

ARCADIA

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We are interested in Virgil's Arcadia not only, and not first because it is a problem of literary history, to be solved by skilful analysis and accurate scholarship, but because it is a profound theme, a truly moving poetic conception which is inseparable from the greatness of Virgil's early poetry. The problem is a wide one, but it can be simply stated: why does Virgil in the Eclogues talk about Arcadia and Arcadians, and what does he mean to convey? That is the problem but it is not so easy to analyse the poetic conception. We have all learnt that Virgil's landscape is ideal, mixed, non-local, that it is essentially cultivated, that its characters are allegorical and its values spiritual, and that it has some relation to Hellenistic painting. But this conception remains diffuse, and it is hard to see why it should be so moving.

The subject of Virgilian landscape extends too far to be treated in this paper; it involves all the contrasts and obsessions of the Georgics, and what by a paradox one might call the passionate modesty of that poem. To approach the subject one would have to begin by discussing Virgil's religious situation, and by establishing that landscape poetry did not exist in his time in any modern sense of the word. I am not a good enough Virgilian scholar to deal with all the thoughts and feelings and the resonance of the words that are present in the landscape background to the Eclogues, but I hope that if we confine ourselves to the problem of Arcadia, why Arcadia, we may stand a better chance of throwing some light on Virgil, and on the mistakes we make about him.

Everyone knows that behind Virgil in the Eclogues stands Theokritos. Theokritos' country idylls are set in a landscape which is sometimes that of the island of Kos, sometimes apparently in south Italy. There is some Sicilian colouring; the characters include an Assyrian and a Carian⁽²⁾, a Libyan and a Sicilian⁽¹⁾, and an Athenian, an Argive and a Thessalian⁽¹⁴⁾. The dialect is a conventional, not a spoken Doric, and both the literary quality of the language, which is at the same time so sweet and so salty, and the rather loose and yet concrete localization suggest that Theokritos was basing his work not only on such a writer as Philetas of Kos, but on the language of popular song, of which at this period we know little. After all, the antiphonal singing of herdsmen in the fields is not only a presupposition of Theokritean poetry: it is a known, observed phenomenon; it occurs to this day, though not from any Greek influence, in central Bohemia, where some very beautiful impromptu antiphonal chanting line by line from hill to hill has been recorded by A. L. Lloyd. Already in Theokritos, we are of course dealing with elaborate formal poetry. There is no particular accuracy about or emphasis on geography; the only odd thing is that if no one had yet mentioned Arcadia, it would be strange for Virgil to superimpose that name on a countryside already colonized by poetry, and geographically speaking already a palimpsest. He is not gratuitously original in the realia of his poetry and one would like to know the reason.

First it should be said that apart from an epic allusion at id.22, 157 Theokritos does mention Arcadia twice: once at id.1, 123 and once at id.7, 107, both times because Arcadia is the home of Pan, a god whom Theokritos' mountain-wandering rustics particularly worship: because Pan is not only a mountain god and a herdsman, he is the special god of the reed pipe. We ought not to underestimate the debt of Virgil to Theokritos; it is worth noticing that whenever Virgil mentions Arcadia or Arcadians in the Eclogues, which is by no means in every Eclogue, he does so in connection with Pan, or antiphonal rustic singing and piping. Pan really was the god of Arcadia as we know in detail from the 8th book of Pausanian and in passing from many other sources. He was a mountain god, ὅς πάντα λόφον νιφθοντα λέλογχε, καὶ κορυφὰς ὄρεων. It was on an Arcadian mountain⁽¹⁾ that Pan appeared to Philippides, and when Pindar saw and heard Pan singing between Kithairon and Helikon, he wrote the god a poem beginning ὦ Πάν, Ἀρκαδίας μεδέων, καὶ σεμνῶν ἄδόντων φθλαξ. . . .

The Attic skolion to Pan begins in the same way:

... ὦ Πάν, Ἀρκαδίας μεδέων κλεευνῶς ...

and soon after Virgil's death in a poem addressed to a different Vergilius, Horace makes his only reference to Pan, without naming him, calling him simply the god of Arcadia (carm.4, 12, 9-12). Horace's identification of Pan and Faunus in Odes 1, 17 and 3, 18 is another matter and another problem; these two poems in several ways confirm the point I am making. In the same way Propertius (1.18, 20) writes of Arcadio pinus amica deo, and the pine woods of Pan's Arcadia figure in Ovid's Fasti (2,266f).

