

FRUSTRATED DESIRE AND CONTROLLING FICTIONS:
THE NATURAL WORLD IN ANCIENT PASTORAL LITERATURE AND ART

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by
DEANNA L. WESOLOWSKI
Dr. Dennis Trout, Dissertation Supervisor

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The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the Graduate School, have examined the dissertation entitled

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THE NATURAL WORLD IN ANCIENT PASTORAL LITERATURE AND ART

presented by Deanna L. Wesolowski, a candidate for the degree of doctor of philosophy,

and hereby certify that, in their opinion, it is worthy of acceptance.

Professor Dennis Trout

Professor Raymond Marks

Professor Anatole Mori

Professor David Schenker

Professor Susan Langdon

For my family.

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FRUSTRATED DESIRE AND CONTROLLING FICTIONS:
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Deanna L. Wesolowski

Dr. Dennis Trout, Dissertation Supervisor

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines three intersections of plants and desire in the pastoral literature of Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus. First, the *locus amoenus* describes a pleasing botanical place that can create a narrative frame around depictions of desire or can inspire desire itself. The visuality of the descriptions of *loca amoena* is then compared with examples from Roman landscape wall painting, which provide fictional representations of plants that can physically create a space in which desires can be inspired, enunciated, or acted upon. Second, inversions of nature, *adynata*, in pastoral literature offer a way for the herdsmen to imagine an impossible botanically based desire being fulfilled when their actual (usually erotic) desire cannot be. *Adynata* can be expanded to impossible ultra-lush Golden Age imagery. This imagery reminds the reader of the Roman wall paintings at Prima Porta and Oplontis, which are reconsidered as *adynata*. The final intersection of desire and plants occurs in a pastoral and botanical variation on magic, by which the practitioner can attempt to alleviate a desire. This chapter, which culminates in a reevaluation of *Idyll* 11, shows that although plants and desire are intimately linked with magic, the one true way to remedy a desire is to take control of one's own emotions and not dwell on what is not attainable. The botanical world, then, functions alongside the frustrated desires and within the controlling fictions

of *loca amoena*, *adynata*, and magic in the pastoral literature of Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Pastoral, unlike other categories of literature, is unique because it asks the reader to inhabit the natural, outside world with its subject. In no other type of literature is the natural world foregrounded more. Because of this, plants and the botanical world gain importance and add additional layers of meaning to the pastoral writing of Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus.

Instead of looking at individual plants in isolation, this dissertation examines three broader contexts in which plants appear, namely, *loca amoena*, *adynata*, and magic, and their relationship with desire in the pastoral writing of Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus.¹ The *loca amoena* describe locations which frame the enunciation of desires of characters, and *adynata* in pastoral literature allow the one who desires to imagine a world which he can control and in which he can bring about impossible changes. This imagined world can be made to correspond both positively and negatively to the human condition and seems to provide a momentary escape from the desires at hand. Magic echoes the escapism found in the *adynata* by providing a tangible means to attempt to alleviate and escape desires. Thus the major botanical contexts can frame a desire or they can be means to imagine and alleviate it.

Before moving to the detailed discussion of these topics, it is important to situate terms and scholarship that provides the foundation for this dissertation.

¹ Within these larger contexts, the individual plants will be discussed, but in the context of how they function in the *locus amoenus*, *adynata*, or magic.

Frustrated Desire

Pastoral literature in the broadest sense is about herdsmen and their rustic lives. A slightly tighter focus shows that the herdsmen are routinely talking or singing about their beloveds, about their desire. As I will show, these pronouncements are linked with the botanical world, but it is important to acknowledge briefly the philosophical and literary antecedents that may have informed the pastoral portrayals of desire.

In Plato's *Symposium*, Socrates talks Agathon into positing that people desire what they do not have, or what they lack.² By this definition, then, desire is naturally and inherently a form of frustration. This description of desire seems to respond to the relationships and loves portrayed in the lyric poets, which were frequently asymmetrical or unrequited.³ Claude Calame writes in *The Poetics of Eros in Ancient Greece* that the "mismatch between the desire of the one afflicted by love and the elusiveness of the one who provokes the erotic passion is a feature that pervades all archaic poetry."⁴ Theocritus and Virgil rely on this type of frustrated desire in their portrayal of herdsmen in their poetry; unrequited love is a pastoral norm. Agathon's definition and the lyric conceptions of desire, however, do not explain mutual desire, which has clearer epic antecedents.⁵ In his treatment of Daphnis and Chloe's relationship, Longus establishes early on the mutuality of their relationship; their love is more akin to that between Odysseus and Penelope or Hector and Andromache. What Daphnis and Chloe both

² Plato, *Symposium* 200a-b.

³ Calame 1999, 23-38.

⁴ Calame 1999, 23-24.

⁵ Calame 1999, 39-43. Calame notes the foregrounding of marital love in the Homeric and Hesiodic texts: Paris and Helen, Hector and Andromache, Odysseus and Penelope, and even Odysseus with Circe and Calypso.

desire is knowledge of the means to physically demonstrate their love; the emotional reciprocity is already present.⁶

This dissertation explores both types of portrayals of desire: the unfulfilled desire depicted by the poets, and the frustrated knowledge of love in Longus. By comparing the botanical contexts in which desire appears, it is easier to understand the nuances the desires within those contexts.

The natural world and plant scholarship

In this dissertation, I focus on the plants that appear in Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus with the belief that plants are not just props or stage decoration, but rather that they are cultural markers with associations and connotations that are not always made explicit in the texts themselves.⁷ The specific context in which a plant appears—like its location in the pastoral space or its relation to other plants that are described, for example—can add layers of meaning that amplify a given plant’s cultural associations.⁸

In this dissertation, “the natural world” refers to both the uncultivated woods and fields where the herdsmen pasture their animals and also their gardens. Although the gardens in pastoral literature are cultivated and are arguably “unnatural” because of the inherent artifice of a garden, pastoral gardens, particularly those found in Longus’

⁶ Another way of looking at Daphnis and Chloe’s relationship is that they both lack each other, instead of only one lacking (i.e., desiring) the other.

⁷ By plants, I refer to botanical material at large: both herbaceous and woody plants (shrubs and trees) along with their respective flowers, fruits, and nuts. Cf. Theophrastus, *Inquiry into Plants* 1.3.1.

⁸ What is interesting is that both Theocritus and Virgil may have been influenced by ancient herbals. Theocritus is believed to have studied under the Theophrastus (Lindsell 1937). After Pompey defeated King Mithridates of Pontus in 55 BCE, he transferred the illustrated plant books to Rome, and it is possible Virgil may have known about these as well (Kuttner 1999, 29). Dioscurides wrote *De Materia Medica* in the first century CE, and this, perhaps, was also known to Longus, though Longus’ plant details do not reveal a scientific level of description. See also Singer 1927 1-29.

Daphnis and Chloe, are remarkable for their non-productive and decorative quality. “The natural world” does not, then, refer to fields of crops (which are largely absent from the pastoral literature of Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus), to productive farms, seascapes, or to deserts. This limited definition of “the natural world” reflects how this elite literature imagines the foreign world of herdsmen.⁹

The study of plants in pastoral literature has been quiet for about forty years. To date, there have only been studies on the plants of the pastoral poets—none on Longus. A. L. A. Fée wrote two books on plants in pastoral: *Flore de Virgile* (1826) and *Flore de Théocrite et des autres bucoliques grecs* (1832). Both of Fée’s books are encyclopedic with entries for each species of plant. Fée provides a brief description of the plant, though his focus is on ascertaining the species of plant being referenced in Theocritus or Virgil.¹⁰ Because nearly two hundred years have passed since Fée wrote, changes in both science and philology have made elements of his work less useful. For the purpose of my research, however, his entries provided a starting point for a plant’s identification, which then needed to be confirmed by more modern sources.

Kurt Lembach’s *Die Pflanzen bei Theokrit* (1970) also has encyclopedic entries about the plants of Theocritus. He divides the plants into classes (fodder, magic plants, flowers, etc.) and discusses how the plants function in Theocritus’ poems. Although it is helpful to see, for example, the common fodder plants listed together and treated in the

⁹ Cole 2004, 7-8 outlines three landscapes: the natural world, which was the “unity of land and water;” the human landscape, made up of agricultural fields, territories, and cities; and the imagined landscape, which is the land of mythical creatures who inhabit both the known and unknowable regions of the world. These landscapes, he notes, “coexisted and merged with one another.” The natural world of pastoral creates a unique blend of his natural and human landscapes.

¹⁰ This interest, I believe, may stem from the relatively newly developed focus on species in the Linnaean naming system. Carl Linnaeus (1707-1778) worked tirelessly to catalog as many plants and animals as possible in his lifetime. Both of Fée’s works on plants in Theocritus and Virgil postdate Linnaeus’ death by about 50 years.

same chapter, the thematic approach to the plants decontextualizes them. Lembach's work follows the more general works of both Victor Hehn and Josef Murr. Hehn believed that agricultural domestication arrived into Europe through nomadic people in the Steppes; thus, his work, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere in ihrem Übergang aus Asien nach Griechenland und Italien sowie in das übrige Europa : historisch-linguistische Studien* (1963), is a detailed linguistic study that uses the Greek and Latin lexical corpus to discuss the spread of domesticated animals and plants. Hehn's linguistic approach to plants and animals does, however, reveal potential etymological links between plants and their cultural associations, like *laurus* being associated with *lavo* and *luo*, which underscores the purificatory associations of the plant.¹¹ Josef Murr's approach in *Die Pflanzenwelt in der griechischen Mythologie* (1969) also draws on a wide variety of texts. His encyclopedic entries on plants in mythology are useful for the botanical associations of the gods, and this approach can contribute to a better understanding of the broader cultural associations a plant may have, as well as regional variations.¹² Peter Berhardt's recent book, *Gods and Goddesses in the Garden: Greco-Roman Mythology and the Scientific Names of Plants* (2008) takes a scientific approach to the identification of plants in mythology. As a botanist, he wrestles with the issues of common names and scientific ones, and how they are both associated with mythology.

The only book in English on plants in pastoral is John Sargeant's, *The Trees, Shrubs, and Plants of Virgil* (1920). Sargeant's purpose, however, was primarily to

¹¹ Hehn 1963, 602.

¹² Helmut Baumann's *Greek Wild Flowers* (1990) also discusses the intersection of common Greek plants and mythology, though he rarely cites his ancient mythological sources.

identify the modern examples of the ancient plants and to provide anecdotes about them and their places in the modern English garden.

What is problematic about these works is that their encyclopedic approaches take the plants out of context; there is no analysis of how a grouping of plants could function or have importance in a given passage. I strive to remedy this lacuna in pastoral scholarship with this dissertation.

In the years since Lembach's work, there has been an increased philological and archaeological interest in ancient gardens.¹³ Garden scholarship contextualizes the natural world in both the public and private sphere and examines how people interacted with it. This type of research was begun by Wilhelmina Jashemski at Pompeii and other areas preserved by the eruption of Vesuvius. Through her work and the work of her successor, Italian scholar Annamaria Ciarallo, it has been possible to identify the plants and trees that were growing in the private domestic gardens in the city and at the extra-urban villas.¹⁴ Now, in addition to the sculpture and wall paintings that decorated the gardens, it is possible to get a sense of the interplay of nature and art that could have been experienced on a daily basis. In this way, even a small private garden could become a real and physical *locus amoenus*. Recent work on gardens by Katherine T. von Stackelberg (*The Roman Garden: Space, sense, and society* [2009]) shows how garden space could function—how one might view and experience a public or private garden. The experiential quality of gardens is a helpful way to approach pastoral *loca amoena*, which also bring a reader into a sensual experience.

¹³ See Motte 1971, Farrar 1998, and Henderson 2004.

¹⁴ Jashemski 1979, 1999, and 2002; Ciarallo 2001 and 2004.

This dissertation, then, will attempt to remedy some of the gaps in plant scholarship by looking at plants contextually through their appearances in *loca amoena*, *adynata*, and magic. By considering the role of desire in these botanical contexts, it is possible to see how the botanical world becomes closely intertwined with the emotional lives of the herdsmen.

Pastoral literature

In the title of this dissertation, I use the word “pastoral” to describe the literature about the lives of herdsmen. By focusing specifically on the pastoral literature, I am excluding the non-pastoral “urban” *Idylls* of Theocritus as well as the Aeolic *Idylls* 28-30, the epigrams, and the *Syrinx*. I am also excluding Virgil’s *Georgics* and *Aeneid*. Throughout this dissertation I will use “pastoral” to describe this literature for the sake of consistency, though “bucolic” could easily be substituted.¹⁵

Although English affords two synonymous adjectives, the ancient use of the Greek-derived “bucolic” and Latinate “pastoral” was not synonymous. “Βουκολικά” was the original title applied to the works of Theocritus,¹⁶ though no external evidence exists that this is what Theocritus called his collected works, or that he even published them as a collection.¹⁷ Richard Hunter notes that the problem lies in the fact that we understand that a “boukolos” is a cowherd, but when the noun is made into a verb, “βουκολιάζειν” (as in *Idyll* 5.44 and 60 and *Idyll* 7.36) it does not mean “to herd cattle” but rather it

¹⁵ See Karakasis 2011, 2 note 7. Rosenmeyer 1969, 8 comments “The truth of the matter is that the terms bucolic, pastoral, *Eclogue*, and others shift about so much that their usefulness as distinguishing labels has become questionable.”

¹⁶ Hunter 1999, 5. Virgil also adopted this as the title for his collection of poems about herdsmen.

¹⁷ Hunter 1999, 27.

seems to have something to do with singing.¹⁸ Although the term may be a sort of metonymy to refer—with the broadest of strokes—to the traditional lives and songs of the herdsmen, the contexts in which the verb appears in the Theocritean corpus offer no clarification. The verb is used in *Idyll 5* to describe the amoebaeon exchange of couplets between two herdsmen, neither of whom is a cowherd, though one herdsman identifies himself as a “bucoliast.” In *Idyll 7*, Simichidas, a city-dweller, suggests to Lykidas (a goatherd) at line 36 that they “bucolicise together (βουκολιασδώμεσθα),” which Hunter takes to mean “exchange songs.” Later, at line 49, there is the phrase “βουκολικᾶς... ᾠοιδᾶς” which Hunter understands as “bucolic song” or perhaps “bucolic [exchange of] song.” Although this seems a straightforward enough translation, it is unclear what this actually means, since “there is no clear sign that the individual songs of Lykidas and Simichidas could themselves be called bucolic.”¹⁹ Thus, within the Theocritean corpus there is a word, “βουκολικός” which seems to indicate *something* about herdsmen which was unique to Theocritus’ work.²⁰

David M. Halperin notes that “βουκολικός” was initially used as a literary descriptor, whereas “*pastoralis*” was an adjective limited to non-literary descriptions of animal husbandry. He continues that it was only much later, in the Italian Renaissance that “pastoral” started to take shape as a literary type.²¹ As a description of a literary type, “pastoral” is the literature of herdsmen and their flocks. Although in English

¹⁸ Hunter 1999, 5-12.

¹⁹ Hunter 1999, 7.

²⁰ Hunter 1999, 5.

²¹ Halperin 1983, 10-13.

bucolic and pastoral are essentially equivalent, if one considers the etymological history of the two synonyms, pastoral seems, to me, to provide a clarity that “bucolic” lacks.²²

“Pastoral” is also a literary category. Current scholarship on pastoral categorizes it either by form and content (genre) or content alone (mode).²³ When Theocritus wrote his *Idylls*, he was not working within an established genre or mode. In fact, as Kathryn Gutzwiller demonstrates, Theocritus blends and foregrounds preexisting depictions of herdsmen from Homer, drama, and Plato.²⁴ The elements unique to pastoral began to formalize the genre by the time the spurious *Idylls* 8 and 9 were written.²⁵ Moschus and Bion also help to codify elements of Theocritus’ work in their poetry, which (loosely) approximates the style of Theocritus’ pastoral poems.²⁶ Virgil solidifies pastoral as a genre with the *Eclogues*, even though there was not a formal designation of a pastoral genre in ancient scholarship.

In his book, *The Green Cabinet: Theocritus and the European Pastoral Lyric* (1969), Thomas Rosenmeyer writes that a genre is determined by its form, with content secondary. By considering only lyric poetry about herdsmen, he studies the pastoral genre.²⁷ In this way it is possible to discuss Theocritus and Virgil as part of the same

²² On the pastoral/bucolic debate see also Halperin 1983, 177-189; Alpers 1996, 145-153; and Hunter 1999, 5-12. For the most recent review of the debate, see Karakasis 2011, 1-35.

²³ See Rosenmeyer 1969 for pastoral poetry as a genre and Alpers 1996 for pastoral as a mode.

²⁴ Gutzwiller 1991, Chapters 1-3.

²⁵ Hubbard 1998, 34-37.

²⁶ On the problematic nature of Moschus and Bion being considered “bucolic” poets, see again Hubbard 1998, 37-41.

²⁷ Rosenmeyer uses the term “lyric” to describe pastoral poetry, in contrast to pastoral romances, dramas, or operas. See for example, Rosenmeyer 1969, 9.

literary genre. With the constraint of form, Longus, as a novelist, is not part of this genre, even though he is clearly writing about pastoral subjects.

If works of literature are instead defined by content alone, they can be considered as a literary mode. This is what Paul Alpers argues for in his book, *What is Pastoral?* (1996). By considering writers that follow in the path of Theocritus and Virgil but who may stray from dactylic hexameter, Alpers argues that pastoral is a literary mode with a “central fiction” about herdsmen and their lives.²⁸ The pastoral literary mode can comfortably accommodate the authors considered in this dissertation, Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus, because of their shared “central fiction” about herdsmen, even though they span nearly five hundred years and include both poetic and prose forms.

Another taxonomic issue arises with the inclusion of Longus and his novel, *Daphnis and Chloe*. The term “novel,” is problematic because there was no ancient designation for these prose fictions: the closest terms were *argumentum* or *fabula* in Latin, and *plasma* or *drama* in Greek.²⁹ Bruce MacQueen defines the novel (and the genre) very simply: “an extended prose narrative in which the characters and the plot are mostly or entirely invented, imagined, or contrived by the author.”³⁰ Whitmarsh adds that most ancient novels also have an erotic plotline “with a particular emphasis on

²⁸ Alpers 1996, ix-x.

²⁹ Whitmarsh 2008, 3. “Novel” is based on a seventeenth-century Italian word, *novella*, which was applied to Boccaccio’s “new” *Decameron*. In scholarship today, the term “romance” is also used in place of “novel,” but this word also comes from non-ancient sources, namely, medieval French descriptions of prose or poetry. See also Holzberg 1995, 8. MacQueen 1990, 121 calls *Daphnis and Chloe* a “pastoral romance,” but admits that “romance” is now used to describe a particular type of (erotic) novel.

³⁰ MacQueen 1990, 121. See Holzberg 1996, 11-28 for a detailed discussion of the terminology surrounding the novel, and an attempt to define the genre.

romantic love (or parodies of it) despite obstacles and separations.”³¹ The key element of MacQueen’s definition is the invented characters; by not relying on historical or mythological traditions, the novelists are creating something original by reworking preexisting literary motifs.³² Unlike the pastoral mode, however, the novel genre is limited by form (prose) and less by content. Longus creates an original work about the love story of Daphnis and Chloe, two fictional characters who live on the island of Lesbos, who are also herders. Thus, Longus’ *Daphnis and Chloe* can be considered both a part of the pastoral mode and the novel genre.

So although I am using “pastoral” as an English adjective to specify the type of literature I am focusing on, it is still relevant to understand the issues that have arisen from using such a term.

Pastoral Writers

Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus create a literary chain of allusions and echoes in the pastoral mode. In this section I will briefly introduce the authors and the current state of scholarship about them. Then I will show some of the ways in which it is possible to see the chain of influence from Theocritus to Virgil and from Theocritus and Virgil to Longus. The allusions and echoes of the predecessors are important for this study because they allow us to see how Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus respond to, imitate, and modify what has come before them.

³¹ Whitmarsh 2008, 3. On the following page Whitmarsh notes that there seems to be a shift from the Greek/Hellenistic pederastic love to heterosexual love.

³² Whitmarsh 2008, 3 is careful to note that this does not mean that they lack a style unto themselves. MacQueen 1990, 121 comments that novels are, in this way “novel” in the broadest sense of the word.

Theocritus

Theocritus, the third-century BCE Hellenistic poet, is credited with establishing pastoral poetry through the collection of poems known as the *Idylls*. They are composed of thirty poems written in dactylic hexameter;³³ the subjects of the *Idylls* (a term which comes from *eidyllia* “little pictures”) are quite varied, ranging from the pastoral to the urban, from the mythical to the political. The diverse range of subjects has caused problems in classification of the poems on the whole; this dissertation, however, focuses specifically on the pastoral *Idylls*, especially 1-11. When pertinent, I also refer to the spurious and non-pastoral *Idylls*, but they are not the focus of this project.

These pastoral *Idylls* feature herdsmen as their main characters, something uncommon before Theocritus. Prior to the *Idylls* the role of the herdsman was in a supporting role, like Homer’s Eumaeus and Melanthius or messengers in drama. Kathryn Gutzwiller writes that the herdsman “is always and everywhere peripheral, either a minor character in the background or an analogue for someone of higher rank; he is never, as he will become in the third-century poetry, the figure of focus.”³⁴ Theocritus breaks the tradition of the peripheral herdsmen. His herdsmen are the focus; the subjects his herdsmen sing about become common themes for later pastoral writers.

The current trend in Theocritean scholarship (and Classical Studies at large) has been the publication of handbooks and collected works. While the key studies of the 1990’s aimed to define pastoral (for example Kathryn Gutzwiller’s *Theocritus’ Pastoral Analogies* [1991], Paul Alpers’ *What is Pastoral* [1996] and Thomas Hubbard’s *Pipes of*

³³ Of the thirty *Idylls*, eight are spurious (*Idylls* 8, 9, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, and 27). See Gow 1952, lxxv-lxxvi, and commentary for these poems. For earlier discussions of authenticity, see Legrand 1968, 1-28.

³⁴ Gutzwiller 1991, 79. See pages 23-79 for a full discussion of the minor role of herdsmen.

Pan: intertextuality and literary filiation in the pastoral tradition from Theocritus to Milton [1998])³⁵, the first decade of the 2000's largely has produced collected works and companions. These publications, like the *Brill's Companion to Greek and Latin Pastoral*, edited by Marco Fantuzzi and Theodore Papanghelis (2006), bring together the influential scholars who study pastoral and provide brief studies (roughly 15-25 pages long) on smaller questions. Other publications are by one or two authors about a larger topic and include chapters or sections on Theocritus. For example, *Ricerche sulla Poesia Alessandrina II* (2007) by Roberto Pretagostini and the collection of previously-published articles in *On Coming After* (2008)³⁶ by Richard Hunter both include sections about Theocritus in the Hellenistic period and his influence. Richard Hunter partnered with Marco Fantuzzi for *Muse e Modelli: la poesia ellenistica da Alessandro Magno ad Augusto* (2002) which became the English publication *Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Literature* (2005). In Marco Fantuzzi's chapter "Theocritus and the Bucolic Genre," Theocritus' experimentation with *polyeideia* ("writing in many literary genres") is explored.³⁷ In *Hirten in der nicht-bukolischen Dichtung des Hellenismus* (2001), Hans Bernsdorff examines the herdsman in Hellenistic literature, comparing non-pastoral representations with pastoral (i.e., Theocritean) examples.

One monograph published recently is Mark Payne's *Theocritus and the Invention of Fiction* (2007). In it, Payne argues that Theocritus is the first writer that does not stay within the traditional literary bounds of mythology and history and instead creates the

³⁵ Richard Hunter's 1999 Cambridge commentary could perhaps be added to this list.

³⁶ This book is listed as Hunter 2008b in my bibliography.

³⁷ Fantuzzi and Hunter 2005, 133.

first fully fictional world. This fictionalization is ultimately taken up by Longus in *Daphnis and Chloe*.

While this recent scholarship contributed to the background information about Theocritus, because I am taking a different approach to the text by looking at plants and desire, I am most indebted to the commentaries on Theocritus's *Idylls* by A. S. F. Gow (1952) and Richard L. Hunter (1999), and (less so) Kenneth Dover (1977)³⁸

Virgil

Virgil (70-19 BCE) is the first Latin writer to employ the pastoral tradition established by Theocritus; there is no evidence for Latin pastoral before the *Eclogues*.³⁹ Although it is not known if there were other Greek pastoral poets who may have influenced him, it seems that Virgil was primarily familiar with Theocritus' text.⁴⁰ By the time Virgil was writing the *Eclogues*, there was a canonical book of pastoral poems that had been compiled by Artemidorus.⁴¹ Clausen notes that it began with an epigram:

Βουκολικαὶ Μοῖσαι σποράδες ποκά, νῦν δ' ἅμα πᾶσαι
Ἐντὶ μιᾶς μάνδρας, ἐντὶ μιᾶς ἀγέλας.

The bucolic Muses were once scattered, but now are all
together in one fold, in one flock.⁴²

³⁸ None of these commentaries, however, is without faults. See, for example, Platnauer 1951 on Gow, Giangrande 1974 on Dover, and Schmiel 1999 on Hunter.

³⁹ Coleman 1977, 14.

⁴⁰ Conte 1994, 264 notes that "Until the publication of Virgil's *Bucolics*, Theocritus was the least popular and the least successful among the great Hellenistic authors read by Romans." Coleman 1977, 14.

⁴¹ See also Gutzwiller 1996, 119-149 on Theocritean poetry books.

⁴² *Palatine Anthology* 9.205 from Clausen 1994, xx.

