

THE TENTH ECLOGUE

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by C.G. Hardie, M.A.

The Eclogues of Virgil are among the most puzzling poems that have come down to us from the ancient world. The Tenth is no easier to understand than the Fourth or the Sixth, and it has attracted much, though less special attention than, for instance, the linked problems of the First and Ninth. At a meeting of this Society, nine years ago, on the 19th October 1957, I spoke about the Fourth Eclogue (Lecture Summary No. 42) and six years ago, on 22nd October 1960, on the Sixth Eclogue (No. 50).

I must begin today by making a rather different point about the Fourth Eclogue than I made then, and then proceed to say briefly much the same about the Sixth, repeating myself somewhat because Gallus in the Tenth cannot be understood without some theory of what Gallus means in the Sixth.

The importance of the Fourth Eclogue in Virgil's development lies, in my opinion, in that the poet of the humble pastoral, the imitator of the Alexandrian school, the 'neoteric' follower of Callimachus and Catullus, one of the 'cantores Euphorionis'; for the first time, in a moment of intense enthusiasm, conceived of himself as one day in the future called to be the Roman Homer. The climax of the Fourth Eclogue is not the growing up, the accession and the triumph of the child in unifying and pacifying the world, but the thought that Virgil will be the poet of this divine life and victory. The victory is over the 'prisca fraus' of Prometheus, of which all men inherit the consequences, and over the 'nostrum scelus' of Romulus in killing Remus, to which all Romans owe their fratricidal tendency to civil war. After 'aspice venturo laetentur ut omnia saeclo' (52) Virgil breaks out:

o mihi tum longae maneat pars ultima vitae,
spiritus et quantum sat erit tua dicere facta:
non me carminibus vincet nec Thracius Orpheus,
nec Linus, huic mater quamvis atque huic pater adsit,
Orphei Calliopea, Lino formosus Apollo.
Pan etiam, Arcadia mecum si iudice certet,
Pan etiam Arcadia dicat se iudice victum.

The diffident poet has here soared far above his source in Theocritus, Id. 1.3:

μετὰ Πάνα τὸ δεύτερον ἄθλον ἀποισῆ

and he has committed the hybris of Marsyas, of the Picae and of Misenus in Aeneid 6, 172, when he challenges Triton:

demens, et cantu vocat in certamina divos

The Fourth Eclogue is an adaptation of the Song of the Fates in Catullus' Peleus and Thetis. In prophesying the greatness of Achilles the Fates hint at Homer, the vates sacer without whom this greatness would be forgotten, the vates that Alexander the Great looked for in vain. The marriage of Peleus and Thetis was the last time that Gods mingled freely with men, and Catullus ends with a lament over the crimes and civil wars of Rome. Virgil's Parcae prophesy the reversal of this, and Virgil quotes the refrain of Catullus' Song of the Fates.

The Fourth Eclogue is also an answer (I think) to the pessimism of Horace's

Sixteenth Epode: flight from Rome to the far west beyond the bounds of the Empire is too quick despair, for the golden age will be restored here at the very centre, in Rome itself, recognizably begun here and now, though to be consummated only later, but within a generation.

The historical circumstances that evoked this enraptured vision from Virgil, the Peace of Brundisium, and the marriage of Antony and Octavia that sealed it, soon passed away; and Rome, Italy and the Empire were soon in almost as bad a way as before. Though Virgil receded from his high hopes for Rome and himself, the thought of himself as an epic poet remained with him. The child of the Eclogue was not forthcoming, but the spark which was to become the Aeneid had been struck; *poca favilla gran fiamma seconda*, as Dante says, Par. 1. 34. Eventually in the Aeneid a second Achilles who is also a second Odysseus and Jason, appears in Aeneas (though Turnus has also much of the character of Achilles). The rapture died away, and in the Sixth Eclogue of the following year, 39 B.C., Virgil takes a cool look at it:

"When I thought of an epic, reges et proelia, after the manner of Homer or Ennius," he says, "Apollo tweaked my ear, in admonition and reminder of Callimachus' literary principles: the pastoral poet must stick to his humble style." But Virgil then proceeds to something that is much more than a pastoral. He takes as his theme a myth that Aristotle had made the climax of a famous dialogue on the immortality of the soul, and that the historian Theopompus had used to point a contrast between the city at war and the city of justice and religion. Silenus sings as movingly as Apollo himself or as Orpheus, and his theme is the creation of the world and the corruption introduced into it by Prometheus and by inordinate sexual love, as exemplified by heroes of myth, Hercules and Pasiphae. But when Phaethon's excess of ambition is extinguished, and Hippomenes wins Atalanta, there is recovery, and suddenly Gallus, Virgil's exact contemporary, his fellow-poet and friend, also a member of Pollio's circle, appears, in a mythical setting, on Mount Helicon. At first he is, like Pasiphae, wandering, errantem, but one of the Muses meets him, and leads him to the whole company, in whose midst the shepherd Linus, divino carmine pastor, the Linus of the Fourth Eclogue, gives him the pipe of Hesiod and tells him with it to celebrate the origin, the aition, of Apollo's grove at Gryneum.