You may feel that the problem has ceased to exist, and that Virgil mentions the Arcadians only because they were Pan's countrymen, but the four lines of Horace with their clear formula of rustics singing to the Arcadian god were written after Virgil's death and may surely derive from the Eclogues; there is nothing so clear before the Eclogues were written. The references to Arcadia in Virgil's Eclogues are these.

The first Eclogue seems to be set in Italy but deep in the provinces. Some of the geographic names are rather wild and remote; so they are in Theokritos: there is certainly a difference, but it does not concern us now. The second Eclogue is set in Sicily - mille meae Siculis errant in montibus agnae - but Pan is the herdsman's god and the great singing master; mecum una in silvis imitabere Pana canendo ... Pan curat ovis oviumque magistros. The 3rd Eclogue is a very odd poem with a setting not identified, presumably in the Italian provinces. The fourth appeals in its first line Sicelides Musae ... si canimus silvas, silvae sint consule dignae. Near the end, Virgil is so confident in his theme as to challenge Pan with all Arcadia for judge, though this is a flight of deliberately naive rhetoric: the poem is not set in Arcadia. But it surely must presuppose a tradition of competitive antiphonal rustic singing set in Arcadia before the time of Virgil, familiar to Virgil's readers. The 5th Eclogue refers back to the 2nd, but its setting is really rather obscure: the country, the provinces, one can say nothing more. When Daphnis enters heaven alacris silvas et cetera rura voluptas/Panaque pastoresque tenet Dryadasque puellas. Is it too fanciful to suggest that "Panaque pastoresque" may be an alliterative echo of earlier Latin poetry? The 6th Eclogue is once again supposed to be in Syracusan

verse, that is, in the verse of Theokritos, but there is still no very definite local setting. The 7th is the first Eclogue actually to refer to Arcadians, who are its two principal characters, Thyrsis and Corydon, ambo florentes aetatibus, Arcades ambo, / et cantare pares, et respondere parati. Corydon prays not to Pan but to the nymphs of Helicon, but Thyrsis sings to the Arcadian shepherds.

In Eclogue 8 Damon's song gives probably the clearest indications we have in all these 10 elaborate poems of what Virgil meant by Arcadian: its refrain is the line Incipe Maenalius mecum mea tibia versus. Mainalos is Pan's mountain in Arcadia; a number of Arcadians are called Mainalians in the athletic victory monuments at Olympia, so "Maenalius versus" means "Arcadian verses"; the verses Damon sings are typical of Virgil's Eclogues, a little disjointed in appearance but not in fact, full of sour-sweet images, and perfectly adapted both for an elaborate literary version of an antiphonal impromptu singing-contest, and for a poem built up step by step from two or three line units. We are not told that either character is Arcadian, Alpheisboeus' reply is based on Theokritos' idyll and contains no reference to Pan or to Arcadia; the crucial four lines occur early in Damon's song.

Incipe Maenalius mecum mea tibia versus.
Maenalus argutumque nemus pinusque loquentis
semper habet; semper pastorum ille audit amores,
Panaque, qui primus calamos non passus inertis.
Incipe Maenalius mecum mea tibia versus.

There is no direct equivalent of this refrain in Theokritos; the nearest is Thyrsis' refrain in the 1st idyll: ἄρχετε βουκολικᾶς, Μοῖσαι φίλοι, ἄρχεται δοιδᾶς. 'Herdsman's song' in Theokritos is being used in just as allusive quasi-technical a way as 'Maenalius versus' in the eclogue; that is, Theokritos is presupposing that his readers understand by βουκολικᾶς δοιδᾶς more or less what Virgil presupposes by Arcadian singing. It was something that must have existed and already been an almost familiar conception, in order for such a poem ever to have been written. Virgil in a wonderful vignette of mount Mainalus, makes explicit what elsewhere he presupposes. These few lines tell us as exactly as it can be expressed what Virgil means by Arcadia. It is not a completely humanized and certainly not a cultivated landscape, but it is a landscape that speaks; it is a mountain always being disturbed by tragic shepherds' songs, and it can never cease to hear its own whistling woods, and it hears the piping of the god of shepherds and goat-herds. (h.Hom. 19. 7-11).

