# Vergil's Second *Eclogue* and the Class Struggle

"I am invisible, understand, simply
because people refuse to see me."
Ralph Ellison, *Invisible Man*

## 1. Introduction

I begin this paper with a quotation from Raymond Williams' classic study *The Country and the City*:

> … [E]ven in the developments of classical pastoral and other rural literature, which inaugurate tones and images of an ideal kind, there is almost invariably a tension with other kinds of experience: summer with winter; pleasure with loss; harvest with labour; singing with a journey; past or future with the present. The achievement, if it can be called that, of the Renaissance adaptation of just these classical modes is that, step by step, these living tensions are excised, until there is nothing countervailing, and selected images stand of themselves: not in a living but in an enamelled world … All traditions are selective: the pastoral tradition quite as much as any other. Where poets run scholars follow, and questions about the "pastoral poetry" or the poetry of "rural retreat" of our own sixteenth to eighteenth centuries are again and again turned aside by the confident glossing and glozing of the reference back. We must not look, with Crabbe and others, at what the country was really like: that is a utilitarian or materialist, perhaps even a peasant response. Let us remember, instead,

> that this poem is based on Horace, *Epode* II or Virgil, *Eclogue* IV; that among the high far names are Theocritus and Hesiod: the Golden Age in another sense. It is time that this bluff was called.[1]

The particular chapter from which these lines are drawn is entitled *Pastoral and Counter-Pastoral*. It engages with the tendency of Renaissance and post-Renaissance pastoral poetry simply to idealize all aspects of country life and sets this against works such as George Crabbe's *The Village* or Stephen Duck's *The Thresher's Labour*, in which a bracingly unconsoling image of rural labor is presented. More importantly, Williams exposes the English pastoral of his chosen period not as the representation of any timeless idyll, but rather as an idealisation and mystification of specific property relations, in particular that of landlord and tenant.[2] Here too he looks to more marginal voices that contradict the pastoral dream and assert the real social and economic conditions faced by the rural working class. His own exposure of the actual historical reality that pastoral transforms is therefore an act of solidarity with Crabbe and Duck.[3]

I think that what Williams is doing here is of tremendous importance. Note in particular the challenge he sets down at the close of this passage. His own critical procedures may be mocked as a "utilitarian or materialist, perhaps even a peasant response". Those tempted to do so insist on the essential disjunction between pastoral and the world in which it is composed. What Williams describes as "the confident glossing and glozing of the reference back" is essentially what we do as we read the *Eclogues* for their allusive structure, their constant reference back to the language, the characters, and the world of Theocritus' *Idylls*. Yet when Williams speaks so sarcastically of "the achievement, *if it can be called that*, of the Renaissance adaptation" of Classical pastoral, he sets

the enamelled idealisations of a Sannazaro or a Sidney against the truer modes of the ancient poets. When he discusses Vergil, he therefore puts particular emphasis on the degree to which *Eclogues* 1 and 9 depict a pastoral world invaded by the brute contemporary reality of the land confiscations.[4]

There is something thrilling in the indignation of William's polemic. Yet there is also a problem. For while the questions that he asks of the Renaissance poets may lend a new edge to our engagement with ancient pastoral, he himself risks letting Vergil and his readers get away with it. The issue here is not so much the prominence given in modern scholarship on the *Eclogues* to allusions, metapoetic programs, and play with genre, even the confident denial of any extra-textual reality to which the poet's pastoral relates. For some will indeed feel that the asperities that Williams directs against his own profession may reasonably be directed against our own.[5] It is rather what is at issue when Williams praises Vergil for his engagement with the sorrows of the dispossessed. Here he is in fact in harmony with those who emphasise Vergil's inscription of brute reality into the pastoral world through the figures of Meliboeus, Moeris, and Menalcas in *Eclogues* 1 and 9.[6] Nor is this unreasonable: to deny the prominence in the *Eclogues* of these reflections of the triumviral land proscriptions would be perverse. I would, however, urge that these individual inscriptions of contemporary politics should not be mistaken for the politics of the *Eclogues* as a whole.[7] Important as it is to identify the constituent elements that make up Vergil's pastoral world, it is no less essential to ask what he has left out. If we ask what it is about Meliboeus and Moeris (and those in contemporary Italy to whom they equate) that makes them the proper subject of our sorrow, we may also ask which acts of omission or of misrepresentation deny other groups their meed of

tears. If, in particular, due attention is paid to how Vergil either eliminates or sentimentalises the experience of slavery, it may be concluded that he, no less than any Renaissance pastoralist, is doing the work of the propertied classes for them.

## 2. Cultural Materialism, New Criticism, and the Politics of the *Eclogues*

Before turning to a more detailed engagement with the poem at the centre of this study - the second *Eclogue* - it may be helpful to locate the argument to be advanced in this paper within recent trends in scholarship on Latin literature in general and the *Eclogues* in particular.

Williams' critique of pastoral and its potential application to the *Eclogues* is noted by Charles Martindale in his essay "Green Politics" in the *Cambridge Companion to Virgil*.[8] It is also directly applicable to Martindale's crucial distinction between politics *in* pastoral and the politics *of* pastoral: that is to say between those moments where contemporary political figures such as Asinius Pollio or Alfenus Varus or events such as the land confiscations enter individual poems and the more fundamental ideological work done by the collection as a whole.[9] Yet while Martindale admits the possibility of a cultural materialist reading of Vergilian pastoral, he himself is obliged to turn to the literature of the Renaissance in order to show what form such a critique might take.[10]

Williams is also fundamental to Thomas Habinek's 1998 study *The Politics of Latin Literature*. Habinek warns against those readings that display "nostalgia for a realm of the aesthetic untainted by the vulgar concerns of social and material existence, and evasion of the exploitative political and economic practices that

could bring such an ideal to realization".[11] The critic is instead invited to ask *cui bono?* and to question which social and economic interests are served by the work or the form under consideration. Inasmuch as this paper seeks to meet this challenge with regard to a text that Habinek himself does not discuss, it will be of value to consider two studies that engage with his project, the one applied to Latin literature in general, the other to the interpretation of the *Eclogues*.[12]

In his paper "Cinna, Statius, and 'Immanent Literary History' in the Cultural Economy", Stephen Hinds offers the following response to Habinek:

> While Habinek disavows interest in "a critical practice that mystifies its relationship to contemporary economic and social arrangements", he is of course well aware that the elite Roman poetry which is the target of his (and our) critical practice is *poetry* that mystifies its relationship to contemporary economic and social arrangements. The cultural critic may suspect the formalist tradition of unreflective complicity in the aesthetic self-mystification of the Roman *doctus poeta*; but the culturalist project of critiquing that self-mystification will not advance very far unless it makes full use of the insights gained by recent generations of formalist criticism into the elaborate aesthetic structures and generic protocols of elevated Roman verse - so that the place of such verse in history can be plotted from the inside out as well as from the outside in.[13]

Hinds himself is one of the most distinguished investigators of "the elaborate aesthetic structures and generic protocols of elevated Roman verse" and a past master at displaying the workings of such systems "from the inside out". The

ensuing readings of C. Helvius Cinna fr. 11 and Statius, *Silvae* 2.2 demonstrate a consistently generous and sympathetic engagement with Habinek's approach. They do not, however, constitute a full or adequate response to the questions that he has posed. By Hinds' own admission, the second of his readings addresses a body of verse the recent analysis of which "has *always* been as much about economics as about aesthetics".[14] To apply to it the critical approach advocated in *The Politics of Latin Literature* is therefore a great deal less of a "heresy" than it is to do the same to the work of Catullus and his contemporaries.[15] For all that the contributors to the ensuing discussion and Hinds' subsequent readers have engaged far more enthusiastically with this half of his paper, it is rather the analysis of C. Helvius Cinna fr. 11 and Catullus 10 that offers the more significant response to Habinek's method.[16]

The fragment of Cinna under consideration is part or all of a dedicatory epigram in which the poet presents a friend with a luxury edition of the *Phaenomena* of Aratus brought from the Bithynian kingdom once ruled by King Prusias. In its focus on a specific object, that object's status as an expression of friendship, and the voyage across the seas through which the bearer conveys the gift to its intended recipient, the fragment compresses into four lines of Latin elegiacs the key motifs of Theocritus, *Idyll* 28.[17] Yet inasmuch as Cinna himself served as part of the retinue of Memmius in Bithynia (no longer a kingdom but rather a Roman province), significant questions may be asked about the provenance of the volume and the mode of its acquisition. Is this a piece of imperial plunder to be set alongside the volumes that L. Aemilius Paullus allowed his sons to select from the library of Perseus of Macedon?[18] Hinds further notes that the book and its transportation to Rome stand in an intriguing

relationship to the poet Parthenius, who was brought to Rome after the Mithridatic wars as a slave either by C. Helvius Cinna himself or by an older member of his family.

In the questions that he raises about the provenance of the gift, Hinds does indeed draw vigor from Habinek's work. The analogy drawn between the coming of the book and of Parthenius to Rome is, however, based on a citation in the *Suda*, and therefore does not expose any ancient mystification of the latter's loss of liberty.[19] Far more problematic is Hinds' discussion of Catullus 10 and what he regards as its unabashed acknowledgement of the thirst for plunder driving elite Romans to join the retinue of a provincial governor: the eight litter-bearers brought back from Bithynia by Cinna (and whom Catullus is caught trying to pass off as his own) are set in relation to the book brought back from the same province and the poet-scholar captured not far away in the kingdom of Mithridates. All this is set out most elegantly, but the argument finally misses the work of mystification that the poem performs and that Habinek would have us expose. For if we read Catullus 10 and ask *cui bono?*, if we consider whose interests are served by the circulation of the anecdote that it contains, then the answer must be that the most significant beneficiary is none other than the praetor Memmius on whom Catullus heaps so lavish an array of insults. For while it is in an elite Roman's economic interests to exploit his provincial subjects as far as he can without fear of conviction under the *repetundae* laws, it is no less in his political interests to be believed to have treated those subjects with restraint and dignity while ruling over them.[20] This is apparent from the speeches of Caius Gracchus on his return from governing Sardinia.[21] The praetor damned as an *irrumator* for his refusal to gratify the appetites of those serving under him

is one commended to the broader Roman public. What Cinna, Catullus, and Memmius actually brought back from Bithynia remains obscure. That is the essence of the mystification.

