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GENRE, GALLUS, AND GOATS: EXPANDING THE LIMITS OF PASTORAL IN *ECLOGUES* 6 AND 10

Aaron M. Seider



THERE IS A CONFIDENT RESTLESSNESS TO THE *ECLOGUES*. THIS MOVEMENT is felt in the poems' locations, which shift between Theocritus' Sicily, Vergil's northern Italy, and the remote haunts of Arcadia,¹ and it is present in the characters' names as well, where mythological and political, Greek and Roman, all intermingle.² Scholars have noted the same effect in the collection's generic features, as Vergil reaches beyond pastoral's Theocritean roots to integrate aspects of epyllion, funeral epigram, and love elegy into his shepherds' rolling landscapes.³ The movement is so quick that the reader never enjoys a moment of equilibrium, but rather faces a series of insistent

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1. Connolly 2001 notes the challenges posed by the *Eclogues*' locations.

2. Coleman (1977, 24–25); Rumpf (1999); and Lipka (2001, 171–93) discuss names in the *Eclogues*.

3. Harrison (2007, 34–74) shows how the *Eclogues* incorporate other genres within an "expanded pastoral framework" (43) via "generic enrichment," a term signifying the expansion of a "host" genre through the integration of aspects of one or more "guest" genres. As Whitaker (1988, 456) and Harrison (2007, 36) remark, *Eclogues* 6 and 10 incorporate material that goes beyond pastoral's established boundaries. Fowler (1982, 106–11) writes more generally on how "a combined genre" (107) arises when different "modes" of literature are brought within a composition that possesses its own distinctive characteristics. Depew and Obbink (2000, 1–6) and Harrison (2013) offer

recalibrations.⁴ In this article, I argue that *Eclogues* 6 and 10 fashion a narrative of expansion that associates Vergil's efforts at "generic enrichment"⁵ with those of his friend Gallus. In a series of passages marked by his affection for his fellow poet, Vergil illustrates his incorporation of other generic strands within pastoral by detailing Gallus' attempts to do the same with elegy.⁶ With Vergil's experiments distinguished by their temporal priority and artistic success, he claims the origin and end of this boldly refashioned genre as his own and positions his exit from *Eclogue* 10 as a consequence of pastoral's fullness. Wordplay in the collection's final line emphasizes and validates this generic richness, as, by designating his goats as *saturae* ("full," *Ecl.* 10.77),⁷ Vergil capitalizes on the presumed etymological link between the adjective *satur* and the noun *satura* to associate his pastoral poetry with the variety of early Roman satire.

Building on scholarship that explores the interactions of *Eclogues* 6 and 10 with other genres and, specifically, with Gallus' poetry,⁸ I focus on the relationship these poems construct between Gallus and Vergil within the world of the *Eclogues*.⁹ In these programmatic compositions, Vergil casts

an overview of questions about the conceptualization of genres in antiquity and their study today.

4. Vergil may have been reflecting on this dynamism at the end of the *Georgics* when he remarked how he was "audacious in his youth" (*audax ... iuuenta*, *G.* 4.565). Thomas 1988, ad 4.565–66 considers the notion that this claim refers to the *Eclogues*' "generic, dictional and metrical audacity and innovation."

5. The term comes from Harrison 2007; cf. n. 3.

6. Along with this generic enrichment, which stands as my article's central subject, these poems explore diverse areas of content and theme as well as their moral and political resonances. For further bibliography on these aspects of the *Eclogues*, see Martindale 1997 and Breed 2014.

7. The Latin text is from Mynors 1969; all translations are my own.

8. On the *Eclogues* and genre, Harrison (2007, 34–74) offers an overview and bibliography. On Gallus in the *Eclogues*, see Ross 1975, 18–38 and 85–106 and Zetzel 1977; and on Gallus in general, see Hollis 1980 and 2007, 219–52; O'Hara 1993, 12 and 22; Courtney 2003, 259–70; and Hoffmann, Minas-Nerpel, and Pfeiffer 2009.

9. In this article, I use the name Gallus to refer not to the historical Roman, but rather to his depiction within the *Eclogues*. (On the challenge of separating "the historical Gallus" from Vergil's "own creation in the *Eclogues*" [O'Hara 1993, 13], see Zetzel 1977, 260 and Courtney 1990, 100.) Meanwhile, the name Vergil refers to the speaker constructed by *Eclogues* 6 and 10 as well as the figure that this pastoral collection implies is its author. Narratology makes a distinction between narrator and implied author (see Booth 1961, 73 and 151 and Chatman 1978, 148), but *Eclogues* 6 and 10 blur the boundaries between these figures. Even though the narrator of *Eclogue* 6 is addressed as Tityrus and the speaker in *Eclogue* 10 is unnamed, their voices are strongly identified with the collection's implied author due to the poems' metapoetic frames and inclusion of Varus and Gallus, two late Republican Romans associated

Gallus in a central role and emphasizes the high esteem in which he holds his friend. The literary activities attributed to Gallus offer insight into Vergil's aspirations for pastoral as well as his reasons for leaving it behind. While Gallus was famous in antiquity as the founder of Roman elegy,¹⁰ Vergil focuses more on Gallus' engagement with other genres than on any static relationship with elegy. It is this engagement that illuminates Vergil's poetic efforts, as a set of parallels links the poets' ambitions and showcases Vergil's growth in and ownership of his genre. As Vergil describes Gallus' initiation into a new genre and generously offers his own poem in the service of Gallus' love affair, the association between the poets reveals how Vergil seeks to extend the boundaries of pastoral.

