burning for some critics, to determine Virgil's personal attitude towards Augustus. This concern is implicit in much of the debate between the so-called 'Harvard' (anti-Augustan) and 'European' (pro-Augustan) schools of critics (see p. 94 below).

More sophisticated approaches look to the institutional, social, and cultural contexts for Virgil's works. Patronage is central to the production of Augustan poetry: Peter White's discussion tends to suggest that poets like Virgil did not write to order in the way that propaganda is directed by modern centralized totalitarian states, the model implied in Ronald Syme's chapter on 'The organization of opinion' in the *Roman Revolution* (a classic that may still be recommended as background reading for students of Virgil).[5] The notion of propaganda itself, the applicability of the term to the output of the Augustan poets, and the adequacy of a simple distinction between 'Augustan' and 'anti-Augustan', have also been subjected to useful reexamination in recent years.[6] It is now possible to see Virgil's poems not as comments, whether of support or protest, from the sidelines of Roman history, but as themselves an important element in the various discourses and cultural practices that were central to the making of Augustan Rome. Augustus effected a cultural, no less than a political, revolution; or it would be truer to say that the political revolution was simultaneously a cultural revolution.[7] Virgil draws attention to the inseparability of the political and the cultural at those points in his works, such as the proem of *Georgics* 3 or the Speech of Anchises in *Aeneid* 6, where he constructs an

[4] On which see F. Cox, in Martindale (1997), 327–36.
[5] White (1993); Syme (1939).
[6] D. Kennedy, rev. Woodman and West (1984), in *LCM* 9.10 (1984), 157–60; id., '"Augustan" and "anti-Augustan": reflections on terms of reference', in A. Powell (ed.), *Roman Poetry and Propaganda in the Age of Augustus* (London, 1992), 26–58; A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'Time for Augustus: Ovid, Augustus and the *Fasti*', in Whitby, Hardie, and Whitby (1987), 221–30.
[7] To use the title of the important collection of essays edited by T. Habinek and A. Schiesaro, *The Roman Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge, 1997); the phrase had already been used by A. Wallace-Hadrill in his review of Zanker (1988), in *JRS* 79 (1989), 157–64.

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analogy between the achievements of Rome's military and political heroes and those of the poet (see pp. 40-1, 53–4 below).

A landmark for our awareness of the importance of the visual arts in the image-making of the Augustan period was Paul Zanker's *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor, 1988), a book which has little to say directly on the literary texts, but which suggests many parallels with the themes and imagery of Virgil's poems. The many ecphrases in the *Aeneid* (see pp. 75–7 below) reveal Virgil's interest in the communicative power of visual images; monumental complexes of architecture and sculpture like the Palatine Temple of Apollo, the Ara Pacis, the Sundial of Augustus, and the Forum of Augustus engage in a message-bearing activity comparable to that of Augustan poetry.[8] Very recently Karl Galinsky has produced an important synoptic study of the history, literature, and art of the Augustan period (*Augustan Culture. An Interpretive Introduction* [Princeton, 1996]).

One measure of Virgil's success in grasping his historical moment and in producing poems that both express and give form to the critical political and cultural revolution of the late Republican and early Augustan period is the classic status that his works immediately achieved, and which has survived, more or less unassailed, down to the present day (what the future may hold is another matter). European pastoral and epic, two of the central genres in the Western tradition, define themselves primarily with reference to the *Eclogues* and the *Aeneid*. The many revivals over the last two thousand years of an Augustan imperial ideal have usually been accompanied by a renewed exploitation of the Virgilian texts. Nor are twentieth-century liberals the first to respond to the more private and melancholy interiority of Virgil's poetry; one need look no further than the immense popularity of Virgil's telling of the Orpheus story in *Georgics* 4. An attention to the psychological and spiritual aspects of Virgil's poems was also boosted by the widespread belief that he was an *anima naturaliter Christiana*, or even that the fourth *Eclogue* was a prophecy of the birth of Christ (see p. 21 below).