Joy Connolly's "Picture Arcadia: The Politics of Representation in Vergil's *Eclogues*" forms part of a volume dedicated specifically to American scholarship on Vergil in the 20th century.[22] Connolly identifies a striking uniformity of response to the *Eclogues* among scholars of the Cold War period.[23] She then connects this to the influence of the New Criticism and further identifies in this critical school a similar reluctance to that expressed by proponents of Abstract Expressionism in art to be co-opted into one political movement or another: the essence of a poem as of a painting is to lie not in what it can be said to represent but in how it does so.[24] Yet this break with the engaged realism of painters and critics of the 1930s is not, in Connolly's thesis, a fundamentally reactionary gesture. Instead it is argued that the artist's disturbance of mimetic convention can turn the viewer into "a critic of intellectual and moral conventions" and that "art that remakes the rules of art trains the viewer to remake the world."[25] Connolly acknowledges both Habinek's approach to Latin literature in general and that of Raymond Williams to pastoral in particular,[26] but she is less concerned to argue against the positive approach that they advocate than to rehabilitate some of the critical processes that they contest.[27]

Connolly's remarks on the aesthetic principles of Abstract Expressionism also help to elucidate a fundamental quality of the *Eclogues* as poetic art: their revolutionary break with the conventions of traditional mimesis. Where Wolfgang Iser describes the collection as one in which the conventional relationship of signifier to signified is transformed and the sign floats free,[28]

Connolly traces the use of character names, toponyms, and descriptions of landscape to argue that the world of the *Eclogues* is one in which the reader has no steady ground on which to stand.[29] Anyone who has ever wondered what two Arcadians are doing by the banks of the Mincius in *Eclogue* 7 or what reference to the sea and mountains have to do with Mantua in *Eclogue* 9 will appreciate what is here at issue; this paper will necessarily acknowledge such complications even in *Eclogue* 2, which Connolly herself regards as least subject to such referential instability.[30] Yet where the first part of her paper defends Abstract Expressionism's rejection of traditional mimesis as training the viewer to "remake the world", the second closes on a note of fundamental powerlessness: the confusion of the reader confronted with Vergil's new and destabilizing ways of representing the land replicates that brought on by the years of civil war in which "efforts to name, control and regulate the land have fragmented and shady effects of their own."[31]

Connolly's paper is rich and subtle, but, in its enthusiasm to rehabilitate one reading practice, it passes up the possibility to engage with another: the cultural materialist challenge is acknowledged, but there is no sustained attempt to consider what it can bring to the understanding of the text. This contribution seeks to do just that. In doing so it moves beyond the assumption that the *Eclogues* reflect on specifically Italian experience and looks instead to the provinces of the Roman empire: Sicily, Epirus, Achaia.[32] Instead of concentrating on the sufferings of those figures - Meliboeus in *Eclogue* 1, Moeris in *Eclogue* 9 - who most closely resemble the free landsmen dispossessed by the land confiscations and whose experiences overtly inscribe contemporary political reality into the world of pastoral, it turns instead to the institution of slavery and

sees as essential to the politics of the collection the mystification of this fundamental feature of the pastoral economy.[33] For all that the modes of representation that make the *Eclogues* so distinctive may be said to possess the seed of political liberation, the mystifications that they perform deserve to be described in rather more hostile terms.

## 3. Corydon and the Shepherd's Leisured Gaze

The central point of reference in my argument is Vergil's second *Eclogue*, the song of the lovelorn shepherd Corydon to the heedless beauty Alexis. What distinguishes this poem is not just that it – perhaps more than any other in the collection – is subjected to the constant glossing and glozing of those in search of Theocritean allusion, but also that specific Vergilian modifications of the Greek original open a window onto some of the harshest realities of contemporary rural life.[34] The problem is that when we look through that window, what we see is not that world as it was lived but only as Vergil himself has sweetened it.

The poem opens with Corydon aflame with desire. Alone amidst the shade of the thick-set beech trees, he sings in idle yearning to the woods and the mountains. That song begins as follows (6-13):

> "o crudelis Alexi, nihil mea carmina curas?
> nil nostri miserere? mori me denique cogis?
> nunc etiam pecudes umbras et frigora captant,
> nunc viridis etiam occultant spineta lacertos,
> Thestylis et rapido fessis messoribus aestu
> alia serpyllumque herbas contundit olentis.

at mecum raucis, tua dum vestigia lustro,
sole sub ardenti resonant arbusta cicadis."

"O cruel Alexis, do my songs mean nothing to you? Do you have no pity for me? Do you drive me finally to my death? Now the thorn-bushes hide even the green lizards and Thestylis pounds garlic and thyme - fragrant herbs - for the harvesters exhausted by the boiling heat. But while I trace your footsteps, under the blazing sun, together with me the bushes resound to the tune of the raucous cicadas."[35]

To those who would gloss and gloze, these lines have much to offer. The first line presents us with a translinguistic *figura etymologica*, with *nihil … curas* implying that the name Alexis derives from the verbs ἀλέγω or ἀλεγίζω, meaning "to care".[36] The first two lines also introduce a chain of allusion to the third *Idyll* of Theocritus: as there the shepherd opens his song with the words "o lovely Amaryllis" (*Id*. 3.6 ὦ χαρίεσσ᾽ Ἀμαρυλλί), so here Corydon calls out to "o cruel Alexis" (*Ecl*. 2.6 *o crudelis Alexi*); and as the despairing singer of the idyll warns his beloved that her indifference will make him hang himself (*Id.* 3.9 ἀπάγξασθαί με ποησεῖς), so here Corydon asks Alexis whether he seeks to drive him to his death (*Ecl*. 2.10 *mori me denique cogis?*).[37] Yet these lines also offer some distinctively native elements that scholars have registered under the heading of Vergilian realism: where the lizard of Theocritus, *Idyll* 7.22 seeks refuge from the midday sun in a stone wall, here that shelter is to be found in a thorn-hedge distinctly more typical of the region around Mantua;[38] Thestylis bears the name of the maid in the second *Idyll* of Theocritus, but the dish with which she restores

the harvesters weary from their work looks very like the *moretum* described in the poem of that name.[39] One may, however, wonder what end such realism serves. From the start of *Eclogue* 2, we hear of the burning passion of Corydon for Alexis (1 *formosum pastor Corydon ardebat Alexin*) and that emotional heat corresponds to the burning sun (13 *sole sub ardenti*) of noon.[40] Later, however, as the working day draws to a close and the sinking sun redoubles rising shadows, the relationship is more one of contrast: the heat of the day may be at an end, but love's flames still afflict the shepherd (66-68 *aspice, aratra iugo referunt suspensa iuvenci, | et sol crescentis decedens duplicat umbras; | me tamen urit amor*). The poetic effect is elegant but it is one that we may wish to interrogate as much as we admire.[41]

The essence of the pastoral shepherd's condition is to be found in the long hours of leisure to be enjoyed as his flocks wander over the hills. This ideal is not in itself entirely divorced from reality: in Varro it is a requirement of the shepherd that he should remain with the flock for the course of the day;[42] nor are those shepherds who serve permanently on the estate and return each evening to the villa required to demonstrate the same physical vigor as those working the transhumance routes of central Italy.[43] It is in this sense that we may understand the regular reminder offered by the speakers of pastoral that even Apollo, Paris, and Adonis once tended flocks; for these singularly delicate and beautiful figures were not compromised by their occupation.[44] It would be a quite different matter were we told that they had worked the soil. This essentially aristocratic experience of the countryside is what makes pastoral so attractive to the Renaissance reader.[45] It is also at the heart of these lines of Vergil: as Corydon sits and laments up in the hills, he can also look down on the harvesters laboring in

the fields below.[46] Yet what they suffer in the course of their working life is a matter of no interest to our shepherd, so absorbed is he in the sorrows of his hopeless love.

To Crabbe the great failing of contemporary pastoral is that no modern rustic "has time | to number syllables, and play with rhyme". The one exception that he acknowledges is Stephen Duck, "The Thresher Poet", a Wiltshire laborer whose literary efforts attracted the attention of the Earl of Macclesfield, then Queen Caroline, and drew from her the patronage that allowed him to end his days in a far easier and more decorative existence in Kew.[47] In his long work, *The Thresher's Labour*, Duck traces the course of the seasons as experienced by the rural poor and brings home all that they must endure in their work. In these lines he describes the experience of the harvest:

> But when the scorching Sun is mounted high,
> And no kind Barns with friendly Shade are nigh;
> Our weary Scythes entangle in the Grass,
> While Streams of Sweat run trickling down apace.
> Our sportive Labour we too late lament;
> And wish that Strength again, we vainly spent.

These lines give a voice to the silent harvesters at whom Vergil's Corydon gazes from afar and says something of what they must endure.[48] They also stand in striking contrast to one ancient poem that engages more closely with the harvester but only, perhaps, in order to mystify the life that he must lead: the tenth *Idyll* of Theocritus.

The tenth *Idyll* opens with the words of Milon, the harvester, who realizes that his fellow-laborer, Boukaios, is failing to keep up; it is still morning and Milon

wonders in what condition Boukaios will be by evening. What, he asks, is wrong?

> ἐργατίνα Βουκαῖε, τί νῦν, ὠζυρέ, πεπόνθεις;
> οὔτε τὸν ὄγμον ἄγειν ὀρθὸν δύνᾳ, ὡς τὸ πρὶν ἄγες,
> οὔθ' ἅμα λᾳοτομεῖς τῷ πλατίον, ἀλλ' ἀπολείπῃ,
> ὥσπερ ὄις ποίμνας, ἅς τὸν πόδα κάκτος ἔτυψε.
> ποῖός τις δείλαν τὺ καὶ ἐκ μέσω ἄματος ἐσσῇ,
> ὃς νῦν ἀρχόμενος τᾶς αὔλακος οὐκ ἀποτρώγεις;
> Laborer Boukaios, what, poor fellow, has happened to you? You are unable to drive a straight line, as you drove it before, nor do you cut the grain in time with the man next to you, but are left behind, as a sheep, whose foot a thorn has pricked, is left behind by the herd. What state will you be in by evening or from the middle of the day, if now, as you set out, you cannot take a bite out of your swathe?

Harvesting, as we have seen from Stephen Duck, is hard and demanding work. To a wage-laborer such as Boukaios, physical incapacity to keep up with the rest of the team has grave implications for his livelihood. Yet Boukaios soon reveals that his troubles are of a different order: he suffers from love for "Polybotas' girl", who lately played the flute to the reapers on the estate of Hippocion.[49] Milon indicates repeatedly that such longing for what is absent is alien to a working man's experience (9, 11, 13, 15) and then urges Boukaios to ease his work by singing a song of love for a girl.[50] This Boukaios does at lines 24 -37 - with a song that now identifies his beloved as Bombuka - and Milon then replies with a song of his own, in which he pleads to Demeter for the corn to be easy to reap and fruitful (42-43), counsels the binders of the grain lest a man passing by

comment that money has been thrown away on their wages (43-45), urges the threshers and the reapers on the best time to perform their respective tasks (48-51), and even gives the overseer advice on how to cook up a lentil soup (54-55). All this he attributes to the mythic harvester Lityerses (41) and describes as a fiting song for men working in the sun to sing (56 ταῦτα χρὴ μόχθεντας ἐν ἁλίωι ἄνδρας ἀείδειν).[51] Boukaios in turn is told to speak to his mother of his starveling love (57-58 λιμηρὸν ἔρωτα).