This grouping included poems now considered spurious, *Idylls* 8 and 9, and may have been composed of *Idylls* 1, 3-11, as well as poems by Moschus and Bion, two post-Theocritean pastoral poets.⁴³ Artemidorus' publication of the ten poems by Theocritus may have been the influence for Virgil's book of ten *Eclogues*.⁴⁴ This "Theocritean" collection is important because the two spurious poems are about Daphnis and singing contests he has with Menalcas, two common pastoral characters. These poems also echo the opening of *Idyll* 1, particularly with the anaphora of "both (ἄμφω)" in *Idyll* 8.3-4 and "sweet (ἄδῶ)" in *Idyll* 9.7-8, and also (badly) attempt to approximate Theocritus' style. In doing so, the author(s) of these poems helped to concretize what become some of the traditional elements of ancient pastoral that are seen in the *Eclogues*.

Virgil's *Eclogues* were published after 39 BCE. Although Theocritus separated political from pastoral, Virgil approached the pastoral world from a different, Roman perspective.⁴⁵ Virgil blends the pastoral world with contemporary Roman politics and issues: shepherds sing about land confiscations in *Eclogue* 1; the consulship of Pollio is celebrated in *Eclogues* 3 and 4; and Varus is praised in *Eclogue* 6.

Like Theocritean scholarship, studies on Virgil's *Eclogues* have found their way into handbooks and companions. These collected volumes offer both new material (as was discussed above in the *Brill's Companion to Greek and Latin Pastoral*) but also

⁴³ On the problematic grouping of Theocritus, Moschus, and Bion, see Hubbard 1998, 38. This is also mentioned again by Hubbard 2006, 499-500. For other theories of the content of Artemidorus' collection see Gutzwiller 1996.

⁴⁴ Clausen 1994, xx. Also Coleman 1977, 14.

⁴⁵ Ettin 1984, 58 identifies some of Virgil's poems with political elements as "subgenres" of pastoral. He identifies the subgenres as the mourning elegy, the singing contest, the lover's complaint, the wooing song, "the lover's magical spell-weaving, the allegorical praise of a ruler, and rustic satire on contemporary affairs." These "subgenres," however, are simply topics found in the *Eclogues*, some of which Ettin acknowledges have "few pastoral descendants," and should not, I think, be considered subgenres.

collections of key studies in the field as with Katharina Volk's *Virgil's Eclogues* (2008). The companion draws on articles published from 1975-1999 with the aim of collecting some of the articles that influenced the field in the twenty-five years it spans.

In the last five years, there have been a few monographs dedicated to Virgil's *Eclogues*. Brian Breed's *Pastoral Inscriptions: Reading and writing Virgil's Eclogues* (2006) considers the tension between the orality of the characters of the *Eclogues*, and the textuality or literariness of the poems themselves. Breed's analysis of *ekphrases* in Virgil contributes to my reading of the botanical *loca amoena* that appear in all three authors.⁴⁶ Timothy Saunders' *Bucolic Ecology: Virgil's Eclogues and the Environmental Literary Tradition* (2008) is important to my research because he reasserts the primacy of the landscape in pastoral. Saunders writes that the focus of pastoral scholarship has been too invested in the herder, and that pastoral literature (namely, for him, the *Eclogues*) is also about the natural world the herdsmen inhabit. There have been two books published this year about Virgil and the *Eclogues*. *Song Exchange in Roman Pastoral* by Evangelos Karakasis (2011) examines how the amoebaeon songs of the herdsmen in Virgilian and post-Virgilian pastoral writers are on the one hand characteristic of the genre, and on the other hand strongly influenced by outside genres, like elegy, comedy, and drama. Karakasis' close readings of the song exchanges, focusing the lens on typical scenes in pastoral mirrors the close readings of botanical passages in this dissertation. *Virgil's Garden: The Nature of Bucolic Space* by Frederick Jones (2011) considers the natural world of Virgil, and how various natural markers in the poems function as internal and external references. Jones' approach, particularly his comparison of sacro-idyllic art with

⁴⁶ Breed 2006, 74-94.

the *Eclogues*, closely approximates my second chapter. An important difference, however, is that Jones only considers the pastoral writing of Virgil, keeping a Roman focus, and does not treat Theocritus and Longus as well. A slightly earlier publication that has been important for this dissertation is Michael Lipka's 2001 *Language in Vergil's Eclogues*. In it, Lipka studies specific words in the *Eclogues* and their relation to earlier Greek and Latin poets. This approach helps to contextualize linguistically Virgil as a well-read poet who was influenced by a number of poets in addition to Theocritus.

Longus

Little is known about the author of *Daphnis and Chloe*. J. R. Morgan notes that there are attestations of the name Longus in inscriptions in Mytilene, which date from the first century CE.⁴⁷ The novel shows evidence that the author had firsthand knowledge of the topography and geographical situation of Lesbos, so "this personal connection was one reason for the choice of setting."⁴⁸ The novel is dated to the second or third century CE.⁴⁹

The dating of *Daphnis and Chloe* places it in the Second Sophistic literary period, which is marked by a "flourishing, energized [Greek] culture reflecting actively, if giddily, on its own heritage,"⁵⁰ an outgrowth of Antonine philhellenism.⁵¹ One

⁴⁷ Morgan 2004, 1.

⁴⁸ Morgan 2004, 1. See also Mason 1995.

⁴⁹ Hunter 1983, 6-15 examines some of the approaches to dating the text, though none provides a concrete date. Morgan 2004 1-2 also discusses the issues with dating the text. Both Hunter and Morgan agree with the late second or early third century date.

⁵⁰ Whitmarsh 2005, 97.

⁵¹ Whitmarsh 2004, 146.

characteristic of this Roman-influenced Hellenism is the depolitication of Greek culture, represented by the shift to fictional subjects, like novels.⁵² Because the writers of this period, including Longus, were looking back to literary antecedents, it created (and required) an audience that was “broadly educated and culturally adept”⁵³ and who was capable of “reforming a cultural identity for itself by re-enacting the glorious past.”⁵⁴ The ancient novel also seems to gain popularity during this period because of increased levels of both literacy and availability of books.⁵⁵

Daphnis and Chloe is written amidst this erudite literary milieu. Instead of poetry, the pastoral mode shifts to a prose novel, but Longus maintains many of the hallmarks of the pastoral tradition established by Theocritus and Virgil. In addition to the pastoral influences, the romantic/erotic plot development parallels other novels,⁵⁶ and in addition to Theocritus and Virgil, there are allusions to authors as diverse as Sappho, Thucydides, and New Comedy.⁵⁷ The inclusion of *Daphnis and Chloe* is important in this dissertation because in studies about pastoral literature, Longus is frequently overlooked, or is placed in an “other” category.⁵⁸

⁵² Whitmarsh 2004, 147.

⁵³ Goldhill 2008, 193.

⁵⁴ Morgan 2008, 219.

⁵⁵ Hunter 2008a, 261.

⁵⁶ Bowie 1999, 56.

⁵⁷ See, for example, Morgan 2008 and Cresci 1999.

⁵⁸ The exception to this is collections like *Brill's Companion to Greek and Latin Pastoral*, where Longus is considered in the ancient pastoral tradition. See, for example, Di Marco 2006, 479-498 and Hubbard 2006, 499-514.

Even though Longus wrote during the Roman-influenced Hellenism of the second sophistic, scholars have long been quick to assert that Longus never read Virgil.⁵⁹ Instead, authors hypothesize a lost pastoral poem of Philetas, or another lost Greek pastoral poet before considering Virgil as a source.⁶⁰ Thomas K. Hubbard, however, in his chapter, “Virgil, Longus, and the Pipes of Pan,” in *Brill’s Companion to Greek and Latin Pastoral* argues that this is simply not the case.⁶¹ He rightly reads a Virgilian influence in the novel. He further argues that Longus asserts his position in the Theocritean and Virgilian tradition in book 2, when Philetas sends his son, Tityrus (cf. *Eclogue* 1.1) to fetch his pan pipes. While Tityrus is away, Daphnis’ father, Lamon, sings a song he had heard “from a Sicilian goatherd.” After Lamon’s song, Philetas plays his pipes and ultimately hands them over to Daphnis. Hubbard reads this scene as an encapsulation of the literary tradition of Philetas the Greek poet (who some believe may have been a bucolic predecessor of Theocritus), Theocritus (the Sicilian goatherd), Virgil (Tityrus), and Longus (Daphnis). By passing the pipes from Philetas to Daphnis, the literary tradition extends from Philetas and Theocritus to Longus, with Virgil also playing a role.⁶²

Two commentaries on *Daphnis and Chloe* were published in last seven years. J. R. Morgan published his *Longus: Daphnis and Chloe* in 2004, and includes the text, translation, and extensive commentary. Shannon N. Byrne and Edmund P. Cueva’s

⁵⁹Du Quesnay 1979, 60 and Bowie 1985, 81 stress that Greek authors simply would not have read Latin authors, regardless of their importance. Hunter 1983, 80-82 cautiously and offers up the Philetas antecedent.

⁶⁰ Bowie 1985, 81-83.

⁶¹ Hubbard 2006, 499-513.

⁶² Hubbard 2006, 501-507.

Longus' Daphnis and Chloe is a classroom reader, with a brief introduction, running vocabulary and grammatical prompts. The publication of both commentaries speaks to the heightened scholarly interest in the ancient novel, which has otherwise manifested itself in companions and collections. The *Ancient Novel and Beyond* (2003) edited by Stelios Panyotakis, M. Zimmerman, and Wytse Hette Keulan looks at the wide-ranging influences “the novel” incorporates as a genre from ancient times through the eighteenth century. In this collection, J. R. Morgan writes a chapter about the role of the narrator in *Daphnis and Chloe*, particularly the tension that is created by some of the “gullible” descriptions he includes. This tension, I will show in Chapter 2, can also be read in the descriptions of the seasons. Tim Whitmarsh edited the articles collected in *The Cambridge Companion to the Greek and Roman Novel* (2008), which looks at ancient novels in larger terms, like “Ancient Readers,” “Time,” and “Body and Text.” This approach can provide a diachronic perspective on important themes in novels, including *Daphnis and Chloe*. Because scholarship has been fixated on the literary and historical contextualization of the genre, there have been far fewer monographs written specifically about Longus. As a result, Richard Hunter’s *A Study in Daphnis and Chloe* (1983) is still one of the most important monographs about the text. As with the other pastoral authors, the commentaries were the most helpful for this research, particularly J. R. Morgan’s.

Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus

This dissertation examines some of the major botanical contexts that appear in the pastoral literature of Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus, but there are smaller, shared botanical elements that also link them. These details reveal connections between

Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus within this pastoral mode and show how Theocritus influenced Virgil, and how Theocritus and Virgil influenced Longus.⁶³

First, there is the common use of the name Daphnis. Daphnis appears in Theocritus' *Idyll* 1, and Virgil and Longus both adapt this name into their writing. Although Virgil and Longus both allude to Theocritus' Daphnis, the story predates Theocritus' writing. Gow and Hunter detail the ancient variations of the story in their commentaries, but the basic plot is that Daphnis was Sicilian and the son of a nymph. He was exposed under a laurel tree (whence "Daphnis") and was loved by another nymph. He inadvertently broke his vow of faithfulness to the nymph when a princess gave him wine and seduced him. As punishment, the nymph to whom he had pledged loyalty blinded him.⁶⁴ Daphnis' wasting away and death scene in *Idyll* 1 seems to be the result of the nymph no longer loving Daphnis.

The cowherd Daphnis also appears in the *Eclogues*. Mopsus mentions that it was Daphnis who taught the rite of Dionysus (5.29-34), a detail that is accented in *Daphnis and Chloe*, when Longus' Daphnis is found to be the son of Dionysophanes' (i.e., "Dionysus made manifest").⁶⁵ Later in *Eclogue* 5, Mopsus and Menalcas sing about Daphnis' death and his apotheosis. Daphnis reappears in 2.26, 3.12, 7.1, 7.7, and 9.46

⁶³ I am focusing on pastoral literature, and am particularly interested in the major botanical contexts that appear in that mode. This means that other authors who discuss plants and desire are not fully treated here. So while other authors appear sporadically in my discussions because of their use of plants, this is not an exhaustive project on plants in ancient literature.

⁶⁴ See Gow 1952, 1-2; Hunter 1999, 63-67. Morgan 2004, 7 notes that the earliest literary treatment of Daphnis appears to be Stesichorus in the sixth century BCE.

⁶⁵ Morgan 2004, 6.

and 50. A (but perhaps not *the*) Daphnis is the lost beloved repeated in the refrain of *Eclogue* 8.⁶⁶

In *Daphnis and Chloe*, the name of the title character alludes to Theocritus' *Idylls*. Daphnis, though a goatherd in the novel and not a cowherd, is a talented musician who can control his flocks with his pipes. Daphnis does not die from unrequited love, but in Book 1.18, when he has fallen in love with Chloe and does not understand what is happening, he exclaims, "The violets and hyacinths are flowering, but Daphnis is wilting (ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἴα καὶ ὁ ὑάκινθος ἀνθεῖ, Δάφνις δὲ μαραίνεται)." This seems to be an allusion to Daphnis' death in *Idyll* 1.82 when Priapus asks Daphnis why he is wasting ("Δάφνι τάλαν, τί τὸ τάκεαι"). Like the antecedent mythology of Daphnis the cowherd and his nymph, Longus' Daphnis has pledged his loyalty to Chloe. Unlike the cowherd Daphnis, however, Chloe never finds out about Lycaneion's seduction of Daphnis, and they are able to live "happily ever after."

Secondly, in addition to "Daphnis" the three authors repeat and share names of characters that are botanically-derived. Amaryllis plays the role of "beloved" in all three, as does Galatea. In *Daphnis and Chloe*, Longus relies the most heavily on botanically-named characters, most of which are unique to his work, but follow in the spirit of Theocritus and Virgil. While Daphnis' name is associated with his exposure under the laurel tree, the name of his mother, Nape, means "woodland glen or dell." His father, Lamon, has the only un-pastoral name, though Morgan speculates that the name could perhaps have been found in Philetas' poetry, or it may be a variation on Damon (a

⁶⁶ Not surprisingly, "Daphnis" appears in all the *Eclogues* except for the 3 that are the "least pastoral," namely, the Golden Age-inspired *Eclogue* 4, the quasi-epic *Eclogue* 6, and *Eclogue* 10, in which Virgil says farewell to pastoral poetry.

herdsman in Virgil) noting “the two names are all but identical in Greek (Λάμων/Δάμων).”⁶⁷ Chloe’s name means “the first green shoot of plants in spring.”⁶⁸ Her parents are Dryas (“oak”) and Myrtale (“myrtle”).

Finally, all three authors adopt a different tree that they use programmatically. Their programmatic trees relate to the way Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus portray desire in the pastoral world. By understanding how the authors rely on these trees in their works, it is possible to add another layer of meaning and understanding when they appear in the chapters of this dissertation.

Theocritus’ first *Idyll* opens with Thyrsis speaking to an unnamed goatherd:

Ἄδύ τι τὸ ψιθύρισμα καὶ ἅ πίτυς, αἰπόλε, τήνα,
ἅ ποτὶ ταῖς παγαῖσι, μελίσδεται, ἄδὸ δὲ καὶ τὴ
συρίσδες...

Sweet is the whispered music of that pine tree by the
springs, goatherd, and sweet too your piping.⁶⁹

These opening lines compare the sound of the wind through the pines with the goatherd’s piping (a pastoral element) and establish a frame around a song about desire: Thyrsis will be convinced by the goatherd to sing for him about the death of Daphnis, who is wasting away from unrequited love, that is, from frustrated desires. In Thyrsis’ song, Daphnis, indignant about his situation, attempts to command the natural world, saying:

νῦν ἴα μὲν φορέοιτε βᾶτοι, φορέοιτε δ’ ἄκανθαι,
ἅ δὲ καλὰ νάρκισσος ἐπ’ ἀρκεύθοισι κομάσαι,
πάντα δ’ ἀναλλα γένοιτο, καὶ ἅ πίτυς ὄχνας ἐνεΐκαι,
Δάφνις ἐπεὶ θνάσκει, καὶ τὰς κύνας ὄλαφος ἔλκοι,

⁶⁷ Morgan 2004, 151.

⁶⁸ LSJ sv. *ναπή* and *χλόη*.

⁶⁹ Theocritus texts and translations, except where noted, are from Gow 1952. Some modifications of Gow’s translations have been made.

κῆξ ὀρέων τοὶ σκῶπες ἀηδόσι γαρούσαιντο.

Now brambles bear—and acanthus, you, too—violets, and let the fair narcissus bloom on the juniper. Let all be changed, and let the pine bear pears since Daphnis is dying. Let the stag worry the hounds, and from the mountains let the owls cry to nightingales.⁷⁰

Here, imagining a botanical world made topsy-turvy because of his condition (and his believed importance in the world), Daphnis attempts to have control over nature while himself being powerless over love and powerless in love. This passage will be discussed in Chapter 3, but the inclusion of the programmatic pine, which stands for the pastoral world at large, accentuates the connection between Daphnis, the pastoral world, and (unrequited) desire.

The pine also appears in *Idyll* 3 in a goatherd’s song. Like Daphnis in *Idyll* 1, the goatherd is also suffering from unrequited love, and this poem presents a tragicomic pastoral *paraclausithyron* situated outside a cave as the goatherd attempts to woo his beloved Amaryllis. During the serenade the goatherd says: “I will step aside under the pine here and sing (ἄσεῦμαι ποτὶ τὰν πίτυν ὧδ’ ἀποκλιθείς).” In his commentary, Richard Hunter notes that this pose under the pine may reveal that the pine tree was already associated with the production of poetry. This is strengthened by the opening of *Idyll* 1 when the pine is associated with a herdsman’s song.⁷¹

The final occurrence of a *pitus* in Theocritus again involves herdsmen and singing. In *Idyll* 5, Lacon and Comatas, who seem to have had a pederastic history, attempt to find a pleasing location to sing. The men cannot agree on a single location,

⁷⁰ *Idyll* 1.132-136. Modified Gow translation.

⁷¹ Hunter 1999, 121 notes that this “self-conscious” pose under the pine tree “may suggest that the pine tree was already associated with the production of poetry.”

each refusing to acquiesce to the other. Lacon describes his spot first and offers a wild olive; Comatas offers oaks. When Lamon offers grass, Comatas offers galing-gale, and in place of dripping water, Comatas has two springs of cold water and pine trees that rain down cones containing edible seeds.⁷² The responses of the herdsmen are nicely balanced, though each response raises the bar of what each herdsman considers “pleasant.” The responses, moreover, reveal a desire on the part of each of the herdsmen—a desire which will be unfulfilled for both of them, because neither will yield to the other, and they compete in song from their respective places. It also seems that in their refusal to move to the other’s location, they are playing out the aftermath of an erotic relationship gone sour. Additionally, the songs they sing are about people they individually desire. Thus, like *Idylls* 1 and 3, the pine tree appears in the Theocritean pastoral landscape alongside personal erotic desires.

Virgil’s *Eclogue* 1 programmatically opens with Meliboeus addressing Tityrus who is under a beech tree:

*Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi
silvestrem tenui musam meditaris avena:
nos patriae finis et dulcia linquimus arva.
nos patriam fugimus: tu, Tityre, lentus in umbra
formosam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas.*

You, Tityrus, lie under the canopy of a spreading beech, wooing the woodland Muse on a slender reed, but we are leaving our country’s bounds and sweet fields. We are outcasts from our country; you, Tityrus, at ease beneath the shade, teach the woods to re-echo “fair Amaryllis.”⁷³

⁷² Gow 1952, 103 note ad loc. Thomas 1993, 251-254 notes that it is not clear, however, if the pine is really a good thing or not – it may be read as a negative aspect of Lamon’s location, not a positive element of Comatas’.

⁷³ Translations of Virgil’s *Eclogues*, except where noted, are from Fairclough.

These first five lines establish both the programmatic use of the beech and the slightly different tone in Virgil's pastoral poetry. Unlike the pines, which sweetly whisper in the opening of the *Idylls*, Virgil's pastoral world is marked by beeches.⁷⁴ These opening lines, however, both reflect Virgil working in the Theocritean tradition—most obviously through a tree in the opening line and Greek names (Tityrus and Amaryllis) that are both found in *Idyll* 3—but also an adaptation to a Roman context. The beech is native to Northern Italy, and according to the commentator Wendell Clausen, did not yet have poetic associations like the pine, laurel, or plane tree, and in fact is only found once in Latin poetry before the *Eclogues* in Catullus 64.⁷⁵ There is also an interesting homophony between the Latin word for beech, *fagus*, and the Greek word φαγός, which is a type of oak tree (though sometimes identified as a poplar) mentioned in *Idyll* 12.8, and particularly known for its shade.⁷⁶ This blurring of the Greek and Roman worlds is an important adaptation in Virgil's pastoral.

In the third and fourth lines of the poem, Virgil also introduces through Meliboeus a real-world political element, external upheaval and frustration, writing “*nos patriae finis et dulcia linquimus arva nos patriam fugimus*—but we are leaving our country's bounds and sweet fields. We are outcasts from our country.” This shift introduces a different type of desire: here, a non-erotic desire for the *patria* is being frustrated. This type of desire is strongly contrasted with Tityrus' erotic pastoral desires for Amaryllis through a chiasmus of the pronouns *tu, nos, nos, tu* found in lines 1, 3, and twice in 4.

⁷⁴ The repeated use of the letter “u” also aurally connects the opening line with Theocritus' ἄδῶ.

⁷⁵ Clausen 1994, 35.

⁷⁶ Lipka 2001, 31.

This combination of desires in the opening *Eclogue* adds a new nuance to pastoral that allows for non-pastoral elements to creep into the pastoral world.

Virgil's *Eclogues*, however, still work well within Theocritean (and Hellenistic) erotic desires. For example, in the second *Eclogue*, Corydon sits beneath a beech in the opening

*Formosum pastor Corydon ardebat Alexin,
delicias domini, nec, quid speraret, habebat.
tantum inter densas, umbrosa cacumina, fagos
assidue veniebat. ibi haec incondita solus
montibus et silvis studio iactabat inani.*

Corydon, the shepherd, was aflame for the fair Alexis, his master's pet, nor knew he what to hope. As his one solace, he would day by day [*assidue*] come among the thick beeches with their shady summits, and there alone in unavailing passion fling these artless strains to the hills and woods.

Corydon echoes the laments of Polyphemus in *Idyll* 11, but instead of singing to Galatea on the rocky cliffs, Corydon yearns for Alexis under a beech tree. Clausen has pointed out the similarities between the description of Corydon's lovesickness and Acontius' desire for Cydippe in Callimachus' *Aetia*.⁷⁷ Like Corydon, Acontius burns for his beloved Cydippe, and is seen sitting under oaks or poplars—the Greek φαγός. With the blurring of distinction between the Latin beech and the Greek φαγός, Kenney has called this “learned katachresis.”⁷⁸ Unlike Thyrsis in *Idyll* 1, however, who is complimented for his particular skill in singing, Corydon's songs are characterized as “*haec incondita*—

⁷⁷ Clausen 1994, 61.

⁷⁸ Kenney 1983, 50. Lipka 2002, 133 argues against “learned *katachresis*” and instead posits that *fagus* denoted two different trees, one of which is the beech, the other is a Greek type of tree “for which there was no Latin equivalent.” Earlier, Lipka 2001, 60 called this blurring “translations with paronomasia.” I believe that Virgil is intentionally playing with the homophony of the Greek and Latin words to maximize the effectiveness of literary allusions and to assert his position in the (burgeoning) pastoral canon by adopting a programmatic tree that straddles the Greek and Roman world.

these artless strains, these formless things.” In contrast, in *Eclogue* 5.13, Mopsus notes that he recently composed some verses and wrote them on beech bark:

*Immo haec, in viridi nuper quae cortice fagi
carmina descripsi et modulans alterna notavi,
experiar: tu deinde iubeto certet Amyntas.*

No, I will try these verses, which the other day I carved on the green beech-bark and set to music, marking words and tune in turn. Then you can bid Amyntas compete with me!

Instead of *incondita* songs, Mopsus’ song—perhaps a Virgilian variation on the mock sophistication of the *paraclausithyron* of *Idyll* 3—has strictly planned music and lyrics, which he carved into the trunk of the beech tree. What is key here is that the verses Mopsus composed retell the story of Daphnis’ death from unrequited love and its impact on the natural world, which is filled with pathetic fallacies and *adynata*—impossibilities—including references to violets and narcissus flowers being replaced by thorns and thistles, adapting the combination of prickly plants bearing delicate botanical elements from Daphnis’ death scene in *Idyll* 1.

The other two instances of the beech tree in Virgil’s *Eclogues* appear in contexts of non-erotic frustrated desire. In 3.12, Damoetas comments that Menalcas broke Daphnis’ bow and arrows “by these old beeches (*veteres fagos*).” It seems that Menalcas’ anger derives not from unrequited love, but from the bow and arrows being given to Daphnis instead of Menalcas. Menalcas’ desire is therefore not an erotic desire, but pure frustration based on jealousy.

The final occurrence of the beech is in *Eclogue* 9.9, which begins with a Moeris’ lament about land confiscations. Lykidas replies:

certe equidem audieram, qua se subducere colles

*incipient mollique iugum demittere clivo,
usque ad aquam et veteres, iam fracta cacumina, fagos
omnia carminibus vestrum servasse Menalcan.*

Yet surely I had heard that, from where the hills begin to rise, then sink their ridge in a gentle slope, down to the water and the old beeches with their now-shattered tops, your Menalcan had with his songs saved all.