Yet in later centuries it was not to be the wonderful and savage picture in Eclogue 8, but some more ambiguous lines in Eclogue 10 that would determine European interpretations of Virgil's Arcadia. The 9th eclogue is set in the Italian countryside; it is like the 1st, but more explicit; the setting is somewhere near Mantua. In the 10th eclogue, in the lament for Gallus, Gallus seems to have died of love wandering in the Arcadian mountains:

Pinifer illum etiam sola sub rupe iacentem
Maenalus et gelidi fleverunt saxa Lycaei.
Stant et oves circum ...

The gods themselves come to lament: Apollo and the unforgettable Silvanus,

florentis ferulas et grandia lilia quassans. Pan's appearance is not so beautiful but even more startling:

Pan deus Arcadiae venit quen vidimus ipsi
sanguineis ebuli bacis minioque rubentem.

I do not suppose quem vidimus ipsi is meant to imply more than that Pan does appear to shepherds in the mountains like the rauni in the first book of the Georgics agrestum praesentia numina. The poet is speaking as a shepherd and for a moment you think he means what he says. [cf. Paus 8.36.8] Arcades ipsum/credunt se vidisse iovem (Aen 8.352-3) The berry-juice and the crimson paint of course represent contemporary country beliefs and practices; I wonder whether the sharpness and specificity and a certain deliberate archaism and oddity about this line may not owe something to the equally odd sharp, specific lines of Theokritos about Pan being shipped (106-110)? The freezing rocky mountains where Gallus lay dying may possibly come from the same context. But there is another source for this passage and this eclogue not in Greek but in Latin poetry: in the 4th book of Lucretius de rerum natura, in a context to which I wish to return later.

Now Pan speaks; his speech has the same function as the speech of Kypris to the dying Daphnis. But Pan is apparently unable to speak three lines without a heavy rustic syntax; in fact he speaks in the rather proverbial as it were disjointed, antiphonal verse in which his shepherds sing.

Ecquis erit modus? inquit; Amor non talia curat;
nec lacrimis crudelis Amor, nec gramina rivis,
nec cytiso saturantur apes, nec fronde capellae.

And Gallus seems to understand what kind of verse it is:

Tamen cantabitis Arcades inquit
montibus haec vestric: soli cantare periti
Arcades.

He would die happy if he were the subject of a song like that, sung in those mountains. He would even like to have been a peasant - this is a theme that Virgil is going to treat more seriously at the end of the first Georgic; here it is simply announced in two lines, but two lines which are pregnant with centuries of misunderstanding.

Atque utinam ex vobis unus vestrique fuissem
aut custos gregis, aut maturae venitor uvae.

He could have a girl or a boy or both, maybe even a black boy - et nigrae violae - and lie in the shade for ever. But the truth is Gallus is a soldier. His lover has gone away to Gaul. What can he do but write poetry. It must be accepted that the smoky confusion of Gallus' feelings is deliberately and powerfully expressed. Gallus will play the songs of Euphorion on the reed of Theokritos, cut his lover's name in the bark of trees, wander over Mainalos with the nymphs, go boar-hunting in extremely bad weather among rocks and echoing woods, surrounding the hollows with his hounds, shooting a Parthian bow. And so on.

Of all the Eclogues, the 10th is the one most definitely localized in Arcadia, and the picture of Arcadia in the Augustan age is comparatively realistic: wild pinewooded mountains, bitterly cold, rocky, and very good, rough hunting country, and most important of all, the home of a primitive, rustic Pan, and the greatest centre of a certain kind of song: solī cantare peritī Arcades.

Unless we are going to say that the kind of singing of which Theokritos had written happened literally to survive in real life in Arcadia into Virgil's lifetime and nowhere else, and that Virgil knew this, and that no one else records it, we are lamentably far from having solved the problem of why Virgil introduces Arcadia. If you say it was because the god Pan was the god of this kind of singing, or - much less convincing - of this kind of landscape, you have still to discover whether Virgil was the first to make the connection and if not from whom he took it; there would also remain the question whether he introduces Pan as a symbol of his Arcadians and their life or the Arcadians as subjects of the god. The question is more important than it looks. Here we must face as soberly as possible the exciting theory and the intoxicating arguments of R. Reitzenstein, which he advanced in 1893 in his Epigram und Skolion. Reitzenstein was conscious of the problem of Arcadian poetry - or rather of the problem of why Virgil thought of this genre as Arcadian, which is identical with the problem of the origins of the genre. He discovered a group of early Hellenistic poets, who beyond all question form a small, coherent group writing short epigrams in the Doric dialect, covering similar subjects and sometimes imitating one another's lines. The first and best of these writers was Anyte of Tegea, a highly original Arcadian poetess who seems to have lived a little before Theokritos; all the dates of these poets are uncertain, but one could put her floruit around the year 300. Her disciples are Theokritos' friend and contemporary the doctor Nikias of Miletos - it is interesting in this connection that Pausanias in the last chapter of his Description of Greece names Anyte as the founder of the Asklepieion at Naupaktos - and Mnesalkes of Sikyon, whose slightly later date in the second half of the 3rd century has been established by Seelbach in a combined study of Mnesalkes and of Theodoridas of Syracuse.