There are in all this some of the external manifestations of realism: rather than look from afar at the work of the harvesters, the reader is placed in their midst; the necessarily circumscribed perspective of labor is acknowledged; much practical advice is offered on the different activities to be undertaken at harvest time; the wage economy is present; and Milon even closes with the bathetic if comforting reality of lentil soup. Yet even if the content and outlook of the song of Milon justify his claim that it is one fitting for working men to sing, it is finally no closer to an authentic work song than that of Boukaios: there is nothing here that conforms to the true quality of the mode;[52] and the terrible physical demands that could make many a harvester fall are replaced with the sentimental moping of the amorous Boukaios. The final reference to "starveling love" is both the culmination of this evasion and perhaps also its acknowledgement: to the laboring classes, what they must confront is less the figured hunger of the lover's discourse than the reality of going to bed unfed.

## 4. Corydon, Sicily, and the Slave Revolts

The previous pages have attempted to identify in the opening lines of the second

*Eclogue*, and even in the superficially different perspective of the tenth *Idyll*, some of the evasions typical of pastoral poetry which the counter-pastoral verse of Crabbe and Duck and the criticism of Raymond Williams unmask. In what follows I propose to look more closely at the poem as a whole and to consider its image of the shepherd's life in relation to the very different picture supplied by a variety of ancient sources.

The reader learns from the first that Corydon is a shepherd and that he is in love with Alexis, the sexual plaything of the master Iollas (*delicias domini*).[53] The name Corydon is one borrowed from the pastoral world of Theocritus, but this is not true of Alexis or of his role.[54] The poem, as has been noted, is dense in its allusions to the *Idylls* and many have seen in it the *étude* of a young poet experimenting with the pastoral form.[55] Though various lines and motifs are borrowed from *Idylls* 2, 3, and 10, the fundamental model for the love of Corydon is that of the Cyclops for Galatea as expressed in *Idyll* 6 and particularly in *Idyll* 11.[56]

So much is clear and uncontroversial. Other issues are rendered problematic by the representational instability that Iser and Connolly identify as typical of the collection as a whole.[57] First amongst these is the social status of Corydon: while the opening lines of the poem manifestly identify Alexis as a slave and can be read most economically as implying that Corydon shares that status, the latter's claim to property in the form of a thousand ewe lambs has led some critics to suggest that he is in fact free (*Ecl*. 2. 21 *mille meae Siculis errant in montibus agnae*).[58] While Connolly concludes on the basis of the same line that the setting of the poem is securely located in Sicily, others have felt that he talks of the province as if of a foreign country and have drawn very different conclusions.[59]

Even in the relatively stable referential modes of the second *Eclogue*, the critic must therefore acknowledge some of that instability that scholars have identified in the uncertain status of Tityrus in the first poem of the collection.[60] To Iser what is at issue is the multireferentiality of the individual named characters and their ability to produce a multitude of different combinations of meaning.[61] Within the poetic world of the second *Eclogue*, various combinations present themselves depending on whether the reader concludes that Corydon is a slave or free and the setting Sicily or somewhere else again. What this paper argues is that there is much within the poem that suggests that Corydon is indeed a slave at work in Sicily, and that, when read in these terms, it performs significant ideological work; second that that work consists of the mystification of slave experience on Sicily; and finally that the possibility of reading the poem in the terms suggested by alternative combinations facilitates a second level of mystification that may be called the pursuit of plausible deniability: confronted with the challenge that this paper proposes, Vergil can, in effect, deny that he was ever talking about Sicily or shepherd-slaves at all.

That Homer's Cyclops made his home on Sicily and in the region of Mt Etna is already a commonplace in the Greek literature of the late 5th century.[62] The love of Polyphemus for Galatea is the theme of a dithyramb by the 4th century writer, Philoxenus, and many ancient citations connect this work with Sicily.[63] Reference to the Cyclops who lived "in my land" and Polyphemus' own description of Etna guarantee that Sicily is the setting of *Idyll* 11 and this connection is maintained in the post-Theocritean pastoral by - or attributed to - Bion and Moschus.[64] In the second *Eclogue* Vergil appears to retain a Sicilian setting for his own tale of mismatched and hopeless love, but replaces the nymph and the giant with a

rustic and his pampered, urban beloved. Both shepherd and Cyclops assert proudly their ready access to dairy goods;[65] both gaze at themselves in the mirror of the sea and find their looks (a rustic tan or a single and extensive eye notwithstanding) more than acceptable;[66] both finally decry their own folly and turn their thoughts to another lover who will reproduce the qualities (and very likely the disdain) of their current beloved.[67] As for Galatea and Alexis, the milky whiteness of the nymph (a quality also implicit in her name) corresponds to the elegant pallor of the sex-slave.[68] This color stands in contrast to the tan that Corydon owes to his days out in the hills, but it also feminizes Alexis and brings him closer to the nymph: in the pastoral novel of Longus, *Daphnis and* Chloe, pallor is the attribute both of Chloe herself and of the women of the city.[69] Where Galatea stays true to a home that the Cyclops can never enter short of growing gills, Alexis holds himself aloof in the world of the town.[70] The framing narrative that is so important a feature of *Idyll* 11 suggests that Polyphemus finally finds a cure for love; if this in turn is absent from *Eclogue* 2, it is very much an absent presence: the reader familiar with Theocritus will be left asking whether any comparable solace awaits Corydon at the end of his song.[71]

It will be apparent that Vergil here has taken a noted mythic paradigm and recast it in such a way as to address the world of man: for the Cyclops and the nymph, we now have a rustic and an urban slave; for the physical barrier of land and sea, the culturally alien worlds of the city and the land.[72] This new model can in turn be fleshed out by reference both to related scenarios from pastoral verse and to Roman writing about the agrarian economy from the mid-Republic to the early Empire. In the pages that follow, I therefore propose to offer an outline sketch of that model before considering its application to the specific

circumstances of Roman Sicily.

*Idyll* 25, *Heracles the Lionslayer*, is set on the estates of King Augeas and at the time of the cleaning of the fifth labor, but it takes its title from the account given by the hero to the king's son, Phyleus, of how he slew the lion of Nemea and thus completed the first task imposed on him by Hera and Eurystheus. Authorship is uncertain but Gow is confident in his dating of it to the 3rd Century B.C.E.[73] For the purposes of the current argument, all that matters is to note what is stated at lines 56-59 in explanation of King Augeas' presence on his country estate:

> χθιζός γ' εἰλήλουθεν ἀπ' ἄστεος ἤμασι πολλοῖς
> κτῆσιν ἐποψόμενος, ἥ οἱ νήριθμος ἐπ' ἀγρῶν.
> ὥς που καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἐείδεται ἐν φρεσὶν ἦσιν
> αὐτοῖς κηδομένοισι σαώτερος ἔμμεναι οἶκος.
> He came from the city yesterday after a long interval in order to survey his property, which extends beyond count over the fields. For, I imagine, it strikes even kings in their hearts that their estate will be more secure if they themselves show concern for it.

Augeas possesses rural property beyond count, but he - and with him every king - is still bound to subject it to personal inspection if his household is to thrive. It is this purpose that has brought him away from the city at the time of Heracles' visit. The same relationship between the landowner and his rural workforce is also visible in *Daphnis and Chloe*.[74] The wealthy Dionysophanes owns land at a distance from Mytilene,[75] and, with the approach of the vintage, news reaches his workers that the master is due to make a visit.[76] In the event, it is the son of Dionysophanes, the aptly named Astylus, who first comes out from the city.[77] He is wealthy and pampered and treats the countryside as a place of entertainment

wherein he can pursue his love of the hunt.[78] For company he brings with him the parasite Gnathon.[79] Dionysophanes soon follows on and takes a greater interest in inspecting the work of his slaves.[80]

For the Roman ruling class the custom of inspection of their estates at the harvest and the vintage was so well established that the business of the courts was effectively suspended in July and again in September.[81] The assumption of absentee land ownership and only intermittent visits to property is also built into the economic model proposed in Cato's *De Agricultura*.[82] Here perhaps the most revelatory feature is the terminology applied to the villa to be built on the estate: that part designed to hold slaves, animals, and farming implements is known as the *villa rustica* while the section that will play host to the master is the *villa urbana*.[83] The better the *villa urbana*, the more readily the owner will visit his estate.[84] The implications of this terminology are that the city is not a fixed physical entity; it is a way of being that can be transported to the rural realm as long as spaces are there created that permit the ways of being that the propertied classes associate with it. The same terminology recurs in the works of Varro and Columella and in the *Digest* of Justinian.[85] The underlying conception of space is brought out in a passage of Ulpian: it is not location but rather usage that makes an estate *urbanum* and the key is that it be put to the ends of pleasure rather than of profit.[86] In *Eclogue* 2, Corydon does indeed plead with Alexis to share with him the delights of a rustic existence (28-30, 60-62) and associates the latter's current world with the citadels built by Pallas Athena (which she herself is welcome to inhabit), but it is coherent with the Catonian conception of the estate that there should be parts of Iollas' land where Alexis can perform an urban role even when he is at a physical distance from the city itself.