The meaning of this has been endlessly disputed; a bibliography of special articles in this century contains at least thirty items. I can only outline my own view: Gallus is like Virgil, a poet of love, though Virgil seems to rank the elegy above the pastoral when in the Tenth Eclogue he asks Gallus not to be ashamed of a pastoral in his honour; and love ranks lowest in the hierarchy of poetic matter and genres. Didactic is on a higher level; tragedy and epic are the supreme kinds of poetry. Contrast Dante in the de vulg. Eloq. who classes Amor along with Virtus and Salus (by which he does not mean Salvation, though the Comedy might suggest it). Virgil then displays as the climax of this Eclogue the promotion of a poet to a higher level, from love to Hesiodic and Callimachean didactic poetry. Now Servius says that Virgil here alludes to a poem that Gallus actually wrote, translating and adapting into Latin a poem by Euphorion of Chalcis on the Grynean grove of Apollo. But there is no evidence that Euphorion ever wrote any such poem, nor that Gallus wrote anything but his four books of Amores in honour of Lycoris, that is, Volumnia Cytheris, the actress of mimes, Cicero's 'mimula'. Servius as usual is making unjustifiable inferences from the text of Virgil, combining 6, 72 with 10, 50:

Chalcidico quae sunt mihi condita versu.

Virgil in the Eclogue is suggesting a 'progress of poesy', and hinting that if Gallus will show the way and advance to higher things, he, Virgil, will be able to follow and make of Hesiodic didactic poetry a step towards epic. Gallus never played on Hesiod's pipe, which Virgil offered him, but the Georgics are what, eventually, Virgil drew from it 'Romana per oppida', in Latin.

Now in the Sixth Eclogue, if the eight lines 74 to 81, about Scylla and Philomela, were cut out, the poem would move smoothly and naturally to its climax, quo se plus iactet Apollo. omnia quae Phoebus quondam meditante etc. Scylla and Philomela are an intrusion, and Virgil seems almost to say so by beginning quid loquar? As in Housman's parody, 'Why should I mention Io? Why indeed?' I suggest that it is because the theme, the tragic themes of Love, cannot be so easily dismissed and hurried past.

Now the next Eclogue in chronological order is the Eighth. I do not believe, with several scholars, Buchner and Rohde, for instance, that the Seventh is late; indeed I think it was the second in chronological order, after the Second Eclogue. But Virgil in his final arrangement inserted it here because it showed him obeying Apollo's behest in the Sixth Eclogue, to remain pastoral, which the Sixth Eclogue, for all its pastoral opening and close, had not done. The Eighth Eclogue, however, shows the real movement of Virgil's mind. It is very Theocritean, especially of course the adaptation in the second part, the Song of Alpheiboëus, of the Pharmaceutria: yet it also introduces itself with almost epic grandeur and solemnity. Both parts tell of tragic love (because, in Virgil's opinion, to be overpowered by magic and to be dragged back from the city, ab urbe, (109) is surely not a happy issue), and both have contributed largely to Virgil's final study of tragic love, in Dido, in Aeneid 4. Brooks Otis has recently analysed the masterly movement of the first part. But the most surprising thing in the Eighth Eclogue is the insertion of lines 6 to 13, interrupting the presentation of the scene of Damon and Alpheiboëus. Peter Levi has recently drawn attention, in Hermes 94 (1966), 73-79: 'The dedication to Pollio in Virgil's Eighth Eclogue', to the extreme oddity of these lines: the person to whom they are addressed is not named, and if he is Pollio, why is he returning from Macedonia to Rome by way of Timavus? If his tragedies are Sophoclean, why does Virgil need to blazon them throughout the world? and why has Pollio not already got a poet's wreath of ivy for them? I have no solution of these puzzles, unless to guess that they arise from the fact that Pollio was displaced by Augustus and Maecenas as Virgil's patron about this time. The lines are perhaps the débris, or a first draft, of a rejected dedication to Pollio - preserved by Pollio in the first separate publication of the Eclogue but rejected by Virgil in the official collection of the whole Ten Eclogues. The lines then resemble the celebrated lines about Helen in Aeneid 2, rejected but somehow preserved. I only observe that Virgil repeats from the Fourth Eclogue the idea of himself as a writer of a contemporary heroic epic, and repeats the actual phrase 'tua dicere facta': (7-8)

en erit unquam

ille dies, mihi cum liceat tua dicere facta?

The day is not so far in the future: Pollio is not an unborn and unconceived infant but ex-consul, proconsul and winner of a triumph. His 'facta' already exist in the world of history, not of hopeful imagination. It is not clear who is to give Virgil permission to begin an epic; presumably the Apollo of Eclogue 6, of whom Virgil says 'non iniussa cano'. (cf. 'accipe iussis carmina coepta tuis').