In recent years the study of the influence or *Nachleben* of Virgil has been given fresh vigour by the introduction of new approaches to

[8] Recently some scholars have applied to the visual monuments interpretative techniques traditionally at home in literary studies, looking for polysemy and ambiguity: see the (methodologically very different) approaches of G. K. Galinsky, 'Venus, polysemy, and the Ara Pacis Augustae', *AJA* 96 (1992), 457–75, and J. Elsner, 'Cult and sculpture: sacrifice in the Ara Pacis Augustae', *JRS* 81 (1991), 50–61. Hardie (1986) also looks for analogies between visual and textual iconographies (e.g. 120–43, 366–9, 379).

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allusion and intertextuality and to the reception of texts. These have had the twofold effect of transforming our understanding of how later poets make use of earlier poets, and of undermining our previous confidence that new readings of ancient texts supersede older readings. Can we say with certainty that Milton's reading of Virgil, accessible to us through his own creative imitation of Virgil, is inferior or out of date compared to that of a Pöschl or Putnam? The reception of Virgil is a vast topic, and my note gives only a few titles that may introduce the interested reader to the field.[9]

[9] In general see C. A. Martindale (ed.), *Virgil and his Influence* (Bristol, 1984); the new *Cambridge Companion to Virgil* (Martindale [1997]) contains a number of essays on the reception of Virgil. Still unreplaced for the earlier period is Comparetti (1895); on the reception of the *Aeneid* by first-century A.D. Latin epic poets see Hardie (1993); on the later middle ages see C. Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England. Figuring the Aeneid from the Twelfth Century to Chaucer* (Cambridge, 1995). For the Renaissance: C. Kallendorf, *In Praise of Aeneas. Virgil and Epideictic Rhetoric in the Early Italian Renaissance* (Hanover and London, 1989); id., *Virgil and the Myth of Venice: The Materiality and Ideology of Reading* (Oxford, 1999); C. Martindale, *John Milton and the Transformation of the Ancient Epic* (London and Sydney, 1986), ch. 3, 'Virgil'. For the modern period: T. Ziolkowski, *Virgil and the Moderns* (Princeton, 1993).

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II. THE *ECLOGUES*[1]

The Limits of Pastoral. Virgil and Theocritus.

Pastoral as a kind of poetry is a paradoxical combination of apparent naïveté and sophistication; William Empson refers to 'the pastoral process of putting the complex into the simple'.[2] The pastoral landscape in its more ideal moments is the stage for simple country folk who lead an easy and uncomplicated life. But landscape and shepherds appear in poems written by sophisticated poets, whose self-consciousness weighs heavily on the figures who speak in their poems. The picture of an idyllic world often conjured up by the words 'pastoral' or 'bucolic' is a trivializing and selective simplification of the full reading experience offered by the *Eclogues*. That simple image is presented to the reader in the first five lines of *Eclogue* 1 in Meliboeus' description of his friend Tityrus' happy situation: Tityrus reclines at ease in the shadow of a tree, composing 'woodland music' on his rustic pipe and teaching the sympathetic woods to echo the name of his girlfriend Amaryllis. But this description frames Meliboeus' statement of his own plight: in contrast to his settled friend he is in motion, away from the boundaries of the idyllic Never Never Land, which in line 3 is already redefined with the very Roman word *patria*. *Eclogue* 1 quickly bursts the limits of a simple and timeless bucolicism to encompass the historical and social realities of the city of Rome, in the course of a brief exchange of experiences past and anticipated in which the humble herdsman Tityrus meets a man-god, and the smallholder Meliboeus foresees an exile as far distant as Britain (1.66), the limit of Julius Caesar's imperialist adventuring a decade and a half before the time of composition. The first *Eclogue* is typical of the collection as a whole in this testing of limits and in the recurrent thwarting of the desire for fulfilment in an enclosed *locus amoenus* or 'green cabinet'.[3] Much of the energy and interest of the

[1] *Bucolica* is the older title of the collection; *ecloga* 'chosen piece' denotes an individual poem regarded as an independent piece. On the title see N. M. Horsfall, *BICS* 28 (1981), 108–9; M. Geymonat, *BICS* 29 (1982), 17–18.

[2] W. Empson, *Some Versions of Pastoral* (Harmondsworth, 1966 [1935]), 25.

