

Pan's metapoetic role in Vergil's *Eclogues*

George C Paraskeviotis

*Democritus University of Thrace (Komotini)*¹

Abstract: This article aims at providing a commentary on every mention of Pan in the Vergilian collection (*Ecl.* 2, 4, 5, 8 and 10) to illustrate his metapoetic role, which constitutes the feature of the god that is mostly highlighted by Vergil in the *Eclogues*. It is argued that Pan stands for the pastoral music/poetry which the urban Alexis will enjoy by entering the country, he enables Vergil to broaden the limits of the pastoral genre, he represents the return of the pastoral music/poetry in the countryside after Daphnis's apotheosis and he defines the limits between pastoral and elegiac genre. Hence, Pan's metapoetic dimension is highly important and fits well with the metapoetic status of the herdsmen and of the entire collection.

Keywords: Vergil; *Eclogues*; Pan; metapoetics.

The sacred element in all its expressions (e.g. religious architecture, religious art, religious creeds, sacrifices, holy places, myths or legends) has long been considered as a vital constituent feature in the literary tradition of every civilization. The way in which it is most emphatically expressed in texts and especially in Greek and Roman literary texts is through the divine appearance. Gods are assigned roles in Greco-Roman poetry in the degree of their pertinence to the genre in which they appear. These divine roles are manipulated by the author who chooses to emphasise those aspects of a particular divinity's dynamis that are pertinent to his/her work. This is exactly the case with the minor goatish deity Pan in Vergil's *Eclogues*, who is the god of woods and herdsmen and is credited with inventing a musical instrument (syrinx) and of being an artist with the potential to challenge other divine musicians.² Nevertheless, there is yet another more significant feature of this rustic god and that is his identification with pastoral poetry and genre (namely the god's metapoetic status). It is the aim of this article to provide a commentary on every mention of Pan in the Vergilian collection (*Ecl.* 2, 4, 5, 8 and 10) to illustrate Pan's metapoetic dimension, which is the feature of the god that is mostly highlighted by Vergil throughout the *Eclogues*.

The first appearance of Pan in the Vergilian collection is in *Eclogue* 2, which deals with the unrequited love of the herdsman Corydon for the urbane slave boy Alexis. The lovesick herdsman shows his awareness that his musical talent constitutes the

¹ Correspondence address: gparaske@helit.duth.gr.

² This attribute of superb musicianship is ascribed to Pan in the pre-classical period (cf. *Hom. Hymn.* 19 and *Hom. Hymn.* 20) along with the relationship of the god with shepherds that also applies to Apollo. See also the Pompeian wall-painting showing Pan along with Muses (Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples III47).

only way through which he can win over the urban and urbane love object.³ Hence, Corydon invites Alexis in his pastoral world in order to imitate the country god Pan in music and song:

mecum una in siluis imitabere Pana canendo
 Pan primum calamos cera coniungere pluris
 instituit, Pan curat ouis ouiumque magistros,
 nec te paeniteat calamo triuisse labellum
 haec eadem ut sciret, quid non faciebat Amyntas?
 est mihi disparibus septem compacta cicutis
 fistula, Damoetas dono mihi quam dedit olim,
 et dixit moriens: 'te nunc habet ista secundum'
 dixit Damoetas, inuidit stultus Amyntas

Ecl. 2.31–39

This is the third section of Corydon's triple musical self-presentation (*Ecl.* 2.6, 2.23–24 and 2.31–39) that identifies music with the basic care of the pastoral world in which Alexis is being invited. The hard country life is ignored by Corydon who lays emphasis on the appearance of Pan who is here used to idealise the world, where Alexis is now being invited in order to convince him to accept the erotic invitation.⁴ In addition, Corydon promises Alexis a musical talent comparable to that of Pan who is described as the first inventor of the syrinx and of pastoral music. Hence, the herdsman's music, which is the only way for winning over the love object, receives a divine (by the country god Pan) origin that strongly reinforces its value. Furthermore, Pan's care for animals (i.e. *ouis*) and for their masters (i.e. *magistros*) stresses that the god cares for the country and erotic life of the herdsmen and imply that Alexis should show the same behaviour, namely care for animals and Corydon. Moreover, Corydon, as all the *dramatis personae* of the *Eclogues*, is not a mere herdsman; he draws parallels with candidate students (cf. *Amyntas*), is described as the heir of the syrinx and its musical art (cf. *fistula*, *Damoetas dono mihi quam dedit olim*) and is portrayed as the literary successor to a long pastoral musical tradition⁵ that was invented by Pan. Therefore, Pan highlights the herdsman's musical talent that is absent from the wealthy rival (*dives amator*)⁶ of Alexis' urban world and he is the strongest argument used by Corydon in order to conquer the indifferent erotic object. In other words, Pan is not only the country deity with the