Reitzenstein characterizes Anyte, Nikias and Mnesalkes as the 'Peloponnesian school'. There is nothing specifically Arcadian about them except Anyte's birth-place, not do they write Maenalis versus based on herdsmen's antiphonal song. They are not the only epigrammatists of their period to write about Pan. The strongest correspondence with Virgil's Arcadia is by none of the three: it is in the far later poet Erykios, who can hardly be earlier than the 1st century B.C. and may be later. In the 96th epigram of the 6th book of the Anthology he writes of

Γλαύκων καὶ Κορῶδων οἱ ἐν ὄρεσι βουκολέοντες

'Αρχάδες ἀμφοτέρωι

They make a dedication to Pan. The parallel with Virgil is too striking to need auxiliary argument. Reitzenstein suggested a common source: and this may be the truth; it has not been remarked, though, that the common source might quite easily be a lost poem by Theokritos, who did not collect his own work; it might even be by Philetas of Kos. The coincidence teaches us very little about an Arcadian school of poets. The contribution of Erykios' epigram to this enquiry is only to increase our already sharp suspicion that Arcadia is not original to Virgil: Pan and the Arcadian herdsmen must surely have already impressed themselves

on some current of Hellenistic poetry which is now lost. Anyte of Tegea and her followers cast only a feeble light on what that tradition was. They were not an Arcadian school in the sense of a local group of Arcadian poets, nor have we the slightest trace of evidence either from physical monuments or from literary sources that such a school ever existed. The locus classicus in Polybius (4.20) about Arcadian musical festivals and musical education is quite irrelevant: at the best it opens a possibility of which we know nothing. Among the 24 epigrams by Anyte which are preserved, two are to Pan; neither here nor elsewhere does she once mention Arcadia. No doubt she contributed to the matrix, the humus of poetry on which Theokritos and many later poets were to draw, but it is the most ordinary caution to doubt what importance we should attach to these two Pan poems. Perhaps they are pre-bucolic or early bucolic poetry: they are the first thin, clear statement of a theme that impresses us perhaps too much because of the substantial music it was to introduce. In themselves the poems are wonderful but deliberately tenuous; they have an almost Chinese quality. (Gow, Anyte 111 and XIX). Anyte is a highly civilized Hellenistic lady; how much prettier her landscape is than Virgil's Mainalus or Horace's nigri colles Arcadiae. If the phrase 'soli cantare periti Arcades' in Virgil's tenth Eclogue is really allegoric as scholars have supposed, though personally I would doubt it, there is still no reason to think Virgil was referring to Anyte, still less to Mnesalkes of Sikyon or Nikias of Miletus. What Reitzenstein has really discovered is a traditional strain in Hellenistic epigram which from the beginning fed bucolic poetry, and from the time of Theokritos borrowed back even more than it contributed. The common themes of Reitzenstein's Peloponnesian school are the invitation to sit and drink, to sit in the shade; their favourite animal is the cicada⁽²⁾ and their characteristic landscape is the leaf-shivering mountain (εἰνοσίφυλλον ὄρος), which Mnesalkes (2, Gow, 5 Seelbach) connects with Artemis and his master Nikias (7) with Hermes and Mount Kyllene. One out of Nikias' eight epigrams is the dedication of a statue of Pan to look after a beehive, Μαιναλίαν κλιτὸν ἀποπρολιπών. One of the 18 by Mnesalkes (16, Gow, 7 Seelbach) complains about a shepherd's pipe dedicated to Aphrodite.