These “old beeches” which are again “*veteres fagos*” appear “*fracta*,” shattered, clear echoes of *Eclogue 5* (with *ad veteres fagos* and *fregisti*). These real-world elements of land confiscation also connect this *Eclogue* back to the opening of the collection, which referenced both a pastoral tree and the land confiscations that caused herdsmen to say “*nos patriam fugimus*.” This passage, however, also looks back to *Eclogue 2.1-5* with the phrases “*cacumina fagos*” landing in the final two feet of their respective lines. This self-referentiality, where *cacumina fagos* can refer to both political upheaval and erotic desires, displays how Virgilian pastoral can both follow a Theocritean model, yet be adapted to a Roman context.

By adapting the programmatic tree to a Roman context, Virgil establishes the mutability of the symbolic nature of the programmatic tree. Longus, in *Daphnis and Chloe*, takes up the mantle of the programmatic tree in the novel through the repeated appearance of an oak tree. The oak (δρῦς) is first seen in Book 1.12.5, when Daphnis is injured after he falls into a trap for a she-wolf. He and Chloe sit beneath an oak tree, tending to his injuries. It is because of those injuries that Chloe will fall in love with Daphnis while seeing him bathe after the wolf trap accident. The next day, they return to the oak tree (1.13.4), which is now called their “usual oak (ὕπὸ τῆ δρῦς τῆ συνήθει).”⁷⁹

⁷⁹ Translations from *Daphnis and Chloe*, except where noted, are from Morgan 2004.

After they are told by Philetas, an old herdsman from the area, that the only remedy for love involves kissing, embracing, and lying together, they experiment with the first step of the remedy beneath the oak in 2.11.1. They become so accustomed to this location, that when Chloe is abducted by the Methymnians, the tree is the first place Daphnis goes to look for her (2.21.2). When Pan rescues Chloe from the Methymnians, Chloe and Daphnis immediately go to the oak tree so Chloe can tell him about the fantastic events aboard their ship (2.30.2). In the fall, they advance to kissing and embracing and lying together (clothed) beneath the tree (2.38.3). The winter keeps them separated, and when they resume their relationship in the second spring, the world literally blossoms as they continue to use the oak tree as the site of their romantic moments, though they struggle with still not understanding what it means to lie together (3.12.2).

The last time Daphnis and Chloe are seen together at the oak tree, however, is when Lycaneion asks Daphnis to help her find her geese, but with the ulterior motive of educating him about sex with what J.R. Morgan has called a “hands-on tutorial” (3.16.1). This, then, is the moment when Daphnis and Chloe are no longer equals in innocence. Daphnis learns what physical love is from Lycaneion, and Chloe is still completely unaware. The first appearance of Daphnis and Chloe sitting beneath the oak is after Daphnis falls into the trap set for the she-wolf, and the last is just before he falls into the trap of Lycaneion, whose name means “little she wolf.” The oak seems to represent their joint sexual development, or put another way, the oak appears while they *both* suffer from the desire to understand what the physical remedy of love is. Once Daphnis knows about sex, he and Chloe no longer appear under the oak together.

The only time the oak appears after the Lycaneion episode is when (4.15.2) Daphnis stands beneath it to demonstrate his herding and piping skills to Kleariste and Dionysophanes, the landowners from whom he must get permission to marry Chloe. The performance beneath the oak here is the final step before the dual recognition scenes which will ultimately result in the marriage of Daphnis and Chloe. Their consummated marriage at the end of the novel once again puts them in a balanced relationship with regard to knowledge of physical love, and the oak does not appear after Daphnis' performance.

Although the oak tree appears in many erotic scenes where Daphnis and Chloe are defeated by their own ignorance of sex, it also appears during and after outsiders intrude upon their world. Longus thoroughly blends the associations of the programmatic trees in Theocritus and Virgil and his use of the oak in place of the pine or the beech tree establishes what seems (to me) a very different type of symbolism. His repeated use of the oak does not establish it so much as a symbol of the pastoral landscape (which is instead represented by Daphnis and Chloe themselves) but as a symbol of their joint desire for knowledge of physical love.

These smaller contexts involving plants—Daphnis, the names, and the programmatic trees and their relationship with desire—and the sustained “central fiction” about herdsmen create an unbroken literary tradition connecting Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus that merits study. By considering the way that each of the writers describes and adapts his natural world it is possible to see how nuanced the ancient natural world could be. This dissertation, then, will show how these nuances relate to portrayals of desire.

Overview

This dissertation is composed of an introduction and three main chapters.

The first main chapter explores the *locus amoenus* as the setting for frustrated desires. The first section establishes the *locus amoenus* as a literary trope. Then, the second section considers the *locus amoenus* as a narrative framing device around unrequited desires. These larger descriptions, which are generally associated with descriptions of gardens, festivals, and seasons, are external to the desire, and do not impact it. In contrast, the next sections deal with *loca amoena* on a smaller scale, when they appear in conjunction with both erotic and non-erotic desires. In these contexts, pleasing places are described by a character in order to convince someone to do something the singer desires. This chapter shows, then, how pastoral characters can function in a pleasing botanical place, and how those places can represent their desire. Furthermore, the use of botanical *loca amoena* by Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus has visual parallels in the wider world that illustrate the desire to create pleasing places. The *locus amoenus* in Roman wall painting represents and provides a fulfillment of a desire for an idyllic natural setting. The garden room in Livia's villa at Prima Porta and the garden rooms at Oplontis can be viewed as *loca amoena*; on a smaller scale, the sacro-idyllic paintings from Boscoreale can also be *loca amoena*. All of the wall paintings contribute to a pleasing place in which desires can be acted out.

Insofar as the previous chapter establishes that a *locus amoenus* can represent desire, the second chapter examines how the *adynaton* is a way for the one who desires to imagine controlling the natural world in unnatural ways. This chapter is divided into three sections, beginning with a discussion and definition of the *adynaton* as a rhetorical

figure and of an associated rhetorical figure, the pathetic fallacy. Then, turning to Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus, the use of impossible “golden age” imagery is examined. Although these descriptions are superficially positive in their abundance, these descriptions of more-than-perfect elements, in fact, reveal an unfulfilled desire and discontent. This chapter then reevaluates the Prima Porta garden room and Oplontis *viridaria*. Beyond creating a pleasing place, these paintings contain impossibly lush and fertile images that can also be viewed as positive *adynata*. These wall paintings allow the impossible to be seen, and are fictional ways humans can imagine controlling nature. The longing inherent in the golden age imagery is made even more explicit when *adynata* appear with those suffering from unrequited love. Here the *adynata* allow the lovers to imagine that they can control the natural world, since they cannot control the ones they love. The botanical *adynaton*, then, is a way for a desire to be imagined when one’s desires cannot be realized.

The final body chapter shows how magic is one way of effectively (and sometimes tangibly) alleviating one’s desire. Binding spells and *Idyll 2* and *Eclogue 8* are discussed first to highlight the importance of symbolism in traditional rituals and spells. Then, the particulars of magic are expanded to the pastoral and botanical world, and I examine possible examples of erotic magic in Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus. Because apples recur frequently in pastoral literature, their role in amorous contexts and the sources for their association with love and desire is then examined. This chapter culminates with a reevaluation of *Idyll 11*, examining the interconnectedness of magic and courtship, and remedies for love. Unlike most other pastoral songs that contain

elements of magic, Polyphemus' song seems to grant him genuine relief, even if he does not get the one he desires, Galatea.

Chapter 2: Setting the Scene: *Loca amoena*

A dominant botanical feature of the pastoral writing of Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus is the creation of pleasing locations, *loca amoena*. The term *locus amoenus* was first coined by Ernst Robert Curtius in his *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*.¹ While the *locus amoenus* is found in literature that predates pastoral literature, Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus seem to use this trope more frequently than what is found in other types of literature. These pleasing places set the scene for desire in pastoral, and appear in two contexts: as large-scale framing devices around pronouncements of desire—which may in some cases be inspired by the setting itself, and as a part of both non-erotic and erotic desires.

Roman culture, as Jaś Elsner has noted, was intensely visual.² It is not surprising, then, that it is possible to make connections between the literary and visual worlds. The botanical imagery of the *loca amoena* finds parallels (but not necessarily quotations) in Roman wall painting. Further, the literary *loca amoena* can be aligned with non-literary *topia*, “contrived effects of scenery, whether on open terrain, in a cultivated garden, or depicted in art.”³ The “contrived effects” of these *topia*, I assert, are mirrored in the way that an author can control the reader’s gaze in a passage. A *locus amoenus* is also

¹ Curtius 1963, 192-199.

² Elsner 1998, 11.

³ Bergmann 1991, 50. These types of *topia* could all be classified as “*ekphraseis*” in a basic sense. Elsner 2007, 67 notes that it was not until the twentieth century that the term *ekphrasis* was limited to literary descriptions of art.

“contrived”: literary or visual representations of pleasing places can create a fictionalized space in which a desire may be fulfilled.⁴

This chapter focuses on literary *loca amoena*, but also examines parallel visual examples and their relationship with desire. The first section considers literary *loca amoena* as narrative frames around depictions of desire. The visibility of the verbal *loca amoena* is then compared with examples of Roman landscape wall paintings. This second section explores ways in which the artist, like the author, can control the viewer’s gaze, and how nature and art can collaborate to fulfill or contribute to desires. The last section considers *loca amoena* which are a part of both non-erotic and erotic desires, where the pleasing places themselves are offered up or imagined as a way to help fulfill a desire.⁵

The *locus amoenus* as a framing device

The broadest category of *loca amoena* simply describes pleasing places. In her study of *loca amoena*, Petra Haß calls these general scenes: “typischen Szenen.”⁶ These passages interrupt the narrative (sometimes for more than twenty lines) with an ekphrastic description of a natural location. In pastoral literature, these “typischen Szenen” create a space for desire. Before examining pastoral examples, it will be helpful

⁴ Thesleff 1981, 31-45 argues that early Greek examples of *loca amoena* had religious/cultic associations, but became secular as Greek literature developed.

⁵ There are a few chronological issues to address for this chapter. The pastoral literature studied here extends from the Hellenistic period into the Roman Imperial Age. The Roman wall paintings that will be examined below date from the late first century BCE and first century CE, from the Augustan through the early Flavian period. It is not my argument that there are quotations of Virgil (or Theocritus) in the wall paintings, nor do I think that Virgil’s pastoral poems were necessarily an impetus for landscape wall paintings. It is also not clear if or how Longus, a writer from the coast of Asia Minor, may have been impacted by styles of Roman wall paintings.

⁶ Haß 1998, 1.

to see some literary antecedents of the trope. One of the earliest and most-cited examples of an extended *locus amoenus* appears in the *Odyssey*. Calypso's island cave is thus described:

... ἢ δ' ἔνδον ἀοιδιάουσ' ὀπί κἀλῆ
ἰστὸν ἐποιχομένη χρυσεῖη κερκίδ' ὕφαινε.
ὔλη δὲ σπέος ἀμφὶ πεφύκει τηλεθόωσα,
κλήθηρη τ' αἴγειρός τε καὶ εὐώδης κυπάρισσος.
ἔνθα δὲ τ' ὄρνιθες τανυσίπτεροι εὐνάζοντο, 65
σκῶπές τ' ἴρηκές τε τανύγλωσσοί τε κορῶναι
εἰνάλιαι, τῆσιν τε θαλάσσια ἔργα μέμηλεν.
ἢ δ' αὐτοῦ τετάνυστο περὶ σπείους γλαφυροῖο
ἡμερίς ἠβώωσα, τεθήλει δὲ σταφθλῆσι.
κρῆναι δ' ἐξείης πίσυρες ῥέον ὕδατι λευκῶ, 70
πλησίαι ἀλλήλων τετραμμένα ἄλλυδις ἄλλη.
ἀμφὶ δὲ λειμῶνες μαλακοὶ ἴου ἠδὲ σελίνου
θήλεον. ἔνθα κ' ἔπειτα καὶ ἀθάνατός περ ἐπελθὼν
θηήσαιτο ἰδὼν καὶ τερφθεῖη φρεσὶν ἦσιν.

Deep inside she sang, the goddess Calypso, lifting
Her breathtaking voice as she glided back and forth
Before her loom, her golden shuttle weaving.
Thick, luxuriant woods grew round the cave,
Alders and black poplars, pungent cypress too,
And there birds roosted, folding their long wings,
Owls and hawks and the spread-beaked ravens of the sea,
Black skimmers who make their living off the waves.
And round the mouth of the cavern trailed a vine
Laden with clusters, bursting with ripe grapes.
Four springs in a row, bubbling clear and cold,
running side-by-side, took channels left and right.
Soft meadows spreading round were starred with violets,
Lush with parsley. Why, even a deathless god
Who came upon that place would gaze in wonder,
Heart entranced with pleasure.⁷

⁷ 5.61-74 Translation by Robert Fagles.

The description of Calypso’s island has elements which are pleasing to all five senses. The visual aspect dominates: trees provide darkening shade; the green vines contrast with the ripe grape clusters; and the clear water from the springs feeds the green parsley meadow, which is itself dotted by dark violets.⁸ The description also triggers the other senses. The cypresses are “pungent” and the meadow contains parsley, which releases its scent when trampled. The cool shade from the dense trees, the cold water, and the soft meadows engage the tactile sense. The clear, cold water and the ripe grape clusters play on the sense of taste. Amidst all of this, Calypso sings with her “breathtaking voice.” Although the island could “entrance a heart with pleasure,” the island—and Calypso—no longer interest Odysseus, who spends his days, pining “on an island, racked with grief (ὁ μὲν ἐν νήσῳ κεῖται κρατέρ’ ἄλγεα πάσχων).”⁹ Here the *locus amoenus* contains a collection of sensory stimuli, but also contrasts the seemingly positive lush, fertile location with the wrought and barren emotional state of Odysseus.

Sophocles’ *Oedipus at Colonus* contains another example of a sensually rich *locus amoenus*. At lines 668-92, the Chorus describes Colonus’ natural beauty to the blind Oedipus. They sing:

εὐίππου, ξένε, τᾶσδε χώρας
 ἴκου τὰ κράτιστα γᾶς ἔπαυλα,
 τὸν ἀργῆτα Κολωνόν, ἔνθ’
 ἄλίγεια μινύρεται
 θαμίζουσα μάλιστ’ ἀηδῶν
 χλωραῖς ὑπὸ βάσσαις,
 τὸν οἰνωπὸν ἔχουσα κισσὸν
 καὶ τὰν ἄβατον θεοῦ

⁸ Motte 1971, 7-9 notes that the meadows are well-watered spaces, which contributes to their fertility, so Calypso’s island is typical for the combination of spring and meadow.

⁹ *Odyssey* 5.13.

φυλλάδα μυριόκαρπον ἀνήλιον
ἀνήνεμόν τε πάντων
χειμώνων: ἴν' ὁ βακχιώτας
ἀεὶ Διόνυσος ἐμβατεύει
θεαῖς ἀμφιπολῶν τιθήναις.

θάλλει δ' οὐρανίας ὑπ' ἄχνας
ὁ καλλίβοτρυς κατ' ἥμαρ ἀεὶ
νάρκισσος, μέγαιν θεαῖν
ἀρχαῖον στεφάνωμ', ὃ τε
χρυσσαυγῆς κρόκος: οὐδ' ἄϋπνοι
κρῆναι μινύθουσιν
Κηφισοῦ νομάδες ρέεθρων,
ἀλλ' αἰὲν ἐπ' ἥματι
ὠκυτόκος πεδίων ἐπινίσσεται
ἀκηράτῳ σὺν ὄμβρῳ
στερνούχου χθονός: οὐδὲ Μουσᾶν
χοροὶ νιν ἀπεστύγησαν οὐδ' ἄ
χρυσάνιος Ἀφροδίτα.

Here, stranger,
here in the land where horses are a glory
you have reached the noblest home on earth
Colonus glistening, brilliant in the sun—
where the nightingale sings on,
her dying music rising clear,
hovering always, never leaving,
down the shadows deepening green
she haunts the glades, the wine-dark ivy,
dense and dark the untrodden, sacred wood of god
rich with laurel and olives never touched by the sun
untouched by storms that blast from every quarter—
where the Reveler Dionysus strides the earth forever
where the wild nymphs are dancing round him
nymphs who nursed his life.

And here it blooms, fed by dews of heaven
lovely, clustering, morning-fresh forever,
narcissus, crown of the Great Goddess
Mother and Daughter dying

into life from dawn of time,
and the gold crocus bursts like break of day
and the springs will never sleep, will never fail,
the fountainhead of Cephisus flowing nomad
quicken life forever, fresh each day—
life rising up with the river's pure tide
flowing over the plains, the swelling breast of earth—
nor can the dancing Muses bear to leave this land
or the Goddess Aphrodite, the charioteer
with the golden reins of love.¹⁰

Here, too, the five senses are stimulated. Again, there is singing, this time from the nightingale instead of Calypso. The glade into which the nightingale flies contains ivy and laurel and olive trees. In contrast, Calypso's island contains a vine with grapes; alders, black poplars, and cypresses populate her woods. Both *loca amoena* contain multiple springs: in the *Odyssey*, they water the lush meadow; in *Oedipus at Colonus*, they are the “fountainhead” of the Cephisus River.

Into this description of Colonus Sophocles has layered mytho-botanical references about the narcissus, the first flower the chorus praises. He writes of the “narcissus, crown of the Great Goddess / Mother and Daughter dying / into life from dawn of time,” making a clear reference to the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. In it, Mother Earth (Gaia/Ge) sends forth a narcissus flower in a meadow to attract (and distract) Persephone so Hades may abduct her:¹¹

νάρκισσόν θ', ὃν φῦσε δόλον καλυκώπιδι κούρη
Γαῖα Διὸς βουλῆσι χαριζομένη πολυδέκτη
θαυμαστὸν γανόωντα, σέβας τό γε πᾶσιν ιδέσθαι
ἀθανάτοις τε θεοῖς ἠδὲ θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις·

¹⁰ Sophocles *Oedipus at Colonus* 668-92. Translation by Robert Fagles.

¹¹ Detienne 1977, ix likens the virginal maiden with a wild, uncultivated field, much like the one where Persephone is abducted.

τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ ρίζης ἑκατὸν κάρα ἐξεπεφύκει,
κῶζ' ἦδιστ' ὀδμή, πᾶς δ' οὐρανὸς εὐρύς ὑπερθε
γαῖά τε πᾶσ' ἐγέλασσε καὶ ἄλμυρὸν οἶδμα θαλάσσης.

...and the narcissus,
Which the earth grew to trap the flower-faced girl,
By Zeus' tactics, for the host of many.
Gods whose life never ends and mortal people
Were dazzled by the flower when they saw it.
From a single root a hundred blossoms flourished
And smelled so sweet the whole wide sky above it
Laughed, and the whole earth and the salt sea laughed.¹²

Through the reference to the narcissus flower, Sophocles also alludes to the transformation of Narcissus from a young man into the eponymous flower because of his own immoderate desire for the image of himself he saw in the water.¹³ The reference to Narcissus is strengthened because he was the son of the nymph Liriope and the river god Cephissus, who is also mentioned in this passage. Thus the springs at Colonus feed two generations: they help produce the narcissus flower and also act as a fountainhead for Narcissus' father, the Cephissus river.

These examples from Homer and Sophocles underscore the sensual quality of the *locus amoenus* and its ability to allude to myths and previous texts.¹⁴ Unlike pastoral, which uses the *locus amoenus* as an entry into desire, these earlier examples of pleasing places instead play on different types of tensions. In the *Odyssey*, there is the tension

¹² *H. Hymn Demeter* 2.8-14. Translation by Sara Ruden. Richardson (1974, 141) comments on the association of flowers, including the narcissus, with the cult of Demeter and Persephone.

¹³ Elsner 2007, 152-176 discusses Roman representations of Narcissus and the typically pastoral setting of them. Jebb 1899, note ad 683 calls the narcissus a “flower of imminent death” because of its associations with both Narcissus and Persephone.

¹⁴ See Haß 1998, 6-9 and 98-115 for a detailed listing and summary of other examples of antecedent *locus amoenus*.

between the welcoming beauty and fertility of the island and Odysseus' emotional state. In *Oedipus at Colonus*, there is a tension between the civil-strife ridden Thebes from which Oedipus has been exiled, and the fertile description of Colonus by the Chorus. Even the description of the meadow in which Persephone picks the narcissus is contrasted with the imminent abduction by Hades.¹⁵

The literary antecedent that seems closest to the use of the *locus amoenus* trope in pastoral is found in the opening to Plato's *Phaedrus*—a dialogue about love. In the opening of the dialogue, Socrates and Phaedrus have walked outside of the city, and are looking for a place to sit and talk. When they find a place, Socrates describes it in detail:

Νῆ τὴν Ἥραν, καλὴ γε ἡ καταγωγὴ. ἢ τε γὰρ πλάτανος αὕτη μάλ' ἀμφιλαφὴς τε καὶ ὑψηλὴ, τοῦ τε ἄγνου τὸ ὕψος καὶ τὸ σύσκιον πάγκαλον, καὶ ὡς ἀκμὴν ἔχει τῆς ἄνθης, ὡς ἂν εὐωδέστατον παρέχοι τὸν τόπον· ἢ τε αὖ πηγὴ χαριεστάτη ὑπὸ τῆς πλατάνου ρεῖ μάλα ψυχροῦ ὕδατος, ὥστε γε τῷ ποδὶ τεκμήρασθαι· Νυμφῶν τέ τινων καὶ Ἀχελώου ἱερὸν ἀπὸ τῶν κορῶν τε καὶ ἀγαλμάτων ἔοικεν εἶναι. εἰ δ' αὖ βούλει, τὸ εὐπνουν τοῦ τόπου ὡς ἀγαπητὸν καὶ σφόδρα ἡδύ· θερινόν τε καὶ λιγυρὸν ὑπηγεῖ τῷ τῶν τεττίγων χορῷ. πάντων δὲ κομψότατον τὸ τῆς πόας, ὅτι ἐν ἡρέμα προσάντει ἰκανὴ πέφυκε κατακλινέντι τὴν κεφαλὴν παγκάλως ἔχειν.

By Hera, it is a charming resting place. For this plane tree is very spreading and lofty, and the tall and shady willow is very beautiful, and it is in full bloom, so as to make the place most fragrant; then, too, the spring is very pretty as it flows under the plane tree, and its water is very cool, to judge by my foot. And it seems to be a sacred place of some nymphs and Achelous, judging by the figurines and statues. Then again, if you please, how lovely and perfectly charming the breeziness of the place is! and it

¹⁵ Hades, though, has his desire fulfilled in this scene. In pastoral, abduction (or rape) of the beloved does not occur; the means of fulfillment of Hades' desire is not paralleled in pastoral.

resounds with the shrill summer music of the chorus of cicadas. But the most delightful thing of all is the grass, as it grows on the gentle slope, thick enough to be just right when you lay your head on it.¹⁶

Here, too, the senses are engaged, though relaxation and rest are stressed: “By Hera it is a charming resting place (Νῆ τὴν Ἥραν, καλή γε ἡ καταγωγή).” There is the shade of the plane tree, the scent of the blossoms on the tree, the coolness of the spring and breeze, chirping cicadas, and most importantly, grass thick enough to “lay your head on it,” all which contribute to this pleasing restful location. This location outside of the city is also sacred: in these few lines, Hera is invoked, and there are statues of nymphs and Achelous.¹⁷ In this case, Phaedrus and Socrates have already established that they will talk about Lysias’ speech about love. The pleasing setting frames the dialogue about love and desire.

Instead of a philosophical dialogue, Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus add the music of the herdsmen to their *loca amoena*. The songs of the herdsmen become an aural element of the *locus amoenus*, much like birds or chirping cicadas. In the *loca amoena* which are framing devices, the song of the herdsman typically involves a song about someone’s beloved—about someone who is desired. In fact, sometimes the herdsmen’s music (human art) can even surpass nature. Consider, for example, the opening of *Idyll 1* when Thyrsis begins by complimenting an unnamed goatherd:

Thyrsis: Ἄδύ τι τὸ ψιθύρισμα καὶ ἄ πίτυς, αἰπόλε, τήνα,
ἄ ποτὶ ταῖς παγαῖσι, μελίσδεται, ἄδὺ δὲ καὶ τὸ
συρίσδες...

¹⁶ 230B-C. Text and translation from Fowler’s Loeb edition.

¹⁷ Pearce 1988, 301. Pearce has noted that it is common for *loca amoena* also to be *loca sancta*. Cf. Schönbeck 1962, 103-111.

...

Goatherd: ἄδιον, ὃ ποιμὴν, τὸ τεὸν μέλος ἢ τὸ καταχές
τῆν' ἀπὸ τᾶς πέτρας καταλείβεται ὑπόθεν ὕδωρ.

T: Sweet is the whispered music of that pinetree by the
springs, goatherd, and sweet too your piping.

...

G: Sweeter, shepherd, falls thy song than that stream that
tumbles plashing from the rocks.¹⁸

Theocritus opens his collection of poems with a rustic character positing the superiority of a fellow herder musician over nature itself, thus elevating art—or at least Thyrsis' singing ability—over nature. Then the two herders present each other with a potential location where they can sing together. Thyrsis suggests a location first:

λῆς ποτὶ τᾶν Νυμφᾶν, λῆς, αἰπόλε, τεῖδε καθίζας,
ὡς τὸ κάταντες τοῦτο γεώλοφον αἶ τε μυρῖκαι,
συρίσδεν;

In the Nymphs' name, goatherd, will you sit down and
pipe, here, where there is a sloping knoll and the
tamarisks?¹⁹

The goatherd rejects this location because piping at noon can stir Pan's anger. Instead, he suggests a different place where they may sing instead:

δευρ' ὑπο τὰν πελέαν ἐσδώμεθα τῷ τε Πριήπω
καὶ τᾶν κρανίδων κατεναντίον, ἄπερ ὁ θῶκος
τῆνος ὁ ποιμενικὸς καὶ ταὶ δρύες.