³ Cf. also *Ecl.* 2.21–22 *canto quae solitus, si quando armenta uocabat, / Amphion Dircaeus in Actaeo Aracyntho* where Corydon's musical talent is highlighted through the use of a mythological *exemplum*. See Papanghelis 1995, 51–52.

⁴ Cf. *Ecl.* 1.34 *pinguis et ingratae premeretur caseus urbi* which shows that country life has long been considered as hard and full of labour. See also Hubbard 1998, 109 with n. 130.

⁵ Alpers 1979, 118. See also Schmidt 1987, 144–147.

⁶ Cf. *Ecl.* 2.56–57 *rusticus es, Corydon; nec munera curat Alexis, / nec, si muneribus certes, concedat Iollas*. See also Coleman 1977, 104 and Cucchiarelli 2012, 196.

horns and hooves of a goat, but also an idealised character⁷ associated with pastoral music and poetry.

Pan's metapoetic dimension is also evidenced in *Eclogue* 8 which constitutes an unconventional song contest with two set songs delivered by the herdsmen Damon and Alpheisiboeus. Damon's song deals with an anonymous goatherd who sings about the treachery of his beloved to the natural environment and Pan, thereby recalling the first appearance of the god in the collection:

Maenalus argutumque nemus pinusque loquentis
semper habet, semper pastorum ille audit amores
Panaque, qui primus calamos non passus inertis

Ecl. 8.21–23

Pan primum calamos cera coniungere pluris
instituit, Pan curat ouis ouiumque magistros,
nec te paeniteat calamo triuisse labellum

Ecl. 2.32–34

Both passages employ the *πρῶτος εὐρετής/primus inventor* motif, which is evidenced by the striking verbal correspondence *primus-primum* and refer to this god as the first inventor of the syrinx, providing an etiology of the syrinx with a meta-generic thrust. This is the subject of origin of the syrinx created by Pan with jointed reeds, which is implied in the Theocritean collection:⁸

Ἄδύ τι τὸ ψιθύρισμα καὶ ἄ πίτυς, αἰπόλε, τήνα,
ἄ ποτὶ ταῖς παραῖσι, μελίσδεταί, ἄδύ δὲ καὶ τύ
συρίσδες· μετὰ Πᾶνα τὸ δεύτερον ἄθλον ἀποισῆ.

Id. 1.1–3

ὦ Πᾶν Πᾶν, εἴτ' ἐσσι κατ' ὄρεα μακρὰ Λυκαίω,
εἶτε τύγ' ἀμφιπολεῖς μέγα Μαίναλον, ἔνθ' ἐπὶ νᾶσον
τὰν Σικελάν, Ἐλίκας δὲ λίπε ρίον αἰπύ τε σᾶμα
τήνο Λυκαονίδαο, τὸ καὶ μακάρεσσιν ἀγητόν·
λήγητε βουκολικᾶς, Μοῖσαι, ἴτε λήγητ' ἀοιδᾶς.
ἔνθ', ὄναξ, καὶ τάνδε φέρου πακτοῖο μελίπνου
ἐκ κηρῶ σύριγγα καλὸν περὶ χεῖλος ἐλικτάν·

Id. 1.123–129

Here, the nature generates music on which the anonymous goatherd's song is based and Pan is summoned by the singing herdsmen Thyrsis who is playing the syrinx. Vergil's dependence on Theocritus is based on the pastoral metaphor according to which the nature is the inspiration source for the goatherd's song by creating

⁷ For Pan's relationship with idealised landscape see *Hom. Hymn.* 19 and *Eur. Hel.* 167–190. See also Coleman 1979, 99.