Line 11 too, if it really belongs where it is (it is a formula which tends to belong to Jupiter, and to begin a poem, cf. Eclogue 3, 60) and if it scans; a te principium, tibi desinam, shows that Virgil intended the Eclogue to be his last, from which he would proceed to a higher flight. These lines to Pollio belong to

late 39 B.C. when Pollio was on the way back from his summer campaign in his province of Macedonia to Rome, to celebrate his triumph on October 25th (CIL², Fasti Triumphales, p.77). But Virgil was unable to find his new and higher Hesiodic subject. He paused in uncertainty and bafflement, as he was to do later, and for much longer, before taking the greater step forward from didactic to epic poetry, between the Georgics and the Aeneid. In the Eighth Eclogue there is a passing reference to the ambitions of the pastoral poet, among the adynata of Damon's unhappy lover (8,55):

certent et cycnis ululae, sit Tityrus Orpheus.

In Eclogues 4 and 6 Tityrus had aspired to be Orpheus: now the lover in despair classes it bitterly as 'an impossibility'. So after the Eighth Eclogue comes a long pause, at least a year, perhaps nearer two. The desertion of Gallus by Lycoris by its references to the Rhine and the northern cold points to the winter of 38-37, when according to Dio 48, 49 Agrippa crossed the Rhine. Lycoris seems to have followed one of Agrippa's officers (not Marcus Antonius as Servius with his usual historical inaccuracy says, since Antony was in the East, and had anyhow renounced Cytheris on his marriage to Fulvia, c. 46 B.C.). Cytheris had a 'triumvirate' of famous lovers, Brutus the tyrannicide, Antony, and Gallus. To take a woman on a campaign was improper, but no doubt Cytheris went as an entertainer (as a member of ENSA, as we used to call it), the actress of mimes, and disease of Virgil's Eclogues treated as mimes.

I want to suggest that Virgil now, now that Lycoris had left Gallus, expected him to graduate to a higher kind of poetry, leaving Amores behind, or at least to lament the 'End of the Affair' in a final elegy, and then brace himself for a higher flight. But Gallus as a poet did nothing; indeed he ceased to be a poet, and turned from the 'studia ignobilis oti' to a military and administrative career, the career which ended with the governorship of Egypt - and with suicide. The four books of Amores about Lycoris remained his complete oeuvre. Virgil thus lost his leader, behind whom he too would progress to higher themes. He was on his own, but he clung to the mask of Gallus, and behind it made his own transition.

This suggestion depends on the interpretation of the lines in the Tenth Eclogue, 9-12:

Quae nemora aut qui vos saltus habuere, puellae
Naides, indigno cum Gallus amore peribat?
nam neque Parnasi vobis iuga, nam neque Pindi
ulla moram fecere, neque Aonie Aganippe.

They are, of course, modelled on Theocritus' Idyll 1, 66-69. In his commentary Gow does not bring out the full meaning of these lines, although Milton's imitation in Lycidas 50-63 implies the fuller interpretation that Robert Ogilvie has since given in JHS 82 (1962). Gow says only that 'the local nymphs, had they been in their usual haunts, would have intervened to save Daphnis'. Ogilvie defines the nature of their expected but denied help: 'the only death which water-nymphs can prevent is death by drowning'. Edward King was 'drowned on his passage from Chester on the Irish Seas, 1637'. Ogilvie closes the 'ring' in Thyrsis's song by identifying the river of l.140 not with the Styx, but with the Anapos at the beginning (68).

Virgil's opening 'Quae nemora...' etc. at once puts Gallus in the position of the dying Daphnis in Idyll 1, and reminds us that in the Fifth Eclogue Virgil had continued Thyrsis' story after Daphnis' death, with the contrasted pictures of lamentation after his death and joy after his resurrection. But Gallus is not literally dying, and his distress is not because he refuses, like Daphnis,