τίπτ' ἀπὸ ποιμενίου χεῖλος ὧδε πάρει ; There are no rocks and crags here, this place is all love and luxury: ἄ δ' ἄγρια Μοῦσ' ἐν ὄρει νέμεται . This poem has been interpreted as a literary polemic about the proper content of bucolic poetry: a view that seems to me misconceived, since we have no evidence even of the existence of any bucolic poetry which was not love poetry. Mnesalkes' contrast of rough and smooth is implicit also in Theokritos' Cyclops; in fact the whole possibility of bucolic poetry rests on this tension, as Mnesalkes must very well have known.

All this is insubstantial. There was certainly a traditional bucolic or quasi-bucolic or sub-bucolic style of Hellenistic poems about Pan: A.P. 9, 823 for example, attributed to Plato, A.P. 5, 139 by Meleager, quoted by Karl Büchner in P.W. (241) and the beautiful unattributed single line which is A.P. 9, 825, Πανά με τὸν δυσέρωτα καὶ ἐξ ὕδατων φύγεν Ἥχῳ. Erykios, with whom Virgil shares a line and a half, belongs to this tradition. There is no doubt that Virgil was familiar with Hellenistic epigrammatic poetry. Even without internal analysis of the Eclogues we should know from surviving papyrus texts and from such references as Philip of Thessalonike's dedication to Camillus that Greek poetry of this kind was familiar to an educated Roman in precisely this generation. Even Horace in his lyric poetry draws on Hellenistic epigrams. Two of Virgil's most famous phrases seem to originate from the same very strong epigram by Callimachus (Gow 9, Pfeiffer 44); agnosco veteris vestigia flammae, Aen. 4.23,

and perhaps also, more remotely, fluminaque antiquos subterlabentia muros.
Georg. 2.157.

*Ἔστι τι ναὶ τὸν Πᾶνα κεκρυμμένον, ἔστι τι ταύτη
ναὶ μὰ Διώνυσον κῦρ ὑπὸ τῆ σκοδιῆ.
οὐ θαρσέω· μὴ δὴ με περίπλεξε· κολλάχι λήθει
τοῖχον ὑποτρῶγων ἠσυχίος ποταμός.

Yet even the whole tradition of Doric and bucolic epigrams does not add up to an equivalent to Virgil's Arcadia.

After all, there is no end to the ways in which a poet can be influenced, not only by poetry and not only by "creative" literature. It was a suggestion inevitably made by Wilamowitz that the source of Virgil's Arcadia is to be found in Hellenistic learned commentaries and not in poems; in fact, that Virgil was simply using a learned footnote he had found somewhere about Pan and the Arcadian herdsmen. Scholars who placed more reliance on their fine feelings have derided this suggestion: but an analogous discovery (Centenary Essays on Dante, Oxford, 1965, p. 1 ff.) by Mr. C. A. Robson has shown that Dante used the driest and most scholastic texts for his poetic material; We know Keats used Lemprière's dictionary; why should Virgil not have used the lost work by Alexander Polyhistor on the geography of Alkman? I once used to believe I could demonstrate that he had in fact read that work.

Perhaps we are on the wrong track; but by rephrasing and more narrowly limiting the question we may still advance. Virgil's Eclogues, taken together, are not an Arcadian series of poems. The first six Eclogues and the ninth have nothing to do with Arcadia, the seventh has two Arcadian characters, the eighth has Maenalius versus, because Pan is the herdsman's god, and only the tenth Eclogue is set wholeheartedly in Arcadia and Pan appears in it. It may be that in this poem and at this point in the collection Pan has a climactic position. But we ought to remark that the setting of the tenth Eclogue is precisely and deliberately not the ordinary bucolic scenery of Virgil or of Theokritos: it is a wild mountainside where Gallus has wandered off alone like Petrarch in a desert to die of love. It is a remote place, and Virgil couples it in this poem with other wild scenery even more remote: Parnassus, Pindus, Aganippe, Alpine snows, the freezing Rhine, Thrace, the Sudan. There is no doubt a sense in which Arcadia in this poem is home territory, but with the single exception of this poem and of the explanation of Mainalius versus in Ec. 8, Virgil never mentions an Arcadian landscape, only Arcadian boy herdsmen. In fact, how typical it is of Virgil's Eclogues that in the first line of Ec. 10 - extremum hunc Arethusa mihi concede laborem - he used a Greek name conventional in pastoral poetry like the Nymphae Libethrides of 7.21, for a Sicilian river invoked by Theokritos (1, 117, cf. Mosch. 3,78), which was also famous for being a hunting girl who was turned into a river after being loved by the Arcadian Alpheios (Paus. 5, 7, 2, and 8, 54, 1-3), and according to Pausanias Alpheios became the river Alpheios and still flows under-water from the Peloponnese to rise again at Quail island off Syracuse and finally mingle with the fugitive Arethusa. It reads like an allegory of the origins of Arcadian poetry.