⁸ *Pace Ov. Met.* 1.689ff.

music.⁹ But, Vergil reverses its concept by transferring the action of singing to the herdsman and to Pan who they hear through the echo what have already sung to the woods. Thus, the “Arcadian” forest resounds the love story of an anonymous goatherd along with the music which comes from the syrinx of Pan who has long been recognised as the first inventor of pastoral music and therefore of the pastoral genre. In other words, the “Arcadian” woods re-sing through the echo the goatherd’s erotic song and Pan’s musical performance which are recurring subjects in the *Eclogues*;¹⁰ as a result, they generate pastoral poetry and especially Vergilian pastoral poetry (*incipit Maenalius mecum, mea tibia, uersus*)¹¹ whose creation is indeed based on a continuous (*semper ... semper*) amoebaeon song between human and nature. Therefore, while the Vergilian passages employ the subject of the *primus inventor*, *Ecl.* 8.21–23 further focus on the first production of pastoral music and poetry by Pan who is not only described as the founder of the syrinx but also of the pastoral genre, thereby stressing the different metapoetic implications between the Vergilian passages under examination.

The association of Pan with pastoral music and poetry is also found in *Eclogue* 4. Here, Vergil hopes for long life and inspiration to sing in the praise of the child’s life and deeds,¹² which is a great future literary objective that will enable Vergil to rival archetypal mythical singers (i.e. Orpheus, Linus and Pan):

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

Ecl. 4.53–59

Vergil’s announcement that the new literary objective will also rival even Pan is expressed through a strong rhetorical instrument (i.e. mythological *exemplum*),¹³ thereby increasing the divine singers which the poet rivals and stressing his musical talent. Vergil’s musical advantage over Pan is imagined through his victory over

⁹ Here, Vergil’s dependence exclusively on Theocritus and not on Lucretius (i.e. *DRN* 5.1379–1383), who deals with the same idea, is also based on the whispering tree (i.e. *pinus-pίτυς*) and Pan’s invocation which are absent from the Lucretian account that considers the origins of the human music (cf. *DRN* 5.1379–1383).

¹⁰ Cf. *Eclogue* 2, 8 and 10 where love subject has an eminent role along with *Ecl.* 2.31–33; 4.58–59; 5.56–60 and 10.26–27 where the country god Pan is also found.

¹¹ The Vergilian line under examination (*Ecl.* 8.21 *incipit Maenalius mecum, mea tibia, uersus*) is clearly based on the corresponding Theocritean refrain (cf. *Id.* 1.64 Ἄρχετε βουκολικᾶς, Μοῖσαι φίλαι, ἄρχετ’ ἀοιδᾶς) with the difference that Vergil alters the conventional invocation to Μοῖσαι with *tibia* and βουκολικᾶς...ἀοιδᾶς, which can suggest “bucolic singing” (see Hunter 1999, 5–12 and esp. 7f.), with *Maenalius...uersus*.

¹² Williams 1974, 41–42.

¹³ For the mythological *exempla* in Vergil’s *Eclogues* see Paraskeviotis 2014, 418–430.

the rustic god in a fictional (hypothetical) song contest between them in Arcadia, which is Pan's birthplace and with that meaning such victory would glorify Vergilian poetics.¹⁴ What is more, winning against the inventor of the pastoral genre may metapoetically indicate Vergil's intention of extending the limits of the pastoral genre (see below). Nevertheless, Arcadia is not only the locale for performing song, but also the referee of Vergil's and Pan's singing competition, the prize of which is musical skill. Contestants, locale, referee, winning prize and an official critical decision constitute the elements which create the scene of a typical pastoral singing contest;¹⁵ furthermore, the conventional rustic song contest is the agonistic framework where Vergil claims to surpass Pan, thus implying that the new literary work about the child's life and deeds will offer him the title of the pastoral poet *par excellence*.¹⁶ Therefore, Pan stresses Vergil's musical talent, reinforces his fame as a pastoral poet and shows that the genre to which the forthcoming literary work on the child's life and deeds belongs is pastoral.¹⁷ However, this genre is not pastoral with the strict meaning of the term but another type of pastoral;¹⁸ it is an *encomium*¹⁹ as it is first found in the Vergilian pastoral collection (*Eclogue* 4),²⁰ the encomiastic character of which is well established.²¹

The next appearance of Pan in the Vergilian collection is found in *Eclogue* 5 and is related to Daphnis' deification sung by the herdsman Menalcas (*Ecl.* 5.56–80):

Candidus insuetum miratur limen Olympi
sub pedibusque uidet nubes et sidera Daphnis.
ergo alacris siluas et cetera rura uoluptas

¹⁴ Pace Van Sickle 2004, 135–138 and esp. 137 who argues that Arcadia, which is described as the referee of Vergil's and Pan's song contest, is the original epic *locus*, while Vergil's victory over Pan is a new beginning in the entire epic tradition.