[3] Michael Putnam uses the phrase 'poetics of enclosure': 'Virgil's first *Eclogue*: poetics of enclosure', in Boyle (1975), 81–104. On *Eclogue* 1 see also C. P. Segal, '*Tamen cantabitis, Arcades*: exile and Arcadia in *Eclogues* 1 and 9', in Segal (1981), 271–300; B. F. Dick, 'Vergil's pastoral poetic: a reading of the first *Eclogue*', *AJP* 91 (1970), 277–93; DuQuesnay (1981); Wright (1983).

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Eclogues derives from the constant tension between the limiting case of a static pastoral 'idyll' and the forces that threaten to destabilize the idyll.

In literary terms a Roman poet defines the boundaries of his work with reference to the first or major exponent of the *genre* within which he writes, in the case of bucolic poetry the Hellenistic poet Theocritus, a native of Syracuse. Virgil explicitly signposts his model in the first line of each of the two poems in the middle of the book, 4 and 6, that most overtly challenge the limits of the *genre* (4.1 *Sicelides Musae* 'Sicilian Muses'; 6.1–2 *prima Syracosio dignata est ludere uersu | nostra . . . Thalea* 'my Muse first saw fit to sport in Syracusan verse'). More subtly the first lines of *Eclogue* 1 both echo the sound patterns of the opening words of the poem that stands first in our, and probably Virgil's, edition of Theocritus and also place Tityrus in the posture of the legendary singer Comatas addressed longingly in an untypically wistful passage of Theocritus (*Idyll* 7.88–9).[4] But to define the *Eclogues* in terms of the Greek model Theocritus is to push the question of definition a stage further back. The Theocritean corpus contains a wide variety of hexameter poems, by no means all of them about herdsmen, and there is an ongoing debate as to the definition of Theocritean 'bucolic'.[5]

Some of the certainly non-Theocritean poems in the corpus, notably 8 and 9, suggest that Theocritus' successors did narrow the range of his subject-matter to the sentimental encounters of sweet-natured herdsmen which we still tend to think of as typically 'pastoral'.[6] [Theocritus] 8 and 9 are among the models used by Virgil, whose verbal imitations of Theocritus otherwise concentrate on Theocritus 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, and 11 and the framing sections of 6,[7] that is, those poems which use what became the standard bucolic repertory of rustic banter, song-contests between

[4] See Coleman on *Ecl.* 1.1; Wright (1983), 108. On the question of editions of Theocritus in Virgil's day see DuQuesnay (1979), 38; J. W. Vaughn, 'Theocritus Vergilianus and Liber Bucolicon', *Aevum* 55 (1981), 47–68; K. Gutzwiller, 'The evidence for Theocritean poetry books', in M. A. Harder, R. F. Regtuit, and G. C. Wakker (eds.), *Theocritus* (Hellenistica Groningana 2) (Groningen, 1996), 119–48.

[5] See esp. D. Halperin, *Before Pastoral: Theocritus and the Ancient Tradition of Bucolic Poetry* (New Haven and London, 1983). Important works on the definition of pastoral poetry ancient and modern include Rosenmeyer (1969); R. Poggioli, 'The oaten flute', *Harvard Library Bulletin* 11 (1957), 147–84; L. Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (Oxford, 1964); P. J. Alpers, *What is Pastoral?* (Chicago, 1996).

[6] On the post-Theocritean development of bucolic see L. E. Rossi, 'Mondo pastorale e poesia bucolica di maniera: l'idillio ottavo del *corpus* teocriteo', *SIFC* 43 (1971), 5–25; J. van Sickle, 'Theocritus and the development of the conception of bucolic genre', *Ramus* 5 (1976), 18–44.

[7] DuQuesnay (1979), 38. On Virgil's imitation of Theocritus in general see S. Posch, *Beobachtungen zur Theokritnachwirkung bei Vergil* (Innsbruck and Munich, 1969); R. W. Garson, 'Theocritean elements in Virgil's *Eclogues*', *CQ* 21 (1971), 188–203. Detailed studies of Virgil's imitation of Theocritus in individual *Eclogues*: DuQuesnay (1977), 52–68 (*Ecl.* 4); id. (1976/77), 18–29 (*Ecl.* 5); id. (1979), 37–43 (*Ecl.* 2); id. (1981), 36–53 (*Ecl.* 1).