How then did this pattern of land ownership apply to Sicily and how can this influence our reading of *Eclogue* 2? I referred earlier to Vergil opening a window onto the harshest realities of rural life. Essential here is his maintenance of Sicily as the location for the episode and the substitution of a shepherd and a sex-slave for the Cyclops and his nymph. Yet I also suggested that the world we look out on is one hopelessly sweetened by the poet, and by this I mean that, while the Sicily of *Eclogue* 2 is one in which the worst that can happen to a shepherd-slave is that he cherish a passion for a domestic sex-slave wholly out of his league, the ancient sources reveal something significantly harsher and more brutal. Just as Williams insists on restating the rural realities that English pastoral honeys or evades, so we may do the same for Vergil. The Augustan geographer Strabo will therefore offer an excellent starting-point for this counter-pastoral critique:

> In the interior is Enna, where is the temple of Demeter, with only a few inhabitants; it is situated on a hill, and is wholly surrounded by broad plateaus that are tillable. It suffered most at the hands of Eunus and his runaway slaves, who were besieged there and only with difficulty were dislodged by the Romans. The inhabitants of Catana and Tauromenium and also several other peoples suffered this same fate … But the rest of the settlements as well as most of the interior have come into the possession of shepherds; for I do not know of any settled population still living in either Himera, or Gela, or Callipolis or Selinus or Euboea or several other places … The Romans, therefore, taking notice that the country was deserted, took possession of the mountains and most of the plains and then gave them over to horseherds, cowherds, and shepherds; and by these herdsmen the island was many times put in great danger, because, although at first they

> only turned to brigandage in a sporadic way, later they both assembled in great numbers and plundered the settlements, as, for example, when Eunus and his men took possession of Enna. And recently, in my own time, a certain Selurus, called "the son of Aetna", was sent up to Rome because he had put himself at the head of an army and for a long time had overrun the regions round Aetna with frequent raids; I saw him torn to pieces by wild beasts at an appointed combat of gladiators in the Forum; for he was placed on a lofty scaffold, as though on Aetna, and the scaffold was made suddenly to break up and collapse, and he himself was carried down with it into cages of wild beasts – fragile cages that had been prepared beneath the scaffold for that purpose.[87]

The inland Sicily Strabo describes is one that has been rendered a wasteland by warfare and the devastation it brings. He calls it a desert region (*eremia*), and notes that the Romans have therefore turned it over to a pastoral economy.[88] In *Eclogue* 2 we learn from the start that Corydon stands alone (4 *solus*) as he sings to the woods and the hills (5 *montibus et silvis*) and fine pages have been written on the spiritual isolation of the singer in this poem.[89] Yet if those woods and hills truly are Sicilian, then that isolation has an economic as well as a spiritual dimension: the lonely regions over which the shepherd roams are such as a consequence of war, of the destruction that it brings, and of the readiness of the island's new imperial masters to turn large parts of it over to a pastoral economy. Where, however, Corydon does nothing more than lament a vain infatuation, the shepherd-slaves fall into brigandage and render their region a place of constant peril. That this is an ongoing problem is apparent from Strabo's statement that he himself saw the slave-leader Selurus brought to Rome and torn to pieces in an

Augustan version of the fatal charades of the Neronian and Flavian amphitheatre.[90]

Of Selurus we may know little else, but the pastoral economy of Roman Sicily and the brutal conditions imposed on those slaves placed in charge of the flocks are amply documented in the extensive narrative of the two great slave rebellions of the late second Century B.C.E. drawn by Diodorus Siculus from the works of Posidonius.[91] The background to the revolts of the 130s and the 100s B.C.E. is set out in detail in two different but often overlapping Byzantine excerpts from Diodorus (Diod. Sic. 34/35. 2. 1-3 and 34/35. 2. 27-31). According to this version, the transformation of the Sicilian landscape followed on the victory over Carthage and the new prosperity enjoyed by the merchant class of Sicily and Italy. Not only were large tracts of land available, but there was also a ready supply of slaves to be brought to Sicily to work the land.[92] Some were chained laborers but others were shepherds wandering unfettered over the hills.[93] Unconcerned to feed or clothe the latter group, their masters effectively drove them to brigandage and subsequently connived in this activity.[94] In the longer of the two excerpts Diodorus describes the alarming aspect of herdsmen accustomed to a life in the open, armed with clubs, spears and staves, dressed in the hides of wolves or boars, followed by packs of courageous dogs, and made wild in spirit and body by their diet of flesh and milk.[95] In Theocritus and Vergil, both the Cyclops and the shepherd seek to woo the beloved with the promise of a constant supply of dairy products. The reader may be charmed by these naïve offerings, but in Diodorus that same diet is essential to the robust and menacing physique of the Sicilian shepherd-brigand.

The propertied classes of Sicily in this period do not emerge from the account

of Diodorus in a very good light. Among the deep causes of the slave revolts he lists the luxurious living, pride, and insulting behavior encouraged by prosperity, and puts the slaves' estrangement from their masters down to the mistreatment that they endured.[96] When it comes to the immediate spark for the first revolt, he turns to the behavior of one individual, Damophilus of Enna, and attributes to him all the vices that made loathsome his class as a whole before introducing certain more specific features that may have particular resonance for readers of the second *Eclogue*.

According to Diodorus, Damophilus of Enna was a native Sicilian of great wealth who devoted some of his large swathes of land to arable and others to pasturing his numerous herds of cattle.[97] He emulated not only the luxurious ways of the Italians who had purchased property on the island but also the inhumane and oppressive treatment that they meted out to their slaves.[98] When he drove around his estates, he did so on four-wheeled carriages drawn by expensive horses, under the protection of a bodyguard, and in company with parasites and pretty-boy attendants.[99] The savagery of his behavior was matched only by that of his wife Megallis.[100] The conjunction of this pair's outrageous conduct and the emergence of a rebel leader in the form of Eunus, Syrian-born slave to a second plutocrat of Enna, Antigenes, at whose parties he was mocked, proved enough to set the revolt in motion.[101]

The ensuing First Slave War emerges from the account of Diodorus as a long and arduous affair. Eunus himself took the lead and styled himself Antiochus King of the Slaves.[102] As news spread, a further revolt followed in the region of Agrigentum under the leadership of the Cilician herdsman and brigand, Cleon,[103] while disturbances were also reported in Rome, on Delos, and elsewhere.[104] The

uprising of the slaves also inspired the poorer sections of the free population to assault the rich.[105] Claims that Eunus, when finally captured by the Roman commander Rupilius, had with him a suitably regal retinue - a cook, a baker, a masseur, and a jester - only then to die in prison eaten up by lice smack of the vindictiveness of a power truly shaken by the threat that he posed.[106]

Did anything change for the better on Sicily? It would appear not.[107] For when Diodorus states in his account of the origins of the first revolt that the praetors had no way to place legal restraint on the landowners of Sicily because equestrian jurors were bound to acquit members of their own order, he erroneously retrojects to the period before the 130s B.C.E., conditions that can only have held after the Gracchan *lex iudiciaria* of 122 B.C.E.[108] If indeed juries of *equites* continued to indulge the abusive behavior of members of their own order, it may explain why a further four-year rebellion broke out in the final decade of the second Century.[109] Here too the principal source is Diodorus and he suggests that, at the height of the revolt, the slaves were able to gather a force of 40 000 men.[110] Though his account of this war places much less emphasis on pastoral slaves, he does state that one of the three major rebel leaders, Athenion, was an overseer, while Florus casts him as a herdsman.[111] Continuity with the first slave war is also apparent in the way that first Salvius, then Athenion, and finally Tryphon are said to have proclaimed themselves king.[112] Athenion himself died in battle and handed over the command to his lieutenant, Satyrus.[113] The latter, on being lured into surrender, was taken to Rome to suffer the same spectacular death later meted out to Selurus.[114] How many others followed the same path of resistance through the first Century B.C.E. we cannot say.[115] What can be asserted is that the life of the Sicilian shepherd-slave was as wretched and deprived as

could be imagined.

It will be apparent that a great deal can be read into Vergil's decision to make his second *Eclogue* a story of love among slaves on the island of Sicily. To my mind, the slave revolts provide the big picture and reveal what Vergil is evading and mystifying; other readers may be more charitable and claim that he offers an extended political allegory. Yet whichever approach one adopts, there is more than just that big picture to note. Within it are specific points of detail where historical narrative and pastoral love song come together in a quite striking manner. It was to one such moment that I earlier referred in observing that the story of Damophilus of Enna contained elements of particular resonance for the reader of the second *Eclogue*. The specific element at issue is the claim of Diodorus not only that Damophilus possessed great wealth in town as well as extensive rural estates, but that when he travelled around those estates he did so in the company of gangs of pretty-boy slaves. For if there is an Alexis to be found in the historical narrative, it is surely in just such a retinue. Where, moreover, it is possible to imagine the love of Corydon being sparked by the sight, however brief and passing, of a boy so lovely, one may also ponder how the sight of such pampered youths brought home to the shepherd-slaves tending Damophilus' flocks the true extent of their own abjection and roused them to the rebellion that ensued.

## 5. Politics in Pastoral and the Politics of Pastoral

It is essential to the collection as a whole that, in *Eclogues* 1 and 9, Vergil allows an uncomfortable contemporary reality to break into his idyll.[116] Raymond

Williams applauds him for this and with reason. Yet it should be underlined that where war and politics most visibly invade the world of pastoral, those with whose sufferings we are invited to engage are the apparently free Italian pastoralists Tityrus and Meliboeus of *Eclogue* 1 and Moeris of *Eclogue* 9; Tityrus may once have been a slave, but now his lot, no less than that of either of the others, most closely reflects that of the Italian landowners dispossessed by the land commissions of the late 40s B.C.E. Where, by contrast, the pastoral scene shifts to the provinces, to Sicily, and where the principal characters are most obviously slaves, Vergil creates sentimental and mystificatory representations of social and economic conditions as oppressive as any of those against which English counter-pastoral inveighs. If there is a struggle between master and slave in the second *Eclogue*, it is that conducted for the affection of Alexis by means of gifts and it is one that Corydon knows from the first that he is bound to lose (56-57 *rusticus es, Corydon; nec munera curat Alexis,* | *nec, si muneribus certes, concedat Iollas*).[117] He is a figure of empty zeal addressing his words not to any human subject but to the woods and the hills (4-5 *ibi haec incondita solus* | *montibus et silvis studio iactabat inani*) and finally resigns his passion with the reflection that he should engage in some more useful activity such as weaving with rush and withes (70-71 *quin tu aliquid saltem potius, quorum indiget usus,* | *viminibus mollique paras detexere iunco*).[118] The propertied reader could scarcely treated to any more anodyne image of servile discontent. For all that Corydon may yearn to rival Iollas, the second *Eclogue* finally presents what Empson takes to be the essence of the old pastoral: "a beautiful relation between rich and poor."[119]

Essential to the position that I wish to outline is the distinction drawn by Martindale between politics *in* and the politics *of* pastoral.[120] If the plots of

*Eclogues* 1 and 9 best exemplify the former category, the comments that I have made with regard to *Eclogue* 2 appeal to the latter. For when read against the ancient evidence adduced, this poem may be seen to do a particular sort of ideological work, the essence of which is to create a deceptively charming image of the pastoral economy of Rome's first province. What emerges is a materialist critique of Vergilian pastoral and it is noteworthy that it is one built around a poem that more than any other has stood for that mode in which any overt political dimension disappears and, to quote Annabel Patterson, "formal and aesthetic properties count for almost everything".[121] Where Vergil's verse presents itself in the most apolitical terms is paradoxically where the politics of pastoral form are most visibly to be found.