Come here then, and let us sit beneath the elm, facing
Priapus and the springs, where there is a shepherd's seat
and the oaks.²⁰

¹⁸ *Idyll* 1.1-2 and 1.7-8.

¹⁹ *Idyll* 1.13-14.

²⁰ *Idyll* 1.21-23. Modified Gow translation.

As was seen in the *Phaedrus*, there is water, shade, and a statue of a god. In this *Idyll*, these small-scale *loca amoena* set the scene first for the request by the goatherd for Thyrsis to sing, and then for the song by Thyrsis about Daphnis, who is dying from unrequited love—the sickness of Eros/eros.²¹ Thus, the *locus amoenus* at the opening of the *Idylls* sets the scene for a song about desires that Daphnis is unable to fulfill.

Although Thyris easily agrees to the other location in *Idyll* 1, in the fifth *Idyll*, the herdsmen more contentiously suggest locations to each other. In this poem, Lacon and Comatas, who seem to have had a pederastic relationship that ended badly, attempt to find a pleasing location where they may sing. In this passage, Lacon suggests the first location for this singing contest, and Comatas replies:

L: μὴ σπεῦδ'· οὐ γάρ τοι πυρὶ θάλπειαι. ἄδιον ἄσῃ 31
 τεῖδ' ὑπὸ τὰν κότινον καὶ τάλσεια ταῦτα καθίζας.
 ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ τουτεὶ καταλείβεται· ὧδε πεφύκει
 ποία, χά στιβάς ἄδε, καὶ ἀκρίδες ὧδε λαλεῦντι.

...

C: οὐχ ἐρψῶ τηγεῖ. τουτεὶ δρῦες, ὧδε κύπειρος, 45
 ὧδε καλὸν βομβεῦντι ποτὶ σμάνεσσι μέλισσαι,
 ἔνθ' ὕδατος ψυχρῶ κρᾶναι δύο, ταὶ δ' ἐπὶ δένδρει
 ὄρνιχες λαλαγεῦντι, καὶ ἅ σκιά οὐδὲν ὁμοία
 τᾶ παρὰ τίν· βάλλει δὲ καὶ ἅ πίτυς ὑψόθε κώνοις.

L: ἧ μὰν ἀρνακίδας τε καὶ εἴρια τεῖδε πατησεῖς, 50
 αἶ κ' ἔνθης, ὕπνω μαλακώτερα· ταὶ δὲ τραγεῖται
 ταὶ παρὰ τὴν ὄσδοντι κακώτερον ἢ τὴν περ ὄσδεις.
 στασῶ δὲ κρατῆρα μέγαν λευκοῖο γάλακτος
 ταῖς Νύμφαις, στασῶ δὲ καὶ ἀδέος ἄλλον ἐλαίω.

C: αἶ δέ κε καὶ τὸ μόλης, ἀπαλὰν πτέριν ὧδε πατησεῖς 55
 καὶ γλάχων' ἀνθεῦσαν· ὑπεσσεῖται δὲ χμαιρᾶν

²¹ Anagnostou-Laoutides and Konstan 2008 have posited that the one that Daphnis loves is, in fact, Aphrodite. This passage will be discussed further in the following chapter.

δέρματα τᾶν παρὰ τὴν μαλακώτερα τετράκις ἀρνῶν.
στασῶ δ' ὀκτῶ μὲν γαυλῶς τῷ Πανὶ γάλακτος,
ὀκτῶ δὲ σκαφίδας μέλιτος πλέα κηρί' ἐχοίσας.

L: Not so much hurry; you're not on fire. You'll sing more pleasantly if you sit here beneath the wild olive and these trees. Here the water drips cool; here is grass and a couch for us, and here the grasshoppers chirp.

...

C: I'll not come there. Here are oaks and galingale; here sweetly hum the bees about the hives. Here are two springs of cold water, and on the tree the birds twitter, and the shade's beyond comparison with that by you. And the pine, too, from overhead, pelts one with its cones.

L: Come over here, and you shall have lambskins beneath your feet, I promise you, and fleeces soft as sleep, while your goatskins there stink worse than you do yourself. And I will set for the Nymphs a great bowl of white milk, and another too of sweet oil.

C: But if *you* move here, soft fern shall you have beneath your feet and flowering pennyroyal; and you shall lie on goatskins four times as soft as the lambskins you have there. And eight pails of milk will I set for Pan, and eight bowls with combs full of honey.²²

At each turn the bar of what each herdsman considers “pleasant” is raised. The first pair of locations consists of trees: Lamón offers a wild olive; Comatas, oaks. When Lamón offers grass, Comatas offers galingale, and in place of dripping water, Comatas has two springs of cold water and pine trees that rain down cones containing edible seeds.²³

Grasshoppers chirp in one location; birds chirp and bees hum in another. Then Lamón

²² *Idyll* 5.31-34 and 45-59.

²³ Gow 1952: 103 note ad loc. Thomas 1993, 251-254 notes that it is not clear, however, if the pine is really a good thing or not – it may be read as a negative aspect of Lamón's location, not a positive element of Comatas'.

offers to put down lambskins and to make a large milk and oil offering to the Nymphs. Comatas, not to be outdone, has ferns and pennyroyal and soft goatskins. Instead of a single large bowl as an offering, he offers eight pails of milk with honey combs. Through these descriptions, the two herdsmen identify the constituent elements of a *locus amoenus*, echoing the features presented in the previous passages: shade, water, a soft spot, and sounds of nature. In this passage they have also included a sacred component: offerings to Pan and the nymphs.²⁴ As in the opening of *Idyll 1*, the *loca amoena* which precede the singing contest act as a frame which sets the lush botanical scene in which they can sing about their erotic desires, past and present from their own pleasing place. It is also possible to believe that for each of the herdsmen in this scene their respective *loca amoena* inspire them to sing about their loves. The sensual quality of the setting acts as an impetus for an enunciation of desire as much as it frames it.

Virgil echoes the aurality of *Idyll 1* in his first *Eclogue* when Menalcas describes a fellow herdsman, Tityrus, reclining in a tree's shade, piping and wooing a Muse, teaching nature:

*Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi
silvestrem tenui Musam meditaris avena;
nos patriae finis et dulcia linquimus arva.
nos patriam fugimus; tu, Tityre, lentus in umbra
formosam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas.*

You, Tityrus, lie under the canopy of a spreading beech, wooing the woodland Muse on slender reed, but we are leaving our country's bounds and sweet fields. We are outcasts from our country; you, Tityrus, at ease beneath the shade, teach the woods to re-echo "fair Amaryllis."²⁵

²⁴ Pan and the nymphs are most prevalent in *Daphnis and Chloe*.

²⁵ *Eclogue 1.1-5*.

Clausen also notes in his commentary that *Amaryllida silvas* creates an “echo effect” that plays off of *resonare*,²⁶ and the “u” sounds of opening Virgilian lines echo the upsilons of the opening phrase of Theocritus’ *Idyll* 1: Ἀδύ τι τὸ ψιθύρισμα καὶ ἅ πίτυς. Furthermore, this passage establishes a minimalistic *locus amoenus* at the outset of the *Eclogues*. Tityrus’ peaceful, pleasing location consists only of a tree. This *locus amoenus* contains references which will be expanded upon in their songs: Tityrus and Meliboeus will not sing about their erotic desires but their non-erotic desire for stability in the confusing era of civil wars and land confiscations. Their songs will be considered in the final section of this chapter.

The use of a single element, such as a tree, shade, or soft grass as a framing device for desires is repeated in all three authors. In *Idyll* 3.38, the singer who is trying to woo Amaryllis from her cave, sings “I will step aside under the pine here and sing (ἀσεῦμαι ποτὶ τὰν πίτυν ὧδ’ ἀποκλινθείς).” In *Idyll* 6.3-4 Damoetas and Daphnis sing about Polyphemus and Galatea while seated by a spring in the midday heat.²⁷ And in *Eclogue* 7.1, Daphnis sits beneath a “whispering ilex”: *forte sub arguta consederat ilice Daphnis*.

Daphnis also appears in *Eclogue* 3 as the victim of Menalcas’ anger:

*Aut hic ad veteres fagos cum Daphnidos arcum
fregisti et calamos, quae tu, perverse Menalca,
et, cum vidisti puero donata, dolebas
et, si non aliqua nocuisses, mortuus esses.*

Or was it when, by these old beeches, you broke Daphnis’
bow and arrows; for you were vexed, spiteful Menalcas,

²⁶ Clausen 1994, 38 note ad loc.

²⁷ ἐπὶ κράναν δέ τιν’ ἄμφω / ἐσδόμενοι θέρεος μέσῳ ἄματι...

when you saw them given to the boy, and if you hadn't hurt
him somehow, you'd have died.²⁸

If a *locus amoenus* can exist with only a tree, then conversely a *locus horridus* can also exist with equally minimal elements. Because this is the site of a physical fight, and not a pleasing, peaceful site, this passage is a *locus horridus*.²⁹ The beech, however, is not itself explicitly connected with *loca horrida*. The negativity of this passage is intensified as it is Daphnis, the famous cowherd, whom Menalcas attacks.³⁰

There is a translation issue in this passage involving the *calamos* which Menalcas broke. A *calamus* can rightly be translated as a reed, thus rendering the passage to mean that Menalcas broke Daphnis' bow and reeds; Virgil himself uses *calamos* to mean reeds, and by extension, Pan-pipe in *Eclogue* 5.2. In this interpretation, there is synecdoche with *arcum*, the bow representing a part for the combination of his bow and arrow. As Daphnis was a master musician, this would make sense as an affront to him. *Calamus* can also be translated as "an arrow" as Fairclough has done here.³¹ Virgil has muddied

²⁸ *Eclogue* 3.12-15.

²⁹ On the term *locus horridus*, see, for example, G. Petrone 1988. Malaspina 1994, 9 notes the use of the term "inamoenus" and also that Garber coined the phrase "*locus terribilis*." (Garber, K. 1974. *Der locus amoenus oder der locus terribilis. Bild und Funktion der Natur in der deutschen Schäfer- und Landlebendichtung des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Köln.) Malaspina 1994, 15-16 notes that Euripides' *Bacchae* is also an example of a *locus horridus*. Admittedly, this physical fight in *Eclogue* 3 is much less intense than Pentheus' rending by his mother. One could equally include Persephone's abduction scene in a listing of *loca horrida*. See also Giacomoni 2007. An important question arises with *loca horrida*: is the location horrible because of the plants, or because of the actions that take place there? This tension is exemplified in the *Bacchae*, which depicts a terrible act in a pleasing place. See also Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* III.687-746, where the *locus amoenus* sets the scene for desire, but results in the death of Procris by Cephalus' arrow. The *locus amoenus* is missing in the much longer version found in *Metamorphoses* 7.672-862.

³⁰ It is also notable that *Idylls* 8 and 9, the spurious *Idylls*, involve the singing contests of Daphnis and Menalcas.

³¹ *OLD* s.v. *calamus* 1. a reed or cane; 3. a.) a reed pipe b.) pan pipes; 6. an arrow. According to the *OLD*, it can also mean a fishing rod, a bird trap, a vine prop, or a stalk or shoot, all which would be appropriate to the pastoral world.

the distinction here, and though the polysemy may be intentional,³² and parallels suggest *calamos* refers to Daphnis' pipes. In every other instance of a beech in the *Eclogues*, music is present.³³

The tension of *Eclogue 3* is removed from the fifth *Eclogue*, when Menalcas suggests a shady location to Mopsus, a fellow herder, for their singing and piping. The two spots are minimally described:

Menalcas: *Cur non, Mopse, boni quoniam convenimus ambo
tu calamos inflare levis, ego dicere versus,
hic corulis mixtas inter consedimus ulmos?*

Mopsus: *Tu maior; tibi me est aequom parere, Menalca,
sive sub incertas Zephyris motantibus umbras,
sive antro potius succedimus. Aspice ut antrum
silvestris raris sparsit labrusca racemis.*

Menalcas: Mopsus, now that we have met, good men both,
you at blowing on the slender reeds, I at singing verses—
why don't we sit here, where the hazels mix with elms?

Mopus: You are older, Menalcas: it is right for me to defer
to you, whether we pass beneath the shadows that shift at
the Zephyrs' stirring, or rather into the cave. See how the
wild vine with its stray clusters has overrun the cave.³⁴

Here, in contrast with *Eclogue 3* or *Idyll 5*, the contentious decision-making process for the location of their singing is eliminated. Mopsus acquiesces to Menalcas' suggestion, even though his cave may have been even more preferable with the "overrunning vines."

³² Martindale 1993, 59 seems uncomfortable with this sort of polysemy. Ovid similarly blurs meanings in his Io story, which prompts Martindale to write "[s]lippages of this kind undermine the security of language, reference and meaning."

³³ In *Eclogue 1.1*, Tityrus is piping beneath a beech; in 2.3, Corydon sings to Alexis; in 5.13 Mopsus claims he wrote a song on beech bark; and in 9.9 Menalcas is rumored to have saved land, including beeches, with his songs.

³⁴ *Eclogue 5.1-7*.

From their simple, yet pleasing, place they sing about Daphnis' death (from unrequited love) and eventual apotheosis.

The use of a single-element *locus amoenus*, an oak, is one of two recurring botanical themes in *Daphnis and Chloe* that frame the plot of the title characters' sexual development. The oak appears at what Morgan calls "a recurrent location marking some of the novel's most intimate moments."³⁵ At 1.12.5, after Daphnis falls into the wolf trap and is rescued by the cowherd Dorkon, Daphnis and Chloe sat "down against the trunk of an oak and looked to see if Daphnis had got blood on any part of his body as a result of his fall (καθίσαντες ὑπὸ στελέχει δρυὸς ἐσκόπουν μή τι μέρος τοῦ σώματος ὁ Δάφνις ἤμαξε καταπεσών)." By 1.13.4, the oak is described as their "usual" tree: "When they got to the pasture next day, Daphnis sat down under the usual oak and began to play his pipe (τῆς δὲ ἐπιούσης ὡς ἤκον εἰς τὴν νομὴν, ὁ μὲν Δάφνις ὑπὸ τῆ δρυὶ τῆ συνήθει καθεζόμενος ἐσύριττε)."³⁶ In Longus' world, however, the oak tree functions as a common denominator among herdsmen in love.³⁷ When they meet Philetas, an old herdsman who shares the same names as a Greek poet, in Book 2, Philetas recounts how he met Eros in his garden and how Eros told him "...I used to sit beside you while you played your Pan-pipe underneath those oaks, then you were in love with Amaryllis (παρήμην σοι συρίττοντι πρὸς ταῖς φηγοῖς ἐκείναις ἠνίκα ἤρας Ἀμαρυλλίδος)."³⁸

³⁵ Morgan 2004: 161 note ad 1.12.5. The oak was also seen as a singing location in *Idylls* 1 and 5.

³⁶ The oak, however, appears at seven other key moments in the novel: 2.11, 2.21, 2.30, 2.38, 3.12, 3.16, and 4.15.

³⁷ This interpretation strengthens the idea that the oak represents their erotic relationship.

³⁸ *Daphnis and Chloe* 2.5.3.

Although Daphnis and Chloe do not yet realize that they are in love with each other, like Philetas and Amaryllis, they take refuge under the oak tree and play their pipes.

The other recurring *loca amoena* are found in the descriptions of the seasons. As a novel, *Daphnis and Chloe* marks time by the changing of the seasons. B. P. Reardon notes that “the principle element . . . in the pastoral mechanism is the progression of the seasons.”³⁹ The novel explicitly marks the changing of the seasons throughout:

1.9: the first spring when Daphnis and Chloe go out to tend their flocks for the first time.

1.23: “the end of spring and the beginning of summer, and everything was at its best (Ἔρος ἦν ἤδη τέλη καὶ θερούς ἀρχή καὶ πάντα ἐν ἀκμῇ).”

1.28/2.1: the first autumn. Autumn is named at 1.28, but the description of it is “postponed until the beginning of Bk. 2, because, despite the chronology, this episode belongs to the protagonists’ period of innocence.”⁴⁰

3.2: the first winter

3.12: second spring

3.24-34: second summer

4.1: second autumn

Although the seasons are important to the progress of the novel, the details of the seasons are not explicit. W. Geoffrey Arnott has evaluated Longus’ approach to the natural world: the general term ἄνθος (flower) occurs twenty-seven or twenty-eight times (“there is some doubt over the text at 1.32.2”), φυτόν (plant) is referenced thirteen times, and ὄρνις

³⁹ Reardon 1994, 138. On page 145 he notes that there is a distinct structure to each season: first a description of the season, then the reaction of the lovers to the season, and then the events which arise from the season.

⁴⁰ Morgan 2004, 172-173 note ad loc.

(bird) twenty-three times.⁴¹ These generalizations, without specification of what flowers are blooming, for example, are best seen in the description of the first spring (1.9):

Ἦρος ἦν ἀρχὴ καὶ πάντα ἤκμαζεν ἄνθη, τὰ ἐν δρυμοῖς, τὰ ἐν λειμῶσι, καὶ ὅσα ὄρεια. Βόμβος ἦν ἤδη μελιττῶν, ἦχος ὀρνίθων μουσικῶν, σκιρτῆματα ποιμνίων ἀρτιγεννήτων· ἄρνες ἐσκίρτων ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ἐβόμβουν ἐν τοῖς λειμῶσιν αἱ μέλιτται, τὰς λόχμας κατῆδον ὄρνιθες.

It was the start of spring. The flowers were all abloom, in hedgerow, meadow and mountain. Now there was buzzing of bees, music of songbirds, skipping of new-born sheep; the lambs skipped on the mountains, the bees buzzed in the meadows, the birds filled the thickets with song.

Longus simply mentions “flowers” and “birds.” And in case the reader was unsure, after he notes that “all the flowers” were in bloom, Longus repeats twice in sophistic triads that there were bees, birds, and lambs. Although the seasons mark the progression of time and the progression of Daphnis and Chloe’s knowledge about love, the seasons are described in vague terms. Although the novel is predominantly set in the outside natural world, Longus does not bother his readers with the details of it.⁴²

This description of spring, however, when the natural world comes to life and frolics, inspires Daphnis and Chloe: they play childish pastoral games together and quickly become inseparable. By the time the first summer comes, however, Daphnis and Chloe are in love, but do not understand their feelings. The Longus writes, with more detail than his description of the first spring:

⁴¹ Arnott 1994, 200.

⁴² Longus says as much in section 3 of his prologue. The work he is creating is “an offering to Love, the Nymphs and Pan, a possession to delight all mankind, which will heal the sick and comfort the distressed, stir the memory of those who have been in love, and give preparatory instruction to those who have not (ἀνάθημα μὲν Ἔρωτι καὶ Νύμφαις καὶ Πανί, κτῆμα δὲ τερπνὸν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ὃ καὶ νοσοῦντα ἰάσεται καὶ λυπούμενον παραμυθήσεται, τὸν ἐρασθέντα ἀναμνήσει, τὸν οὐκ ἐρασθέντα προπαιδεύσει).

Ἐξέκαε δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἡ ὥρα τοῦ ἔτους. Ἴηρος ἦν ἤδη τέλη
καὶ θέρους ἀρχὴ καὶ πάντα ἐν ἀκμῇ· δένδρα ἐν καρποῖς,
πεδία ἐν ληίοις· ἠδεῖα μὲν τεττίγων ἠχή, γλυκεῖα δὲ ὀπώρας
ὁδμή, τερπνὴ δὲ ποιμνίων βληγή. (2) Εἵκασεν ἄν τις καὶ
τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἄδειν ἠρέμα ῥέοντας, καὶ τοὺς ἀνέμους
συρίττειν ταῖς πίτυσιν ἐμπνέοντας, καὶ τὰ μῆλα ἐρῶντα
πίπτειν χαμαί, καὶ τὸν ἥλιον φιλόκαλον ὄντα πάντα
ἀποδύειν.

The season added to the heat they felt. It was now the end
of spring, the start of summer, and everything was at its
best. The trees were covered in fruit, the fields in crops.
There was the pleasant sound of cicadas, a sweet fragrance
of fruits, a delightful bleating of sheep. (2) One might have
thought the rivers were softly singing as they flowed, the
winds were piping as they blew through the pines, the
apples were dropping to the ground from love, and the sun
was making everyone take their clothes off because it loved
beauty so.⁴³

In this *locus amoenus* there seems to be a connection between the setting and its ability to help foster desire. The heat of the summer contributes to their emotional “heat” towards each other, even though they still do not know what love is. Longus also creates a crescendo, first simply saying “everything was at its best (πάντα ἐν ἀκμῇ).” Then he describes two elements, the trees and fields, then three: the sound of cicadas, smell of fruit, and sound of bleating sheep. Finally, just as the summer adds heat to their feelings, Longus concludes his description of the summer with four elements, the rivers, the winds, apples, and the sun.

Like Longus’ careful description of the first summer, Theocritus’ *Idyll 7* is remarkable in its detail of a harvest season festival. Theocritus provides the first (and probably most famous) pastoral example of a seasonal *locus amoenus* at the end of the seventh *Idyll*. Briefly, in this poem Simichidas is walking with friends to a harvest

⁴³ *Daphnis and Chloe* 1.23.1-2. It is hard not to be reminded of the opening lines of *Idyll 1* with a reference to the sweet sound of wind through the trees (καὶ τοὺς ἀνέμους συρίττειν ταῖς πίτυσιν ἐμπνέοντας.)

festival, and on the way they meet Lykidas, a goatherd. They exchange songs about various desires: Lykidas sings that he is burning from love for Ageanax, and that he prays for a safe return for him. He then imagines his life with Ageanax when he does return, and imagines Tityrus singing the song about Daphnis for them. Simichidas, in turn, sings about a friend, Aratus, who is in love with a boy who does not love him back. When they have both finished their songs, they part ways, and Simichidas makes his way to the festival. This is how he describes the farm:

αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν τε καὶ Εὐκρίτος ἐς Φρασιδάμω
στραφθέντες χῶ καλὸς Ἄμύντιχος ἔν τε βαθείαις
ἀδείας σχοίνοιο χαμευνίσιν ἐκλίνθημες
ἔν τε νεοτμάτοισι γεγαθότες οἶναρέοισι.
πολλὰ δ' ἄμμιν ὑπερθε κατὰ κρατὸς δονέοντο 135
αἴγειροι πετέλαι τε· τὸ δ' ἐγγύθεν ἱερὸν ὕδωρ
Νυμφᾶν ἐξ ἄντροιο κατειβόμενον κελάρυζε.
τοὶ δὲ ποτὶ σκιαραῖς ὀροδαμνίσιν αἰθαλίωνες
τέττιγες λαλαγεῦντες ἔχον πόνον· ἅ δ' ὀλολυγῶν
τηλόθεν ἐν πυκινᾶσι βάτων τρύζεσκεν ἀκάνθαις· 140
ἄειδον κόρυδοι καὶ ἀκανθίδες, ἔστενε τρυγῶν,
πωτῶντο ξουθαὶ περὶ πίδακας ἀμφὶ μέλισσαι.
πάντ' ὥσδεν θέρεος μάλα πίονος, ὥσδε δ' ὀπώρας.
ὄχλαι μὲν παρ ποσσὶ, παρὰ πλευραῖσι δὲ μᾶλα
δαψιλέως ἀμῖν ἐκυλίνδετο, τοὶ δ' ἐκέχυντο 145
ὄρπακες βραβίλοισι καταβρίθοντες ἔραζε·
τετράενες δὲ πίθων ἀπελύετο κρατὸς ἄλειφαρ.
...
τοῖον νέκταρ ἔπεισε κατ' αὐλῖα ποσσὶ χορεῦσαι, 153
οἶον δὴ τόκα πῶμα διεκρανάσατε Νύμφαι
βωμῶ παρ Δάματρος ἀλωίδος; ἄς ἐπὶ σωρῶ 155
αὐτίς ἐγὼ πάξαιμι μέγα πτύον, ἃ δὲ γελάσσαι
δράγματα καὶ μάκωνας ἐν ἀμφοτέραισιν ἔχοισα.

[B]ut I [Simichidas] and Eucritus and the fair Amyntas turned towards Phrasydamus's farm and laid ourselves down on deep couches of sweet rush and in the fresh-stripped vine-leaves. Many a poplar and elm murmured

above our heads, and near at hand the sacred water from the cave of the Nymphs fell plashing. On the shady boughs the dusky cicadas were busy with their chatter, and the tree-frog far off cried in the dense thornbrake. Larks and finches sang, the doves made moan, and bees flitted humming about the springs. All things were fragrant of rich harvest and of fruit-time. Pears at our feet and apples at our side were rolling plentifully, and the branches hung down to the ground with their burden of sloes [a more bitter type of plum]. And the four-year seal was loosened from the head of the wine-jars. . . . such nectar as you Nymphs mingled for us to drink that day by the altar of Demeter of the Threshing-floor. On her heap may I plant again the great winnowing-shovel while she smiles on us with sheaves and poppies in either hand.⁴⁴

The harvest season is depicted at its peak in this passage. Fruit and grain have been harvested, and the animals seem nearly to be celebrating with the humans. Hunter notes the sensual quality in this passage, beginning with “sounds associated with coolness,” then the “persistent sounds of animate nature,” to the scents, and then tastes of the wine. Beyond that, cicadas, birds, and frogs contribute to an “improbable orchestra.”⁴⁵ The overabundance of potential sensual stimuli as is seen here becomes typical in the seasonal descriptions—particularly the harvest seasons.