to acknowledge his love and defies Aphrodite, but because his love is unrequited (cf. Philargyrius; indigni: impari, quia contemnebatur) and Lycoris has left him. In Theocritus Priapus tells Daphnis that his girl is looking for him everywhere (82-85). What help then does Gallus need from the 'puellae Naides'? He is not in danger of drowning. Virgil's Naiads are indeed water-nymphs, but it is the springs of poetic inspiration that belong to them, and Virgil himself has just begun by invoking a nymph of a fountain, Arethusa, as his Muse. The Naides then are the Muses, even if they are attributed to Pindus (which is not one of their usual haunts), just because Theocritus has mentioned Pindus (cf. A.D. Fitton-Brown, Greece and Rome 8 (1961): 'Muses on Pindus'). Neither Conington nor Gow is of much help, but Servius in his dry (and inaccurate) way puts his finger on the point: est quaedam Theocriti Ecloga, in qua suos amores deflere Daphnis inducitur; this is inaccurate (Daphnis laments his own death, but refuses to admit to any amores); and Servius' next words 'huius omnem ordinem ad hanc eclogam transtulit' is one of his usual exaggerations, but when he says later 'quia diximus eadem esse nymphas quas etiam musas, videtur hoc dicere, quia, si cum ipso fuissent musae, id est si dedisset operam scribendis carminibus, non incidisset in tantas amoris angustias', he is on the right track. Virgil is reviving the idea, with which Theocritus' Eleventh Idyll opens, the bantering remarks to the physician Nicias that he cannot cure Love, but poetry can, witness the example of Polyphemus. The Second Eclogue, Virgil's first essay in pastoral, adapts this (and Callimachus' parallel epigram, 46) to Corydon and Alexis, with Virgil's habitual teasing reversal, in that Corydon is described as singing 'studio inani' at the beginning, but at the end has cured himself of his 'insanus amor'. The Tenth Eclogue has much in common with the Second, and several echoes; if poetry had in the Second Eclogue been the cure of love, it is in the Tenth found to fail - tanquam haec sit nostri medicina furoris. Guillaume Stégen (Latomus 12 (1953), 70-76, and Commentaire sur cinq Bucoliques de Virgile, Namur (1957) 111-130) speaks of Virgil's 'astonishment that the Muses have not inspired Gallus', and Servius auctus here adds to Servius' comment: 'vel (rogat) cur eum amantem musae deseruerint, cum propter ingenium earum esset antistes.' In what sacred groves or mountain glades were they, when without a moment's hesitation, they had deserted their sacred haunts on Parnassus, Pindus and Helicon? Virgil mentions 'Aonie Aganippe' because in the Sixth Eclogue Gallus had been led by a Muse to the Muses' haunt, Aonas in montes. Gallus was well known to the Muses. They should have responded to his call (or even without being called), when even woods and tamarisks responded with tears of sympathy. Virgil uses a strong, almost colloquial, form of words 'neque iuga ulla moram fecere' (for 'moram non fecere') (there are many examples in Plautus, cf. Catullus 8, 14: cum rogaberis nulla; Livy 24.36,8: postquam ea nulla contigerat; and in this same poem, 56: non me ulla vetabunt frigora): 'no thought for Parnassus or Pindus gave you pause, nor even Pegasus' fountain on the Aonian mount'. Cecil Day Lewis seems to me to have reversed the meaning when he says 'No duties kept you upon the ridges of Mount Parnassus or Pindus'. On the contrary, it was their duty to be at their post, on Parnassus or Pindus, and they had deserted it. I take 1.10, 'indigno cum Gallus amore peribat', to mean not 'when Gallus was writing his love elegies', however much he may have represented himself as suffering, but 'after Cytheris had left him'. The situation of the Tenth Eclogue is that Cytheris has left him for someone else, and for good, hence 'indigno'. Nor do I believe that we can infer from Servius' comment on 1.46: 'hi autem omnes versus Galli sunt, de ipsius translati carminibus' and from Propertius' 'imitation' in 1,viii,7-8

(tu pedibus teneris positas fulcire pruinas,

tu potes insolitas, Cynthia, ferre nives:

Propertius may well be imitating Virgil) that Gallus described Lycoris crossing the Alps to the Rhine, though he may have described her departure to a cold climate. Where we can check on Servius' comments such as this, (e.g. on A.4,1:

Apollonius' Argonautica...inde totus hic liber translatus est) they are exaggerated. I do not believe that Virgil's purpose is to honour Gallus' poetry, but to fill the gap that his dereliction has left

The Muses are absent, but there is an implied answer to Virgil's question 'quae nemora?'; the 'nemora' and 'saltus' which claimed them were those of Arcadia (or Pieria), where Virgil found them at home for him, and so Virgil can step in in Gallus' place. This interpretation resembles that given recently by Mr. D.A. Kidd, on 'Imitation in the Tenth Eclogue' in Bulletin XI (1964) of the Institute of Classical Studies, London, pp. 54-64, but also differs sharply. For Mr. Kidd the 'nemora et saltus' are pastoral country, the country, Arcadia, where Gallus in fact was. The Muses, he says, could not bear to remain aloof on Parnassus or Pindus, and so came to Gallus in Arcadia, and he quotes Jacques Perret, Les Bucoliques, Paris (1961), p 109 in support, that 'the nymphs did come to Gallus'. But Gallus at first is alone 'sola sub rupe', and then Virgil tells us who did come, venit, three times repeated in successive lines, 19-21, and twice more in 24 and 26: (I cannot agree with Mr. Kidd about lines 44-45: Martis in armis either: see later). But not the Muses. Gallus wrote no pastoral poetry, and never visited Arcadia, except in the imagination of Virgil in this Eclogue. So Virgil at the beginning says to Arethusa 'pauca meo Gallo ...carmina sunt dicenda', and at the end to the Muses of Pieria: 'vos haec facietis maxima Gallo.' Virgil has an answer to the question 'quae nemora?' (surely it is not an exclamation as Perret would have it) and the other seemingly rhetorical question 'neget quis carmina Gallo?' (3) turns out also to have an answer. The Muses, who refuse a poem to Gallus, grant to Virgil a poem for Gallus. He appeals with success to his nymph Arethusa, and at the end he speaks as though she were all the Muses of Pieria: 'haec sat erit, divae, vestrum cecinisse poetae, Pierides' (71-72), the same Pierides as those to whom he had said 'go ahead', Pergite Pierides, in the Sixth Eclogue. If the Muses were not on Parnassus, Pindus or Helicon, they were in Pieria (not Arcadia). But Virgil had a special reason for invoking Arethusa by name, when before he had called on the Sicelides Musae (E.4.1) or recalled the Muses of Syracuse (E.6.1. prima Syracosio etc.). In Theocritus the dying Daphnis says farewell to Arethusa (1.117), and summons Pan from Maenalus and Lycaeus to Sicily. In Virgil gods and shepherds (but not the Muses) visit Gallus in Arcadia, and Virgil establishes the connection between Arethusa and Arcadia by an allusion to what Theocritus does not mention, the fable that the Alpheus plunges into the sea to reappear 340 miles to the west as the spring Arethusa by or in the sea off Ortygia, the island citadel of Syracuse.