Considering first *Eclogue* 6 and then *Eclogue* 10, my article analyzes how Gallus and Vergil each attempt to enrich their genre through incorporating aspects of others. In *Eclogue* 6 Gallus ascends Mount Helicon's literary landscape with the poet-shepherd Linus as his guide. Remarkably close in detail to Apollo's initiation of Vergil at the poem's beginning, this scene highlights Vergil's present accomplishment at the sort of composition Gallus will soon attempt. *Eclogue* 10 further develops this amalgam of homage and competition. Here Gallus wanders through Arcadia, trying to find respite from elegy's overwhelming passion in the imagined existence of a shepherd. His inability to do so highlights Vergil's success at a similar task, as Vergil enriches *Eclogue* 10 by incorporating strains of Gallan love-elegy. In the poem's last eight lines, a coda both to *Eclogue* 10 and the entire collection,¹¹ Vergil reflects on his artistic endeavor and relationship with Gallus. A simile focused on love includes Gallan elegy within pastoral and, in the poem's final verse, Vergil sets his exit from pastoral as the genre's conclusion, casting both his she-goats and his songs as "full" (*saturae*, 10.77). In so doing, I argue, he deftly exploits the presumed etymological connection between *satur* and *satura* to align his generically mixed collection of pastoral poems with the transgressive variety of early satire, a genre wholly the Romans' own. This association of satire with goats, animals often linked with song, accentuates Vergil and Gallus' generic play and legitimizes the richness of Vergilian pastoral as a central characteristic of this genre he has reinvented as his own.

with Vergil. (Breed [2006, 5–6] considers the relationship between author, verse, and representation in the *Eclogues*.)

10. See, e.g., Ov. *Tr.* 4.10.53–54. The question of whether Gallus only wrote love elegy goes beyond this article's scope. On some of the factors involved in investigating this question, see Ross 1975, 46; Lyne 1978, 182 and 185; Zetzel 1997, 251; Lightfoot 1999, 369; and Hollis 2007, 226 and 239.

11. Thomas (1988, 2:239) remarks on the metapoetic nature of these lines.

ECLOGUE 6: BEGINNINGS AND BOUNDS

Eclogue 6 offers an origin story for Vergil's pastoral project at the same time as it stretches the genre's limits. The poem's first and last scenes, both anchored in the world of shepherds and flocks, encapsulate the Song of Silenus, a composition that treats myths of tragic love and fantastic metamorphosis. The *Eclogue's* opening verses describe Vergil's entry into pastoral, and Gallus, who appears in the midst of Silenus' song, is also enjoined to try a new sort of poetry. While the details of their situations, such as Apollo's role in their initiations, tie the two together, they also distinguish Vergil's present achievement from the futurity of Gallus' attempts.

Just as he will do in the *Georgics* and *Aeneid*, Vergil reflects on the *Eclogues* directly after the collection's midpoint.¹² At this structurally significant juncture, the poem touts its author's artistic primacy and divine inspiration (6.1–5):

Prima Syracosio dignata est ludere uersu
 nostra neque erubuit siluas habitare Thalea.
 cum canerem reges et proelia, Cynthus aurem
 uellit et admonuit: "pastorem, Tityre, pinguis
 pascere oportet ouis, deductum dicere carmen." 5

Our Thalea was the first to deign to play in Syracusan verse, and she did not blush to dwell in the woods. When I was singing of kings and battles, Apollo plucked my ear and admonished me: "Tityrus, it is fitting for a shepherd to pasture his sheep fat, but to sing a fine-spun song."

Couching their bravado in the recognition of pastoral's humble stature, lines 1 and 2 advance Vergil's claims for the ordinary nature of his Muse with *prima*, their emphatic opening word.¹³ The singer initially tried his hand at epic,¹⁴ only to be enjoined by Apollo to concentrate on finely wrought,

12. Conte 1992 coined the term "proems in the middle" to refer to these passages; see also Thomas 1986 on this topic.

13. *prima* most likely stands as part of an "assertion of primacy" (Clausen 1994, ad loc.; see also Davis 2012, 122 for this interpretation), not as an indication that Vergil's Muse played first in pastoral instead of another genre. See Coleman 1977, ad loc. for this view.

14. Hinds 2000, 223 notes how these verses encapsulate epic's programmatic content.

smaller compositions.¹⁵ In a poetic credo that draws on Hesiod's *Theogony* and Callimachus' *Aetia*, Vergil reveals his reason for writing pastoral.¹⁶ By associating highly polished compositions with a shepherd's duties, Apollo's injunction implies that the poet's songs should be pastoral, an order the poem's first verses show he has already fulfilled.

Although these proud claims and the lines immediately following them lead the audience to anticipate a poem exemplifying pastoral, the majority of *Eclogue* 6 baffles this expectation. In lines 6–12 Vergil addresses Varus, a contemporary who presumably requested an encomiastic epic. Vergil leverages Apollo's orders in a polite refusal, a *recusatio* that offers him a chance “to redefine a novel poetic space” (Davis 2012, 122). The idea that this will be the space of a pastoral poem is strengthened in lines 13–30, where a nymph and two shepherds tie up the inebriated Silenus, a feat for which he promises them a song.¹⁷ This composition, which Vergil describes in lines 31–84, begins with the universe's origins and touches on the stories of Pyrrha, Pasiphae, and the like. Its tales of passion and transformation move beyond pastoral's boundaries.¹⁸ Especially noticeable for the fact that they occur within a poem that tells of the genre's Latin origins, these transgressions explore how far the content of a pastoral poem can grow while remaining a recognizable member of that genre.