¹⁵ Papanghelis 1995, 101. For the form of the rustic song contests see e.g. Sistakou 1998, 93–94.

¹⁶ Cf. *Ecl.* 2.32–33 *Pan primum calamos cera coniungere pluris/ instituit* with Clausen 1994, 75–76 and Cucchiarelli 2012, 190–191, where Pan is not described as a minor divinity but as the first inventor of pastoral music and poetry. See also *Ecl.* 8.22–24 *Maenalus argutumque nemus pinusque loquentis/ semper habet, semper pastorum ille audit amores/ Panaque, qui primus calamos non passus inertis*.

¹⁷ See also Grandsen 1970, 109 who observes that *Eclogue* 4 contains epic language and tone but pastoral vision, which is most characteristically evident in *Ecl.* 4.57–59. See Papanghelis 1995, 300 with n. 84 and Nauta 2006, 331 with n. 106.

¹⁸ Cf. *Ecl.* 4.1–3 *Sicelides Musae, paulo maiora canamus!/ non omnis arbusta iuuant humilesque myrica:/ si canimus siluas, siluae sint consule dignae*.

¹⁹ Morgan 1992, 76–79 suggests that *Ecl.* 4.53–59 are a neoteric epic with panegyric character. See also Nauta 2006, 331 who considers that *Eclogue* 4 is a panegyric of the forthcoming Golden Age. For the encomiastic features that are traced in *Eclogue* 4 see Du Quesnay 1977, 52–68.

²⁰ Here, it should be noticed that *Eclogue* 4 lays special emphasis on the originality of the Vergilian pastoral, given that it is an *encomium* found in a pastoral corpus, rivalling the Theocritean pastoral where encomiastic literary compositions (i.e. *Idylls* 15, 16 and 17) are only found in the so-called non-pastoral *Idylls*.

²¹ Serv. *Aen.* pr. 70 *intentio Vergilii haec est, Homerum imitari et Augustum laudare a parentibus*. See also Nauta 2006, 332 who suggests that the *Aeneid* constitutes a panegyric of Aeneas' wars. For the encomiastic character of the *Aeneid*, see Kenney–Clausen 1982, 336.

Panaque pastoresque tenet Dryadasque puellas.
nec lupus insidias pecori, nec retia ceruis

Ecl. 5.56–60

ipsi laetitia uoces ad sidera iactant
intonsi montes; ipsae iam carmina rupes,
ipsa sonant arbusta: ‘deus, deus ille, Menalca!

Ecl. 5.62–64

Daphnis ascends to Olympus where he is hailed and characterised as a new divinity by the entire pastoral world, the response of which is conclusive. The archetypal herdsman is portrayed as a new country god by the whole pastoral realm (i.e. countryside, forests, herdsmen, Nymphs and finally the country god Pan). However, the appearance of Pan is not only associated with the pastoral world which celebrates the apotheosis of its archetypal herdsman (cf. *deus, deus ille, Menalca!*). Daphnis is also recognised as a new divinity by the acknowledged god of the countryside, Pan, who in that sense reinforces his introduction to the pantheon. Moreover, his deification signals the return of pastoral music and its influence on the countryside²² that has already been in silence since Daphnis’ death (*Ecl.* 5.20–21).²³ This return justifies the enthusiasm, the joy and the peaceful behaviour of the countryside and especially of Pan who constitutes the founder of the pastoral genre, thereby underlining how great and fundamental for the whole pastoral world the recently established cult of Daphnis is.²⁴

The last appearance of Pan in the Vergilian collection is found in *Eclogue* 10 which is written for the elegiac poet C. Cornelius Gallus who is dying of unrequited love.²⁵ The *Eclogue*’s dramatic setting is Arcadia where Gallus is currently visited by shepherds, swineherds, Menalcas, Apollo, Silvanus and finally the country god Pan, who all come to console the elegiac lover:

uenit et upilio, tardi uenere subulci,
uuidus hiberna uenit de glande Menalcas.
omnes ‘unde amor iste’ rogant ‘tibi?’ uenit Apollo:
‘Galle, quid insanis?’ inquit. ‘tua cura Lycoris
perque niues alium perque horrida castra secuta est.’
uenit et agresti capitis Siluanus honore,

²² Cf. *Ecl.* 6.27–30 and 8.1–4.