This fable is quoted by Pausanias 5,7.3 from an oracle given about 734 B.C. to Archias of Corinth, founder of Syracuse. Moschus (frag.3(7)) turns this into a love story in which the Alpheios pursues the nymph Arethusa and is taught by Love to dive so deep that the sea does not notice his passage, and there is no mixing of fresh with salt water. Virgil adjures, or threatens, Arethusa: so may Doris not violate your purity with her brine, in proportion as you come to my help (cf. E.9.30-31). Virgil wants the pure water that flows down the Alphaeus from Arcadia, and in this way we are prepared to find Gallus in Arcadia:

(15) Maenalus et gelidi fleverunt saxa Lycaeii;

Pan is there, deus Arcadiae, and has no need to come to Sicily, as he is asked to do by Daphnis in Theocritus, Id.1.124-5. Already in earlier Eclogues Virgil had evoked Arcadia as the home of pastoral song, as in the Seventh (4) Arcades ambo; (25-26) Pastores...Arcades, and in the Eighth Damon calls his song Maenalius versus and mentions Pan (24) as inventor of the pipe and, as we have seen, in the Fourth Pan is the greatest pastoral poet, and his Arcadians are the

connoisseurs of such poetry. But the Tenth Eclogue is by far the most complete evocation of Arcadia as 'a spiritual landscape' (in Bruno Snell's words: Antike und Abendland (1945): 'Akadien, die Entdeckung einer geistigen Landschaft', reprinted in The Discovery of the Mind, Blackwell, Oxford (1953), 281-309). This is not the place to discuss Virgil's possible sources for his conception or the immense development of it in Renaissance poetry and seventeenth-century landscape painting. Suffice it to say that Virgil here evokes Arcadia only to turn away from it. 'Soli cantare periti, Arcades', he says, but he will cease from pastoral song. The Life of Arcadia, even with its poetry and its hunting, is inaccessible, and this because of the power of Love. Poetry, even pastoral, is not the cure of Love: 'neque carmina nobis ipsa placent.' The passage from pastoral poetry to didactic and eventually to epic is possible, but not by transcending Love and rendering it innocuous. The poet must carry the wound of Love with him on his way, and feed it with his heart's blood: vulnus alit venis. This is why the Georgics is so full of the theme of Love, especially in Book 3, even among the Gods, Saturn and Ceres (92-95), Pan deus Arcadiae himself (391-3); Leander (257-63), quid iuvenis. The attempted moral of the Georgics is the Hesiodic 'labor omnia vincit', but it breaks down with the plague in Book 3, and the plague on the bees in 4,251. The Fourth Book caresses the idea of a world without sexual Love, the world of the Bees, in its first half, but returns in the second to the inevitable theme of tragic love, in Aristaeus, Orpheus and Eurydice. The climax of the Tenth Eclogue is the last line of Gallus' monologue:

omnia vincit amor: et nos cedamus Amori.

'Et nos' is the frequent formula for the application of the moral tale to an individual. It applies, however, not at all to Gallus, only to Virgil. The metaphorically dying Gallus did not die physically or submit to love; he threw off Lycoris and began a successful new career at the age of thirty; but as a poet he died, committed poetical suicide like the hero of Damon's song in E.8, after perhaps giving a new personal Roman voice to Love elegy, if indeed he showed the way to Tibullus and Propertius (see Georg Luck, The Latin Love-Elegy, Methuen, London, 1959). Of the Tenth Eclogue Conington says (p.116): 'here, as in E.1, the identification of the shepherd and poet is so rudely managed as to amount to absolute confusion'. But the confusion of which Conington complains is not that between Gallus and Virgil, between the actual situation of Gallus and the use that Virgil makes of it to analyse his own situation as a poet - and this is not a confusion either. Conington himself is caught in a much more elementary confusion that of thinking Gallus to be 'at one and the same moment a soldier and a shepherd, serving in the camp in Italy, and lying under a rock in Arcadia'. The 'naked simplicity', he continues, 'of the explanation has caused it to be missed: Gallus is taking a holiday in Arcadia! Such literal-mindedness scarcely fits a man to become a commentator on Virgil, at least on the Eclogues; and, in this case, it rests on a misconstruing of lines 44-45, against which Servius warns us already:

nunc insanus amor duri me Martis in armis
tela inter media atque adversos detinet hostes.

Servius says: 'ex affectu amantis ibi se esse putat, ubi amica est, ut 'me' sit 'meum animum', cf. on 42: 'iterum ad amatam redit', apostrophizing Lycoris as though she were present. 'Insanus amor' cannot be taken with 'Martis' when 1.22 has 'Galle, quid insanis?' and 1.38 'furor' of love. The same idea of being transported 'animo' in imagination, comes again shortly after (58)

iam mihi per rupes videor lucosque sonantis/ire.