Initially jarring because of his status as a contemporary Roman, Gallus' appearance in Silenus' song has a surprising resonance for the understanding

15. If *prima* is interpreted as indicating that Vergil enjoys primacy in pastoral among Latin authors and not that his first field of composition was pastoral, there is nothing to preclude the idea that he began with epic and then moved to pastoral. See *Vita Donati* 19; Servius ad 6.3; DServ. ad 6.5; Otis 1964, 33; and Davis 2012, 122–23 for similar interpretations, while Harrison 2007, 44 writes that Apollo prevents a “supposed attempted move from existing pastoral into future epic.” Although Clausen 1994, 174 n. 1 criticizes such autobiographical readings for not taking into account the lines' allusion to Callimachus, I apply these verses' temporal cues not to the historical Vergil, but only to the situation as depicted in *Eclogue* 6.

16. For this passage's allusion to Callimachus' initiation by Apollo, see *Aet.* fr. 1.21–24; Clausen 1964, 1976, and 1994, 174; Coleman 1977, ad 3–4; Harrison 2007, 45–46; and Clauss 2004. For its invocation of Hesiod's poetic initiation at the beginning of the *Theogony*, see *Theog.* 22–34; Harrison 2007, 46; and Harder 2012, 2: ad 1.21–22.

17. It is not clear whether the male figures are shepherds or fauns, but, regardless of their precise identity, they are not alien to a pastoral poem. Segal (1971) considers this question in detail.

18. Coleman 1962, 56; Courtney 1990, 103–6 and 122; Harrison 2007, 48–59; and Davis 2012, 123–40. Segal (1969, 435) notes how the portrayal of Silenus invokes questions about the power of artistic creation.

a notion Linus confirms. He enjoins Gallus to accept the pipes the Muses once gave to Hesiod, a gift that further characterizes this scene as a poetic initiation. With these pipes Hesiod could literally move nature, and Gallus will harness their power to sing of the Grynean grove's origins.²² This topic and instrument foreshadow Gallus' move away from erotic content to a new type of composition, one possibly set in hexameters rather than elegiac couplets.²³ Along with the aetiological and didactic associations invoked by the mention of "the old Ascraean" (*Ascraeo ... seni*, 6.70) and "the origin of the Grynean grove" (*Grynei nemoris ... origo*, 6.72), this work may have pastoral overtones as well, given how Linus is identified as a "shepherd" (*pastor*, 6.67). Within the imagined world of Silenus' song and *Eclogue* 6, this initiation celebrates Gallus as a poet of divinely recognized talent whose compositions will soon grow in new directions.

The literary expansion proposed for Gallus is strikingly similar to Vergil's aspirations, and these likenesses highlight the kinship between the two poets while also pointing toward Vergil's significant accomplishments.²⁴

unlikely, as Gallus' poem on the Grynean grove is cast as something he will compose in the future. Harrison (2007, 47) notes how this "consecration of Gallus ... seems to be happening in the future from the time-perspective of the poem." See Lightfoot 1999, 62 and Harder 2012, 2:109–10 and 115–16 for further consideration of the literary implications of Helicon's geography.

22. Servius (ad loc) indicates that Gallus had translated the works of Euphorion, a poet from Chalcis born around 275 BCE who wrote about a contest between two seers in the Gryneian grove. Most scholars accept this claim (see, e.g., Skutsch 1906, 159–60 and Hollis 2007, 231), although Courtney (1990, 107) argues that the reference is to Theocles of Calchis. Parthenius, Gallus' teacher, wrote a poem about Apollo's cult at Delos that contained the phrase Ἰρὺννειος Ἀπόλλων. There is the possibility that Parthenius may have suggested the origin of the Grynean grove as a topic to Gallus for an aetiological poem, and, at the very least, Gallus knew of that location from his familiarity with Euphorion (for more on this, see Lightfoot 1999, 61–62). Dix (1995, 261) suggests that these verses, along with *Ecl.* 3.104–107 and 10.37–43 and Servius ad 6.72, imply that Gallus had already written about the Grynean grove in his poetry. (O'Hara 1993, 20 and Hollis 2007, 232 also raise this idea, *pace* Courtney 1993, 262.) This might well be the case, but *Eclogue* 6 represents such a poem as occurring in the future.

23. Both Zetzel (1977, 252) and Courtney (1990, 220) remark that this new composition need not, but could, entail a change in meter. Lightfoot (1999, 73) raises the idea that in "an early phase of Roman elegy in which the personal is still in thrall to the mythological ... one might expect elegy to be written on the subject of the Grynean Grove." See Davis 2012, 129 on the nature of Gallus' new composition and Coleman 1977, ad loc; Clausen 1994, ad loc; and Ebbeler 2010 on Linus' pastoral and poetic background.

24. Elder (1961, 115–16); Breed (2006, 92–93); and Davis (2012, 140) comment on the similarities between Gallus and Vergil in *Eclogue* 6.