What we must look for then is not an emphatic development of the equivalence Pan-Arcadia-bucolic poetry, since even in Virgil's own work the development is not emphatic. But even allowing for our own obsession today with Arcadian elements in Virgil, there is a residual Arcadian theme in his work that the surviving poetry of earlier ages cannot explain. Still, it comes so near to doing so that we may well suppose the final solution of the problem depends on a lost poem, whether by

Callimachus or Theokritos or Philetas or whomsoever. Such a solution is conservative and uninspired; it adds nothing to Reitzenstein but cold water, and depends neither on new information nor on unregarded evidence. What is worse, even if one chooses to disregard it, one must always leave open a line of retreat to this position: it is at the very least not impossible that the theme we find in Virgil of Pan and the Arcadian herdsmen and their bucolic song had already set hard in a lost poem in the early Hellenistic period. Still, it had not quite done so in any known poem, and the question remains why would Virgil select this among what seem to us many less obscure conventions of Hellenistic bucolic poetry. There have been several attempts⁽³⁾ to close this question but it remains obstinately open.

Before we desert literary history altogether, there is one more clue from which something might be extracted. In the analysis of the tenth Eclogue we noticed an analogy with Lucretius; it is well known, but it deserves further exploration. In the 4th book of de r.natura Lucretius is discussing echoes. The discussion starts on a quasi-scientific level but the examples belong to an almost mythical landscape: ex Heliconis/cum liquidam tollunt lugubri voce querellam.⁽⁵⁴⁷⁻⁸⁾ Of course Helicon really exists, but its resonance in a Roman poem is somewhat mythical; it is like Oeta for Catullus and Virgil. You hear echoes in deserted places:

per loca sola
saxa paris formas verborum ex ordine reddant,
palantis comites cum montis inter opacos
quaerimus et magna dispersos voce ciemus.

I do not doubt that this was to Virgil as it is to me a memorable three lines. The effect is analogous to that of the refrain in the epic of Roncevalles:

Haults son li puis et tenebreux et grants
et dans li vals sont li eaux courants.
ita colles collibus ipsi
verba repulsantes iterabant dicta referre.
haec loca capripedes satyros nymphasque tenere
finitimi fingunt et faunos esse loquuntur
quorum noctivago strepitu ludoque iocanti
admirant vulgo taciturna silentia rumpi;
chordarumque sonos fieri dulcisque querellas,
tibia quas fundit digitis pulsata canentum;
et genus agricolum late sentiscere, cum Pan
pineae semiferi capitis velamina quassans
unco saepe labro calamos percurrit hiantis,
fistula silvestrem ne cesset fundere musam.

The correspondence with Virgil is multiform.⁽⁴⁾ The lonely mountain landscape transmutes very easily into the Arcadian mountains of the tenth Eclogue, where Maenalus is 'pinifer ... Maenalus', just as in the eighth (22-3) Maenalus argutumque nemus pinusque loquentis/semper habet ... The pines are real and also a literary convention (Prop. 1.18.20, and cf. Ov.Her. 5,137) but I doubt if their occurrence here is a coincidence. Reasons of poetry rather than religion have turned Lucretius' Pan, pineae semiferi capitis velamina quassans into Silvanus, florentis ferulas et grandia lilia quassans. Virgil's Pan is not the 4th century statue type described by Lucretius; he is a real and weird god: quem vidimus ipsi: et genus agricolum late sentiscere. There is a further correspondence which is

the most important of all: Lucretius is discussing echoes, and no Roman poet can fail to have faunus a fando, the close relation between Pan and echo, somewhere at the back of his mind. Is there not some fundamental relation between the actual form of bucolic song, the antiphonal verses and refrains and the self-echoing effect of the bucolic diaeresis, and the home country of Pan; the echoing rocks and the echoing trees of which Virgil speaks?⁽⁵⁾ So if it was a lost poem that fixed the singing herdsmen for Virgil and for Erykios in the home country of Pan, and that made them Arcadians, might such a poem not deal with the connection of Pan with Echo which is so strikingly, but surely not originally, observed by Lucretius? If what influenced Virgil was not a poem but a learned book then this link between Arcadian landscape and the music of Pan and his herdsmen tells us more or less what it must have said.