I do not agree with Mr. Kidd (loc.cit.p.60) that this destroys the effect of the following antithesis, that Lycoris is far away from her lover. The point is not simply that she is 'procul a patria' and 'me sine sola', but that she has chosen to be 'me sine sola', but not 'sola' absolutely, rather 'alium secuta' (23).

Mr. Kidd develops Hartmann's suggestion, Mnem.40 (1912) 222-8, of a purely figurative interpretation of Gallus' war, Martis in armis, not that he is the lover making war (Ovid's 'militat omnis amans'), but the lover warred upon by Venus and Cupid, the plural hostis of 1.45, a theme well-documented in Theocritus, Moschus, Meleager and Propertius. Mr. Kidd acknowledges the oddity of mentioning Mars and not Venus and Cupid, but argues that 'Martis arma' may mean defensive armour, and that it is probably a quotation from one of Gallus' elegies. I find this metaphorical language very difficult to accept so soon after the literal 'per horrida castra' of 1.23. Amor is Gallus' great enemy, lines 28 and 29, and twice again in 1.69. The plural 'adversos hostis' for Venus and Cupid seems to me impossible here, whatever it might be in Eclogue 8,50, where we have the combined efforts of the 'improbis ille puer'; and of 'crudelis tu quoque, mater'. To express Mr. Kidd's meaning Virgil would have had to say 'Amor oppresses me with his arms, which are worse than the literal arms of Mars' or the like.

Conington and others have also been misled by thinking of Gallus as already a political or military figure as well as a poet, because they swallow Servius' absurd conjectures that Gallus was one of a board of triumviri agris dividendis in 41 B.C. with Pollio and Alfenus Varus, and that he secured the restoration of Virgil's estate or Virgil's indemnification after the confiscation. But Appian's detailed account makes it clear that there was no such board; Octavian kept the whole matter in his own hands, except where he was compelled by pressure from Lucius Antonius and Fulvia, to appoint a single Antonian to plant Antony's soldiers in the territory of a single city. Gallus was a plain citizen, thirty years old, while Pollio was a praetorius, with the consulship in his pocket, and so was Varus probably. Virgil does not address Gallus as a patron, but as an equal, a contemporary, a fellow-poet. If he were anything else, it would have been impossible to praise him in the Sixth Eclogue, while refusing to praise Varus. In any case, too, Virgil lost his estate, and we can be absolutely sure of this, because Virgil says so in the Georgics 2, 198-9:

et qualem infelix amisit Mantua campum
pascentem niveos herboso flumine cynos.

(swans = poets as in E.9 29).

But is there in the Eclogue a confusion between Gallus and Virgil? I used to think so, because lines 50-51:

ibo, et Chalcidico quae sunt mihi condita versu,
carmina, pastoris Siculi modulabor avena,

seemed to me so undramatic, so abrupt, such an interruption of what Gallus might say in Arcadia, in order to state what Virgil himself was doing in the Eclogue, viz. transposing Gallus' elegies into pastoral form. I have never indeed gone so far as to believe Servius when he says (at 1.46):

'hi autem omnes versus Galli sunt, de ipsius translati carminibus.'

This remark supported Franz Skutsch in his notion that the Tenth Eclogue, like the Sixth also, was a catalogue poem, an anthology of phrases and themes from the Amores of Gallus. Skutsch's Aus Vergils Frühzeit (1901), with its second part, his Gallus und Vergil (1906), was a very original, refreshing and important contribution, and may be said to have started the modern discussion of the Eclogues, as Heinze (1902) did that of the Aeneid. Much of its importance lay in the immediate reaction, the famous rebuttal by Leo, Hermes 37 (1902) and 42 (1907) = Kleine Schriften (1960), II, 29-70, esp. 68, n.1, and, for the Tenth Eclogue, Rudolf Helm's excellent article in Philologus 61 (1902), 271-91. Helm upholds the unity of the poem, and thinks it the best of the Eclogues because the First is not unified, the Fourth is obscure, and the Sixth underdeveloped. The Tenth has more imagination and more charming scenery than the Second. He