²³ See Papanghelis 1995, 232–233 who argues that the Nymphs’ lament, whose association with the Muses (Cairns 1984, 95–96) and the gift of poetry (cf. Hes. *Theog.* 22ff.) are well established, signals the musical silence in the pastoral world.

²⁴ See *Ecl.* 5.65ff. where Daphnis and Apollo receive two altars each, although Vergil underlines the distinction between those two divine beings by characterising Apollo’s altars through the term *altaria*. See also Serv. *Ecl.* 5.66 *novimus enim, aras et diis esse superis et inferis consecratas, altaria vero esse supernorum tantum deorum, quae ab altitudine constant esse nominate* with Maltby (1991) s.v. *altare*.

²⁵ Cf. Serv. *Ecl.* 10.1 [*Gallus*] *transtulit in latinum sermonem, et amorum suorum de Cytheride scripsit libros quattuor* and *fuit autem amicus Vergilii adeo*. For Gallus in general see e.g. *BNP* s.v. *Cornelius* [II 18] with further bibliographical references.

florentis ferulas et grandia lilia quassans.
 Pan deus Arcadiae uenit, quem uidimus ipsi
 sanguineis ebuli bacis minioque rubentem.
 ‘ecquis erit modus?’ inquit. ‘Amor non talia curat,
 nec lacrimis crudelis Amor nec gramina riuis
 nec cytiso saturantur apes nec fronde capellae.

Ecl. 10.19–30

Nonetheless, Vergil gives an eminent role only to Apollo’s (*Ecl.* 10.22–23) and Pan’s (*Ecl.* 10.28–30) words that are the most extensive consolations in this passage. Apollo is the god of music and poetry and a famous lover²⁶ in Roman love elegy;²⁷ thus, his words concerning Gallus’ subjection to *Amor* is associated with the elegiac genre where the exclusive devotion, which the elegiac *puella* demands, justifies the misery of the lover when the love object comes after a wealthy military man. The erotic triangle (Gallus–Lycoris–military man) and features such as snow, sharp cold, dreadful army camps, hardships and footprints are typical elegiac scenarios.²⁸ As a result, Apollo faces Gallus’ subjection to *Amor* (i.e. *seruitium amoris*)²⁹ in strictly elegiac terms, failing to realise the pastoral setting in which Gallus is found.³⁰ On the other hand, the country god Pan, whose presence strongly reinforces the pastoral character of the scene,³¹ sees Gallus’ erotic situation in strictly pastoral terms. The sexual freedom either heterosexual or homosexual which the pastoral world secures for his inhabitants³² enables Pan to reproach Gallus’ constant erotic misery, suggesting through three pastoral analogies (cf. *nec lacrimis crudelis Amor nec gramina riuis/ nec cytiso saturantur apes nec fronde capellae*) that Gallus’ cure is in the pastoral world where the elegiac poet is now considering to enter:

...o mihi tum quam molliter ossa quiescant,
 uestra meos olim si fistula dicat amores!
 atque utinam ex uobis unus uestrique fuissem
 aut custos gregis aut maturaee uinitor uuae!
 certe siue mihi Phyllis siue esset Amyntas
 seu quicumque furor quid tum, si fuscus Amyntas?
 et nigrae uiolae sunt et uaccinia nigra,
 mecum inter salices lenta sub uite iaceret;
 sarta mihi Phyllis legeret, cantaret Amyntas.

²⁶ Grimal 1951, s.v. *Apollo*.

²⁷ Cf. Tib. 2.3.11–32 (i.e. Apollo’s love for Admetus) and Prop. 3.3.13ff. (i.e. Apollo as the god of poetry).