To Bruno Snell the second *Eclogue* is Vergil's earliest exercise in bucolic and represents something of a false start. The problem is its setting. I quote his formulation:

> Theocritus who was born in Syracuse had written about the herdsmen of his own country. Meanwhile, however, Sicily had become a Roman province, and her shepherds had entered the service of the big Roman landlords. In this new capacity they had also made their way into Roman literature; witness Lucilius' satire on his trip to Sicily. But they could no longer be mistaken for the shepherds of song and love. Thus Virgil needed a new home for his herdsmen, a land far distant from the sordid realities of the present. Because, too, pastoral poetry did not mean to him what it had meant to Theocritus, he needed a far-away land overlaid with the golden haze of unreality. Theocritus had given a realistic and slightly ironical description of the herdsmen of his country engaged in their daily chores;

> Virgil regarded the life of the Theocritean shepherds as a sublime and inspired experience.[122]

This is an important line of argument, not least because of the significance it attaches to the slaves of Sicily. It implies that the evasions I have found in the second *Eclogue* did not work or could not be trusted to continue to do so. It also suggests that within the landscape of Vergil's later pastoral that of Sicily is a constantly present absence, the land from which the poet has fled whichever setting he now chooses for his characters.

To Snell that setting is Arcadia and it is of the essence that Arcadia should be a distant land of which we know little. If Arcadia suggests itself to the poet of the *Eclogues*, it is because he has come across that passage in book 4 of Polybius in which the historian describes the culture of collective choral performance so distinctive of his home state.[123] It is otherwise essential that as little as possible should be known of Arcadia qua geographical entity because what is now at issue is "a land of symbols" of the poet's own invention.[124] Snell notoriously overstates the degree to which the remaining *Eclogues* are indeed set in Arcadia and his claims have been contested on this basis by Ernst August Schmidt and Richard Jenkyns.[125] What has, however, remained uncontested, and in some cases even exaggerated, is Snell's detachment of the Arcadia of song from the place itself, its history, culture or economy. Where Snell at least acknowledges the importance of Polybius and his account of Arcadian song, this is entirely lost from Jenkyns' summary of his claims. Asserting that Arcadia is nothing but the home of Pan, that this is what it means to Theocritus and therefore must also mean to Vergil, Schmidt sedulously polices the boundaries of pastoral, protecting it from contamination by anything as vulgar as the real world.[126] This process is

no less visible in more recent attempts to find in Arcadia little but a nexus of metapoetic allusions to the imaginative universe of Cornelius Gallus.[127] It may be time to try something different.

My first witness to the economy of Roman Sicily was the geographer Strabo. The same writer is no less informative when it comes to the Greek mainland. Consider his account of ancient Dalmatia and of the 155 B.C.E. campaign of Scipio Nasica. Provoked by the aggression of the natives, Scipio brought low the great city of Delmion and turned the plain into pasture for sheep.[128] Somewhat further south comes Epirus, 70 cities of which were sacked by Aemilius Paullus in 168 B.C.E. in order to satisfy the demand for plunder of those troops who had helped him destroy the Maecdonian kingdom of Perseus and won the battle of Pydna. Strabo observes that the majority of Epirus is now wasteland, but we may appeal to other sources for clear evidence that that country was not entirely neglected by the Romans.[129] Rather, the same fields that had once offered pasture to the famous cattle of king Pyrrhus now became the site of extensive pastoral estates operated, among others, by T. Pomponius Atticus.[130] It is noteworthy that the second book of Varro's *De Re Rustica*, which considers large-scale pasture, should be set in Epirus at the time of the war against the pirates and should feature a dialogue involving a number of Roman landowners from the surrounding area.[131] If Dalmatia and Epirus themselves occupy little place within the imaginative geography of Vergilian pastoral, the same cannot be said for the third region the pastoral economy of which Strabo illuminates. I refer to Arcadia and quote chapter 8.8.1 of the *Geography*:

> But on account of the complete devastation of the country it would be inappropriate to speak at length about these tribes; for the cities, which in

> earlier times had become famous, were wiped out by the continuous wars, and the tillers of the soil have been disappearing even since the times when most of the cities were united into what was called the "Great City". But now the Great City has suffered the fate described by the comic poet: "The Great City is a great wasteland". But there are ample pastures for cattle, particularly for horses and asses that are used as stallions. And the Arcadian breed of horses, like the Argolic and the Epidaurian, is most excellent. And the wastelands of the Aetolians and Acarnanians are also well adapted to horse-raising - no less so than Thessaly.

If the destruction of the cities of Epirus and Dalmatia was the direct consequence of Roman imperial policy, the decline of Arcadia had more to do with conflict with Sparta or the internal politics of the Achaean and Aetolian leagues. As for the pastoral economy that Strabo describes in the Arcadian wasteland, this was a feature of the region from as early as Homer and not just the product of punitive Roman policy.[132] Yet incorporation into the Roman province of Achaia appears to have done nothing to reverse the process of decline, and epigraphy would suggest that the pasture-land opened up to investors attracted at least one Roman buyer.[133] From the lifetime exemption from taxes on acorn-bearing oaks with which T. Arminius Tauriscus is rewarded for his construction of a bridge at Megalopolis, it would appear that he was a pig-breeder. Varro, meanwhile, claims to have travelled to Arcadia in order see a sow of such prodigious proportions that it could no longer move.[134] As early as Plautus, we find reference to the trade in Arcadian donkeys,[135] and Murrius the Reatine donkey-breeder of the *De Re Rustica* takes particular pride in having sold some of his own stock to the Arcadians.[136] Numerous literary references point to the high repute

of various Arcadian equids as well as to the plentiful quantities of sheep and goats.[137] This was an active pastoral economy and one with clear lines of communication with Rome.[138]

## 6. Atticus' Amalthaea and Vergil's Bijou Plantation

T. Pomponius Atticus took no little delight in the shrine to the nymph Amalthaea that he built on his estate on the coast of Epirus and opposite Corfu.[139] Cicero was so taken with the idea that he too erected a shrine to the nymph on his land at Arpinum.[140] The name merits consideration. For ancient etymologies connect it to a variety of verbs for milking (ἀμέλγειν, ἀμαλθεύειν) and in one group of stories Amalthaea herself is either the goat or the nymph who suckled the infant Zeus.[141] Where Amalthaea is represented as a goat, it is also claimed that Zeus broke off one of her horns, gave it to the daughters of Melisseus, and invested it with the power to fill up with whatever its holder wished.[142] There is some distance between the miracle of the horn of plenty and the servile sweated labor that made the Epirotic pastureland of Atticus so thriving a concern.[143] It is an apt analogy for the distance that lies between the delight Cornelius Gallus envisages in the life of an Arcadian shepherd and the reality of life out on the mountains and in the glens.[144] For the Roman landowner whose principal experience of his own estate was furnished by the amenities of the *villa urbana*, that distance need not be too regularly bridged.

Atticus and Cicero lying back in the ease of their own estates can feel like Zeus suckled by Amalthaea. Life is that easy. They have something about them of the plantation owner sighted by the young Charles Sutpen in Faulkner's *Absalom,*

*Absalom!* It is the memory of this image of ease (and of his own exclusion from this world) that drives Sutpen in his crazed determination to reproduce that lifestyle on the estate that he himself will build:

> "And the man was there who owned all the land and the niggers and apparently the white men who superintended the work, and who lived in the biggest house he had ever seen and who spent the afternoon … in a barrel stave hammock between the two trees, with his shoes off, and a nigger who wore every day better clothes than he or his father and sisters had ever owned and ever expected to, who did nothing else but fan him and bring him drinks. And he … would lie there all afternoon … watching that man who not only had shoes in the summertime too, but didn't even have to wear them."

There is no Amalthaea here to bring the owner his drinks. There is a slave. Just as there will have been for the great landowners of the Roman world.

In the final lines of his *Georgics*, Vergil looks back on his early poetic career and offers a composition myth for both this work and the earlier *Eclogues*:

> haec super arvorum cultu pecorumque canebam
> et super arboribus, Caesar dum magnus ad altum
> fulminat Euphraten bello victorque volentis
> per populos dat iura viamque adfectat Olympo.
> illo Vergilium me tempore dulcis alebat
> Parthenope studiis florentem ignobilis oti,
> carmina qui lusi pastorum audaxque iuventa,
> Tityre, te patulae cecini sub tegmine fagi.

> These words I sang on the cultivation of fields and of herds and on trees, while great Caesar thundered in war at the deep Euphrates and victorious gave out laws through willing peoples and sought a path to Olympus. At that time sweet Parthenope nourished me, Vergil, as I flourished in the pursuits of humble leisure, I who played at the songs of shepherds and, bold in my youth, sang of you, Tityrus, under the cover of a spreading beech tree.[145]

In these lines Vergil casts his verse as the product of leisure and the expression of play. The very last line carries the reader back to the first line of the *Eclogues* and the greeting offered by Meliboeus (1 *Tityre tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi*). Tityrus in turn speaks of the god who created the leisure that he now enjoys (6 *o Meliboee, deus nobis haec otia fecit*), and finally offers his unhappy friend the chance to rest with him if only for one night (79 *hic tamen hanc mecum poteras requiescere noctem*). In the fifth *Eclogue*, Menalcas asserts that Daphnis - the mythic founding father of pastoral and now a divinity - loves *otium* (61 *amat bonus otia Daphnis*); the opening of the sixth *Eclogue* casts pastoral verse as a manifestation of play (1-2 *prima Syracosio dignata est ludere versu | nostra neque erubuit silvas habitare Thalea*); and in the seventh *Eclogue*, Meliboeus is invited to share in the rest enjoyed by Corydon and Thyrsis (10 *si quid cessare potes, requiesce sub umbra*), and gladly puts his workaday responsibilities second to the shepherds' play (17 *posthabui tamen illorum mea seria ludo*).[146]

Vergil attributes the leisured existence in which he composed the *Georgics* to sweet Parthenope, that is to say to the city of Naples figured as the Siren who brought about its foundation. Like Atticus, the young Vergil was an Epicurean and his participation in the school of Philodemus at Herculaneum is now

established beyond doubt.[147] Elsewhere Vergil is associated with the community led by the philosopher Siro: in *Catalepton* 5.8-10 he portrays himself as seeking a cure for care in the learned words of Siro,[148] and in *Catalepton* 8 he presents himself as having inherited the insubstantial villa and impoverished, small-scale estate of the philosopher.[149] The rather twee diminutives with which Vergil describes Siro's house and fields are not just a neoteric mannerism; they also have a strong philosophical resonance and cast his property as a reproduction of the gardens of Epicurus in Athens.[150] The ideal that both establishments incorporate is that of the community of the like-minded living together voluntarily and sustained by a mutual pact of friendship.[151] Yet however small the gardens of Epicurus truly were, this was a community that could not be sustained by the willing labor of those who made the choice to live with him. Epicurus kept slaves.[152] It may be reasonable to infer that the small estate that Vergil inherited from Siro operated in much the same way.[153]

## 7. Conclusion

Though I have entitled this paper "Vergil's Second *Eclogue* and the Class Struggle", it might more readily have been called "Vergilian Pastoral and the Economics of Empire". Where one historically informed account of ancient pastoral presents it as a reaction of those living in the burgeoning world-cities of Rome and Alexandria to what is felt as a loss of contact with the land, I would argue that an equally important element is the tendency to mystify the realities of life in the grand pastoral wastelands of Rome's overseas provinces.[154] If Sicily is too close to home for the fiction to hold, Arcadia is far enough away for only the

truly resistant to test the poetic image against the facts. Yet for modern scholarship it is only the relative paucity of information that makes the Arcadian pastoral economy more difficult to know than that of Epirus or Sicily. What holds it apart is rather our own determination to create a realm of poetry where glossing and glozing, allusions and metapoetic programs, are the things that really matter. I cannot any longer agree.