The structure of the passages describing their literary endeavors establishes a link: each opens with a description of a Muse's activity in a poetically charged landscape and ends with an injunction to change genres. Several details confirm these associations: Gallus is told by Linus to try his hand at a higher genre, while Vergil too experiments with integrating material from Hesiod, Callimachus, and Lucretius into his host mode. Moreover, just as Gallus' new composition will please Apollo, Vergil claims the same is true for his work: "And no page is more welcome to Apollo than that which has written Varus' name at its top" (*nec Phoebus gratior ulla est / quam sibi quae Vari praescrispsit pagina nomen*, 6.11–12). Lastly, Linus' initiation of Gallus endows his work with an amalgam of oral and written associations: the noun *calamus* often denotes a pipe as well as an instrument for writing and this archaic singer is himself linked with both reading and writing.²⁵ Lines 1–12 attribute this same mixture of oral and written characteristics to Vergil's verse: the poet simultaneously claims his work exists on a page (*praescrispsit ... pagina*, 6.12) and emphasizes his position as a singer (*canerem*, 6.3; *dicere*, 6.5; *cano*, 6.9; *canet*, 6.11).²⁶

These likenesses highlight the fact that Vergil has already accomplished the feats Gallus still must attempt in the future. Having completed a poem of remarkable generic integration, Vergil can confidently boast that it will please Apollo, while the god's joy in Gallus' work remains prospective. Within Silenus' song, the injunctions in lines 69–73 imagine Gallus' generic shifts as taking place at a later time. Furthermore, in a subtle appropriation of Gallus' markers of poetic uniqueness, Vergil associates himself with two of the authors linked with his coeval. Linus presents Hesiod's pipes to Gallus, with the understood promise that they will help him sing of the Grynean grove's origins, an aetiology of the sort associated with Callimachus.²⁷ In his characterization of his own initiation, Vergil also links himself with these two poets: lines 3–5 allude to *Aet.* fr. 1.21–4, a Callimachean passage that invokes Hesiod. Even Linus' gift of pipes associates Gallus with Vergil, with Vergil again being given temporal precedence. Already notable for the fact they are pipes and not, as might be expected, a Hesiodic staff (*Theog.* 30), these instruments recall "the presentation by Menalcas (i.e., Vergil, himself) of a pipe to Mopsus at the end of" *Eclogue* 5.²⁸ These passages characterize pipes as an instrument an experienced poet gives to a neophyte, with Vergil

25. See *OLD* 2 and 3 and Ebbeler 2010, 188–89 and 197–99.

26. Breed 2006, 90–92 discusses this mixture.

27. Kambylis (1965, 186) and Lipka (2001, 98) note this passage's allusion to Hesiod's and Callimachus' self-described poetic initiations.

28. Courtney 1990, 103, and see *Ecl.* 5.85–87

occupying the former position and Gallus the latter. While Vergil pays Gallus a compliment by including him within Silenus' song and communicating their kinship through their similar activities, he also uses his fellow poet's appearance to elucidate his own generic goals and enrich his poetry in the hopes of achieving those goals. Indeed, as *Eclogue* 6 comes to a close with a strong evocation of the life and landscape of pastoral (6.84–86),²⁹ the poem returns to the setting with which it began, even as the majority of its verses have incorporated a diverse array of generic strands.

ECLOGUE 10: AN END IN FULL

Eclogue 10 further elaborates Vergil's success in exploring pastoral's bounds by contrasting his efforts with Gallus' own attempts to change genre.³⁰ In an act of friendship characteristic of pastoral song,³¹ Vergil writes this poem on Gallus' behalf in an attempt to seduce Lycoris. In doing so, he centers its narrative on Gallus and incorporates love-elegy into pastoral, while Gallus, depicted as wandering the haunts of Arcadia, ultimately gives up his attempts to leave elegy behind. As Vergil fashions this bravura performance for his friend, the final verses of *Eclogue* 10 reveal that his own exit from pastoral is a necessary outcome of his integration of so many other genres within it.³²

The beginning of *Eclogue* 10 foreshadows its play with generic limits. In these verses, Vergil asks for a pastoral poem for his elegiac friend (10.1–8):

Extremum hunc, Arethusa, mihi concede laborem:
pauca meo Gallo, sed quae legat ipsa Lycoris,

29. See Harrison 2007, 58–59 on the pastoral elements in these closing verses.

30. Hubbard (1998, 139) similarly writes that “Gallan elegy is presented as a parallel by-form to Vergilian pastoral, intersecting with it at points, but in the end diverging in an antithetical direction ... Vergil is announcing ... an interest in moving beyond the generic confines of pastoral, exploring new forms and generic combinations.” As Harrison (2007, 17, 59, 61, and 74) argues, *pace* Conte 1986, 126, *Eclogue* 10 is not about a display of difference, but about composing a “generic mixture” that ultimately enriches the genre, and, by its close, (74) “a considerable amount of generic enrichment has taken place through the sustained dialectic with love-elegy in modal form ... and [its] boundaries have undoubtedly been extended and the pastoral genre lastingly enriched.”

31. See Alpers, 1979, 206 and 228 on the friendship that marks Vergil's feelings for Gallus here as well as the tenor of pastoral poetry in general and Perkell 1996, 132–33 on Vergil's generosity in writing this poem of seduction.

32. Coleman (1962, 63); Putnam (1970, 345); Lee (1989, 99); Harrison (2007, 59–74); and Henkel (2014, 40) discuss generic play in *Eclogue* 10.

carmina sunt dicenda; neget quis carmina Gallo?
 sic tibi, cum fluctus subterlabere Sicanos,
 Doris amara suam non intermisceat undam, 5
 incipe! sollicitos Galli dicamus amores,
 dum tenera attendent simae uirgulta capellae.
 non canimus surdis, respondent omnia siluae.