makes two points in particular: Gallus cannot have written any pastoral poetry himself; otherwise Virgil could not say 'nec te paeniteat pecoris'. Also, Gallus rejects the consolation of writing pastoral poetry, as he rejects the distraction of hunting. If the poem was intended as a consolation of Gallus, it represents the consolation as wholly vain. Lines 50-51, then, 'ibo et Chalcidico' etc., are not a foreign intrusion of Virgil himself, as he removes the mask of Gallus for a moment. They are part of the development of Gallus' thought as Virgil represents it, though they represent a fresh start after the tender apostrophe to Lycoris of 46-49. Gallus' first consolation is that the Arcadians, 'soli cantare periti' if their poetry will tell the story of his love, 'si fistula dicat amores', will make Gallus rest quietly in his grave, 'o mihi tum quam molliter ossa quiescant'. Then he wishes that in life he might have been 'one of you', 'aut custos gregis', and evokes from the Third and Seventh Eclogues Phyllis and Amyntas. But Phyllis recalls Lycoris, and at once Gallus is with her on the Rhine. He turns away, however; he cannot be an Arcadian, but he can try to turn his tune from elegy to pastoral, and do for himself while alive what before he had imagined the Arcadians doing for him after his death. But, for the moment, a little awkwardly perhaps, he jumps ahead to carving his verses, his amores, on the bark of trees 'in silvis inter spelaea ferarum'. It is not clear what 'mistis lustrabo Maenala nymphis' refers to. Conington takes it to mean hunting, as with Diana's nymphs in Od.6.105 or Aen.1.498-502. But hunting is mentioned in the next line 'aut acris venabor apros', and I suggest that Virgil thinks of bacchic oreibasias, as in G.2.487: virginibus bacchata Lacaenis Taygeta. But no sooner is Gallus hunting in imagination than he rejects the image: tanquam haec sit nostri medicina furoris, and, chiasmatically, he goes on to reject pastoral poetry 'neque carmina nobis/ipsa placent', and the whole pastoral world, 'ipsae rursus concedite silvae', even those silvae which 'respondent omnia' (8). No kind of labour, whether of poetry or hunting; no change of scene can be of any service.

This is the truth of which Pan had warned Gallus, just before Gallus began in his monologue to search for possible consolations and escapes. Pan's message is clear; but it is not clear to me why Menalcas and his fellows, and even Apollo should put rhetorical questions to Gallus, 'unde amor iste tibi?' (21), 'Galle, quid insanis?' (22) - Apollo even adds what Gallus is well aware of, that Lycoris has left him (22-23), unless to inform us, the readers, and to lead up to Pan's utterance. Silvanus, we may note, comes too, but says nothing. Why do we have a Roman god here amid the Greeks, unless Virgil perhaps regarded Silvanus as the Latin form of Silenus (the poet of the Sixth Eclogue)? Silvanus reappears in G.1, 20. Pan's conclusion, 'ecquis erit modus? Amor non talia curat' (28), repeats the conclusion reached by Corydon in the Second Eclogue (68); 'quis enim modus adsit amori?' Corydon seems to find a cure in poetry. But the Tenth Eclogue seems to declare this to be an illusion. Now Gallus, in my reconstruction, in fact abandoned poetry. Is his decision to be Virgil's also? Virgil indeed abandons pastoral poetry. What makes the difference is, I suggest, the pipe of Hesiod which Linus gave Gallus in the Sixth Eclogue. The Tenth Eclogue recreates the divine and mythical sphere of the Sixth, in which, as in the Golden Age, gods and men intermingle and, in that sphere of imagination and inspiration, Hesiod's pipe, that Gallus will not use, is picked up by Virgil. Virgil realizes now clearly what he had adumbrated in the Sixth Eclogue as 'a dream of Helicon'; for Gallus' is his own dream, if he can put himself in Gallus' place, and this he does in the Tenth Eclogue by taking on himself Gallus' burden, when Gallus himself would not shoulder it. The dream in the Sixth Eclogue is Callimachus' dream, when he was called to be the poet of the Aetia, but Virgil no doubt thought also of Ennius' dream of Homer reincarnate in himself, and Dante says of the poets who imagined the Golden Age that 'forse in Parnaso esto logo sognaro' (Purg.28.141). 'Esto logo' is the Earthly Paradise, where are those

Beati, quorum tecta sunt peccata (Purg.29.3 = Psalm 31.1).

For a poet, the Golden Age restored means the plenitude of inspiration, as in the Fourth Eclogue. It would take too long to work out how in the Georgics Virgil gets to grips with this problem of inspiration and dramatizes it in the climax of the poem, in the person of the Arcadian Aristaeus. But one thing must be said about Gallus and the Georgics in this context of Virgil's slow and costly, painful yet exultant development from Alexandrian pastoral to Roman epic.

Servius' story, in his comments on E.10.1 and G.4.1, (about the elimination of the 'Galli laudes' from G.4) has been and continues to be, endlessly discussed. There is now, rightly in my opinion, some consensus in dismissing Servius' story as untrustworthy. But I hope that my account of Gallus' involvement for Virgil in Virgil's passage from pastoral to didactic on the way to epic poetry may explain how Servius' story could arise. Paratore, in Virgilio (1945), 161. has said that the gift of Hesiod's pipe in the Sixth Eclogue foreshadows the Georgics. In the Tenth, Gallus is transposed into the pastoral mode, and Virgil then, through him, says farewell to the Pastoral, the charming dream of Arcadia. But, if I am right in supposing that Virgil steps in because Gallus, far from playing on Hesiod's pipe, silenced even his Love-Elegy, then Virgil had nothing more to learn from Gallus as a poet, and it was in Gallus only as poet that Virgil was interested. In the Tenth Eclogue Virgil sucked all he could out of the poetry of Gallus, and so Gallus, like Pollio, disappears. But one might well expect that, if Gallus mediated the transition to the Georgics, he should appear in the Georgics, especially as towards the end of the Tenth Eclogue Virgil speaks of his growing love for Gallus,

cuius amor tantum mihi crescit in horas,

quantum vere novo viridis se subiicit alnus (73-74) cf. 54.