The improbability of this passage has caught the attention of scholars, even causing Pearce to comment, “It is not immediately clear that this passage has any literary significance.”⁴⁶ Simichidas is going to a festival to celebrate a harvest he has not made himself. The description of the scene, then, is provided by a man who, we learn at the

⁴⁴ *Idyll* 7.131-147; 153-157.

⁴⁵ Hunter 1999, 192 note ad loc.

⁴⁶ Pearce 1988, 291. (Pearce, does, however, go on to demonstrate the correspondences between Simichidas and Socrates in the *Phaedrus*, thus providing significance.)

beginning of the poem, is coming “ἐκ πόλιος (from the city)”⁴⁷ and has a gentleman’s knowledge of the rustic world. This unfamiliarity with the rustic life may account for some of the perceived problems with this passage. First, the topography of the setting is cramped with couches, elms, poplars, bushes, thickets, apples, pears, and sloe trees, springs, and caves. There are cicadas, tree frogs, larks, finches, and turtle doves, and bees. Seemingly everything possible is included in this description. Simichidas describes the singing of the finches and larks, which Gow notes have an “inconspicuous” song and are “elsewhere spoken of with contempt.” In turn, the turtle dove “ἔστεινε,” a verb which means “to moan.” Gow has much to say about this, commenting that the turtle dove is “proverbial for persistency, but is not praised for beauty.” Gow continues that “ἔστεινε” had only previously been applied to the sea (*Iliad* 23.230), and is used to describe a donkey in the *Wasps* at line 180.⁴⁸ Gow defends Simichidas’ description, however, commenting that he “may merely describe the concert of a fine summer day without implying that its components are individually attractive.”⁴⁹ In contrast, scholars like Pearce and Hatzikosta are critics of Simichidas. Hatzikosta writes,

...the sham countryman Simichidas, in his bogus love for the countryside, mixes inappositely the song of birds and insects traditionally liked (bees, etc.) with the song of birds and animals which real ‘campagnards’ did not like and which he pretends to like in his overzealous attempt to elaborate the bucolic setting.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ *Idyll* 7.2.

⁴⁸ Gow 1952, 165-166 note ad loc.

⁴⁹ Gow 1952, 166.

⁵⁰ Hatzikosta 1982, 200.

Although Simichidas may be an unreliable narrator of country life, Theocritus, I believe, is wonderfully and completely in control of this *locus amoenus*. Theocritus draws out the long, languid quality of the scene with the long “o” and “u” sounds, which is particularly evident in line 143: πάντ’ ὄσδεν θέρεος μάλα πίονος, ὄσδε δ’ ὀπώρας.⁵¹ Theocritus uses the poplars and elms to remind the reader about the beginning of the poem, namely the creation of the Burina spring which has the very same types of trees around it (7.6-9). The description of the festival scene controls the reader’s gaze upwards and down again, with the visual elements chiastically arranged:

Mortal world: Attendees of the festival	
(A)Low couch: rush and vine	[2 elements]
(B)Above: poplar and elm	[2]
(C)Nearby: water, cave, nymphs	[3]
(D)In the trees: cicadas	[1]
(D)In the thornbrake: frogs	[1]
(C)Nearby: larks, doves, finches	[3]
(B)Above: bees flitting	[1]
(A)Low: Pears and sloes	[2]
Immortal world: Nymphs and Demeter	

In addition to controlling the reader’s gaze, by beginning the description of the festival with the human participants, Theocritus allows the reader to mentally “join” the celebration. The reader is there in the poem as the natural world hums, flits, croaks, and sings around him.

The way Theocritus controls the reader’s gaze at the end of *Idyll 7* is foreshadowed by Lycopus’ creation of the Burina spring and the “shady precinct” that surrounds it at the beginning of the poem:

...Βούριναν ὃς ἐκ ποδὸς ἄννε κρίναν

⁵¹ Jenkyns 1998, 51-52.

εὖ ἐνερειαμενος πέτρα γόνυ· ταὶ δὲ παρ' αὐτάν
αἴγειροι πτελέαι τε εὐσκιον ἄλλος ὕφαινον
χλωροῖσιν πετάλοισι κατηρεφές κομόωσαι.

[Lycopus] who set his knee firm against the rock and
made the spring Burina well beneath his foot; and hard by
the spring, poplars and elms, with green foliage arched
luxuriant above, wove a shady precinct.⁵²

Here, the gaze is shifted upwards from the rock below Lycopus' foot to the trees and arching foliage above. The verdancy of the vegetation at the beginning of the poem, and inclusion of poplars and elms in both *loca amoena*, will be echoed and amplified by the lush description of the harvest festival at the poem's conclusion. Thus in *Idyll 7*, the poem opens with a brief *locus amoenus* about the creation of the Burina Spring, there are two songs about love (desire), and the poem concludes with an expanded *locus amoenus*. The poem provides a fictionalized space—the path from the city to Phrasydamas' farm—which is bookended by *loca amoena*, and in which erotic desires can be described. The *loca amoena* contribute to the cohesive visual unity of the poem.

The non-pastoral *Idyll 13* provides an interesting point of contrast with the creation of the spring in *Idyll 7*.⁵³ In 13, Theocritus describes the spring where Hylas is abducted:

τάχα δὲ κράναν ἐνόησεν
ἡμένω ἐν χώρῳ· περὶ δὲ θρύα πολλὰ πεφύκει,
κυάνεόν τε χελιδόνιον χλωρόν τ' ἀδιάντον
καὶ θάλλοντα σέλινα καὶ εἰλιτενῆς ἄγρωστις.

⁵² *Idyll 7.6-9*.

⁵³ See also *Idyll 22.37ff* which contrasts a pleasing location with the deadly boxer, Amycus.

Soon in a low-lying place he spied a spring, round which
grew rushes thick, and dark celadine, green maiden-hair,
and wild celery luxuriant, and creeping dog's tooth.⁵⁴

Here, too, Theocritus controls the direction of the reader's "gaze." In contrast with the upward movement in *Idyll 7*, *Idyll 13* draws the reader's gaze downward, to the low-lying place and the plants surrounding the spring, just as Hylas will be drawn down into the water.⁵⁵ The order of the plants mimics this drawing down: rush grows the tallest of the five plants, and the last plant, dog's tooth grass, is the shortest.⁵⁶ Further, the dog's tooth grass is described as "creeping (εἰλιπτενῆς)" which is a description of its root system and the way the plant spreads.⁵⁷ This adjective pulls the reader's gaze all the way underground, just as Hylas will fall into the water at lines 49-50: "and headlong into the dark pool he fell (κατήριπε δ' ἐς μέλαν ὕδωρ / ἀθρόος)." At line 33 Theocritus tells us that it is already evening (δειλινοί), so the pool would have provided a more profound contrast to the bright green plants bounding it.⁵⁸ Hunter notes that the creeping quality of the roots is also syntactically present: "[t]he lushness which covers two verbless lines is further marked by the absence of a third-foot caesura in 41, as the plants grow over the

⁵⁴ *Idyll 13.39-42.*

⁵⁵ Goldhill 1994, 195-223 notes that Theocritus also controls the reader's gaze in *Idyll 15*, the celebration of Adonis.

⁵⁶ Speichert and Speichert 2004, 206.

⁵⁷ Heywood 1985, 285-290 notes that *Cynodon dactylon* grasses have a "creeping stem bearing adventitious roots and branching (tillering) at ground level." See page 289 for a drawing of the plant. Hunter 1999, 278 notes that εἰλιπτενῆς is a *hapax legomenon*. Alice Lindsell 1937, 80 calls this adjective "a very botanical epithet" because it would require first-hand knowledge of (and experience with) the plant.

⁵⁸ Segal 1981, 54 translates δειλινοί as night time. The *LSJ* offers "at evening." I think the way the colors are described and contrasted with each other would be best seen at evening, at dusk, when colors seem both brighter and darker than during the day.

normal divisions of the hexameter.”⁵⁹ Hunter further links the lushness of the Hylas scene with associations of female “‘otherness’ and sexuality.”⁶⁰ Here, the vegetation grows around the spring in which nymphs live, where Hylas will be abducted. The desires of the nymphs result in Hylas’ death.

The connection between fertility and vegetation can likewise be seen on Calypso’s island, in the meadow of Persephone’s abduction,⁶¹ and also in *Daphnis and Chloe*.⁶² In Book 1, when Chloe is exposed as an infant, Dryas, her foster father, finds her in a cave:

Ἴνα τοῦ ἄντρου, τῆς μεγάλης πέτρας, ἦν τὸ μεσαίτατον, ἐκ
πηγῆς ὕδωρ ἀναβλύζον ῥεῖθρον ἐποίει χεόμενον, ὥστε καὶ
λειμῶν πάνυ γλαφυρὸς ἐκτέτατο πρὸ τοῦ ἄντρου πολλῆς
καὶ μαλακῆς πόας ὑπὸ τῆς νοτίδος τρεφομένης.

The mouth of the cave was in the very middle of the rock,
and from it water came gushing out and flowed away in a
stream; so there was an expanse of very lush meadow in
front of the cave, as the moisture made the grass grow thick
and soft.⁶³

By placing Chloe in a cave with a meadow nearby, Longus follows the mythical (and literary) tradition whereby maidens are abducted in meadows to be made wives, recalling Persephone and Europa.⁶⁴ Helene Foley notes that meadows function in mythology as

⁵⁹ Hunter 1999, 277 note ad loc.

⁶⁰ Hunter 1999, 277 and Hunter 1996, 61. Hunter 1996, 28 sees a generic connection between *Idylls* 6, 11, 13, and 22, the mythological poems (Polyphemus in 6 and 11, Hylas in 13, and Amycus the boxer in 22).

⁶¹ *H. Hymn Demeter* 2.4-14. Cf., Europa’s abduction in Moschus’ *Rape of Europa*.

⁶² Mason 1995, 264-265 reviews actual cave formations relative to the cave in which Chloe was found.

⁶³ *Daphnis and Chloe* 1.4.3. A later description of the cave appears at 2.18, which is also a *locus amoenus*.

⁶⁴ Richardson 1974, 140-141 and also Segal 1981, 49. See lines 63ff in Moschus. Hardin 2000, 15 calls the cave “womblike.”

liminal sites that mark the sexual transition from maiden to wife:⁶⁵ although Chloe is only an infant here and is not being abducted, the meadow outside the cave foreshadows Chloe's transformation from maiden to wife at the conclusion of the novel when Daphnis and Chloe marry and bring their desires to fruition.

When Daphnis is exposed, he is found in a thicket, which also seems to allude to his sexual maturation and marriage to Chloe at the end of the novel:

δρυμὸς ἦν καὶ λόχμη βάτων καὶ κιττὸς ἐπιπλανώμενος καὶ
πόα μαλθακή, καθ' ἧς ἔκειτο τὸ παιδίον.

There was a small wood containing a bramble-thicket,
some wandering ivy, and some soft grass on which the
baby was lying.⁶⁶

Instead of the fertile spring and meadow, Daphnis is found near a prickly thicket. The contrast of Daphnis and Chloe's find-sites is accentuated when brambles and thickets appear later in the novel. Brambles and thickets seem to act as botanical markers to indicate sexual predation or aggression.⁶⁷ This idea is supported when Dorkon and Lycaneion are attracted to Chloe and Daphnis respectively. In Book 1, Dorkon attempts to court Chloe, but fails because her father thinks Dorkon too lowly for his daughter; furthermore, she is already smitten with Daphnis. Dorkon, angered by these rejections and in order to have his way with her, dons a wolf skin. He hides in a thicket near a spring that was covered with brambles, and waits for Chloe to water the sheep and goats (1.21.3). This plot fails because the herding dogs mistake him to be a real wolf, and he is

⁶⁵ Foley 1994, 33 note on *H. Hymn Demeter* 5-14. Bremer 1975 makes a similar inference from Euripides' *Hippolytus*.

⁶⁶ *Daphnis and Chloe* 1.2.1.

⁶⁷ Brambles and thickets are generally reserved for *adynata* in Theocritus and Virgil. See Chapter 3.

badly injured. Longus uses this botanical marker again in Book 3, when a woman named Lycaneion (whose name means “little she-wolf”) hides in a thicket—just as Dorkon had—and watches Daphnis and Chloe struggle unsuccessfully to remedy their love (3.15.4). Seeing them, she decides to teach Daphnis the ways of love, inverting the cultural paradigm of a male sexual aggressor or predator.⁶⁸ Because thickets appear with all three characters who are sexually aggressive—including Daphnis, who will eventually be the “educated” aggressor on their wedding night—they are a botanical marker for general sexual aggression. Brambles, however, only appear with Daphnis and Dorkon, and seem here to be markers for male sexual aggression.⁶⁹ In contrast with the *locus amoenus*, the Dorkon and Lycaneion passages in which brambles and thickets appear are the opposite of a pleasing place. Instead they are *loca horrida*, which attempt to disrupt Daphnis and Chloe’s relationship. Nevertheless, these *loca horrida* are also places in which desires can be frustrated in Dorkon’s case, or in Lycaneion’s case, made real.

Longus makes more explicit connections between Daphnis and Chloe’s relationship and the natural world with his use of two domestic gardens. Unlike his seasonal descriptions, Longus is much more specific in his treatment of the plants in Philetas’ garden in Book 2 and Dryas’ garden in Book 4. Philetas describes his garden to Daphnis and Chloe:

κῆπός ἐστί μοι τῶν ἐμῶν χειρῶν, ὄν, ἐξ οὗ νέμειν διὰ γῆρας
ἐπαυσάμην ἐξεπονησάμην, ὅσα ὄραι φύουσι πάντα ἔχων ἐν
αὐτῷ καθ’ ὄραν ἐκάστην· ἦρος ῥόδα, κρίνα καὶ ὑάκινθοι
καὶ ἴα ἀμφότερα. θέρους μήκονες καὶ ἀγράδες καὶ μῆλα

⁶⁸ Hardin 2000, 16 calls Lycaneion a “sexual exploiter.”

⁶⁹ There are three other references to brambles in the novel not associated with sexual aggression: at 1.14.2 Chloe likens the stings of love to bramble stings. In 1.9.1 and 3.12.4 there are the birds (innocuously) in the thickets.

πάντα, νῦν ἄμπελοι καὶ συκαῖ καὶ ροιαὶ καὶ μύρτα χλωρά.
εἰς τοῦτον τὸν κῆπον ὀρνίθων ἀγέλαι συνέρχονται τὸ
ἔωθινόν, τῶν μὲν ἐς τροφήν, τῶν δὲ ἐς ᾠδήν. συνηρηφῆς
γὰρ καὶ κατάσκιος καὶ πηγαῖς τρισὶ κατάρρυτος. ἂν
περιέλῃ τις τὴν αἵμασιάν, ἄλσος ὄρᾶν οἰήσεται.

I have a garden I have made with my own hands. I have
been working on it ever since I gave up being a herdsman
because of my age, and every season it supplies me with all
the produce of that season. In spring there are roses, lilies,
hyacinths, and both kinds of violet, in summer there are
poppies and pears and all sorts of apples, and now there are
grapes and figs and pomegranates and the fruit of the green
myrtle. Flocks of birds collect in this garden of mine every
morning, some looking for food and some just wanting to
sing—for it's overhung with trees and full shade and
watered by three springs. In fact, if you took away the
fence, my garden would look exactly like a small wood.⁷⁰

Philetas' garden is a controlled version of a natural *locus amoenus*, with all of the
constituent elements: year-round flowers and fruits, (unnamed) birds flying and singing,
shade from the (unnamed) trees, and three springs. Philetas' garden is both decorative
and productive. He lists fruit he harvests from it, but there are also purely decorative
elements as well, and we, the readers, are only told what the garden looked like. Longus
does not dwell on the labor involved in tending such a garden.

Most importantly, however, it is in this *locus amoenus* that Philetas finds Eros.

Desire himself has been bathing and flitting around Philetas' garden. Philetas complains:

Γυμνὸς ἦν, μόνος ἦν· ἔπαιζειν ὡς ἴδιον κῆπον τρυγῶν. Ἐγὼ
μὲν οὖν ᾠρμησα ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὡς συλληψόμενος, δείσας μὴ
ὑπ' ἀγερωχίας τὰς μυρρίνας καὶ τὰς ροιάς κατακλάσῃ· ὁ δὲ
με κούφως καὶ ῥαδίως ὑπέφευγε, ποτὲ μὲν ταῖς ῥοδωνιαῖς

⁷⁰ *Daphnis and Chloe* 2.3.3-5.

ὑποτρέχων, ποτὲ δὲ ταῖς μήκωσιν ὑποκρυπτόμενος ὥσπερ
πέρδικος νεοττός.

[Eros] was naked and he was alone, playing as if he owned the garden whose fruit he was picking. So I rushed to grab him, afraid that in his boisterousness he would break down my myrtle-bushes and pomegranate trees; but he dodged me nimbly and easily, sometimes running under the roses, sometimes hiding under the poppies like a partridge chick.

It is here, where Philetas has literally been frustrated by Eros (desire), that Daphnis and Chloe will be told about love, and we learn that Eros is looking out for the hero and heroine. From this point on, we know that somehow—even through all of the trials and tribulations they may face—there will be a “happily ever after.” While Philetas’ garden does not necessarily inspire Daphnis and Chloe’s desires for each other—they already had feelings for one another just not a name for them—the scene in Philetas’ garden provides them with a new kind of desire: for knowledge of the physical remedies of love.

Like the *locus amoenus* pendants at the beginning and end of Theocritus’ *Idyll 7*, Longus uses Philetas’ garden as the introduction to love for Daphnis and Chloe; later in Book 4 the condition of Lamon’s garden is one of the means by which their marriage is allowed to proceed. Daphnis’ parents tend the land and the herds of Dionysophanes’ estate. If, when he visits, he is pleased with the way Daphnis and his parents have been taking care of his estate, he might be inclined to give permission for Daphnis to marry Chloe. Lamon’s garden is described extensively at 4.2:

Ἦν δὲ ὁ παράδεισος πάγκαλόν τι χρῆμα καὶ κατὰ τοὺς
βασιλικούς. ἐκτέτατο μὲν εἰς σταδίου μῆκος, ἔκειτο δὲ ἐν
χώρῳ μετεώρῳ, τὸ εὖρος ἔχων πλέθρων τεσσάρων· εἴκασεν
ἄν τις αὐτὸν πεδίῳ μακρῷ. εἶχε δὲ πάντα δένδρα, μηλέας,
μυρρίνας, ὄχνας καὶ ροιὰς καὶ συκᾶς καὶ ἐλαίας· ἐτέωθη

ἄμπελον ὑψηλήν, καὶ ἐπέκειτο ταῖς μηλέαις καὶ ταῖς ὄχλαις
περκάζουσα, καθάπερ περὶ τοῦ καρποῦ αὐταῖς
προσερίζουσα. τοσαῦτα ἡμερα. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ κυπάριττοι
καὶ δάφναι καὶ πλάτανοι καὶ πίτυς· ταύταις πάσαις ἀντὶ τῆς
ἀμπέλου κιττὸς ἐπέκειτο, καὶ ὁ κόρυμβος αὐτοῦ μέγας ὢν
καὶ μελαινόμενος βότρυν ἐμμεῖτο.

ἔνδον ἦν τὰ καρποφόρα φυτὰ καθάπερ
φρουρούμενα· ἔξωθεν περιεστήκει τὰ ἄκαρπα καθάπερ
θριγγὸς χειροποίητος, καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι λεπτῆς αἵμασιᾶς
περιέθει περίβολος. τέτμητο καὶ διακέκριτο πάντα, καὶ
στέλεχος στελέχους ἀφειστήκει. ἐν μετεώρῳ δὲ οἱ κλάδοι
συνέπιπτον ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἐπήλλαττον τὰς κόμας. ἐδόκει
μέντοι καὶ ἡ τούτων φύσις εἶναι τέχνης. ἦσαν καὶ ἀνθῶν
πρασιαί, ὧν τὰ μὲν ἔφερον ἡ γῆ, τὰ δὲ ἐποίει τέχνη·
ρόδωνιαι καὶ ὑάκινθοι καὶ κρίνα χειρὸς ἔργα, ἰωνιάς καὶ
ναρκίσσους καὶ ἀναγαλλίδας ἔφερον ἡ γῆ. σκιά τε ἦν
θέρους καὶ ἦρος ἄνθη καὶ μετοπώρου τρύγη κατὰ πᾶσαν
πᾶσαν ὥραν ὀπώρα.

This garden was indeed a very beautiful place even by comparison with a royal garden. It was two hundred yards long, lay on high ground, and was about a hundred yards wide. It was not unlike a long field. It contained all sorts of trees, apple-trees, myrtles, pear-trees, pomegranate-trees, fig-trees, and olives. On one side there was a tall vine that grew over the apple-trees and pear-trees; its grapes were turning dark, as if ripening in competition with the apples and pears. So much for the cultivated trees; but there were also cypresses and laurels and plane-trees and pines. All these were overgrown, not by vine, but by ivy; and the clusters of ivy-berries, where were big and beginning to turn black, looked exactly like bunches of grapes.

The fruit-trees were in the middle as if for protection, and the other trees stood round them, as if to wall them in; but these in their turn were encircled by a narrow fence. Each tree grew separate and distinct from all its neighbors, and there were spaces between trunk and trunk. But overhead the branches met each other and interlaced their foliage; and though it had happened naturally this too gave the impression of having been done

on purpose. There were also flowerbeds, in which some of the flowers were wild and some cultivated. The cultivated ones were roses, hyacinths and lilies: the wild ones were violets, narcissi and pimpernels. And there was shade in the summer, and flowers in the springtime, and fruit in autumn, and delight all year round.⁷¹

Longus seems to be describing a real and plentiful garden, explaining how the trees interlaced, and how they were situated with each other. Here Longus underscores the artifice of the seemingly “natural” world in Lamon’s garden: the trees, though they occurred without human tending, appear as though they’ve been woven “on purpose.”⁷² Furthermore, this description of the garden reminds the reader of the grove of the nymphs from the prologue, which inspired the story of Daphnis and Chloe. As demonstrated with *Idyll 7* above, the line between nature and artifice is routinely blurred in pastoral.

Longus also adds that there were views of the sea and pastures since the garden was located on high ground, and at the very center of the garden there was a temple and altar to Dionysus. The altar was surrounded by ivy and vines, and Longus provides an *ekphrasis* within this *locus amoenus* about the temple paintings. Inside the temple were paintings of Semele, Ariadne, Lycurgus, Pentheus, Indians being conquered, Tyrhennians being turned into dolphins, and Dionysus’ retinue: satyrs, maenads and Pan.⁷³

Ultimately, even though the garden is ruined by one of Chloe’s rejected suitors, everything falls into place for the marriage of Daphnis and Chloe, and allows their story

⁷¹ *Daphnis and Chloe* 4.2.

⁷² K. Sara Myers, in her forthcoming chapter, has noted that gardens “occupy a controversial place” because they are exactly the *locus* of artificial and natural. See also Grimal 1943, 95 and 295.

⁷³ Newlands 1987, 55 shows how the two paintings, the one from the prologue and the one from Lamon’s garden mirror each other’s events.

of love to come to a conclusion.⁷⁴ Philetas' garden in Book 2 provides the impetus of their desire for the knowledge of love when Philetas describes Eros looking out for the two herders. The condition of Lamon's garden becomes the vehicle by which Daphnis and Chloe might be able to legitimately marry, and then act on their love. In Longus' novel, gardens—and the *loca amoena* they create—not only provide pleasing places, but they also frame a fictional space in which Daphnis and Chloe can play out their desires for each other.

Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* reflects the interconnectedness of art, nature, and desire. In addition to the art in Lamon's garden, Longus tells us, the readers, in the prologue that he is setting out to write the story of love (ἱστορίαν ἔρωτος) which is based on a painting he saw while hunting on Lesbos. He begins the prologue with a description of where he found the painting:

Ἐν Λέσβῳ θηρῶν ἐν ἄλσει Νυμφῶν θέαμα εἶδον κάλλιστον
ὧν εἶδον, εἰκόνοσ γραφήν, ἱστορίαν ἔρωτος. Καλὸν μὲν καὶ
τὸ ἄλσος, πολὺδενδρον, ἀνθηρόν, κατάρρυτον· μία πηγὴ
πάντα ἔτρεφε, καὶ τὰ ἄνθη καὶ τὰ δένδρα· ἀλλ' ἡ γραφὴ
τερπνοτέρα, καὶ τέχνην ἔχουσα περιττὴν καὶ τύχην
ἔρωτικὴν, ὥστε πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ξένων κατὰ φήμην ἦεσαν,
τῶν μὲν Νυμφῶν ἰκέται, τῆσ δὲ εἰκόνοσ θεαταί.

On Lesbos, while hunting, in a grove of the Nymphs, I saw
the most beautiful sight I have ever seen, a depiction of an
image, a history of love. The grove was beautiful too, thick
with trees, brilliant with flowers, irrigated by running
water; a single spring sustained everything, flowers and
trees alike. But the picture was more delightful still,
combining outstanding technique with amorous adventure,
so that many people, including visitors, drawn by its

⁷⁴ The attempted destruction of the garden by Lampis parallels Dorkon's attempt to disrupt Daphnis and Chloe's relationship.

renown, came to pray to the Nymphs and look at the image.⁷⁵

Besides framing the narrative of the novel, this *locus amoenus* that is made of both the natural and man-made elements creates desire in the narrator: “I looked and I wondered, and a desire seized me to respond to the painting in writing (Ἰδοντα με καὶ θαυμάσαντα πόθος ἔσχεν ἀντιγράψαι τῆ γραφῆ).⁷⁶ This desire (πόθος) inspires the creation of Longus’ fictional story of Daphnis and Chloe, which itself begins with a *locus amoenus* of the estate on which the story takes place, outside the city of Mitylene in the country (1.1).⁷⁷ Furthermore, the prologue from *Daphnis and Chloe* also shows how visual representations can be a form of communication.⁷⁸

This section has shown how literary *loca amoena* can create a frame in which desires can be enunciated. These frames themselves sometimes remain external to the desire; they are a pleasing setting where herdsmen can sing about love and desire. Other times, the *locus amoenus* can also be an inspiration for desire. Longus’ prologue shows how a pleasing place can simultaneously create a frame around and inspire desire. Longus’ fictional extra-urban estate also corresponds to some of the Roman villas in Italy in which painting, nature, and desire all function together.