Arethusa, grant this final task to me: a few songs must be sung for my Gallus, yet the sort which Lycoris herself might read; who could refuse songs to Gallus? If, when you will flow under the Sicilian waves, you would not have the bitter sea mix its own water with yours, begin! Let us tell of Gallus' anxious loves, while the blunt-nosed she-goats crop close the tender shrubs. We do not sing to the deaf; the woods echo everything.

This finale begins by crafting a link between Gallus and Vergil, even while setting each in his own genre. The mention of Gallus' mistress as a potential reader defines Gallus as an elegiac poet. This identity is strengthened by the phrase "anxious loves" (*sollicitos ... amores*), words that invoke Gallus' romantic pursuits as well as his collection itself, likely titled *Amores*.³³ Just as Gallus is associated with love elegy, so is Vergil linked with pastoral. The address of the river nymph Arethusa, who in Theocritus' *Idylls* has already become Syracuse's famous spring,³⁴ associates the Roman poet with that genre, and the echoing woods invoke a conceit central to the bucolic world.³⁵

Vergil's invocation of Arethusa advances a claim for primacy that goes beyond *Eclogue* 6 and offers a new conception of pastoral's integration of other genres. The first word of *Eclogue* 6, *prima*, denotes Vergil's primacy in Latin pastoral; *extremum* recalls that poem's beginning and sets *Eclogue* 10 as a bookend to its interest in the origin myth for Vergilian pastoral.³⁶

33. Lipka (2001, 102–3) and Hollis (2007, 235) mark this wordplay; see also the use of *amores* at 10.34, 53, and 54.

34. The dying Daphnis calls upon Arethusa at Theoc. *Id.* 1.117, a poem with which *Eclogue* 10 engages in many other ways. (Kidd 1964 and Perkell 1996 explore the relationship between *Idyll* 1 and *Eclogue* 10.) See also the reference to "Sicilian Arethusa" (Σικελὴν Ἀρέθουσαν) at *Id.* 16.102. Gow (1950, l.xviii) remarks how in Theocritus "Sicily is the home of pastoral poetry." Beyond the spring's resonance in Theocritus, Arethusa is referred to as the source of pastoral at [Mosch.] *Ep. Bion.* 77.

35. See the programmatic description of song at 1.1–5 and Damon 1973, 281–90 on Vergil's treatment of this trope.

36. Hubbard (1998, 129) observes how *extremum ... laborem* is "emphasized by its position enclosing the first line."

In Theocritus, Arethusa is imagined as a Syracusan spring, the form she assumes after fleeing Arcadia. Vergil, though, situates her in Greece, prior to her flight to Sicily. In this way, Vergil sets the dramatic date of his pastoral earlier than Theocritus³⁷ and appropriates the genre's origins from that Greek poet, a shift from the specification in *Eclogue* 6 that his primacy lies solely in the language of his composition. What is more, Vergil characterizes pastoral as a genre with its own distinct qualities that must be preserved. He threatens Arethusa that the salt sea will taint her fresh water if she does not fulfill his request. With Arethusa's spring water signifying pastoral and the sea love elegy,³⁸ this mandate necessitates that *Eclogue* 10 remain recognizably pastoral and avoid elegy's bitterness even as it incorporates Gallan themes within it.

The poem's main section accomplishes this generic enrichment by describing a scenario that shows Gallus' attempts at his own such integration. Languishing away because Lycoris left him for a soldier, Gallus envisions life as an Arcadian. As his forays into the pastoral world unfold, the instability of his mental state comes to the fore. After Lycoris intrudes into his thoughts of pastoral amity and sweeps him back into the present's galling realities,³⁹ Gallus attempts once more to find a measure of emotional peace in Arcadia (10.50–54):

ibo et Chalcidico quae sunt mihi condita uersu 50
 carmina pastoris Siculi modulabor auena.
 certum est in siluis inter spelaea ferarum
 malle pati tenerisque meos incidere Amores
 arboribus: crescent illae, crescetis, Amores.

I will go and play the strains I composed in Chalcidian verse on a Sicilian shepherd's pipe. I am determined to prefer to suffer in the woods, among the dens of beasts, and to carve my Loves into young trees; as they grow, you, my Loves, will grow.

37. Van Sickle (2004, 190) and Breed (2006, 120-22) note this effect as well. The *Aeneid* engages in a similar move by positioning itself as prior to Ennius' *Annales* (Goldschmidt 2013).

38. Harrison 2007, 61–62, *pace* Kennedy 1987, 48–49 and Hubbard 1998, 130.

39. Gallus imagines his existence among the Arcadians in 10.33–43, and these verses' subjunctive verbs show that he entertains this life as a mere vision. Williams (1968, 236) and Leach (1974, 166) also note how Lycoris' appearance brings Gallus back to reality.

With this declaration, Gallus invokes his earlier success at generic enrichment while envisioning similar triumphs in the future. Most likely alluding to Euphorion of Calchis, the epithet Chalcidian implies that Gallus' elegiac poetry shares the erudite and allusive characteristics of that poet's work.⁴⁰ Now, his references to "trees" (*arboribus*, 10.54) and "a Sicilian shepherd's pipe" (*pastoris Siculi ... auena*, 10.51) express his intent to transpose his efforts into pastoral. The repetitions of *Amores* and a form of *crescere* in lines 53–54 convey Vergil's poetic sympathy for Gallus' suffering, while also communicating the potential growth of Gallus' work in this different genre.