I conjecture that **Pollio** was perhaps the author of Servius' story. He cannot have liked to vanish from Virgil's poetry and be displaced by Maecenas (named four times in the Georgics). We do not know how Maecenas captured Virgil for Augustus, and then through him Horace. It was more than nine months (Sat.1.6.61) before the famous journey to Brundisium (Hor.Sat.1.5.40) in the winter of 38-37, about the time of Pollio's triumph: is this perhaps (as I have suggested above) why the lines to Pollio in the Eighth Eclogue are so odd, half-hearted and inexplicit? We know anyhow that Pollio continued to take an interest in Virgil's poetry, because he made a perceptive criticism of the Aeneid, recorded by Servius on A.11.183. Horace at least did not drop Pollio (Od.2.1; Sat.1.10). I mention all this because Virgil's development is much more complicated and mysterious than is implied by simple formulations about the purpose of the Tenth Eclogue (usefully collected by Wolf Steidle in Serta Philologica Aenipontana (i.e. Innsbruck) (1962), 'Zwei Vergilprobleme' 2 'Zum Verständnis der zehnten Ekloge', 320-334). Servius suggests that it is a consolation of Gallus for the loss of Lycoris; but, he adds, if you look below the surface, 'altius intuenti, vituperatio est; nam impatientia turpis amoris ostenditur' (just as in the First Eclogue he finds praise of Augustus, with sharp reproach under the surface: on E.1.12; 'et invidiose tempora Augusti carpit latenter'; 27; 'et item latenter carpit tempora'), and on 10.44 he explains: 'hinc usque ad finem amatoris inconstantia exprimitur, cui electa displicent statim'. Servius sees dimly that a consolation which ends with despair is not much of a consolation. In modern times, the Tenth Eclogue has been seen rather as some kind of comparison and contrast of Love-Elegy and Pastoral. Is it praise of Gallus' poetry? or does it recommend pastoral as a superior 'remedium amoris' to elegy? Is it some kind of competition with Gallus? Is Gallus adjured not to despise pastoral, because in the event Virgil's pastoral can do justice to Gallus' situation better than Gallus himself can? But Virgil cannot be recommending the Pastoral, in the very moment when he abandons it. I

suggest that the question cannot be answered by taking the Eclogue in isolation, especially from the Sixth Eclogue, and apart from Virgil's whole development. To support my way of looking at the problem would require an analysis of the Georgics, in which Virgil's problem, of how to advance from didactic to epic, becomes acute and is answered symbolically by the story of Aristaeus. Even the Aeneid did not remove Virgil's hesitations and doubts about the whole epic enterprise. When he began it, he wrote to Augustus (Macrob.Sat.1.24.10): 'tanta incohata res est, ut paene vitio mentis tantum opus ingressus mihi videar', and on his death-bed, he wanted to burn it.

In conclusion, I would like to notice two examples in the Tenth Eclogue where Virgil uses in a metaphorical or symbolical sense images that in earlier Eclogues he had used literally. This shows a habit of allegorical thought.

First, in the Sixth Eclogue, Virgil speaks of the shepherd as literally engaged in producing fat sheep, and contrasts this with producing slender lissom verse: 'pastorem, Tityre, pinguis/pascere oportet ovis, deductum dicere carmen'. Sheep and song, ovis and carmen, are contrasted. But in the Tenth Eclogue the sheep tended by the shepherd stand for the poetic production of the poet: (16) 'stant et oves circum (nostri nec paenitet illas, nec te paeniteat pecoris, divine poeta') (notice here Virgil's playful and surprising inversion of 'nostri...illas', where we should expect 'nec illarum nos paenitet', parallel to 'nec te paeniteat').

Again, in the Second Eclogue, Corydon is made by Virgil to contrast the weaving of baskets from withies, a utilitarian occupation, with thinking and poetizing about love:

'quin tu aliquid saltem potius, quorum indiget usus,
viminibus mollique paras detexere iunco?'

But in the Tenth Eclogue the weaving of a basket is a figure for the composition by a pastoral poet of a poem.

'Haec sat erit divae, vestrum cecinisse poetam,
dum sedet et gracili fiscellam texit hibisco'.

The 'fiscella' is here the poem that Virgil has just completed for Gallus. This habit of imagery in the poem induces inevitably in its last line a double meaning:

'ite domum saturae, venit Hesperus, ite capellae.'

The 'capellae' are the collection of Eclogues; they are full-fed, have had put into them all that Virgil could put into this form. The sun sets on them, but for Virgil 'tomorrow to fresh fields and pastures new'.

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VIRGIL AND THE CHRISTIAN LATIN POETS

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by A. Hudson-Williams,
B.A., M.Litt.

By Christian Latin poetry, I ought first to explain, I mean the poetry of Christian content written during the late Latin period, principally the fourth and fifth centuries. With the sixth century this poetry, broadly speaking, may be said to come to an end, to be succeeded subsequently by medieval poetry. I do not propose to, nor am I able to, discuss the latter.

Between the death of Juvenal in the early second century and the emergence of