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herdsmen, serenades to a reluctant beloved, wagers of precious art-objects, and the gift or exchange of musical instruments or staffs in recognition of musical excellence. The names of the fictional characters in the *Eclogues* largely overlap with those of Theocritean herdsmen.[8]

Two Theocritean poems are of especial importance for Virgil, both of them crucial for Theocritus' definition of his own bucolic world but both also operating partly outside the limits of that world as understood in a narrow sense, *Idyll* 1 containing Thrysis' song about the dying Daphnis, the pastoral 'hero', mortal but privileged to visits from the gods, and *Idyll* 7 in which Simichidas, in whom it is tempting to see a mask for Theocritus, tells of a journey with friends from town to a harvest festival in the country, in the course of which he meets and has an exchange of songs with the mysterious goatherd Lycidas. Both *Idylls* are substantial models for more than one *Eclogue*: the first lines of *Idyll* 1 are echoed in the first lines of *Eclogue* 1; the elaborate ecphrasis (description) of the cup offered by the goatherd to Thyrsis in exchange for his song (*Id.* 1.27–61) is the model for the description of the cups wagered in the song contest of *Eclogue* 3 (35–47), while the death of Daphnis is the major model for the poems that end each half of the *Eclogues* book, *Eclogue* 5 with the songs of Mopsus and Menalcas on, respectively, the death and deification of Daphnis, and *Eclogue* 10 in which Virgil's friend the poet Gallus plays the part of Daphnis, figuratively dying of love in a version of the pastoral landscape. But while the content of the two songs in *Eclogue* 5 is drawn from *Idyll* 1, it is *Idyll* 7 that provides the model for the overall shape of *Eclogue* 5, a courteous exchange of songs in which the junior singer (Simichidas in *Idyll* 7, Mopsus in *Eclogue* 5) nevertheless fails to conceal his ambition;[9] Mopsus' final gift of a crook to Menalcas recalls Lycidas' presentation of his staff to Simichidas as a 'guest-friendship gift of the Muses' at *Idyll* 7.128–9. The lush description of the *locus amoenus* at the harvest festival at the end of *Idyll* 7 (131–47) has already been a model for Meliboeus' wistfully idealizing description of the landscape in which Tityrus is privileged to remain at *Ecl.* 1.51–8, but the most sustained imitation of *Idyll* 7 is reserved for *Eclogue* 9, the pendant to *Eclogue* 1, in which the Theocritean model of a journey into the country that is also a journey of initiation into bucolic song is inverted as two countrymen (one of whom is named Lycidas) pass the

[8] Names: A. Perutelli in Horsfall (1995), 42–3.
[9] On the personal dynamics of *Ecl.* 5 see G. Lee, 'A reading of Virgil's fifth *Eclogue*', *PCPS* 23 (1977), 62–70.

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time as they walk reluctantly from the country to the city by exchanging fragments of half-remembered songs.

From these examples it will be clear that Virgil's imitation of Theocritus is complex, detailed, pointed, and playful. A single *Eclogue* may combine imitation of two or more Theocritean *Idylls*;[10] alternatively imitation of a single *Idyll* may be distributed over two or more *Eclogues*. A Theocritean pattern or theme may be reworked in inverted form (*oppositio in imitando*): for example at *Ecl.* 10.21–3 Apollo tells Gallus that the girl he pines for, Lycoris, has followed another man into the anti-pastoral landscape of a military campaign in the frozen north, where in the Theocritean model (*Id.* 1.81–5) Priapus tells Daphnis that the girl whom he shuns is searching for him through the pastoral springs and glades. In this example imitation extends to the sounds of the Greek model: the line-ending *tua cura, Lycoris* 'the object of your erotic care, Lycoris' (*Ecl.* 10.22) echoes the line-ending at *Id.* 1.82 ἁ δέ τε κώρα 'the girl'.[11] This kind of elaborate and self-conscious allusion is a hallmark of the Alexandrian poets and their Latin imitators, and is a constant in all of Virgil's three major works.[12]