A frenetic energy dominates Gallus' thoughts of his Arcadian life, a passion betokening the short-lived nature of his pastoral existence. As he imagines dancing on Maenalus with the nymphs, hunting in Parthenius' wintry glades, and shooting Cretan arrows from a Parthian bow, his activities take him beyond the rural countryside to a forbidding wilderness.⁴¹ Realizing his own delusion, Gallus expresses the folly of such adventures: "As if this could be a medicine for our fury, or that god could learn to soften for men's sorrows!" (*tamquam haec sit nostri medicina furoris, / aut deus ille malis hominum mitescere discat!* 10.60–61). Eight lines later, he makes his surrender clear: "Love conquers all; and let us yield to Love" (*omnia vincit Amor: et nos cedamus Amori*, 10.69). Having attempted twice to set himself within Vergil's pastoral world, Gallus capitulates to his all-consuming desire, a resignation that signals his inability to leave elegy behind.⁴² Yet, this inability only makes the poem a more powerful vehicle for the seduction of

40. Papanghelis (2013) explores how 10.53–54 creates a tension both between elegy and pastoral and between written and oral poetry. As part of an argument that Gallus' "Chalcidic verse itself had dealt with his mistress," Lightfoot (1999, 64) claims there would be no drama in Gallus announcing that he plans to give up aetiological poetry. Boucher (1966, 77–81) and Lightfoot (1999, 60–61) note how the characteristics of Euphorion's poetry could exist in Gallus' elegies. Pohlenz (1965, 104); Coleman (1977, ad 10.50); Clausen (1994, ad 10.50; Lightfoot 1999, 598–60); and Harrison (2007, 69) argue that *Chalcidico uersu* alludes to Euphorion. (For a different view, see Courtney 1993, 262.)

41. Hubbard (1998, 136–37) notes how these activities bring violence into pastoral. Coleman (1962, 62) and Davis (2012, 150–57) remark how Gallus can leave behind neither elegiac themes nor his vision of elegiac love. Perkell (1996, 131) and Lindheim (2000, 86) illustrate how Gallus is unable to integrate elegiac poetry into pastoral.

42. Lee (1989, 98–99 and 120) shows how Gallus' inability to productively transform his loss into poetry leaves his literary potential unfulfilled.

its imagined reader, as Gallus' capitulation emphasizes the depth of his love for Lycoris and the potent nature of her attraction.⁴³

With this narrative complete, Vergil reflects on his relationship with Gallus and his own genre.⁴⁴ In the poem's final lines, he incorporates love within pastoral in a way that proved impossible for Gallus (10.70–77):

haec sat erit, diuae, uestrum cecinisse poetam,	70
dum sedet et gracili fiscellam texit hibisco,	
Pierides: uos haec facietis maxima Gallo,	
Gallo, cuius amor tantum mihi crescit in horas	
quantum uere nouo uiridis se subicit alnus.	
surgamus: solet esse grauis cantantibus umbra,	75
iuniperi grauis umbra; nocent et frugibus umbrae.	
ite domum saturae, uenit Hesperus, ite capellae.	

It will be enough, divine Pierians, for your poet to have sung these songs, while he sits and weaves a little basket of slender willow: you will make these songs the greatest for Gallus, for Gallus, for whom my love grows as much by the hour as a green alder tree shoots up in a new spring. Let us rise: shade is often burdensome for singers, the juniper's shade is burdensome; shades also damage the crops. Go home full, my she-goats, go home, the evening star is coming.

haec invokes Vergil's collection in its entirety, while the description of the basket draws attention to that collection's refined style and Vergil's epithet for the Muses, "Pierians" (*Pierides*, 10.72), designates it as pastoral.⁴⁵ The repetition of Gallus' name, set at the end and the beginning of successive verses, "suggests an urgent intensity of emotion" (Coleman 1977, ad 10.72–73).

The comparison of the development of Vergil's love for Gallus to the growth of an alder tree emphasizes the poets' attachment and brings love,

43. Perkell (1996, 133 and 136–37) discusses how several potential audiences may be seduced by Gallus' yielding to Love. *Eclogue* 10 not only draws Lycoris closer to Gallus, but its generosity brings Gallus nearer to Vergil and may impact its larger audience through "Vergil's pastoral feeling for Gallus ... and pastoral generosity" (133).

44. Alpers (1979, 238–39) writes that this is Vergil's most complete self-representation in the *Eclogues* and that the scene's characteristics suggest "a more than usual inwardness" (239).

45. On the basket, see Servius ad 10.71 and Clausen 1994: ad 10.71. Vergil uses *Pierides* only in the *Eclogues*. On the epithet's possible significance, see Coleman 1977: ad 3.85 and 10.72; Clausen 1994: ad 3.85 and 10.72; and Knox 2014: 857–88.

earlier associated with elegy, within the realm of pastoral. Confident that the Muses will make his songs great, Vergil compares the movement of his passion for Gallus to the tree's rise in spring. While *cuius amor ... mihi* (10.73) may denote Vergil's love for Gallus, it could also describe Gallus' love for Vergil.⁴⁶ This ambiguity emphasizes the reciprocity of the poets' relationship.⁴⁷ The verb used to describe their love, *crescit*, further amplifies their connection: it looks back to Gallus' use of the same word in connection with his poetry and love,⁴⁸ while its present tense asserts that Vergil and Gallus' love continues to flourish. Vergil's simile returns the poem to the pastoral world of its opening verses and shifts its conceptualization of love away from the deleterious force of elegy and toward a natural phenomenon that arises quickly, then matures over time.⁴⁹ Along with Vergil's love for his friend, the tree's growth likewise marks the progress of "his own Gallan-style love poem" (Henkel 2014, 40). This simile recalls Vergil's address of Arethusa at the poem's beginning, where he reveals how her spring water may avoid the sea's bitterness. Now, elegy's passion is brought into pastoral, even as its bitterness is left behind; love is associated with growth and fecundity, not tears.