At the centre of this argument lies the poetic representation of the pastoral existence. Here two conflicting tendencies must be noted. The first is the perception of the herdsman's life as something fundamentally more leisured and therefore more gentlemanly than that of the laborer on an arable estate. Louis Montrose underlines the appeal of this perspective to Renaiassance pastoral poets, but it is already there in the distance between Corydon and the harvesters in the field below and in the repeated statement in poets from Theocritus onwards that figures such as Apollo, Adonis, and Paris tended flocks. The second is the fear of herdsmen as men of hardened and resilient physique whose brutalisation by their masters could result in defiant acts of brigandage and rebellion.[155] This anxiety finds its most sustained expression in the ancient accounts of the two slave revolts on Sicily in the late second Century B.C.E., but shepherds also took a prominent role in the 185 B.C.E. revolt in Apulia;[156] Livy marks the Lusitanian resistance leader Viriathus' progress from shepherd to bandit to fully-fledged general;[157] and their bodily vigor made shepherds welcome recruits to the army of Spartacus.[158] The typical habitat of shepherds - hill territory at a distance from centers of population - made them particularly difficult both for the state to govern and for their masters to supervise.[159] Yet the account of Diodorus suggests that the landowners of ancient Sicily were not so

much unable to control their herdsmen as thoroughly indifferent to their plight and therefore left them little choice but to engage in brigandage against travellers through their lands. When Vergil sets his second *Eclogue* on Sicily and makes Corydon a shepherd in love with the fellow-slave his master keeps for sex, he at once draws this history of oppression into his literary world and deliberately evades it. This is, in its own way, quite as political an act as the evocation in *Eclogues* 1 and 9 of the sorrows of those landowners undone by the land confiscations, but its implications are a great deal more uncomfortable for the modern reader accustomed to weep *with* Vergil over those whom history has left behind.

In its engagement with the pastoral expanses of inland Sicily, the Epirotic estate of T. Pomponius Atticus, and the Epicurean communities of Epicurus and Siro, this paper resists what Page duBois identifies as the enduring tendency of ancient writers to occlude, and modern readers to overlook, the embeddedness of slavery within Greek and Roman society.[160] In the case of Atticus, the slave economy becomes Amalthaea and her horn of plenty; in the sphragis to the *Georgics*, it is recast as the nourishment of sweet Parthenope. In other instances, where the slave escapes complete invisibility, any history of suffering is trimmed away and the reader is left with an image all too comforting and warm. Where the record of his slave ownership shows through in ancient accounts of the gardens of Epicurus, nothing is said of what his slaves endured either before they entered his service or while they lived with him; we hear only of a benevolent master and of their readiness to join him in his philosophical disquisitions. In the case of the shepherd slaves of Sicily, there is ample evidence in the historical record for the misery that they endured and the violent

resistance that they put up. This is a cruelly different story from that told in the second *Eclogue*, where the worst that can happen to such a slave is to fall in love and know not where to turn.[161]

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[1] Williams 1973, 18-19.

[2] For controversy over the Elizabethan pastoral economy and the ensuing land enclosures, see also Montrose 1983, 425-26.

[3] For a critique of Williams' failure to engage closely with the texts of Renaissance pastoral, see Montrose 1983, 418-19. For important work inspired by Williams, see Turner 1979, esp. 153-185.

[1] Williams 1973, 18-19.

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[4] Williams 1973, 16-17.

[5] For an attempt to describe the dominant strands in modern criticism of the *Eclogues*, see Volk 2008, esp. 4-8. Volk identifies these as "ideological" and "metapoetic", but what she defines as "ideological" is a long way short of the materialist critique that this paper seeks to apply. For the prominence of Volk's "metapoetic turn", see also the categories privileged in Breed 2014. For such trends in German scholarship, see Holzberg 2006, 72, 78.

[6] This is a recurrent concern of those readings that Volk describes as "ideological".

[7] For this distinction, see below §2.

[8] Martindale 1997, 117-119 = id. 2005, 151-153.

[9] Martindale 1997, 109.

[10] Martindale 1997, 119.

[11] Habinek 1998, 167. For Habinek's debt to Williams, see ibid. 5.

[12] Habinek 1998 may not discuss the *Eclogues* per se, but 69-87 on the practice and the language of banditry is of no little relevance to some of the central issues in this paper.

[13] Hinds 2001, 223-224.

[14] Hinds 2001, 239.

[15] Hinds 2001, 239.

[16] For a record of the discussion immediately following the paper, see Hinds 2001, 258-65. For subsequent engagement on the part of Statian scholars, see e.g. Myers 2005; Martelli 2009.

[17] The comparison with Theoc. *Id*. 28 is mine.

[18] Plut. *Aem*. 28. 6.

[19] Parthenius test. 1 Lightfoot = Suda π 664.

[20] Braund 1996.

[21] C. Sempronius Gracchus *ORF*[3] 23 = Plut. *C. Gracch*. 2.5, 28 = Gell. *NA* 15.12. 4.

[22] Connolly 2001.

[23] Connolly 2001, 96.

[24] Connolly 2001, 100-103.

[25] Connolly 2001, 103.

[26] Connolly 2001, 105-107.

[27] Connolly 2001, ibid.

[28] Iser 1993, 24-34.

[29] Connolly 2001, 107-114.

[30] Connolly 2001, 109.

[31] Connolly 2001, 113.

[32] Connolly, 2001, 113-114 finds Vergil's "Arcadia" in the "fields of Italy". Yet Arcadia *qua* geographical region was part of the province of Achaia and it is of value to consider the pastoral economy located there and its relationship to the economy of Roman Italy in Vergil's time.

[33] Connolly 2001 refers only once to slavery and then in relation to a novel by Robert Penn Warren (p. 104 n. 32).

[34] For the particular density of Theocritean material in the second *Eclogue*, see Hubaux 1927, 32.

[35] All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

[36] Du Quesnay 1979, 44; Holzberg 2006, 83; Breed 2006, 30 and n. 12 with further references.

[37] Theoc. *Id*. 3.9.

[38] Cartault 1897, 92; Hubaux 1927, 73-74. For an attractive alternative view, see Moore-Blunt 1977, 36-38.

[40] Cf. *ILS* 7457. 13: *bis senas messes rabido sub sole totondi*. The Maktar Harvester inscription is now at the center of the wonderful Shaw (2013).

[41] For the theme of heat in this poem, see also Putnam 1970, 89-90.

[42] Varro, *Rust*. 2.10.2.

[43] Varro, *Rust*. 2.10.1, 3; cf. Columella, *Rust*. 7.6.9. Jenkyns 1998, 177-78 rather obscures this distinction.

[44] Theoc. *Id*. 3.46-48, 20.35-36, 27.1-2; Verg. *Ecl*. 2.60-61, 10.18. What these figures have in common throughout the ancient tradition is their physical beauty. For Apollo, see Hes. *Theog*. 919; Callim. *Hymn* 2.36; Ap. Rhod. *Argon*. 2.674-84; Mart. 6.29.6; for Paris, see Hom. *Il*. 3.16 introducing the formula Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδής; for Adonis, see Bion *Epitaph*. 1 with Reed 1997 ad loc.; Verg. *Ecl*. 10.18; Ov. *Met*. 10.522-23. This motif engages the reader's visual imagination. Contrast the effect when we engage with the shepherd through our sense of smell: Philoxenus, *PMG* 818 = Synes. *Epist*. 121; Theoc. *Id*. 5.51-52 with Gow 1950 ad loc., 20.10; Long. 4.17.2; R. S. Thomas, *A Peasant*, on Iago Prytherch: "His clothes, sour with years of sweat | And animal contact, shock the refined, | But affected sense with their stark naturalness."

[45] Turner 1979, 173 and n. 102; Montrose 1983, 427-33.

[46] Jenkyns 1998, 152 makes this point well. For the pleasure taken by the owner in observing such labor, see Marzano 2007, 91 citing Cic. *Fam*. 7.1.1; Cassiod. *Var*. 12.15.

[47] For the abrupt change in Duck's circumstances and its impact on his poetic voice, see Williams 1973, 86-90. For a more detailed account of Duck's career and early reception, see Christmas 2001, 73-95.

[48] For the harshness of harvest labor in the ancient world and other pre-modern economies, see Shaw 2013, 35-41, 158, 235-237.

[49] For ambiguity as to whether she is the daughter or the slave-girl of Polybotas, see Hunter 1999 ad loc.

[50] For the incompatibility of romantic love and rural labor, see also Eur. *TrGF* fr. 895 Kann.; Men. *Dys*. 341-46; [Men.] Monost. 228 Jäkel; Leigh 2004, 101 and n. 25.

For the paradox of a shepherd in love, cf. Varro, *Rust*. 2.10.6 claiming that, when it comes to breeding shepherd-slaves, all that is required is for them to have access to a *conserva* on the estate and adding that *nec hac venus pastoralis longius quid quaerit*.

[51] Ath. 619a refers to the Lityerses song as one sung by harvesters as they enter the fields. The protreptic character of Milon's song make it better suited to this context than to the actual labor of harvesting. Shaw 2013, 183-184, 215 somewhat elides these distinctions.