⁷⁵ *Daphnis and Chloe* Prologue section 1.

⁷⁶ *Daphnis and Chloe* Prologue section 3. Weiss 1998, 32 notes that in Homeric and archaic poetry, πόθος is specifically a desire for something not at hand.

⁷⁷ Arguably the way that 1.1 sets the scene for the beginning of the narration is a loose parallel to the opening of Plato’s *Phaedrus*.

⁷⁸ Hölscher, 2004, 7.

***Loca amoena*, wall painting, and desire**

As has been shown, sometimes the *locus amoenus* that provides a place for one's desires can be minimalistic (shade, a tree, a grove, etc.), or like Theocritus' seasonal descriptions or Longus' gardens, they can be quite descriptive and detailed. Roman wall paintings show a similar range of detail. On the one hand there are sacro-idyllic paintings which are small vignettes of a life outside the city with a religious element included, like a temple or altar and people worshipping. On the other hand, there are full-scale representations of flowers, plants, and trees that take up whole rooms (like the garden room of Livia's villa at Prima Porta) or wings of a villa (like Poppaea's villa at Oplontis) that are explicitly designed to communicate with the (real) natural world.⁷⁹ This section will examine some examples of both sacro-idyllic and large-scale types of wall paintings first with respect to how they parallel—but not necessarily quote—the pastoral writers, and then how the paintings relate to desire.

Simpler “sacro-idyllic” paintings will be considered first. Blanckenhagen offers a detailed description of what constitutes a “sacro-idyllic” scene:

Sacro-idyllic landscapes in the strict sense are combinations of no more than a few motives: modest architecture such as small towers of different shapes, aediculae, sacella, scholae, so-called sacred gates, columns and pilasters with ornaments fastened to them—but no colonnades, porticoes or houses—together with statues and votive gifts, altars, parapets, torches, vases, occasionally balusters, and always, prominently, trees and groves. Such bucolic scenes are always peopled, mostly with

⁷⁹ These landscape paintings are, with the exception of the Polyphemus painting, non-narrative. In them, plants of the lower elevations of the Mediterranean are depicted; the plants from this region are the same that are described in pastoral literature. Because of the way these landscape paintings foreground the verdancy of the plants, this examination excludes paintings where the natural world is a background element (as in mythological or other narrative paintings) or the exotic landscapes presented in the Nilotic landscapes or desertscares.

worshippers, sometimes with travellers and shepherds with their flock. Rarely if ever do we find compositions that contain all of these elements, the rule seems to be selection of motives, but there appear always architectural forms, trees and people.⁸⁰

The combination of the sacred and the pastoral is fairly common. In *Idyll* 1, the goatherd respects Pan's noontime anger towards piping, and so he sits with Thyrsis across from a statue of Priapus instead.⁸¹ In *Idyll* 5, Lacon and Comatas promise to give milk to the Nymphs and Pan respectively while in the shade of olives and oaks. In *Daphnis and Chloe* the title characters dutifully worship the nymphs and Pan. For example, the cave where Chloe was found was sacred to the nymphs and contained images of them:

Νυμφῶν ἄντρον ἦν, πέτρα μεγάλη, τὰ ἔνδοθεν κοίλη, τὰ
ἔξωθεν περιφερής. Τὰ ἀγάλματα τῶν Νυμφῶν αὐτῶν
λίθοις ἐπεποίητο... τὸ πᾶν σχῆμα χορεία [ἦν ὀρχούμενων.]

There was a cave sacred to the Nymphs which consisted of a great rock, hollow inside and rounded outside. The images of the Nymphs themselves were made of stone. ...and their whole attitude was suggestive of dancing.⁸²

Sacro-idyllic variations were found in a villa near Boscotrecase which was buried by the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 CE. Two *cubicula* were decorated with small sacro-idyllic landscapes. A *cubiculum* is typically translated as a “bedroom,” but Eleanor Winsor Leach notes that there is a range of functions the so-called *cubiculum* could have.

⁸⁰ Blanckenhagen and Alexander 1990, 10.

⁸¹ I have thus far only found one representation of an actual musical contest, in Thomas 1995, 185. There is a fragmentary representation of a flute player who is identified as Pan from Magdalenberg in Noricum. Kenner 1985, 34ff has identified this scene as one inspired by Theocritus and Virgil.

⁸² *Daphnis and Chloe* 1.4.1-3. These nymphs are less sinister of the dancing nymphs of *Idyll* 13: Segal 1981, 54.

As such, *cubicula* should perhaps be identified as general “private” rooms where personal activities were done, such as studying, sleeping, or reading, though their position in the house (usually off *atria*) simultaneously grants them a semi-public designation.⁸³ Three sacro-idyllic scenes were found in one of the *cubicula* in the villa, the so-called “black room.”⁸⁴ A wide, south-facing door provided the light for this room that was predominantly painted black with a dark red dado. The landscapes, which were painted on a black background, are in light colors and were placed in the middle height of the wall⁸⁵ [Image 1a]. Although the scenes were painted “with quick, sketchy brush strokes” the artists were still mindful of the room’s interplay with natural light, and the shadows fall to the left or right as if the scenes were lit by the sun.⁸⁶

The first vignette, from the north wall, shows five people around a two-story building with a sloped roof⁸⁷ [Images 1 and 2]. Two trees frame the building, and a third tree appears near a small altar. Blanckenhagen identifies this area as a sacred grove, with a sacrifice taking place: one figure is pouring a libation and two others gesture with veneration toward a cult figure.⁸⁸ The second vignette from the west wall shows a similar scene on a black background, this time with a small cylindrical tower flanked by two

⁸³ Leach 2004, 47-48.

⁸⁴ The three paintings are collectively in a bad state of preservation. Two are housed at the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, though Blanckenhagen notes that as of 1962 one was faded and not well-preserved. The third landscape is “presumably in Naples, but no longer to be discovered in the Museum” and exists now only in illustrations from earlier studies (Blanckenhagen and Alexander 1962, 10).

⁸⁵ Blanckenhagen and Alexander 1990, 10.

⁸⁶ Blanckenhagen and Alexander 1990, 5.

⁸⁷ Lehmann 1953, 99 argues that these two-story buildings are granaries. Varro (*De Re Rustica* 1.13.2) and Vitruvius (6.6) both write about the outbuildings of villas. Vitruvius in particular says granaries, barns, and bake houses should be away from the villa in case of fire.

⁸⁸ Blanckenhagen and Alexander 1990, 10.

trees [Image 3]. Again, figures dot the foreground, though the poor state of preservation makes what they are doing unclear. The third scene from the east wall shows a shepherd approaching a tall sacred gate with a cult statue on top; a tree grows through the gate [Image 4]. A statue, or a woman, is in the background beyond the gate to the right, and a statue (or a person?) is housed in a covered porch to the left of the gate. At the far left are two female figures and a tripod. This painting's colors have faded badly, which makes definite identification of the content problematic. All three *cubiculum* paintings, however, are clear enough to show both pastoral and sacred elements. The third painting, with the inclusion of a single tree, is reminiscent of Daphnis and Chloe's single oak.

The second *cubiculum* with sacro-idyllic landscapes at Boscotrecase is accessed through a doorway shared with the first. This room was painted predominantly red with a black dado (reversing the color scheme of the connected *cubiculum*), though the landscapes are on a white ground. Büttner notes that “the white-ground landscape scenes were integrated into an architectural framework, with the appearance of valuable framed paintings.”⁸⁹ On the north wall, the landscape shows a wall, shrines, trees, and mountains in the background in light colors which fade into the white background [Image 5]. An island sanctuary is in the foreground, painted in more vivid colors to indicate proximity to the viewer. The topography of the scene and relationship between the foreground and background are not clear. Water appears on one side of an “island,” and a bridge connects the island with another piece of land in the far right corner. It is not clear where the water comes from, or if it is even a pond or river. The bridge is protected on the land side by an ithyphallic statue and tree. The sacro-idyllic scene is in the foreground: goats

⁸⁹ Büttner 2006, 26.

dot the island, while a herdsman rests near a short column; others seem to be making an offering to a statue of a seated god from a bridge. There are also at least two altars, a tall column topped with a statue, a circular tomb,⁹⁰ and the requisite tree. Small plants are scattered around the island, but are too stylized for identification. This is the first painting actually to include a herdsman. Blanckenhagen has identified the seated divinity as Bacchus based on a now-lost Pompeian wall painting that seems to have represented nearly the same scene, but from a different angle.⁹¹ He further identifies the tomb as belonging to Persephone, Demeter, Tyche, Cybele, or Isis.⁹² The ithyphallic god is clearly Priapus, the god in front of whom Thyrsis sings in *Idyll* 1. Furthermore, this is the first painting to include a body of water, one of the typical constituent elements of a *locus amoenus*.

The wall paintings from the east and west walls both show a rocky foreground scene. In the east wall landscape [Image 6] there is a *sacellum* with a tree growing through it, which is decorated with “shields, tympana (?), vase, pinax; a herm and statuette are on top of the steps.”⁹³ A shield leans against the tree, and two figures approach from the background. A shepherd rests against the *sacellum* with his dog, and a traveller also appears on the right side of the painting, near a tripod on a pedestal. The background is composed of two different scenes; it is hard to align them. On the left there are a series of buildings with a sloped roof (similar to the one seen in north wall of

⁹⁰ Blanckenhagen and Alexander 1990, 13.

⁹¹ This identification perhaps makes a connection with *Daphnis and Chloe*; Dionysus’ life is represented in the paintings of Lamon’s garden, and the owner of the estate himself is named “Dionysophanes” (i.e., “Dionysus made manifest.”)

⁹² Blanckenhagen and Alexander 1990, 13.

⁹³ Blanckenhagen and Alexander 1990, 14.

the first *cubiculum* [Images 1-2]); on the right there is a colonnade that ends with a tower. Beyond the buildings and colonnade cliffs rise up in the distance. This painting in particular seems to highlight the contrast between city and country with a potential cityscape in the background. The third painting, from the west wall of the red room *cubiculum*, is fragmentary [Image 7]. A small tetrastylon encloses a large fig tree, in front of which two figures stand. Statues, altars, and some trees are in the foreground scene. As in the east panel, a traveller rests, and two people (an adult and a child) approach the temple from the right. In the very faded background, a few buildings give rise to cliffs further in the distance.

The six paintings from the Boscotrecase *cubicula*, reveal shared elements with the literary *loca amoena*. First, the sacro-idyllic scenes are pared down to minimal details. Like *Eclogue 1*'s beech, or the spring in *Idyll 6*, the paintings have few natural elements, but the few that they do contain are able to capture the mood of a *locus amoenus*. In the same way that literature describes what the reader should see, the visual vignettes on monochromatic backgrounds draw the viewer's attention specifically to these landscapes. It is also possible to see in these two rooms how these seemingly isolated *topia* were integrated into a larger decorative context, considering how the reversed black and red room schemes would have been in dialogue with each other, to create a cohesive theme.⁹⁴

Because these paintings are located in private (or semi-private) spaces, they also create a space in which desires, both erotic and non-erotic alike, can be acted upon. Although one's own personal domestic space typically represents and provides a space and a way to fulfill one's desires, these fictionalized sacro-idyllic paintings can "carry the

⁹⁴ Büttner 2006, 26.

viewer off into a world of peace and calm.”⁹⁵ This ability to carry off a viewer adds an element of escapism to the *loca amoena*. Even though these visual (and literary) places are fictional, they allow someone to imagine being in that space, which is why the engagement of the senses in a description of a *locus amoenus* is so important.

It is also possible, however, to read these sacro-idyllic paintings, which foreground *pietas*, as a way of fulfilling a religious inclination. These scenes foreground *pietas*—be it the *pietas* of the picture, villa owner, or the viewer. More notably, however, the *idea* of *pietas* is foregrounded. By simply viewing the sacro-idyllic scene you may be filled with a sense of *pietas*. These miniatures of “rustic life” put no onus on the viewer to be reverent, however. By looking at the painting, one might feel their duty more fulfilled, without the actual practicalities of organizing a sacrifice to a rustic god in the country. On the other hand, the paintings might inspire the viewer to carry out their religious duties. These scenes make it clear that the “country life” was simply a “temporal ideal, one that they [i.e., villa owners] sought to realize in their estates and villas with gardens and attendant agriculture.”⁹⁶ The paintings thus could invite the viewer to escape into the fictional idea of an idyllic rustic world or could inspire the viewer to religious obligations.

The escapism of the sacro-idyllic scenes is foregrounded in a painting from the *triclinium* at Oplontis [Image 8].⁹⁷ Because of the way the couches were arranged in the room (the arrangement is able to be known because of the way the mosaic floor is laid

⁹⁵ Zanker 1988, 285.

⁹⁶ Büttner 2006, 27, comment on Plate 3.

⁹⁷ This painting has faded badly, and does not photograph well. The best picture of this painting is found in Ling 1991, 143.

out) one of these sacro-idyllic scenes would have only been visible to someone in what Clarke calls the “circulation space” for servers.⁹⁸ This sacro-idyllic scene, which is tucked into a corner of a room otherwise decorated with loud second-style architectural paintings, could have provided calm and peace, and the image of another place, away from one’s duties.

The sacro-idyllic scenes are also important because of the way they focus the viewer on a single scene, which itself can be part of a larger painting program. The wall paintings from the *cubiculum* at Boscoreale, now reconstructed at the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, show wall paintings with more elements of a *locus amoenus*, but also how the natural world could communicate with the fictional painted one inside.⁹⁹ The *cubiculum* comes from a villa on the southeast slope of Vesuvius belonging to Publius Fannius Synistor in Boscoreale, which was built around 50 BCE.¹⁰⁰ At Boscoreale the *cubiculum* is entered from a small antechamber with third style architectural paintings. The rectangular *cubiculum* also has an off-center window on the short side opposite the doorway from the antechamber. The wall with the window is divided into three sections set off by red columns with vegetation growing around them. The two side pendants depict mirrored outdoor scenes. There are fountains in front of a cave below a rocky cliff face and birds flit about; a trellis tops the cliffs with vines and trees beyond that [Images 9-10]. The images from this wall parallel the general type of *locus amoenus*, with trees, vines, and a water source. The window provides another

⁹⁸ Clarke 1991, 119.

⁹⁹ The *cubicula* from Boscotrecase had the interplay of light in the room, but not, as far as we know, specific articulation with the natural world outside.

¹⁰⁰ De Caro 2010, 4; Bergmann 2010, 14.

potential for a vista out onto a “real” *locus amoenus*: wooden shutters on the window would have allowed the room’s inhabitants to gaze out onto the real landscape. Looking out the window of the *cubiculum*, one would see Vesuvius rising up, perhaps with the vineyards of the slopes visible, like the vines on the trellises inside. Here, in the *cubiculum* at Boscoreale, the artistic world coordinates with the natural world outside the home, while simultaneously evoking the idea of literary *loca amoena*.

The villa at Oplontis takes the idea of a *locus amoenus* to a completely different level, where the whole villa is dedicated to the marriage of art and nature [Image 13]. The villa, believed to have belonged to Poppaea, Nero’s wife, was built in the Julio-Claudian period.¹⁰¹ It is located to the west of Pompeii, in an area that was dotted with luxury villas. The house is lavishly painted in second and third style wall paintings, and along the eastern side of the villa there is a long pool. Wilhelmina Jashemski, the pioneer in Pompeian garden archaeology, was responsible for excavating the gardens at Oplontis, allowing us to understand more precisely the coordination of art and nature on the villa grounds.¹⁰²

In the excavated areas around the villa, there were walkways with trees that coordinated with columned porticoes. The villa provides “[s]tunning examples of how gardens and painting, exterior and interior, spoke a common language... [and] appear in the parallel confections of frescoed rooms and outdoor gardens.”¹⁰³ For example, in one of the interior gardens (room 20, just beyond the main *atrium*) there are fountains painted

¹⁰¹ Jashemski 1987, 72.

¹⁰² Jashemski 1987, 71.

¹⁰³ Bergmann 2002, 110. For a modern interpretation of this balance between art and nature, see Bowe and Dehart 2011, 23-29 on the creations of the Getty Museum gardens.

on the walls and around the garden there is a channel at the base of the parapet walls which both caught rainwater and watered the plants in the garden, creating the impression that the water was for the painted fountains [Image 11]. “Illusions of oleander bushes, fruit trees, and birds, including a peacock perching on a branch, heighten the sensual effects of this expansive, light- and color-filled space located midway within the structure between land and sea.”¹⁰⁴

The east wing of the villa exhibits this combination of nature and art, facing the pool with a series of small rooms with walled gardens between them (roughly corresponding to rooms 63-97 on the plan [Image 12]). These rooms have broad interior windows in addition to doorways, which allow for long sight lines on the axis of this wing. Room 69 forms a center from which there were framed views through both columns and windows that acted like picture windows¹⁰⁵ [Image 13]. This long sight line creates what Bettina Bergmann calls a “disembodied eye,” noting that “where the eye moves, the body cannot follow.”¹⁰⁶ This “disembodied eye” is similar to what a reader experiences—the mind’s eye focuses on the descriptions of *loca amoena*, yet there is no way of physically seeing or being in the location that is described. The rooms along these long sight line are decorated with yellow and red panels showing various types of fountains, surrounded by green vegetation—strawberry arbutuses, oleander, laurel, and a blooming fig or plum tree. The combination of real and painted gardens highlights the “visual play”¹⁰⁷ of the wing. Adding to the lush environment, the yellow panels are

¹⁰⁴ Bergmann 2002, 105. See Fergola and Pagano 1998, 36 figure 45.

¹⁰⁵ See also Andrae 1996, 25-30 for more color photographs of the botanical wall paintings.

¹⁰⁶ Bergmann 2002, 107.

¹⁰⁷ Mazzoleni 2004, 139. See also Pagán 2006, 17.

framed by a deep red border which is also decorated with birds. A botanical motif also appears on the lower register, which is repeated throughout the villa, even away from the east wing.

Bettina Bergmann, while stressing the close interplay between nature and art in the villa at Oplontis, also notes there is also a high level of control over nature and one's experience in the villa.¹⁰⁸ While looking out to the east, the villa faced the sea; to the west, there would have been a gradual progression from gardens to cultivated vines and trees which would give way to untamed wilderness. Bergmann notes, however, "Despite appearance, though, this was hardly wilderness; invisible to the naked eye, the Roman system of centuriation ensured that the ordered landscape continued beyond view."¹⁰⁹ The walkways outside the villa were bound by hedges, and gardens were bound by walls and parapets inside. In the sprawling villa, many rooms only have one doorway and connect with only one other room or hallway, controlling one's paths through the house.¹¹⁰ This parallels the level of control exhibited in the descriptions of *loca amoena* in pastoral literature: just as the authors control the reader's gaze, the physical arrangement of the villa and art also control the viewer.

While most of the rooms are highly decorated with wall paintings, which beg the viewer to slow and consider architectural or botanical landscapes, other areas are painted with wide black and white stripes which mark off a utilitarian areas of the house [Image

¹⁰⁸ Bergmann 2002, 119.

¹⁰⁹ Bergmann 2002, 99.

¹¹⁰ There are many "sections" in the villa which easily allow easy passage within them, but it is more difficult to move from section to section because most of the rooms only have a single doorway.

14]. Implicit in the stripes is the feeling (perhaps aimed at the servants) to “keep moving.”¹¹¹ The botanical paintings in the east wing, however, do just the opposite:

Why not create an orderly, maintenance-free environment, where fruit never rots and birds never die? The depiction of living creatures caught in a moment of arrested animation engages the viewer in suspense and in the protracted observation of signs and time and life: water, fresh fruit, birds — resulting in an intensification of taste and vision, a visual delectation. *Here is a farm without its mess.*¹¹² (Emphasis added)

Thus, through the control and representations of nature, Poppaea’s villa creates a sanitary estate where only the bounty is seen.¹¹³ The controlled relationship of the natural and the fictional botanical worlds fulfills a desire for a pleasing place that is also an idealized life. The idealization of the herdsman’s life is also found in Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus: the “dirty work” of being a herdsman is never mentioned.

The idealization of a “farm without its mess” is reflected in an agricultural *locus amoenus* found in Lucretius’ *De Rerum Natura*. In his discussion of the domestication of plants and the spread of agriculture, he writes:

¹¹¹ Cf. Leach 2004, 54: “By strolling casually through a series of painted rooms one readily sees that those for stationary activity are painted in a manner different from those intended to make a momentary impression on persons walking through a room.” She goes on to say that programmatic and repetitive motifs could also help to direct traffic in busy locations. It is also interesting to note that some of the long hallways that are decorated with these “utilitarian” stripes also have ornately painted ceilings. This, I think, calls into question or at least creates a tension in our understanding of some of these domestic areas.

¹¹² Bergmann 2002, 119. This is not to imply that this was a sterile estate. See Dimpleby and Gröger 2002, 197-199 for a complete list of plants for which there is pollen evidence for at Oplontis. Myers, in her forthcoming chapter, however, notes that there was a rise in the number of ornamental and exotic trees in the first century of this era, and the planting of non-productive trees could also show a “lack of concern with the traditional productive features of the garden and his power to transplant foreign plants.”

¹¹³ Kuttner 1999, 8 notes that painted garden rooms “represent themselves as ‘pavilions,’ because all put the viewer within fictional architectonic frames dividing her or him from the garden proper.” While these garden rooms do not offer a direct transcription of a garden, she also notes, “both constructed and painted pavilions let their owners look on worlds of vegetal and natural delight from within a paved and cushioned, luxuriously veneered shell.”

*At specimen sationis et insitionis origo
 ipsa fuit rerum primum natura creatrix,
 arboribus quoniam bacae glandesque caducae
 tempestiva dabant pullorum examina supter;
 unde etiam libitumst stirpis committere ramis 1365
 et nova defodere in terram virgulta per agros.
 inde aliam atque aliam culturam dulcis agelli
 temptabant fructusque feros mansuescere terra
 cernebant indulgendo blandeque colendo.
 inque dies magis in montem succedere silvas 1370
 cogebant infraque locum concedere cultis,
 prata lacus rivos segetes vinetaque laeta
 collibus et campis ut haberent, atque olearum
 caerulea distinguens inter plaga currere posset
 per tumulos et convallis camposque profusa; 1375
 ut nunc esse vides vario distincta lepore
 omnia, quae pomis intersita dulcibus ornant
 arbustisque tenent felicibus opsita circum.*

For the sowing and grafting of plants the first model was provided by creative nature herself. Berries and acorns, lying below the trees from which they had fallen, were seen to put forth a swarm of shoots in due season. From the same source men learnt to engraft slips in branches and to plant young saplings in the soil of their fields. After that they tried one type of cultivation after another in their treasured plot. They saw wild fruits grow mild in the ground with cosseting and humouring. Day by day they kept forcing the woodland to creep further up the hillside, surrendering the lower reaches to tillage. Over the hill and plain they extended meadowland and cornland, reservoirs and water-courses and laughing vineyards, with the distinctive strip of blue-grey olives running between, rippling over hump and hollow and along the level ground. So the countryside assumed its present aspect of variegated beauty, gaily interspersed with luscious orchards and marked out by encircling hedges of luxuriant trees.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ 5.1361-1378. Translation by R. E. Latham.

It is this kind of demarcation of the fields that one may have seen in the centuriated land on the southern slope of Vesuvius, especially looking out the *cubiculum* window at Boscoreale, or in the areas surrounding Oplontis.¹¹⁵ For Lucretius, and agricultural writers like Varro and Columella, the sight of fertile, productive, tilled land was itself a *locus amoenus*.¹¹⁶ As an aside, but also relevant detail, Zanker has noted that landscape paintings rarely show Roman peasants at work;¹¹⁷ the herdsmen in pastoral literature are herding their flocks, but only in a very vague way: we rarely read about their work. Even in Lucretius' description of an agricultural *locus amoenus* the agency of the farmer in the evolution of cultivation is diminished. Lucretius states from the outset that "creative nature herself" started agriculture, and men simply learned from her.

The villa at Prima Porta likewise shows a simultaneously fertile yet sterile representation of the natural world. The villa belonged to Livia Drusilla, the wife of Augustus,¹¹⁸ and was situated in the Roman suburb of Prima Porta along the Via

¹¹⁵ For the centuriated area in Campania, see the impressive *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* Plate 44.

¹¹⁶ Leach 1974, 83 notes that Virgil varies his landscapes, but his poetry may have formed his landscapes "keeping with contemporary conventions of representing nature; that he should not only create his own symbolic dispositions but should exploit whatever symbolism might already be inherent in these conventions."