This link between Vergil and Gallus leads into the poem's last three lines, where Vergil announces his exit from pastoral and introduces the reasons behind it.⁵⁰ The exhortation "Let us rise" (*surgamus*, 10.75) hints at an ascent through the generic register similar to Gallus' climb in *Eclogue* 6. The subsequent description of shade as "burdensome" (*gravis*, 10.75, 76) offers another sign of Vergil's intention to leave pastoral behind. Although typically shade from a tree offers a protected space for pastoral

46. If *cuius* is an objective genitive and *mihi* a dative of possession, the words describe Vergil's love for Gallus; if *cuius* is a subjective genitive and *mihi* a dative of reference, the love is Gallus' for Vergil.

47. Otis 1964, 142; Pohlenz 1965, 115; Boucher 1966, 93; Klingner 1967, 174; Whitaker 1988, 455–56; and Davis 2012, 140 mark Vergil's respect for his friend. See Servius ad 10.46; Tränkle 1960, 22–23; Ross 1975, 68; and Kennedy 1987, 53 on how Vergil may have included adaptations of Gallus' poetry in *Eclogue* 10. Such reworking, as Coleman 1962, 63 notes, allows Vergil to illustrate "the way in which the bridge between the pastoral and other genres may be built from the pastoral end as well."

48. See *Ecl.* 10.54 and Coleman 1977, 10.6 and 73.

49. Lee 1989, 99 comments that Vergil's love for Gallus is shown as creative, not destructive. Putnam (1970, 388) illustrates how this simile applies "an elegiac conceit" to Vergil's own friendship and argues that it signals that Vergil's "own love also surpasses the bounds of 'pastoral.'" Yet, given that trees are a marker of pastoral, this appropriation may show that Vergil's love can exist within the genre's bounds.

50. Putnam 1970: 387–94; Damon 1973, 288–89; Coleman 1977: 296–97; Clausen 1994: 292; and Harrison 2007, 73 discuss Vergil's departure from pastoral.

composition,⁵¹ here it is oppressive. The final verse of *Eclogue* 10, replete with imagery of a homeward journey and the evening star, reprises closural tropes from earlier *Eclogues* and signifies the book's conclusion.⁵²

Vergil's designation of the "she-goats" as "full" (*saturae ... capellae*, 10.77) reinforces these indications of completion for a generically rich collection,⁵³ especially given the *Eclogues'* use of the natural world to reflect on poetic composition.⁵⁴ From proximity alone, the description of the goats is linked with Vergil's pastoral collection by the allusion of *saturae* to *sat* in the earlier phrase "It will be enough to have sung these songs" (*haec sat erit ... cecinisse*, 10.70). The goats' fullness recalls and reinforces this boast of poetic accomplishment, which could potentially describe "the whole series of *Eclogues*" (Putnam 1970, 389). Moreover, *saturae ... capellae* likewise recalls the poet's initiation by Apollo in 6.4–5, where the god's words also linked singing and shepherding: "Tityrus, it is fitting for a shepherd to pasture his sheep fat, but to sing a fine-spun song" (*pastorem, Tityre, pinguis / pascere oportet ouis, deductum dicere carmen*). With "fat" and "thin" contrasted as the desired states of animals and poetry, the she-goats' fullness in 10.77 indicates that Vergil's poetry has realized its stylistic and generic goals. An allusion to 10.6–7 bolsters this interpretation: "Let us tell of Gallus' anxious loves, while the blunt-nosed she-goats crop close the tender shrubs" (*sollicitos Galli dicamus amores, / dum tenera attendent simae uirgulta capellae*). With the goats' eating linked to the creation of a generically enriched poem, the animals' fullness in 10.77 signals that Vergil's

51. Davis (2012, 19 n. 4) remarks how the *Eclogues* offer two shade motifs; one commonly occurs at the start of poems (such as in *Ecl.* 1.1–5), where shade signifies "the ideal *locus* of composition/performance," while the other falls near their end, where shade "marks the closure of composition and is associated with the setting sun and the *topos* of satiety." This latter variety appears in *Eclogue* 10, where it confers both closure and the "notion of satiety" on the book (Davis 2012, 158).

52. *Ecl.* 1.79–83 and 6.85–86 associate the approach of evening and a journey homeward with a poem's end.

53. Van Sickle 1980, 599; Harrison 2007, 73; and Davis 2012, 158 note the connection of the goats in *Ecl.* 10.77 with closure and completion, and a survey of Wacht 1996 shows that, in addition to the instances discussed above, she-goats are associated with song three times in *Eclogue* 1: the she-goats' difficulties at 1.12 are paired with the shepherd's exile, which will also bring about the end of his song, and at 1.74 and 77 the animals' lack of grass is associated with the singer's lack of opportunity to sing.

54. For such uses of trees, animals, and meadows, see *Ecl.* 1.38–39; 1.45; 3.85–86; 3.111; 4.1–3; 6.1–2; and 10.62–63 as well as Servius ad 3.111; Williams 1968, 237; Veyne 1988, 104; Van Sickle 2004, 203; Harrison 2007, 32 and 73–74; and Davis 2012, 126.

work of bringing elegy into his own genre of pastoral is complete. Lastly, the recollection of Pan's words in 10.28–30 further establishes the animals' satiety as a literary cue:

“ecquis erit modus?” inquit “Amor non talia curat,
nec lacrimis crudelis Amor nec gramina riuus
nec cytiso saturantur apes nec fronde capellae.” 30

“Will there ever be an end?” he says. “Love does not care for such things, neither can cruel Love be sated with tears, nor grasses with streams, nor bees with clover, nor she-goats with leaves.”