By focusing on Virgil's imitation of Theocritean poems about herdsmen I have colluded with Virgil's overall tendency to conform to the post-Theocritean narrower definition of bucolic poetry. But other *Eclogues* are open to the wider range of Theocritean subject-matter. *Eclogue* 4 is the least pastoral of the *Eclogues*, but it has an important Theocritean model in *Idyll* 17, a hexameter encomium of Ptolemy II.[13] *Eclogue* 4 opens with an explicit discussion of its place within a pastoral book that may retroactively prompt the reader to think about the place of *Idyll* 17 in Theocritus' bucolic book: how important is it that at 9–10 Theocritus prefaces his hesitation about where to start in his praises of the king with the rustic image of a *woodcutter* embarrassed for choice in the forests of Ida? The use, as model for the funerary rituals of Daphnis at *Ecl.* 5.40–4, of the cult institutions for the divinized Helen prescribed in *Idyll* 18, the Epithalamium for Helen, allusively anticipates Virgil's reversal through deification of the Theocritean death of Daphnis; while the Virgilian context alerts the reader to the possibility that the 'pastoral

[10] As in the combination of *Idylls* 3 and 11 as models for *Eclogue* 2: DuQuesnay (1979), 43–63.

[11] Ross (1975), 69.

[12] For a good survey of work on Virgilian allusion and intertextuality see Farrell (1991), 4–25; see also Farrell in Martindale (1997), 222–38. Important recent theoretical studies of allusion in Latin poetry: Conte (1986); S. Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry* (Cambridge, 1998).

[13] DuQuesnay (1977), 52–68, analysing the components of the βασιλικόν; see also DuQuesnay (1981), 41–2 on the parallels between *Id.* 14, an urban mime, and *Ecl.* 1.

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analogy' at *Id.* 18.28–31 (one of the Theocritean models for *Ecl.* 5.32–4 *uitis ut arboribus decori est, ut uitibus uuae, | ut gregibus tauri, segetes ut pinguibus aruis, | tu decus omne tuis* 'as the vine adorns the trees, as the grapes the vine, as bulls the herds, as crops the rich fields, so you are the sole ornament of your people') serves to draw that non-pastoral poem into a tighter unity with the pastoral poems in the Theocritean collection.[14] The song of Alphesiboeus in *Eclogue* 8 is modelled on the song of Simaetha in one of Theocritus' urban idylls, *Idyll* 2, but the preparation of the love-magic is pointedly transferred to a countryside setting.[15] For all that pastoral poetry is often viewed as the expression of the city-dweller's nostalgic longing for an idyllic life in the countryside, there is in fact a marked family resemblance between Theocritus' dramatizations of the loves and musical activities of simple folk in both town and country, a resemblance that in literary terms reflects Theocritus' dependence on the mime. Virgil, who was to show his dramatic powers again in the construction of tragic episodes within the *Aeneid*, is fully alive to the dramatic qualities of pastoral poetry; the *Life of Donatus* (26) records that the *Eclogues* were indeed performed on stage.[16] The close affiliation between the Theocritean idyll and the Hellenistic mime is paralleled in Virgil's use of Roman comedy in the *Eclogues*.[17] There may be a certain paradox in the fact that pastoral is both an idealizing and a realistic genre.[18]

A Roman poet's claim to follow in the footsteps of the Greek inventor of a genre does not imply that that is his only model. The loss of much Hellenistic poetry and of much post-Theocritean pastoral poetry hinders a precise assessment of Virgil's use of the whole range of the Greek pastoral tradition. The opening lines of the first *Eclogue*, a seemingly innocent passage, but one which we have already seen to

[14] On the echoes of *Id.* 18 in *Ecl.* 5 see DuQuesnay (1976/77), 20.

[15] C. P. Segal, 'Alphesiboeus' song and Simaetha's magic: Virgil's eighth *Eclogue* and Theocritus's second *Idyll*', *GB* 14 (1987), 167–85. On *Eclogue* 8 see also A. Richter, *Virgile. La huitième bucolique* (Paris, 1970).