Finally there is a question which can easily be answered, but which more often than not confuses commentators on Virgil's Eclogues. What were the Arcadians like in real life? And what did Virgil know about them? G. Jachmann quotes the view of Philostratus that they were very wild (Vit. Apoll. 8, 7,43, cf. Maia V 1952, p. 168, n. 2) and many commentators fasten on the nostalgic opinion of Polybios (4,20) that his countrymen were extraordinarily musical. Compared with the Romans among whom Polybios lived so long, no doubt they were; but there are not many Arcadian poets or musicians famous enough for their names to have been remembered even in the time of Pausanias. He does tell us that Mainalos produced a high proportion of athletic champions at Olympia: in his time it was mostly forest and mountain, its ancient towns had shrunk to villages, its religion was conservative, temples had collapsed but worship went on, there were still wild animals in the forests, and there were decayed shrines and difficult roads in the mountains. Arcadia had probably been very little penetrated by the Romans. After he disappeared into Greece, Terence is supposed to have died in idyllic poverty near Lake Stymphalus. By Pausanias' time there seem to have been a number of Roman villas on good farming ground, the first of which have been excavated only in the last 2 or 3 years; the rich were apparently very rich and the poor poor. A private citizen lived at Megalopolis in a house built for Alexander the Great.

The chief Roman connection was with Olympia on one side, where there was a high degree of Roman activity, including for example an amber figure of the emperor Augustus, and on the other at Tegea, where Augustus stole what passed for the tusks of the Calydonian boar - presumably the tusks of a prehistoric mammoth since they were 3 feet long - one of which survived in Pausanias' time in a temple of Dionysos in the imperial gardens (8.46) and an ivory statue of Athens which he erected at the entrance of the Forum Augusti. There was also Roman interest in Pallanteion which independently of Virgil the Romans believed was the birthplace of Evander king of Latium, and that the Palatine hill, Virgil's nobile Pallanteum (Aen. 8,341) was named after it. Most of the Roman activity at Pallanteion was comparatively late (Paus. 8, 43, IF.) and belongs to the Hadrianic and Severan enthusiasm for sacred antiquities: in Virgil's time it was a small village, though the story was known both to Livy (1,5. 1-2) and Strabo 230.E 3,3, -μυθώδης- and to Dion.Halic. (1,69 ff.). In Virgil's time Arcadia is never mentioned in Roman tourist literature, by Cicero or Horace for example, and Strabo calls the Arcadians 'simply mountain-dwellers' (Strabo, 1.2. (333)); but I believe it is significant that when Livy first mentions Arcadia he speaks as Virgil himself does in Aen. 8, 341-4 about an ancient cult of Pan, introduced to Rome by Evander himself,⁽⁶⁾ and identified with the Lupercalia: "Iam tum in Palatio monte Lupercal hoc fuisse ludicrum ferunt et a Pallanteo urbe Arcadica,

Pallantium, dein Palatium montem appellatum. ibi Evandrum ... sollemne adlatum ex Arcadia instituisse, ut nudi invenes Lycaeu(7) Pana venerantes per Iusum atque lasciviam currerent, quem Romani deinde vocaverunt Inuum." It is interesting that the connection of the Lupercalia with Lykaean Pan and hence the whole myth about Evander and the ridiculous etymology of Palatinus which even Varro records, was based on exactly that ceremony of the whipping of Pan for which our only classical witness is Theokritos 7.108.

Dion. Halic. goes further than this (1,79, and 8 and 11). Speaking of Romulus and Remus and the wolf and the amazement of the shepherds who saw his prodigy he says: καὶ ἦν γὰρ τις οὐ πολλὸ ἀπέχων ἐκεῖθεν ἰερὸς χώρος ὕλη βαθεῖα συννεφέης καὶ πέτρα κοίλη πηγῆς ἀνιεῖσα, ἐλέγχετο δὲ Πανὸς εἶναι τὸ νῆκος καὶ βωμὸς ἦν αὐτόθι τοῦ θεοῦ ... and that was where the wolf disappeared: it was the cave of Lupercal. (8)