In Pan's address to Gallus, satiety is imagined as impossible for she-goats and Love alike. The coda to *Eclogue* 10 rebuts both ideas.⁵⁵ The alder tree simile moves love away from tears and towards productive growth, while the she-goats achieve the very state Pan claimed to be unattainable. By recalling Pan's claims, along with 6.4–5, 10.6–7, and 10.70, the phrase *saturae capellae* asserts that Vergil's poetry has reached its structural and formal limits, having incorporated as much of elegy and other modes within itself as it can.

Through their construction of his relationship with Gallus, *Eclogues* 6 and 10 characterize Vergil as a poet who enriches pastoral and reinvents it as his own through incorporating other generic strands within it. Now, in closing, I suggest that Vergil's designation of his goats as “full” (*saturae*, 10.77) validates his collection's generic variety by alluding to *satura*, the Roman word for satire, a genre which was claimed by the Romans as their own and which itself shows a decidedly mixed nature in its early stages. As James J. O'Hara (1996) illustrates, Vergil's etymological wordplay often engages with his poems' themes, and here the description of the goats as *saturae* confirms the generically rich character of his now complete collection. Above and beyond the presumed etymological connection between *satur* and *satura*, an association between well-fed goats and food links this moment in *Eclogue* 10 with one ancient belief about the origin of satire's name. Given that Ennius and Pacuvius' satires consisted of poems on a variety of subjects in a diversity of meters, some Romans thought that the genre's name derived from the use of *satura* as a term for a dish comprised of various foods. Indeed, as Ulrich Knoche argues, a move from the use of *satura* to label “a coarse, popular mixed food ... to a collection of

55. Davis (2012, 158) notes how the “insatiable grazing goats of Pan's libido analogy ... are now declared to be full.”

mixed poems would be simple and perfectly logical.”⁵⁶ Vergil’s designation of his goats as *saturae* may recall the mixed nature of early satire and its etymological origins⁵⁷ and, in doing so, validate the extraordinary mixture of his pastoral collection.

Moreover, this wordplay may also reinforce Vergil’s audacious claim for his creation of a pre-Theocritean pastoral. At the beginning of *Eclogue* 10, Vergil positions himself as temporally prior to Theocritus through his location of Arethusa in Greece, a rhetorical move that seeks to secure ownership of the genre’s origin. In regard to satire, Quintilian states that “it is entirely ours” (*tota nostra est, Inst.* 10.1.93), and even though this tendentious boast is “true only in a highly qualified sense” (Freudenburg 2005, 1), it nonetheless offers evidence of the Romans’ rhetorical claims about satire, the sort of rhetoric that Vergil’s wordplay now associates with pastoral. This grants poetic legitimacy to the generic variety of Vergil’s pastoral: the genre of pastoral, as reinvented by Vergil, is his and the Romans’ own, with its rich mixture of extra-generic strands standing as one of its defining features. At the same time, then, as *saturae* indicates that the shepherd’s goats are well-fed, it also reveals that Vergil’s songs are as filled with variety as they could and should be.⁵⁸ This portrait fits well with Vergil’s extensive parallels with Gallus, a poet whom Vergil depicts as engaged in near constant generic experimentation himself. *Eclogues* 6 and 10, along with the pastoral collection as a whole, have taken in as many extra-generic

56. Knoche 1975, 16; see pp. 11–16 for consideration of the ancient evidence and different theories for the genre’s name. Freudenburg (2005, 14) comments that this “metaphor suggests satire is less a thing in itself than it is a momentary, willed coherence of discrete material cobbled together, this and that, messily contained.” As Braund (1996, 4) remarks, this explanation of the origin of *satura* conceives of the genre as one defined by its “abundance and variety.”

57. For the reasons argued above, it is more likely *saturae* alludes to early satire rather than to Lucilius’ later and more thematically coherent body of invective poetry. On this divide in the genre, see Diomedes (Keil 1961, 1:485.32–33 and Jocelyn 1972, 1024–25) as well as Petersmann 1999, 290; Freudenburg 2005, 3; and Muecke 2005, 33–40. On the variety of Ennius’ *Saturae*, see Van Rooy 1965, 30–44; Waszink 1972; Knoche 1975, 29; Coffey 1976, 24–32; Gratwick, 1982, 156–60; Mariotti 1991, 115; Petersmann 1999, 296; Freudenburg 2005, 3; and Hooley 2007, 14–19. Even after the genre became associated with vituperative social commentary and personal attacks, authors such as Juvenal continued to play on the potential to link *saturae* with the meaning of full or referring to a mixed platter (Rimell 2005, 84). Also see Gowers 2005, 49 on Horace’s use of both *Satirae* and *Sermones* as the title of his satires.

58. While Veyne (1988, 104) argues that this ending signals that “The confusion of genres was only a momentary game [and] the flock can reenter its fold,” the goats’ fullness may denote that the integration of aspects of other genres is an essential aspect of pastoral and the completion of this process marks the poems as complete.

strands as possible, and this pastoral frame can contain no more. Yet even this moment of equilibrium is a mirage. The announcement of pastoral's fullness reframes Vergil's poems from a new perspective and adds one more strand to a collection it simultaneously claims is complete.

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