[16] See G. Highet, 'Performances of Vergil's *Bucolics*', *Vergilius* 20 (1974), 24–5; Horsfall (1995), 17; Coleiro (1979), 66–70. On the dramatic quality of the *Eclogues* see P. Steinmetz, 'Eclogen Vergils als dramatische Dichtungen', *A&A* 14 (1968), 115–25.

[17] Most prominently in the first words of *Ecl.* 3, *dic mihi, Damoeta, cuium pecus?*: see Clausen ad loc.; H. MacL. Currie, 'The third *Eclogue* and the Roman comic spirit', *Mnemos.* 29 (1976), 411–20. J. Wills, 'Virgil's *cuium*', *Vergilius* 39 (1993), 3–11 points out that *cuium* is also an attempt to catch the flavour of Theocritus' dialectal ψε (*Id.* 4.3); the use of dialects is a rich poetic resource for Theocritus, but one not available to a Latin poet; Virgil makes do with a liberal use of colloquialisms.

[18] On Theocritean realism see G. Zanker, *Realism in Alexandrian Poetry: A Literature and its Audience* (London, etc., 1987), index s.v. 'Theocritus'; on Virgilian realism see J. Hubaux, *Le Réalisme dans les Bucoliques de Virgile* (Liège and Paris, 1927).

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contain programmatic allusion to Theocritus, offer other clues. The pastoral singer reclining under the shade of a tree and the echoing of the name 'Amaryllis' may both allude to a lost work of Philitas, an important Hellenistic poet of the generation before Theocritus and whose poetry may have been a significant ingredient in the compound that we know as Theocritean bucolic.[19] Theocritus' first *Idyll* on the death of Daphnis is the model for a line of pastoral laments of which Milton's *Lycidas* is the most familiar specimen to an English readership; *Eclogue* 5 and 10 contain echoes of Bion's *Lament for Adonis* and the anonymous *Lament for Bion*.[20] This last work is one of the Greek precedents for the introduction of real-life characters into the pastoral world, which was to become so striking a feature of Virgilian and post-Virgilian pastoral.

The Latin Poetic Tradition. Lucretius, Philosophy, and Love. The Neoterics and Catullus.

Virgil is the first Roman pastoral poet, but the world of the *Eclogues* is constructed out of a Roman, as well as a Greek, poetic tradition. In this his first major work Virgil is very conscious of his roots in the so-called neoteric school of poets like Catullus, Calvus, and Cinna.[21] The choice of Theocritus as a model in itself marks the young Virgil as an 'Alexandrian' poet. Praise of the Latin poems of Pollio and Varius and Cinna is jarringly placed in the mouths of pastoral characters at *Ecl.* 3.84–9 and 9.35–6. Pollio, politician, poet, and patron of the young Virgil, had been an intimate of the new poets of the 50s B.C., of whom Cinna was one of the leaders, while Varius was Virgil's contemporary and a future editor of the *Aeneid*. For Virgil, however, the most important poet of the generation immediately after the neoterics of the 50s was Gallus, whom I discuss in the next section.

Another poet of the 50s B.C. whose influence on all of Virgil's works it is difficult to overestimate is Lucretius.[22] The phrase *siluestris Musa*

[19] See E. L. Bowie, 'Theocritus' seventh Idyll, Philetas and Longus', *CQ* 35 (1985), 67–91, at 80–3.

[20] DuQuesnay (1976/77), 23–9; Schmidt (1972), 69–92 'Die hellenistische Bukolik (Bionepitaph)'. See also M. Paschalis, 'Virgil's sixth *Eclogue* and the *Lament for Bion*', *AJP* 116 (1995), 617–21.

[21] Virgil and the neoterics: Otis (1964), 99–105; Farrell (1991), 278–314.

[22] *Eclogues* and Lucretius: G. Castelli, 'Echi lucreziani nelle *Ecloghe* virgiliane', *RSC* 14 (1966), 313–42; (1967), 14–39, 176–216; G. K. Galinsky, 'Vergil's second *Eclogue*: its theme and relation

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