Then it was by no means unexpected or outré for Virgil to think familiarly of Pan as the Arcadian god, and Pan's herdsmen as Arcadians, and of Arcadia itself in just the way that he does: even by Latin tradition. Admittedly we know of no single overwhelming reason why he should call bucolic song Mainalian verse, unless it has something to do with echo. Pausanias and Livy and D.H. can tell us only that Virgil's first readers might reasonably think familiarly of Pan and Arcadia even independently of poetry. Lucretius and Erykios, and behind them the generation of Theokritos and Callimachus, seem to hint at sources we know nothing about, but may we not have exaggerated the whole problem? Who first spoke of the Pan-instructed singing herdsmen as Arcadians like their god, inhabitants of his wild mountain? Maybe quite a minor poet in quite a short poem: someone quite like Erykios: if you define the problem in this way it grows so small that it hardly seems to matter. The only certainty is that Virgil thought his Arcadian motif was a convention and not an original contribution, and that Arcadian Pan was already at home in Italy on the Palatine hill.

Ite domum saturae, venit Hesperus, ite capellae.

Notes

1. Parthenios, cf. Pavo. 8, 54, 6; Hdt. 6, 105.
2. Golden cicadas have been found dedicated to Pan in the cave at Phyle in Attica, though I know of no literary connection. Pan protected cicadas in the same way as tortoises on mount Parthenios because they were mountain fauna not wild enough for Artemis.
3. Cf. G. Jachmann, "L'Arcadia come paesaggio bucolico", Maia V (1952) p. 161 ff., with his references.
4. I do not want to stress but would like to record a tenuous conjecture that Virgil's quem vidimus ipsi in the 10th eclogue, and Arcades ipsum credunt se vidisse lovem in Aen. 8 (352-3) may possibly be connected with the continuation of this passage, where Luc. says belief in such miracles arises in lonely places where people cannot admit that the countryside is unpopulated even by

the gods. G. Castelli has pointed out that Virgil could have found in Lucretius 'la celebrazione della vita pastorale', and that among scholars only Ribbeck seems to have noticed this; - Cp. Luc. 5,1384f. : per loca pastorum deserta atque otia dia. (Castelli, Rev. di Studi class., 1967, pp. 17-18.)

5. Compare Ec. 1, 1-10 on echoes and silvestris musa.
6. Cf, also Ovid Fasti 2,421.
7. Known by this title from the Lycaean games, cf. Paus 8,38,5.
8. Hinc lucum ingentem, quem Romulus acer Asylum/rettulit, et gelida monstrat sub-rupe Lupercal*/Parrhasio dictum Panos de more Lycaei (Aen. 8, 342-4). τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄλσος οὐκέτι διαμένει, τὸ δὲ ἄντρον ἐξ οὗ ἡ λιβάς ἐκδίδεται τῷ Παλλαντίῳ προσωκοδομημένον δείκνυται κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ἰκπόδρομον φέρουσαν ὁδόν, καὶ τέμενος ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ κληστόν, ἐνθα εἰκὼν κεῖται.....χαλκὰ ποιήματα καλαῖας ἐργασίας. Almost certainly there was an Arcadian Pan statue in the cave, though so far as representatives of Pan in the Roman period are concerned, more have been found in Crete than in Arcadia. ἦν δὲ τὸ χωρίον τῶν οὖν Εὐάνδρῳ ποτὲ οἰκιστῶν αὐτὸ Ἀρκάδων ἱερὸν ὡς λέγεται.
* Conington compares gelida monstrat sub rupe Lupercal with sola sub rupe iacentem/Maenalus et gelidi fleverunt saxa Lycaei (Ec. 10, 14-15).
I am not sure what work Augustus did on the Lupercal, or even whether there was a statue in the cave before his time. But compare Res Gestae, 19.

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VIRGIL'S KNOWLEDGE OF ARABLE FARMING

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It is commonly taken for granted that Virgil's Georgics, allowing for the inevitable brevity of his allusions to the actual processes of cultivation, present a reasonably accurate picture of the various operations described in the poem.⁽¹⁾ In this matter there is no need for the reader to take the poet on trust, since in most cases his account of a particular process in arable farming can be compared with the relevant discussion in one or more of the agricultural writers. Of these, Varro was an older contemporary, and seems to have provided the poet with much of his material on arable farming, apart from sections which may well derive from a source common to them both.⁽²⁾ Notwithstanding the great volume of critical work done on the Georgics it appears that no systematic study of the techniques mentioned by Virgil has so far been attempted. Billiard's well known book⁽³⁾ is quite unsystematic, and only casual correlations are made