²⁸ Cf. Tib. 1.5.47–48 *Nec te paeniteat duros subiisse labores/ aut opera insuetas adteruisse manus* and Prop. 1.8A.78 *tu pedibus teneris positas fulcire pruinas/ tu potes insolitas, Cynthia, ferre nives?*

²⁹ For the motif of *seruitium amoris* see Copley 1947, 285–300 and Lyne 1979, 117–130.

³⁰ Cf. *Ecl.* 10.13–15 *illum etiam lauri, etiam fleuere myricae,/ piniifer illum etiam sola sub rupe iacentem/ Maenalus et gelidi fleuerunt saxa Lycaei*. See also Clausen 1994, 288 and Cucchiarelli 2012, 488.

³¹ Cf. *Ecl.* 10.16 *stant et oues circum* where the *et* is emphatically used to underline the transition from the abovementioned non-pastoral (*Ecl.* 10.1–15) to the following pastoral setting where Gallus is found. See Ross 1975, 98.

³² Cf. *Ecl.* 10.38–40 *seu quicumque furor quid tum, si fuscus Amyntas?/ et nigrae uiolae sunt et uaccinia nigra,/ mecum inter salices lenta sub uite iaceret*.

hic gelidi fontes, hic mollia prata, Lycori,
hic nemus; hic ipso tecum consumerer aevo.

Ecl. 10.33–43

Yet, Gallus is an elegiac character who becomes alienated from the urban realm, looking for solace through the pastoral sexual freedom which he is unable to obtain. What stands in his way is that pastoral life and its sexual freedom is a mere illusion, which is emphatically evidenced by Gallus' intention to be engaged randomly with any other pastoral beloved besides Phyllis or Amyntas (*seu quicumque furor*);³³ nonetheless, the elegiac poet eventually enters the pastoral world trying to escape from the love of Lycoris through roaming alone in the countryside and hunting (*Ecl.* 10.52–60) which shows that Gallus, although temporarily (cf. *Ecl.* 10.60–69), followed Pan's earlier suggestion.³⁴ In other words, the founder of the elegiac genre (Gallus) fleetingly followed the suggestion of the founder of the pastoral genre (Pan), thereby indicating how close (and finally how far) the elegiac and the pastoral genres are and highlighting the metapoetic role of Gallus and Pan in this *Eclogue*.

To sum up, fundamental aspect of ancient religion is that Greek and Roman gods possess multiple features and very often overlapping spheres of influence, thereby enabling the author(s) to choose among them to suit their own literary goals. In view of that, Pan in the Vergilian collection is the god of woods and of herdsmen, closely associated with their life, both country and erotic, in the pastoral environment. Thus, he transforms the hard country life in an idealised locale (i.e. *locus amoenus*) to help the lovesick Corydon to win the urban erotic object Alexis, he reinforces Vergil's literary fame, he contributes to the establishment of new country gods (i.e. Daphnis) and he consoles the elegiac lover Gallus who tries to find cure of his love for Lycoris. Most importantly, however, Pan is the inventor of the syrinx and the archetypical singer who generated a long musical tradition which is continued by the herdsmen, thereby symbolising in metapoetic level pastoral music/ poetry and pastoral genre. Hence, he stands for the pastoral music/poetry which the urban Alexis will enjoy by entering the countryside, he enables Vergil to broaden the limits of the pastoral genre, he represents the return of the pastoral music/ poetry in the countryside after Daphnis's apotheosis and he defines the limits between pastoral and elegiac genre. Pan's metapoetic role accords well with the Vergilian herdsmen who are singers (poets)–herdsmen rather than herdsmen–singers (poets) and with the entire collection which has long been characterised as a “Dichtung über Dichtung”.³⁵

³³ See also *Ecl.* 10.44–45 *nunc insanus amor duri me Martis in armis/ tela inter media atque aduersos detinet hostis* where *nunc* signals Gallus' return from the longing reverie to the elegiac way of life.

³⁴ Cf. *Ecl.* 10.31–33 *tristis at ille 'tamen cantabitis, Arcades,' inquit/ 'montibus haec uestris; soli cantare periti/ Arcades* where Gallus' reply to Pan shows that Gallus' love story will be a pastoral song which anticipates that the elegiac poet will enter, although temporarily (cf. *Ecl.* 10.60–69), the pastoral world.

³⁵ Schmidt 1972, 108. See also Davis 2012, 10–11.

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