¹¹⁷ Zanker 1988, 287. Zanker goes on to say, however, that these paintings reflect a certain type of failure of the Augustan moral legislation which emphasized hard work, which, Zanker writes, "only succeeded in redefining the imagery of escape into the world of *otium*. . . . The problems of daily life, the pressure of anxieties, which Augustus's program for moral renewal called attention to without actually solving, are here nowhere in evidence. Instead, the new system of values has, as elsewhere, simply been assimilated." On the Augustan angle, Stackelberg 2009, 91 adds that Augustus' garden renewal program in Rome was also a religious renewal: insofar as Augustus renewed temples to mediate between gods and men, he used the gardens to mediate the period between republic and empire. "The trees that were once a reliable indicator of a deity now indicated a private individual who had the power over the natural, social, and political space of the city." Kellum 1994, 217 also notes "The actual plantings on the Palatine and the structure of the Garden Room certainly suggest that the emperor fully understood the image-making potential of the pastoral."

¹¹⁸ Suetonius notes in *Galba* 1 that an eagle dropped a hen with a laurel twig in its mouth in Livia's lap near Prima Porta. The twig was planted, and the triumphal laurels for the emperors were taken from this laurel stock. This tree also foretold the deaths of emperors by wilting shortly before their deaths. (*Liviae, olim*

Flaminia about nine miles from Rome.¹¹⁹ The garden room in Livia's villa, now at the Palazzo Massimo alle Terme Museum in Rome, depicts a lush garden on four walls [Images 15-16]. Mabel Gabriel notes that unlike the smaller landscape vistas, such as those described above, in the garden room, the room itself becomes "a terrace, or possibly a grotto or pergola from which one can look into a fairy garden. . . . Nothing detracts from the sensation that one is actually strolling along a path in front of flowers and shrubs."¹²⁰ The room easily fulfills any sort of escapist desires.

The walls depict a season-less garden—everything blooms and fruits abundantly.¹²¹ What is notable, however, is that while there are no divinities represented in the paintings, nor such religious elements as columns, shrines, or altars, most of the plants that are depicted carry religious/mythic connotations: laurel, myrtle, pomegranates, quinces, pine, ivy, oak, cypress, palm, roses, violets, and poppies.¹²² Annamaria Ciarallo has also identified plane trees, acanthus, plums, ox-eye daisies (*Leucanthemum vulgare*), the corn marigold (*Chrysanthemum segetum*), asters, Hart's tongue ferns (*Phyllitis*

post Augusti statim nuptias Veientanum suum revisendi, praetervolans aquila gallinam albam ramulum lauri rostro tenentem, ita ut rapuerat, demisit in gremium; cumque nutriri alitem, pangi ramulum placuisset, tanta pullorum suboles provenit, ut hodieque ea uilla ad Gallinas vocetur, tale vero lauretum, ut triumphaturi Caesares inde laureas decerperent; fuitque mox triumphantibus, illas confestim eodem loco pangere; et observatum est, sub cuiusque obitum arborem ab ipso institutam elanguisse.)

¹¹⁹ Mazzoleni 2004, 190.

¹²⁰ Gabriel 1955, 7.

¹²¹ cf: The description of Alcinous' garden in the *Odyssey* (8.178-118), whose "trees will never flag or die, neither in winter nor in summer, a harvest all year round."

¹²² Gabriel 1955, 14-15. With the exception of palms (a symbol of victory), all of these plants are found in pastoral literature. Kellum 1994, 218 has noted that the repeated clumps of ivy and violets together may be reminiscent of the belief that violet chaplets could ward off hangovers, represented by the ivy. Furthermore, all of the botanical elements found in triumphal crowns are found in the room: oak, laurel, myrtle, ivy, and pine. Cf. Pliny *Natural History* 15.127f.

scolopendrium) and oleander bushes in the paintings.¹²³ By combining this many plants, a sort of chaos of abundance emerges, but “a natural framework” for the whole room is created from the repetition of tall bushes and trees beyond the ambulatory, echoing the fir and oak trees that are set into niches.¹²⁴ Amidst all of the plants, Mabel Gabriel has identified sixty-nine representations of birds.¹²⁵ What is most interesting is that all of this lush vegetation appears without a water source—there is no fountain or spring pictured—which is the only element missing from a complete *locus amoenus*.

The actual purpose of this subterranean room is unknown.¹²⁶ There have been suggestions that the room was near an exterior garden, and was used when it was too hot to be in the actual outdoor garden, and thus provided a shady and cool location for the villa owners.¹²⁷ A water channel was also found on one side of the room, which has led to speculation that the room may have had a fountain or pool in the center.¹²⁸ More recently, it has been posited that the garden room may have led to a household storeroom, allowing people in the garden room to look upon the agricultural wealth and abundance of the estate.¹²⁹ Whatever the use of the room was, there seems to have been a

¹²³ Ciarallo 2006, plates 14-17.

¹²⁴ Kellum 1994, 217.

¹²⁵ Varro notes (RR 3.4.3) that it was once in fashion to have live birds flitting around dinner guests' heads, but noted that although the idea of flitting birds was impressive, the impressiveness was not in proportion to the odor of the birds' presence. (*Nam non tantum in eo oculos delectant intra fenestra saves volitantes, quantum offendit quod alienus odor opplet nares.*)

¹²⁶ Gabriel 1955, 12. One idea, cited in Suetonius *Augustus* 29, suggests it was a refuge for Augustus who was afraid of thunder storms.

¹²⁷ Gabriel 1955, 15.

¹²⁸ Gabriel 1955, 4 and 15.

¹²⁹ Kuttner, 1999, 29.

connection between the real natural world and the fictional one painted to create a very pleasing place.

These large-scale *loca amoena* at Oplontis and Prima Porta echo the lushness and abundance found in the both the literary seasonal descriptions and the garden descriptions. The fictional spaces created by Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus, which provide a place for desires to be enunciated, are equaled by the fictional spaces created on the walls of homes. In addition to creating spaces for desire, there is also an element of control at play: authors control the readers through their *loca amoena* just as the wall paintings draw the viewer in and make them pause to look at scenes that can either take them away to a sacro-idyllic world or to an ultra-fertile Edenic world. Like the painting in the prologue of *Daphnis and Chloe*, however, these wall paintings may also act as a catalyst for desire.

The *locus amoenus* as a part of desire

In the previous sections *loca amoena* provided a place where desires could be situated. The desires, however, are separate from the pleasing spots; there is no connection between the ilex or the pine under which a herdsman sits and the beloved about whom he sings. There the *locus amoenus* could be a frame (or catalyst) with varying levels of complexity for the desire. In contrast, this section looks at situations in which the *locus amoenus* is a part of a desire. Typically these pleasing places are found in the songs to or about the beloved; the place becomes a way for the lover to imagine a real world where his desires are fulfilled with his beloved.¹³⁰

¹³⁰ When the lover imagines an impossible imaginary world with inversions of the natural world, it becomes an *adynton*, which is the topic of the next chapter.

Theocritus and Virgil both include these types of *loca amoena* in their poetry. Because of the reciprocal nature of Daphnis and Chloe's relationship, this type of pleasing place does not appear. This section will first look at two examples of non-erotic desires that use *loca amoena* as a way of imagining desires, first in *Eclogue* 1, and then Gallus' lament for not writing pastoral poetry in *Eclogue* 10. From there, erotic desires will be the driving force behind the rest of the passages discussed. These *loca amoena* will show how desires and the natural world become entwined.

The first passage is from *Eclogue* 1. In this poem, Meliboeus and Tityrus are discussing a new leader whom Tityrus met, and whom he will worship as a god. At line 46, Meliboeus comments on how Tityrus will keep his land, which is described as a *locus amoenus* :

*Fortunate senex, ergo tua rura manebunt
et tibi magna satis, quamvis lapis omnia nudus
limosoque palus obducat pascua iunco.
non insueta gravis temptabunt pabula fetas
nec mala vicini pecoris contagia laedent. 50
fortunate senex, hic inter flumina nota
et fontis sacros frigus captabis opacum;
hinc tibi, quae semper, vicino ab limite saepes
Hyblaeis apibus florem depasta salicti
saepe levi somnum suadebit inire susurro; 55
hinc alta sub rupe canet frondator ad auras,
nec tamen interea raucae, tua cura, palumbes
nec gemere aeria cessabit turtur ab ulmo.*

Happy old man! So these lands will still be yours, and large enough for you, though bare stones cover all, and the marsh cloaks your pastures with slimy rushes. Still, no strange herbage shall try your breeding ewes, no baneful infection from a neighbor's flock shall harm them. Happy old man! Here, amid familiar stream and sacred springs, you shall enjoy the cooling shade. On this side, as of old, on your neighbour's border, the hedge whose willow blossoms are sipped by Hybla's bees shall often with its gentle hum soothe you to slumber; on that, under the

towering rock, the woodmans' song shall fill the air; while still the cooing wood pigeons, your pets, and the turtle dove shall cease not their moaning from the elm tops.¹³¹

This imagined scene of the fertility and comfort of his own land contains the common elements of a *locus amoenus*: springs, shade, bees buzzing (which will coax Tityrus to sleep) and pigeons and turtle doves will also coo around him. This, for Meliboeus, is the best he could dream about; instead he is facing the possibility he will be driven off of his land. Tityrus responds to this description with *adynata*, impossible situations. Meliboeus responds again in a realistic tone: deer will not pasture in the air as Tityrus has suggested, rather foreigners and strangers will be farming his land.¹³² Meliboeus' descriptions reveal his desires for his own land, and by extension, an end to the land confiscations of the mid-first century BCE.¹³³

Gallus in *Eclogue* 10 also has a non-erotic desire, though here he is wishing that he had written pastoral poetry instead of love elegy. He laments, imagining his unfulfilled pastoral life:

Atque utinam ex vobis unus vestrisque fuissem 35
aut custos gregis aut maturaе vinitor uvae!
Certe sive mihi Phyllis sive esset Amyntas,
seu quicumque furor (quid tum, si fuscus Amyntas?
et nigrae violae sunt et vaccinia nigra),
mecum inter salices lenta sub vite iaceret. 40
serta mihi Phyllis legeret, cantaret Amyntas.
"Hic gelidi fontes, hic mollia prata, Lycori;
hic nemus; hic ipso tecum consumerer aevo.

¹³¹ *Eclogue* 1.46-59.

¹³² This passage could easily be described as a *locus horridus* given all of the negative associations with the scene for Meliboeus.

¹³³ Coleman 1977, 82 note ad 47-48 comments that Tityrus' land does not sound enviable, or even good enough to be reassigned, yet Meliboeus still envies him and his ownership.

And oh that I had been one of you, the shepherd of a flock of yours, or the dresser of your ripened grapes! Surely, my darling, whether it were Phyllis or Amyntas, or whoever it were—and what if Amyntas be dark? Violets, too, are black and black are hyacinths—my darling would be lying at my side among the willows, and under the creeping vine above—Phyllis plucking me flowers for a garland, Amyntas singing me songs. Here are the cold springs, Lycoris, here the soft meadows, here woodland; here with you, only the passage of time would wear me away.¹³⁴

In Gallus' imagined world, if he were a member of the pastoral world, he would have his choice of girls. What is interesting here is that willow trees only appear in Virgil, and he twice uses them as the site of a potential tryst.¹³⁵ Here there is shade, cool water, fresh-picked flowers, and Amyntas' songs. And, like Daphnis, in this *locus amoenus* he would waste away (*consumerer*) with Lycoris. Not only does he desire this mock pastoral world, he even has himself waste away in the style of the most famous pastoral figure, Daphnis. Unlike Daphnis, however, Gallus already has Lycoris, who has been transplanted momentarily into the pastoral world.

Gallus continues in *Eclogue* 10 and shifts to a more erotic desire, though still with the regret of not having been a pastoralist:

*Certum est in silvis inter spelaea ferarum
malle pati tenerisque meos incidere Amores
arboribus: crescent illae, crescetis, Amores.*

Well I know the woods, amid wild beasts' dens, it is better to suffer and carve my love on the young trees. They will grow, and you, my loves, will grow with them.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ *Eclogue* 10.35-43. Coleman 1977, 285 note ad 38 comments that in Gallus' mind herdsmen of the pastoral world are also vine dressers, revealing that, as a city man, he is perhaps more interested in the wine than the watching of the flocks.

¹³⁵ Also at *Eclogue* 3.65.

¹³⁶ *Eclogue* 10.52-54. Modified Fairclough translation.

Although this is not the most detailed *locus amoenus*, the woods and the caves are common components elsewhere in pastoral. His erotic desires, while he wanders the woods, will grow as the trees on which he has carved the names of his loves grows. Continuing the theme of the previous passage, Gallus, in this poem is not that discriminating about the loves. Both the trees and the loves are plural. The trees equal or become his loves, his desires.¹³⁷

Gallus' multiplicity of *amores* in *Eclogue* 10 is matched in *Eclogue* 2 by Corydon's one-mindedness about Alexis. *Eclogue* 2 begins with a description of Corydon, which is nearly a *locus horridus* in lines 3-5:

*tantum inter densas, umbrosa cacumina, fagos
adsidue veniebat. ibi haec incondita solus
montibus et silvis studio iactabat inani;*

As his one solace, he would day by day come among the thick beeches with their shady summits, and there alone in unavailing passion fling these artless strains to the hills and woods

The scene, with Corydon situated under the beech tree reminds the reader of the opening of the first *Eclogue*. Unlike Tityrus, who is attempting to woo a woodland Muse, Corydon is flinging his artless strains (*incondita*) helplessly (*studio inani*). Here, there is a tension reminiscent of Odysseus and Calypso—the beeches should signify a pleasing shady place for a herdsman, but Corydon's emotional state undermines the pleasance. Corydon's love for Alexis propels his song, wherein he describes the botanical gifts he would give Alexis. He sings:

*...tibi lilia plenis
ecce ferunt Nymphae calathis; tibi candida Nais,*

¹³⁷ Cf. Acontius and Cydippe, where the inscribed apple ensures the fulfillment of Acontius' desire to marry Cydippe. See Nisetich 2001, 141-147.

*pallentis violas et summa papavera carpens,
narcissum et florem iungit bene olentis anethi;
tum casia atque aliis intexens suavibus herbis
mollia luteola pingit vaccinia caltha.
ipse ego cana legam tenera lanugine mala
castaneasque nuces, mea quas Amaryllis amabat;
addam cerea pruna—honus erit huic quoque pomo—
et vos, o lauri, carpam et te, proxime myrte,
sic positae quoniam suavis miscetis odores.*

...look—the nymphs are bringing lilies in full baskets for you; the radiant nymph, picking pale violets and poppy tops, she weaves the narcissus flower with sweet-smelling dill; then, braiding cassia with the other sweet herbs embellishes the delicate bilberries with yellowy marigolds. I myself will collect pale quinces with soft down, and chestnuts, which my Amaryllis used to love; I will add waxy plums—there will be honor for this fruit also—and you, O laurels, I will even pick you, and you, close by myrtle, since when you are arranged like this you blend your sweet smells.¹³⁸

The abundance of the gifts creates a scene more like the seasonal descriptions in Theocritus than a courtship gift. The elements of a *locus amoenus* are there; the five senses are engaged. Corydon is singing about flowers, delicate bilberries, the smells of myrtle and laurel, and fruits and nuts. He offers these gifts in order to woo Alexis, yet he knows that not even this abundance will attract him. He knows from the beginning of the poem that there was no hope for this desire to be fulfilled (*nec quid spererat habebat*).¹³⁹

This type of frustrated desire also drives Polyphemus to sing to Galatea in *Idyll* 11. Polyphemus, the Cyclops, is in love with a beautiful sea nymph, but she does not love him back. As a part of his song to Galatea, he describes to her the life she, a water nymph, could have with him on land. He proclaims to her the bounty of his herding

¹³⁸ Translation is my own.

¹³⁹ *Eclogue* 2.2.

lifestyle: milk, abundant cheeses, piped songs, and the gift of fawns wearing collars. At lines 43-48, he describes his cave:

τὰν γλαυκὰν δὲ θάλασσαν ἕα ποτὶ χέρσον ὄρεχθεῖν·
ἄδιον ἐν τῶντρῳ παρ' ἐμὶν τὰν νύκτα διαξεις.
ἐντὶ δάφναι τηνεῖ, ἐντὶ ῥαδιναὶ κυπάρισσοι,
ἔστι μέλας κισσός, ἔστ' ἄμπελος ἅ γλυκύκαρπος,
ἔστι ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ, τό μοι ἅ πολυδένδρεος Αἴτνα
λευκὰς ἐκ χιόνος ποτὸν ἀμβρόσιον προΐητι.

Leave the green sea to pulse upon the shore; thou wilt pass the night more pleasantly with me. There are bays, there are slender cypresses; there is dark ivy, there is the sweet-fruited vine, there is cold water, which wooded Etna puts forth for me from her white snowfields, a draught divine.

Virgil's Ninth *Eclogue* echoes this passage with this description of Polyphemus' cave when he tries to woo Galatea:

*hic ver purpureum, varios hic flumina circum
fundit humus flores, hic candida populus antro
imminet et lentae texunt umbracula vites:
huc ades; insani feriant sine litora fluctus.*

Here is rosy spring; here, by the streams, Earth scatters her flowers of a thousand hues; here the white poplar bends over the cave, and the clinging vines weave shady bowers. Come to me; leave the wild waves to lash the shore.¹⁴⁰

While in both passages Polyphemus begs Galatea to leave the sea and let it wash upon the shore with analogous vocabulary, the itemization differs both in content and rhetoric. Theocritus' list is methodically paired: bays and cypresses; ivy and grape vines; and cold water which is both from snow and delicious to drink. There is also a rising tricolon in the description: the trees contain the least adjectival modification (slender), the vines slightly more (dark and sweet-fruited) and the water is modified the most. In Virgil's

¹⁴⁰ *Eclogue* 9.40-43.

version, Polyphemus seems to jump from one item to the next: a season, water, soil, flowers, a tree, vines. But just as Theocritus controls the reader's gaze in *Idylls* 7 and 13, Virgil controls the gaze here. He begins with an abstract concept, spring, then moves to water and soil (which are visually low) to flowers (slightly higher) to trees (higher still) and vines (amid the trees or above). Although the two authors choose different trees, they both pick famously tragic trees: bay was once Apollo's love, Daphne; the cypress was once a boy, Cyparissus, who accidentally killed a majestic stag and grieved so much that he asked Apollo to be transformed; and Phaethon's sisters were turned into poplars because of their grief.¹⁴¹ Within the attempt to woo Galatea, to fulfill his erotic desires for her, he offers a pleasing place, though it is one that a sea nymph might never find suitable.

The story of Polyphemus' unrequited love for Galatea is represented in wall paintings from Boscotrecase in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York [Image 14]. In this painting, Polyphemus is seated on a rocky mountainous shoreline, playing his pipes to Galatea, who is wearing a yellow dress and is seated below and to the left of him. Goats dot the rocky cliff-lined shore. It seems clear that this is a representation of the myth in which Polyphemus is attempting to court Galatea.

Polyphemus, however, also appears on the right side of the panel, closer to the shore. There, he is hurling a rock towards a ship, a gesture which suggests the final events of his encounter with Odysseus after his blinding in Book 9 of the *Odyssey*. Blanckenhagen notes the close correspondence between *Idyll* 11 and this painting, particularly the "ugly

¹⁴¹ The most famous versions of these tales are found in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: Daphne and Apollo 1.452-567; Cyparissus 10.106-142; Phaethon's sisters 2.340-366. In *Idyll* 2.121 there is also a reference to the white poplar, which Delphis says is sacred to Herakles.

face with a single eyebrow over the single eye (line 33)” and his pipe.¹⁴² The painting includes bays and slender cypresses, and a waterfall in the background seems nearly to quote the Theocritean passage above. In lines 60-62 Polyphemus says that he would learn to swim, if only some sailor would come by ship—a Theocritean reference to Odysseus’ eventual visit which will result in Polyphemus’ blinding. Blanckenhagen further writes, “There can hardly be any doubt that the background scene is the pictorial adaptation of this line [i.e., 60-62] of Theocritus.”¹⁴³ The painting provides a rare example of a direct visual quotation from a text in the ancient world. This painting is also important because it provides one of the earliest examples of “continuous narration” in a painting. Continuous narration shows different events of a story in a single painting, sometimes with the same character appearing more than once to show different plot points in the narrative.¹⁴⁴ Here, the double representation of Polyphemus, which alludes to both the Theocritean and Homeric stories of his life, is continuous narration.¹⁴⁵ This painting provides many levels of *loca amoena*. As a painting, it contributes to a pleasing domestic space. As a potential direct visual quotation of Theocritus, Polyphemus’s cave is embedded in the painting just as the the cave description is embedded in his song to Galatea. The Theocritean and Homeric worlds collide with Polyphemus’ prayer for “some sailor” to come to his island, a prayer that is ominously fulfilled by the presence of the ship offshore.

¹⁴² Blanckenhagen and Alexander 1990, 32.

¹⁴³ Blanckenhagen and Alexander 1990, 32.

¹⁴⁴ Blanckenhagen and Alexander 1990, 31-32.

¹⁴⁵ Helbig 1868, 208-212 finds twelve representations of the story of Polyphemus and Galatea, which speaks to the story’s apparent popularity.

In all of these examples from Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus, there are only a small collection of characters who actually have their desires fulfilled. In *Idyll* 4, there is a discussion between two herdsmen about their herds. Corydon comments that his bull naturally goes to the best locations, citing “Neathus, where all good things grow—
 αἰγίπυρος,¹⁴⁶ fleabane, and fragrant balm (Νήαιθον, ὅπα καλὰ πάντα φύοντι, / αἰγίπυρος
 καὶ κνύζα καὶ εὐώδης μελίτεια).”¹⁴⁷ Here the combination of plants again can stimulate the senses: fleabane has daisy-like flowers and the scent is believed to ward off fleas. Αἰγίπυρος is believed to have red flowers based on the fiery *puros* root in the name.¹⁴⁸ Neathus is also the home of “fragrant balm,” which has a lemony scent when crushed. It seems to be implied that these plants are “good things” for a bull to eat, a way to have his bullish desires fulfilled, and for readers this description triggers sight and smell.

In *Eclogue* 6 Virgil also describes a bull’s ability to find a pleasing spot. He describes the bull whom Pasiphae loved this way:

*ille, latus niveum molli fultus hyacintho,
 ilice sub nigra pallentis ruminat herbas*

He [the bull], pillowing his snowy side on the soft
 hyacinths, under a dark ilex chews the pale grass¹⁴⁹

Unlike Theocritus’ list of fodder for bulls, Virgil’s bull is surrounded by better-known plants.¹⁵⁰ Within these lines, however, Virgil plays with the color contrasts. First, the

¹⁴⁶ John Raven has (rightly) argued that “αἰγίπυρος” has been incorrectly identified as “restharrow” by William Thiselton-Dyer for the Liddell and Scott Greek Lexicon. (He also advises “view every entry in Liddell and Scott (LSJ) under a Greek plant name with a measure of skepticism.”) The plant’s correct identification is unknown. See Raven 2000, 5-6.

¹⁴⁷ *Idyll* 4.24-25.

¹⁴⁸ Theophrastus HP 2.8.3 notes that goats were to have been fond of it, but this again is an inference from the name, “aigi” meaning “goat.”

¹⁴⁹ *Eclogue* 6.53-54.

animal's "snowy" flank contrasts against the hyacinths, which Virgil describes as black in *Eclogue* 10.39 (*nigra vaccinia*); then, the dark ilex is contrasted with the pale grass.¹⁵¹

Virgil includes relatively common plants in these lines, but adds a complexity to the scene with a chiasitic construction in both lines:

N ADJ ADJ N
Ille, latus niveum molli fultus hyacintho,

N ADJ ADJ N
*ilice sub nigra pallentis ruminat herbas.*¹⁵²

Not only has the bull found a pleasing place, but Pasiphae herself will have her (terrible, divinely commanded) desire consummated. Pasiphae and the bull provide an example of the way that desire and even the simplest *locus amoenus* can intersect. The bull, which becomes a part of the careful botanical description, is the object of affection.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the relationship desire has with pleasing places in the pastoral writing of Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus. By first examining instances where *loca amoena* frame desire, but do not otherwise influence it, it is possible to see how the

¹⁵⁰ It could perhaps be argued that Virgil is responding to Theocritus' bull passage and reworking it for the Roman reader with plants he would be familiar with. Martindale 1993, 17-18.

¹⁵¹ At 10.39 and at 2.18 Virgil uses the term *vaccinium* to describe the complexions of two beloveds. He is echoing this idea from Theocritus' *Idyll* 10.28, in which Bombyca is described as being swarthy like a hyacinth. Longus likewise picks up this trope in 1.16.4. *Vaccinium* is considered by some (e.g., Coleman 1979 note ad 2.18) to be a cognate of ὑάκινθος. Pliny the Elder tells us that *vaccinium*, however, refers to a berry-producing plant, the blueberry or whortle-berry, and his discussion on *vaccinia* is entirely separate from his discussion of hyacinths (*Natural History* 16.177; hyacinths are discussed in 21.170). I believe what Virgil is doing here is playing with the homophony of the two words, by comparing the complexions to the dark berries of *vaccinia*, and simultaneously echoing the sound of Theocritus' hyacinths. What is notable is that when Virgil refers to hyacinths elsewhere, as in here in *Eclogue* 6, or in *Eclogue* 3.63 when a herdsman sings that laurels and hyacinths are pleasing to Apollo, Virgil uses the word *hyacinthus*. He also uses *hyacinthus* in *Georgics* 4.130-137 and 4.183 and *Aeneid* 11.69. Virgil clearly seems to be punning with the use of *vaccinia*.