[52] By a work song I mean one where repetitive physical activity is harmonized to the rhythms and refrains called out by or to the group. For such songs, see Ar. *Ran*. 1297, *Nub*. 1358; Callim. fr. 260.66 Pf.; Quint. *Inst*. 1.10.16; Ath. 618D-619B; Long. 3.21.2-3, 4.3.2, 4.38.3; Horsfall 2003, 36 and 45 with further references for the Roman world; Shaw 2013, 183-188, 215-216, 220 for Greece, Egypt and North Africa; Karanika 2014, esp. 106-159 for the Greek world. For *Idyll* 10, see esp. Shaw 2013, 215; Karanika 2014, 203-209, esp. 205. For more recent accounts, see Samuel Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland* for the harvest and rowing songs on Raasay, and Sir Walter Scott, *The Lady of the Lake* II. 18-20 with the author's note acknowledging his imitation of the *jorrans* or Highland boat song. For such work songs as a characteristic feature of American slave experience, see Southern 1983, 160-65; Floyd, Jr. 1995, 50.

[53] For such figures, see Petron. *Sat*. 64.5-6; Plut. *Ant*. 59.8; Cancik 1986 is generally informative. If an Alexis may appear pampered in comparison to a Corydon, we should recall that he is also the victim of ongoing sexual abuse. See Leigh 2004,

90-91; Richlin 2015, who offers a detailed account both of ancient evidence and of changing scholarly responses to an ethically problematic topic.

[54] For *Anth. Pal*. 12.127 and the affinity of Alexis to Hellenistic epigram, see Hubaux 1927, 46-49; Holzberg 2006, 84.

[55] For the commonly held - but unproven - view that the second is the earliest of the *Eclogues*, see Cartault 1897, 84; Hubaux 1927, 37, 46, 72; Jachmann 1952, 167; Posch 1969, 28; and the sceptical comments of Pfeiffer 1933, 11 n. 8; La Penna 1963, 490-92; Hubbard 1998, 47.

[56] For documentation of the presence of Theocritus in Verg. *Ecl*. 2, see the commentaries of Clausen 1994 and Cucchiarelli 2012. For analysis, see Cartault 1897, 88-103; Pfeiffer 1933, 1-30; Posch 1969, 29-53; Moore-Blunt 1977; Du Quesnay 1979.

[57] Iser 1993, Connolly 2001.

[58] For Verg. *Ecl*. 2.1-2 most economically - and yet not conclusively - interpreted as indicating that both Corydon and Alexis are slaves of the same master, see Coleman, R. 1977, 91; Cancik 1986, 16-17. Mayer 1983 claims that Corydon is free on the grounds that Vergil does all he can to minimize the presence of slavery and that slaves in Latin literature do not claim property or identify that of the master as their own. The first argument runs up against the former status of Tityrus at Verg. *Ecl*. 1.31-2 and the current status of Alexis at *Ecl*. 2.1; the second ignores passages such as Plaut. *Asin*. 468, *Rud*. 1037-1039. Against the view of van Sickle 1987, that Corydon is a slave but that the thousand sheep are part of his *peculium* and worked for him by others, it may be noted that Corydon himself is a shepherd (*Ecl*. 2.1, 30) and indeed one tanned from outdoor labor (*Ecl*. 2.17-18).

For Corydon identified as a slave, see Putnam 1970, 83; Breed 2006, 31. For contrary views, see Pfeiffer 1933, 19; Cucchiarelli 2012, 176. For uncertainty, see Caviglia 1984-1991, 888.

[59] See Posch 1969, 38; Mayer 1983; van Sickle 1987. For general inconsistency of setting in *Ecl*. 2, see Cartault 1897, 86-87. For the 1000 ewe lambs as a figure of allusion, see Cartault 1897, 94; Du Quesnay 1979, 43; Hubbard 1998, 60-61. For this implying that the herd is actually bigger than that of Polyphemus (who claims only 1000 lambs all told), see Rose 1942. 34.

[60] Lyne 2007, 103-105 treats the deliberately unclear social status and personal history of Tityrus in *Ecl*. 1 as symptomatic of the poet's consistent refusal "to tie his poetry to such a tedious and perhaps imprudent thing as a poetical history or allegory".

[61] Iser 1993, 30.

[62] Thuc. 6.2; Eur. *Cyc*. 20.

[63] See e.g. Philoxenus, *PMG* 816 = Ath. 6E-7A on the composition of the poem while Philoxenus was a guest of Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse; Philoxenus, *PMG* 817 = Duris *FGrH*76 F58 for Philoxenus inspired by a shrine to Galatea built by Polyphemus on Etna.

[64] Theoc. *Id*. 11.7, 47. For Polyphemus and Galatea in post-Theocritean pastoral, see Bion fr. 16 Gow = Stob. 4.46.17; Mosch. *Ep. Bion.* 3.58-63. The reference to Galatea's lament for Bion coheres with the repeated association of the poet with Sicily through the refrain at Mosch. *Ep. Bion.* 3.8, 13, 19 etc. and through references to the likes of Doric song, Arethusa, Ausonia, and Etna at ibid. 1, 9-12, 18, 77, 93-97, 120-22. Inasmuch as the ancient testimonia represent Bion as

actually coming from Smyrna, what underpins his connection with Sicily must be his continuation of the Theocritean mode. See Reed 1997, 1-3.

[65] Theoc. *Id*. 11.35-37; Verg. *Ecl*. 2.22.

[66] Theoc. *Id*. 6.34-38; Verg. *Ecl*. 2.25-27.

[67] Theoc. *Id*. 11.72-76; Verg. *Ecl*. 2.69-73.

[68] Theoc. *Id*. 11.19-20; Verg. *Ecl*. 2.17-18.

[69] Long. 1.16.5, 1.17.3, 1.31.2. For white skin and gender, see Coleiro 1979, 33; Cucchiarelli 2012, 183.

[70] Theoc. *Id*. 11.54-55; Verg. *Ecl*. 2.61-62.

[71] For arguments in favor of a more nuanced reading of the framing narrative in *Id*. 11, see Goldhill 1991, 249-61.

[72] Hubbard 1998, 66-67.

[73] Gow 1950, ii. 439-41.

[74] For investigation of social and economic relations as depicted in this work, see Scarcella 1970, 103-31; Saïd 1999, 93-94, 98-107.

[75] Long. 1.1.2.

[76] Long. 3.31.3, 4.1.1, 4.4.2, 4.5.1-2, 4.6.2.

[77] Long. 4.9.3, 4.10.1. For Astylos as a speaking name, see Morgan 2004, 229.

[78] Long. 4.11.1.

[79] Long. 4.10.1, 4.11.2.

[80] Long. 4.13.3: ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις ἡμέραις ἐπεσκόπει τά τοῦ Λάμωνος ἔργα.

[81] Cic. *Att*. 1.1.12; Plin. *Ep*. 8.21.2, 10.8.3; Stat. *Silv*. 4.4.39-43; Suet. *Iul*. 40.1; Beaujeu 1967, 124, 127-30; Saïd 1999, 93.

[82] For visits of inspection, see Cato, *Agr*. 2.1. For a critique of recent attempts to apply the Catonian model to the remains of actual Roman villas, see the response in Marzano 2007, 125-53 to the claims made for the villa at Settefinestre in Etruria in Carandini 1985.

[83] Cato, *Agr*. 3.2, 4.1.

[84] Cato, *Agr*. 4.1: *villam urbanam pro copia aedificato. in bono praedio si bene aedificaveris, bene posiveris, ruri si recte habitaveris, libentius et saepius venies*. For such advice, see also Columella, *Rust*. 1.4.

[85] Varro, *Rust.* 1.13.7; Columella, *Rust*. 1.6.1; Just. *Dig*. 19.2.11.4 = Ulpian, Book 32 *ad edictum*.

[86] Just. *Dig*. 50.16.198 = Ulpian, Book 2 *de omnibus tribunalibus*: *"urbana praedia" omnia aedificia accipimus. non solum ea quae sunt in oppidis, sed et si forte stabula sunt vel alia meritoria in villis et in vicis, uel si praetoria voluptati tantum deservientia; quia urbanum praedium non locus facit, sed materia. proinde hortos quoque, si qui sunt in aedificiis constituti, dicendum est urbanorum appellatione contineri. plane si plurimum horti in reditu sunt, vinearii forte uel etiam holitorii, magis haec non sunt urbana*.

[87] Str. 6.2.6. All translations of Strabo in this paper are taken from or based on Jones 1917-1932.

[88] For modification of this view of the economy of Roman Sicily, see Capozza 1956-1957; Vogt 1974, 46-47.

[89] La Penna 1963, 486; Putnam 1970, 89.

[90] For the concept of fatal charades, see Coleman, K. 1990. For Selurus, see also Shaw 1984, 20; Salvo 2006, 101. The spectacular nature of his death might be compared to the Laureolus mime, which closed with the crucifixion of the

brigand of that name. See Joseph. *AJ* 19.94; Suet. *Calig*. 57.4; Mart. *Spect*. 9.3-4; Coleman, K. 2006, 82-84.

[91] For evidence indicating that Posidonius is the source for the account of Diodorus, see *FGrH* 87 F7 = Ath. 542B, cf. Diod. Sic. 34/35.1.34-36. For modern accounts of this episode, see Vogt 1974, 39-92, esp. 47=48, 50-54; Capozza 1974-75; Canfora 1983, 49-68; Shaw 1984, 30-31, 40; Bradley 1989, 46-65, 151-57; Shaw 2001. 79-106; Stewart 2012. 156-163. For slave revolts in earlier periods of the Roman Republic, see Capozza 1966. For vindication of the application of class analysis to ancient slavery, see De Ste. Croix 1981, 63-65.

[92] Diod. Sic. 34/35.2.1, 27.

[93] Diod. Sic. 34/35.2.27.

[94] Diod. Sic. 34/35.2.2, 27-30, 38; Grünewald 2004, 57.

[95] Diod. Sic. 34/35.2.29-30.

[96] Diod. Sic. 34/35.2.26.

[97] Diod. Sic. 34/35.2.34, cf. 34/35.2.10; Capozza 1956-1957, 87.

[98] Diod. Sic. 34/35.2.34. For the domestic luxury of Damophilus, see ibid. 34/35.2.35. For the abuse of his slaves, see ibid. 34/35.2.36. For his contemptuous attitudes to his slaves' appeals to be clothed, see ibid. 34/35.2.38.

[99] Diod. Sic. 34/35.2.34; cf. Posidonius *FGrH* 87 F7 = Ath. 542B. For the εὐπρεπῶν παίδων πλῆθος, cf. Posidonius' θεράποντας ὡραίους. Capozza 1974-75, 34 fails to distinguish these figures from the armed bodyguard accompanying Damophilus. For εὐπρεπής and ὡραῖος both used to describe pretty-boys, see Ar. *Thesm*. 192 on Agathon; Xen. *Mem*. 1.3.10; Lucian *Alex*. 41. Plut. *Cat*. *Mai*. 4 suggests that Cato

deliberately chose the opposite type of slave from that here attributed to Damophilus: δούλων οὐ τρυφερῶν καὶ ὡραίων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐργατικῶν καὶ στερεῶν.

[100] Diod. Sic. 34/35.2.37, cf. 34/35.2.10.

[101] For Eunus and Antigenes, see Diod. Sic. 34/35.2.5-8. For his role in the outbreak of the revolt, see ibid. 34.2.10-15.

[102] For Eunus' regal pretensions, see also Flor. 2.7.6. For numismatic evidence of Eunus' claim to kingship, see Robinson 1920. For analysis, see Vogt 1974, 52-53, 67-68.

[103] Diod. Sic. 34/35.2.17, 43.

[104] Diod. Sic. 34/35.2.19; Oros. 5. 9. 4-5. For the important slave market on Delos, see Str. 14.5.2; Vogt 1974, 39, 85, 88; Canfora 1983, 51.

[105] Diod. Sic. 34/35.2.15, 48; cf. 36.11.1-2 for the second revolt; Capozza 1956-1957, 96.

[106] Diod. Sic. 34/35.2.22-23. For the vindictiveness of the sources, see Stewart 2012, 159; Morton 2013.

[107] App. *B. Civ.* 1.9.36 suggests that the first slave revolt inspired the reform campaign of Tiberius Gracchus. For the Roman response to the first slave war, see Capozza 1956-1957, 91-92, 97.

[108] Diod. Sic. 34/35.2.3, 31; Canfora 1983, 66.

[109] For continuity between the first and second slave wars, see Capozza 1956-1957, 93.

[110] For the revolt as a whole, see Diod. Sic. 36.1-10; Capozza 1956-1957, 93-96; Vogt 1974, 39-92, esp. 48-49, 56-59; Bradley 1989, 66-82, 157-60; Shaw 2001, 107-129. For the size of the rebel army at Skirthaia, see Diod. Sic. 36.8.2.

[111] Diod. Sic. 36.5.1; Flor. 2.7.9.

[112] Diod. Sic. 36.4.4, 36.5.2, 36.7.2.

[113] Diod. Sic. 36.10.1.

[114] Diod. Sic. 36.10.2-3.

[115] Plut. *Crass*. 10.3 states that Spartacus sought to cross over to Sicily and reignite the slave war only recently put out and in need of but a small spark to flare up again. This suggests that the same conditions endured, but Capozza 1956-1957, 96 argues that the failure to spread the revolt to Sicily was due to action taken in the intervening years to reduce the prevalence of *latifundia* on the island. For measures taken to prevent further revolts on the island, including the ban on slaves holding weapons, see Cic. *Verr*. 2.5.7-8.

[116] For Vergil's response to the land confiscations in *Ecl*. 1 and 9, see Osgood 2006, 108-51.

[117] For *certo* applied to the contest for political power, see Lucr. 2.11, 5.1124; Sall. *Cat*. 38.3; Livy 1.17.2, 10.17.1; Vell. Pat. 2.33.2. See also Livy 2.61.1: *certamina ordinum de lege agraria*; Tac. *Ann*. 4.32.1: *plebis et optimatium certamina*.

[118] Corydon's chosen occupation might be compared with Sall. *Hist*. 3.102 M on the revolt of Spartacus, where slaves accustomed to weave rustic holders out of wickerwork turn this skill to the production of shields (*et soliti nectere ex viminibus vasa agrestia ibi tum, quod inopia scutorum ferebat, ea arte se quisque in formam parmae equestris armabat <scuto>*).

[119] Empson 1935, 11. I have learned much about how this dictum may help elucidate the politics of pastoral from Montrose 1980.

[120] Martindale 1997, 109.

[121] Patterson 1988, 5. See also Snell 1953, 292.

[122] Snell 1953, 282. See too Jachmann 1952, 167, 172.

[123] Polyb. 4.20-21; Snell 1953, 281.

[124] Snell 1953, 309.

[125] Jenkyns 1989; Schmidt 2008.

[126] Schmidt 1972, 172-76 and 1987, 41-44.

[127] Conte 1986, 100-29; Kennedy 1987; Hubbard 1998, 129-39; Breed 2006, 117-34; Holzberg 2006, 85-90; Harrison 2007, 59-74; Gagliardi 2013.

[128] Str. 7.5.5. For this campaign, see also Livy *Per*. 47; Zonar. 9.25. For the decline of the Greek towns of Dalmatia, see also Plin. *HN* 3.144.

[129] Str. 7.7.3.

[130] For the cattle of Pyrrhus, see Arist. *NA* 522b23, 595b18; Rostovtzeff 1953, ii.1163-64, iii.1609-10. For the excellence of the cattle of Epirus, see Varro, *Rust.* 2.5.10. For the estate of Atticus in Epirus, see Cic. *Att*. 1.1.7, 1.13.1; Nep. *Att*. 14.3; Hammond 1967, 687. For the animals raised by Atticus including sheep, cattle, and horses, see Varro, *Rust.* 2.2.20, 2.5.12, 2.7.1, 2.10.11.

[131] Varro, *Rust.* 2 pref. 6: *cum iis qui pecuarias habuerunt in Epiro magnas*; 2.2.1: *o Epirotae*; 2.5.1: *Synepirotae*.

[132] Hom. *Il*. 2.605 Ὀρχομενὸν πολύμηλον. For variants on this epithet applied to Arcadia or its various communities, see *Hym. Hom. Herm*. 2; Theoc. *Id*. 22.157; *Anth. Pal.* 7.442.2; *I.v.Ol*. 266.3. For pasture in the economy of Hellenistic Arcadia, see Polyb. 5.93, 13.8.7; Plut. *Phil*. 4.1-3; Lloyd 1991, 190.

[133] *IG* V. 2.456 T. Arminius Tauriscus.

[134] Varro, *Rust.* 2.4.12.

[135] Plaut. *Asin*. 333.

[136] Varro, *Rust.* 2.6.1.

[137] For the excellence of Arcadian horses, see Arr. *Anab*. 2.16.5-6; Dio Chrys. *Or*. 15.30; cf. Paus. 8.14.5, claiming that Odysseus insisted on raising his horses in Pheneüs and 8.25.8-10 on the Arcadian origins of the great horse Areion. For Arcadian donkeys and mules, see Hdt. 4.30; Varro, *Rust.* 2.1.14, 2.6.1-2, 2.8.3; Columella, *Rust* 7.1.1; Plin. *HN* 8.167; Paus. 5.5.2. For sheep and goats, see above n. 94 and cf. Paus. 8.1.5, 8.3.3, 8.7.2, 8.18.4 and 6

[138] For the Arcadian pastoral economy, see esp. Roy 1999, 329-33, 350-55; Baladié 1980, 186-91, 194-95.

[139] Cic. *Att*. 1.1.7, 1.13.1.

[140] Cic. *Att*. 1.16.18, 2.7.5; Marzano 2007, 98.

[141] For Amalthaea as goat, see Callim. *Hymn* 1.49; Aratus, *Phaen*. 163; Apollod. *Bibl*. 1.1.6; Hyg. *Poet. astr*. 2.13. For Amalthaea as nymph, see schol. Hom. *Il*. 21.194; Apollod. *Bibl*. 2.7.5; Hyg. *Fab*. 182.

[142] Antiphan. fr. 108 K-A = Ath. 503B; Philoxenus *PMG* 836e = Ath. 642F; Lucian *Merc*. *Cond*. 13.

[143] That the herdsmen were indeed slaves should be apparent from Varro, *Rust.* 1.17.5; 2.10.5-6.

[144] For Gallus' reverie, see Verg. *Ecl*. 10.33-43.

[145] Verg. *G*. 4. 559-566.

[146] For *ludus* in the *Eclogues*, see also Verg. *Ecl*. 6. 28, 9. 39. For *otium* and pastoral, cf. Lucr. 5. 1384-1387; ps-Virg. *Culex* 58-78; André 1962. 8-9.

[147] *PHerc. Paris* 2 places Vergil in this circle alongside Quintilius Varus, L. Varius Rufus, Plotius Tucca. See Gigante and Capasso 1989. For such claims in the ancient lives of Vergil, see the Vita Probiana p. 198.3-6 Brugnoli-Stok: *vixit plurimis annis liberali in otio secutus Epicuri sectam, insigni concordia et familiaritate usus Quintilii Tuccae et Vari.*

[148] Verg. *Catal*. 5. 8-10: *nos ad beatos vela mittimus portus | magni petentes docta dicta Sironis, | vitamque ab omni uindicabimus cura*.

[149] Verg. *Catal*. 8. 1: *villula, quae Sironis eras, et pauper agelle*.

[150] Cic. *De* orat. 3. 63: *hortulis*; Sen. *Epist*. 4. 10: *hortulis*, 21. 10: *hortulos … hortuli*; ps-Verg. *Ciris* 3: *hortulus*; Plut. *Mor*. 1098B κηπίδιον.

[151] Epicur. *KD* 32-33; Cic. *Fin*. 1. 65, 70; Diog. Laert. 10. 10.

[152] Diog. Laert. 10. 10 emphasizes that Epicurus was a benevolent master and that his slaves joined with him in his philosophizing. At 10. 21 Diogenes quotes from the will of Epicurus, in which, from among his slaves, he freed Mys, Nicias, Lycon, and Phaedrium.

[153] This is certainly assumed by Gigante 1990, 193.

[154] For pastoral and the sorrows of urbanization, see Perutelli 1995, 35.

[155] For this as a Greek as well as Roman phenomenon, see Str. 17.1.6 and 19 for the *boukoloi* of the Nile Delta region. For the C.E. 171-72 uprising of the *boukoloi*, see Cass. Dio 71.4. For *boukoloi* as bandits, see esp. Heliod. *Aeth*. 2.17, 2.24.

[156] For the revolts of 185 B.C.E. and the role of shepherds, see Livy 39.29.8-9, 39.41.6-7; Capozza 1966, 146-59.

[157] Liv. *Per*. 52: *primum ex pastore venator, ex venatore latro mox iusti exercitus dux factus*; Grünewald 2004, 35-37.

[158] For shepherds in the army of Spartacus, see Plut. *Crass*. 9.3, who emphasizes their vigor and speed of foot; Bradley 1989, 94-95. See also Bradley 1989, 91 on Cic. *Tull*. 8. The orator - speaking in 71 B.C.E. - refers to the regular arming of *familiae* of slaves *in agris longinquis et pascuis*. The case itself turns on an episode of violence between landowners in Thurii in Southern Italy, but such practices carried their own risks in the event of slave rebellion. For the arming of shepherds engaged in transhumance, see Varro, *Rust*. 2.10.1.

[159] Vogt 1974, 46; Shaw 1984, 30-31.

[160] duBois 2003, 3-31.

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