¹⁵² In both lines, the second and penultimate positions are variable.

nuances of the botanical descriptions can control the reader's gaze. The authors tell the readers what to look at, and in what order. These *loca amoena*, which range in complexity from the minimalistic to the abundant, find parallels in Roman wall painting. Sacro-idyllic paintings from Boscotrecase provide miniature scenes of the rustic life. These vignettes function together in two adjoining *cubicula* to create a series of paintings wherein one imagines new or different desires. On a grander level, the wall paintings from Oplontis and Prima Porta provide fictional superabundance which may have communicated with the "real" natural world around it. Moreover, they, like the literary passages create a space in which desires may be realized. Finally, the last section examines other instances of *loca amoena* which incorporate the pleasing place into a desire, be it erotic or non-erotic. All of these *loca amoena*, both literary and visual, show how the botanical world could provide a space, could set the scene, for desire.

Chapter 3: Imagining Desire: *Adynata*

The second major botanical context in Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus is the rhetorical figure, the *adynaton*, inversion of nature. When the herdsmen of the pastoral world cannot realize their immediate desires, they instead imagine a world where they are powerful, where they can control nature and bring about inversions or impossible situations. In this fictional world, the natural world can even respond to and reflect their emotional state, creating a pathetic fallacy. These imaginary worlds, however, do not do anything to actually remedy the desire. Instead, they become controlling fictions upon which the herdsmen rely emotionally.

Botanical *adynata* reflect a desire to have control when the desire is not otherwise able to be fulfilled. This chapter looks at these botanical *adynata* and their relationship to desire. Before discussing the pastoral examples, it is necessary to establish and define the *adynaton* as a rhetorical figure. From there, pastoral *adynata* will be examined as a way of imagining a fulfillment of desires when (typically) erotic ones cannot be fulfilled. The songs of the herdsmen, therefore, become imbued with a believed power to control nature at large. The imagined worlds can also be expanded to large-scale descriptions of impossible Golden Ages. The fantastic Golden Age descriptions, particularly like those found in Virgil's *Eclogue 4*, remind the reader again of the lush gardens of *Daphnis and Chloe* and the wall paintings from Oplontis and Livia's villa at Prima Porta. The final section of this chapter returns to these wall paintings to reconsider them as *adynata*.

The *adynaton* as a rhetorical figure

Although the *adynaton* is recognized today as a rhetorical figure or stylistic device, it is not among those listed by ancient writers. Thus, discussions or definitions of the term are not found in the rhetorical treatises of the usual suspects: Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, or the minor Greek or Latin rhetoricians.¹ When the word *adynaton* appear in scholia or a rhetorical text, it does not have the same meaning as we understand the term today, and ancient references to *adynata* only partially help to understand how the ancient concept relates to what we know today.

The earliest reference to the term is found in Demetrius of Phaleron's (fourth to third century BCE) discussion of hyperbole, where he uses the term "ὑπερβολή κατὰ τὸ ἀδύνατον."² Later, Fortunatianus (fourth century CE) uses the phrase "σχῆμα ἐξ ἀδυνάτου (figure of an impossibility)" in reference to cases that were impossible to prosecute, such as prosecuting an infant for adultery because he lay with another woman.³ Finally, in the fourth to fifth century CE Lactantius Placidus makes a reference to an *adynaton* at Thebaid 7.552 ("ante haec excusso frondescet lancea ferro [sooner will this lance come into leaf than shake off its iron.]") as a *comparatio ab impossibili* but this term is likewise not found in other rhetorical treatises.⁴ Although these examples are, in fact, impossible, they do not contribute to a clear meaning of the term as a rhetorical device or literary trope.

¹ Cantor 1930, 32 note 2.

² *On Style*, 124. Demetrius then cites the example "with her head she has smitten the sky (οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξε κάρη, καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει)." from *Iliad* 4.443.

³ Rowe 1965, 388; Fortunatianus *Ad Rhetoricae* 3.1.3.

⁴ Rowe 1965, 388. Lactantius Placidus *Commentarius in Statii Thebaida et Achilleida* ad 7.552.

Horace's *Ars Poetica* is notable, however, because it is an ancient source that warns against the creation and use of impossible things. In this epistle to Piso, written sometime around or after 13 BCE,⁵ Horace writes:

*Humano capiti ceruicem pictor equinam
iungere si uelit et uarias inducere plumas
undique collatis membris, ut turpiter atrum
desinat in pisces mulier formosa superne,
spectatum admissi, risum teneatis, amici?
Credite, Pisones, isti tabulae fore librum 5
persimilem, cuius, uelut aegri somnia, uanae
fingentur species, ut nec pes nec caput uni
reddatur formae. "Pictoribus atque poetis
quidlibet audendi semper fuit aequa potestas." 10
Scimus, et hanc ueniam petimusque damusque uicissim,
sed non ut placidis coeant immitia, non ut
serpentes auibus gementur, tigribus agni.*

Suppose a painter wished to couple a horse's neck with a man's head, and to lay feathers of every hue on limbs gathered here and there, so that a woman, lovely above, foully ended in an ugly fish below; would you restrain your laughter, my friends, if admitted to a private view? Believe me, dear Pisos, a book will appear uncommonly like that picture, if impossible figures are wrought into it—like a sick man's dreams—with the result that neither head nor foot is ascribed to a single shape, and unity is lost. "But poets and painters have always had an equal right to indulge their whims." Quite so: and this excuse we claim for ourselves and grant to others: but not so that harsh may mate with gentle, serpents be paired with birds, lambs with tigers.⁶

Although it does not mention "*impossibilia*" (the Latin term for *adynata*) or "*adynata*"

⁵ Conte 1994, 316. Conte also notes that this was written under the purview of Augustus, whom Conte identifies as the "primary interlocutor" in the discourses on art and literature. Horace's rejection of mixed-species creations is also interesting because of their popularity in Roman wall painting.

⁶ Horace, *Ars Poetica* 1-13. Translation by Edward Henry Blakeney 1936. The things which Horace is describing are, in fact, *adynata*, but if the figures he describes are transferred to the visual world, they become grotesques. "Grotesques" were named because they were found in the loggia (grotto) of the Domus Aurea in the High Italian Renaissance. Coincidentally, the scholarly interest in grotesques parallels interest in the *adynaton*, though there is little overlap between the literary and visual material. Both became objects of study in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Chao 2010 contains an excellent review of the history of scholarship on grotesques.

the passage clearly encapsulates the essence of an *adynaton*, blending dissimilar natural elements to create the impossible. The combination of disparate (naturally occurring) elements is, as will be shown, a common trait in pastoral *adynata*.

Three modern scholars who have studied the *adynaton* as a rhetorical figure have also struggled to agree upon a definition and function of the term. In 1930, H. V. Cantor compiled taxonomic lists of nearly two hundred *adynata*, but offered little analysis of their function in ancient literature. Through the compilation of the passages, he was able to note that *adynata* appear most frequently in “personal” poetry, namely lyric, elegy, epigrams, and pastoral poetry.⁷ He saw the *adynaton* as a “species of hyperbole,” aligning his argument more closely to Demetrius of Phaleron’s application of the term.⁸ In 1936, Ernest Dutoit provided a now widely-accepted definition of the term in his analysis of *adynata*: “le poète, pour représenter un fait ou une action comme impossibles, absurdes ou invraisemblables, les met en rapport avec une ou plusieurs impossibilités naturelles.”⁹ Galen Otto Rowe accepted Dutoit’s basic definition, but also argued that the *adynaton* functions as a type of proverb because “both [the *adynaton* and proverb] attempt to represent abstract ideas by means of concrete images.”¹⁰

The *adynaton* though is itself a larger rhetorical category that may have associations with proverbs and hyperbole, but is distinct from them because of the emphasis on impossibility. Hyperbole exaggerates what could be the truth. For example, the hyperbole in the cliché, “These books weigh a ton!” simply stretches the truth about

⁷ Cantor 1930, 40.

⁸ Cantor 1930, 32.

⁹ Dutoit 1936, ix. His understanding is closest to Lactantius Placidus’ use in the *Thebaid*.

¹⁰ Rowe 1965, 396.

the weight; it would not be impossible for a pile of books *actually* to weigh a ton. Although hyperbole is not factual, it must stay within the bounds of possibility for the exaggeration of the metaphor to work. Proverbs, for the most part, also contain an element of truth in them and are traditional and culture-specific (e.g., “an apple a day keeps the doctor away”). In *adynata*, the inversion of nature or impossibility contains no truth or hyperbole: there is no truth in a river running backwards or brambles bearing violets.

Another reason that the *adynaton* is a broader category of literary trope is because it is easily associated with the “pathetic fallacy.” John Ruskin coined this term in *Modern Painters* (1856) to describe the application of human emotions and sensations to inanimate objects.¹¹ Like Horace’s negative opinion of *adynata* in the *Ars Poetica*, Ruskin is critical of the use of the pathetic fallacy, where the poet grants sentience indiscriminately on the grounds that he “perceives wrongly, because he feels.”¹² For Ruskin, “first order” poets can recognize the power of nature for what it is: they “limit their expression to the pure fact;”¹³ in contrast the “second order” of poets perceive nature and allow it to have too profound an effect on them, which compels them to write about nature falsely (i.e., they create pathetic fallacies).¹⁴

Bernard Dick has examined the role of pathetic fallacies in Theocritus and Virgil’s pastoral poetry. In contrast to Ruskin’s critical appraisal of the trope, he believes “the pathetic fallacy achieves artistic status when it is subtly worked throughout a poem,

¹¹ Ruskin 2005, 161-177.

¹² Ruskin 2005, 168.

¹³ Ruskin 2005, 171.

¹⁴ Ruskin 2005, 168.

entering and leaving unobtrusively, and always standing for something more than mere ornament.”¹⁵ Dick takes a nuanced view of the “development of the nature theme, particularly the pathetic fallacy,” focusing more on Virgil’s *Eclogues* because they were written, he argues, as a complete book in contrast to the varied forms found in Theocritus’ *Idylls*.¹⁶

Finally, when nature is inverted, in *adynata* and pathetic fallacies, there are three ways it can respond to the human condition. Nature can be concordant when it agrees with the human condition; nature can be at a variance with the human condition and respond negatively through phenomena like drought or pestilence; or nature can be completely confused—“topsy turvy”—and plants combine inappropriately.¹⁷ The general confusion and inversion of nature, as the following sections will show, is a manifestation of *adynata* and of displaced desires.

***Adynata* and imagined desires**

All three writers, Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus, use *adynata* in coordination with erotic relationships. When love goes well, nature seems to celebrate in kind.¹⁸ Because of the reciprocity of Daphnis and Chloe’s relationship, their love is celebrated by the natural world through pathetic fallacies. Longus writes that the first spring-to-

¹⁵ Dick 1968, 30.

¹⁶ Dick 1968, 31.

¹⁷ Dick 1968, 30. A “topsy-turvy” is Dick’s translation for the term from Curtius, who calls it “die verkehrte Welt.” In the English translation of Curtius (1963), it is found on page 96.

¹⁸ The earliest example of this phenomenon is found in *Iliad* 14, when the earth spontaneously flowers when Hera seduces Zeus, and the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*.

summer transition added heat to Daphnis and Chloe's burgeoning love; their growing desire for one another.¹⁹ He continues, explaining:

Εἶκασεν ἄν τις καὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἄδειν ἡρέμα ῥέοντας, καὶ
τοὺς ἀνέμους συρίττειν ταῖς πίτυσιν ἐμπνέοντας, καὶ τὰ
μῆλα ἐρῶντα πίπτειν χαμαί, καὶ τὸν ἥλιον φιλόκαλον ὄντα
πάντας ἀποδύειν.

One might have thought the rivers were softly singing as they flowed, the winds were piping as they blew through the pines, the apples were dropping to the ground from love, and the sun was making everyone take their clothes off because it loved beauty so.²⁰

Longus seems to say here that it would be accurate to “read” the effects of the season as a response of the natural world to Daphnis and Chloe and to interpret them as a pathetic fallacy. Daphnis' goats also rejoice later at the marriage celebration in Book 4 of *Daphnis and Chloe*, grazing nearby “as if they were joining in the celebration too (ὡσπερ καὶ αὐταὶ κοινωνοῦσαι τῆς ἐορτῆς).”²¹

A similar pathetic fallacy appears at the closing of *Idyll* 6. In this poem, Damoetas and Daphnis sing about Polyphemos' love for Galatea. They compete against each other, but cannot decide who should win because they both sang so well. In response, they kiss and exchange instruments (a pipe and flute).

αὐλεῖ Δαμοίτας, σύρισδε δὲ Δάφνης ὁ βούτας·
ὄρχεῦτ' ἐν μαλακῇ ταὶ πόρτιες αὐτίκα ποία.

Damoetas began to flute and neatherd Daphnis to pipe, and
straight away, the calves to skip in the soft hay.²²

¹⁹ 1.23.1: Ἐξέκαε δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἡ ὥρα τοῦ ἔτους (The season added to the heat they felt).

²⁰ *Daphnis and Chloe* 1.23.2. It is hard not to be reminded of the opening lines of *Idyll* 1 with a reference to the sweet sound of wind through the trees (καὶ τοὺς ἀνέμους συρίττειν ταῖς πίτυσιν ἐμπνέοντας.)

²¹ *Daphnis and Chloe* 4.38.4.

²² *Idyll* 6.44-45.

The positive reaction of the animals to the positive physical and emotional scene between the herdsmen reflects multiple boundary-crossings: animals celebrate with humans, and humans sing about mythical characters. This positive pathetic fallacy “fits with the mythological setting, reinforcing the suggestion that in this *Idyll* the boundary-line between every-day reality and the fairy-tale atmosphere of myth has been crossed.”²³

On the other hand, in pastoral literature, love is more typically unrequited. The unbalanced relationship causes the herdsman in love to imagine a world where he has power to control *something*. In this imagined world, he creates *adynata* and pathetic fallacies. Theocritus establishes this idea in the first *Idyll*, and both Virgil and Longus inherit the use of the *adynaton* in unrequited love.

Idyll 1 is composed of two parts: the first is an extended *ekphrasis* of a wooden cup that will be given to Thyrsis by a goatherd for his song. The second part is Thyrsis’ song about Daphnis, the famous cowherd, who is wasting away to death because of unrequited love. The song includes a pathetic fallacy where both wild and domesticated animals lament Daphnis’ state (1.71-72, 74-75):

τῆνον μὰν θῶες, τῆνον λύκοι ὠρύσαντο,
τῆνον χῶκ δρυμοῖο λέων ἔκλαυσε θανόντα.

...

πολλάι οἱ παρ ποσσὶ βόες, πολλοὶ δέ τε ταῦροι,
πολλάι δὲ δαμάλαι καὶ πόρτιες ὠδύραντο.

For him [Daphnis] the jackals howled, for him the wolves;
for him dead even the lion of the forest made lament.

...

Cattle in plenty about his feet, and bulls, many a heifer and
many a calf lamented.

²³ Kegel-Brinkgreve 1990, 17.

The pathetic fallacy reveals the heightened emotional tone of Thyrsis' song. Daphnis believes himself to be so important and powerful that he is able to induce both predators and prey to mourn his passing.²⁴

Although it is not clear with whom Daphnis is in love,²⁵ Lykidas' song in *Idyll 7* provides a potential answer:

ὁ δὲ Τίτυρος ἐγγύθεν ἄσει
ὥς ποκα τᾶσ Ξενέας ἠράσσατο Δάφνις ὁ βούτας,
χῶς ὄρος ἀμφοπενοεῖτο καὶ ὡς δρυὲς αὐτὸν ἐθρήνευν
Ἴμέρα αἶτε φύοντι παρ' ὄχθαισιν ποταμοῖο,
εὔτε χιῶν ὥς τις κατετάκετο μακρὸν ὑφ' Αἴμον
ἢ Ἄθω ἢ Ροδόπαν ἢ Καύκασον ἐσχατόωντα.

and close at hand Tityrus shall sing how once Daphnis the
neatheard loved Xenea, and how the hill was sorrowful
about him and the oaktrees which grow upon the river
Himeras' banks sang his dirge, when he was wasting like
snow under high Haemus or Athos or Rhodope or remotest
Caucasus.²⁶

Here we learn that Daphnis was in love with Xenea, and animals, trees, and the landscape itself also mourn his impending death. If we return to *Idyll 1*, in Thyrsis' song, Daphnis himself later speaks, and rebukes Aphrodite for his state and concludes his speech with a series of *adynata*:

νῦν ἴα μὲν φορέοιτε βᾶτοι, φορέοιτε δ' ἄκανθαι,
ἄ δὲ καλὰ νάρκισσος ἐπ' ἀρκεύθοισι κομάσαι,
πάντα δ' ἀναλλα γένοιτο, καὶ ἄ πίτυς ὄχνας ἐνείκαι,
Δάφνις ἐπεὶ θνάσκει, καὶ τὰς κύνας ὄλαφος ἔλκοι,
κῆξ ὀρέων τοὶ σκῶπες ἀηδόσι γαρύσαιντο.

²⁴ Hunter 1999, 90 also sees the parallel position of mourners on archaic vases in his commentary on line 74.

²⁵ See Zimmerman 1994 for a reading about Daphnis being a Narcissus figure, and Anagnostou-Konstan 2008 for a reading where Daphnis is in love with Aphrodite herself.

²⁶ *Idyll 7.72-77*.

Now brambles bear—and acanthus, you, too—violets, and
let the fair narcissus bloom on the juniper. Let all be
changed, and let the pine bear pears since Daphnis is dying.
Let the stag worry the hounds, and from the mountains let
the owls cry to nightingales.²⁷

Daphnis' heightened emotions call upon nature to become “topsy-turvy” because of his impending death from unfulfilled desires. His personal sense of importance leads him to see “himself and his life as so fundamental to nature that his death...should be marked by an overturning of the natural order.”²⁸ If he cannot have his beloved love him back, he imagines the natural world will at least acknowledge him and his suffering properly.

This passage again reveals the way in which Theocritus manipulates descriptions of the natural world. Within these *adynata*, Daphnis commands prickly plants to be combined with fragile flowers and fruit; this, it seems to Daphnis, would be just as natural as his current emotional state. He first commands brambles and acanthus to bear violets. As was shown in the previous chapter, prickly brambles appear in *Daphnis and Chloe* in dangerous situations, where there is a potential disruption of Daphnis and Chloe's relationship.²⁹ In contrast to the thorny bramble, the delicate violet is associated with Aphrodite, who sometimes wears violet crowns.³⁰ Ovid, though a later writer than Theocritus, presents the story of the creation of the violet in Book 3 of the *Metamorphoses*. In this story, Clytie is obsessively and unrequitedly in love with Helios. She is ultimately transformed into a violet whose flower (her former face) follows Helios

²⁷ *Idyll* 1.132-136.

²⁸ Hunter 1999, 102 on lines 132-136. He also notes that the rhyming of lines 132-134, and observes that the rhyming is reminiscent of magical spells, which also employ *adynata*.

²⁹ Arguably Dorkon's planned rape of Chloe while dressed as a wolf hiding in brambles constitutes an *adynaton* as well. Rape would be an obvious inversion of the natural courtship ritual.

³⁰ See, for example, Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite 6.18; Solon frag. 19.4; Theognis Elegy 2.1304, 1332, and 1382-1383. Bacchylides Ode 3.2 links the violet crown with Demeter.

through the sky every day. Daphnis also commands the juniper to bear narcissus, a rough tree bearing another fragile flower. The narcissus flower was created by the metamorphosis of Narcissus who wasted away on account of falling in love with his own reflection.³¹ Both the violet and narcissus flowers nuance Daphnis' deathbed command because they are created as a result of immoderate love: Clytie for the Sun, and Narcissus for himself. Unlike Clytie and Narcissus, however, Daphnis will not be transformed in order to live eternally. Instead, he attempts to create symbols of his unrequited love (much like the other famous myths of Daphne and Syrinx), creating "new" plants by blending preexisting ones together. This blending of disparate elements becomes symbolic of what Daphnis desires: to be blended with and completed by his beloved.³²

The last botanical *adynaton* of this passage, the pine bearing the pears, breaks from both the pattern of the prickly plant bearing a fragile flower and the immoderate love motif. Here, the pine (πίτυς) bears pears, another sharp plant paired with a fragile foreign element, but this time a fruit. The pine recalls the first lines of the *Idyll*, where it acts as the programmatic symbol of the pastoral world: ἀδύ τι τὸ ψιθύρισμα καὶ ἅ πίτυς, αἰπόλε, τήνα, / ἅ ποτὶ ταῖς παραῖσι, μελίσδεταί, ἀδὺ δὲ καὶ τύ / συρίδες (Sweet is the whispered music of yonder pinetree by the springs, goatherd, and sweet too thy piping).³³ Moreover, both the pine and the pear and the pine and the goatherd are juxtaposed in their respective lines, and the pine (ἅ πίτυς) is placed in the same metrical position, fully

³¹ Ovid *Metamorphoses* 3.402-510.

³² This interpretation shifts to a more Aristophanic reading of love and desire from Plato's *Symposium* 189c ff.

³³ See Hunter 1999, 103 note on 134. It is worth noting that according to Fee 1823, 135, Virgil does not refer to the pear in the *Eclogues*, but in *Georgics* 4.145 he refers to a "pyrus edura (durable pear)" but this is in reference to the quality of the wood, not the fruit.

occupying the fourth foot in both lines. In his fraught emotional state Daphnis invokes the very image of the Theocritean pastoral world, and imagines that symbol, the pine, being corrupted by pears. Moreover, the recombination of plants parallels grotesques. Chao explains that this phenomenon of blended disparate elements “*embodies* the pursuit of incompleteness and contradiction which carries within itself an aesthetics of excess, namely, an aesthetics that exceeds our sense of order by (con)fusing *fantasia* and *mimesis*, the central and the peripheral, death and life, and so forth.”³⁴

The final two *adynata* in this passage from *Idyll* 1 change the frame of reference from plants to animals. For unlike the plants, however, Daphnis does not command different animals to join together. The way that Theocritus presents Daphnis’ series of *adynata*, and shifts from plants to animals, is, according to Thomas Rosenmeyer, indicative of Theocritus’ use of priamels: “In Theocritus, there is no sustained curve at all, either ascending or descending; it is as if he decided to construct a priamel that would frustrate the very idea of the priamel, which is to lead up to an effective and affecting terminus by means of crescendo of expectation and understanding.”³⁵ Thus the reader is caught off-guard with the addition of animals, though the thought of stags chasing dogs is an easily-understood inversion of nature. The owl and the nightingale pairing, however, creates some difficulty. Unlike the stag and hounds, the owl and the nightingale do not have a predator-prey relationship. Kathryn Gutzwiller suggests that the “untuneful owls

³⁴ Chao 2010, 40-41.

³⁵ Rosenmeyer 1969, 261. Rosenmeyer defines “priamel” on page 338, note 22: “priamel” is used “to designate a series of brief statements or propositions which are felt to be based on an underlying pattern, and which usually lead up to a terminal proposition of somewhat greater weight. A catalogue, on the other hand, tends to be a series of terms rather than propositions, and usually do not exhibit terminal weighting.”

are to rival, and presumably drown out, the nightingales,”³⁶ so the tension may lie between the “monotonous” owls and the very musical nightingales.³⁷

Thus, in the last two *adynata* Theocritus has frustrated *our* idea of a priamel, and the final section does not seem to carry the same weight as the preceding impossible situations. Theocritus, however, is putting these lines (1.132-136) in the voice of a rustic—a cowherd—who would have no concept of what Rosenmeyer describes as a literary rising or descending rhetorical curve. Bernard Dick echoes this sentiment, noting that Theocritus’ chief *adynaton* is “to compose verses which no analphabetic shepherd could ever utter and to achieve an unaffected simplicity in his natural descriptions. He must combine the sophistication of the city with the innocence of the country.”³⁸ By frustrating our expectation, Theocritus combines nuanced *adynata* with what seems to be a minor inversion of nature (the owl and nightingale). Daphnis’ collection of *adynata* is simultaneously erudite with the way the flowers are associated with immoderate love, but also superficially simple in how it creates impossibilities.

Virgil’s *Eclogue* 5 alludes to Theocritus’ *Idyll* 1 and describes not only Daphnis’ death, but also his apotheosis. As was seen in Theocritus’ version of Daphnis’ death, animals are among the mourners at Daphnis’ death (5.20-21 and 27-28):

*Exstinctum Nymphae crudeli funere Daphnin
flebant (vos coryli testes et flumina Nymphis)
...
Daphni, tuum Poenos etiam ingemuisse leones
interitum montesque feri silvaeque loquuntur.*

³⁶ Gutzwiller 1991, 100. Gow 1959, 29 note ad loc comments that although owls and nightingales competing is “contrary to nature, [but] seems an absurd climax to the portents of the previous lines.”

³⁷ Thompson 1895, 156. On the singing of nightingales, see Pliny, *Natural History* 43.81.

³⁸ Dick 1968, 31.

For Daphnis, cut off by a cruel death, the Nymphs wept—
you hazels and rivers bear witness to the Nymphs

...

Daphnis, the wild mountains and woods tell us that even
African lions moaned over your death.³⁹

Lions and nymphs mourn his death as they do in *Idyll* 1.72. Later in the same poem, fields do, too. Upon Daphnis' death, the fields become weed-ridden, and echoing *Idyll* 1.132-136, the violets and narcissus flowers are overrun:

*grandia saepe quibus mandavimus hordea sulcis,
infelix lolium et steriles nascuntur avenae;
pro molli viola, pro purpurea narcisso
carduus et spinus surgit paliurus acutis.*

Often, in the furrows, to which we entrusted the big barley
grains, luckless darnel springs up and a barren oat straws.
Instead of the soft violet, instead of the gleaming narcissus,
the thistle rises up and the sharp-spiked thorn.⁴⁰

Virgil adopts and adapts the death of Daphnis in the tenth *Eclogue*, which is about the elegiac poet, Gallus. In this poem, Gallus becomes a Daphnis-type figure, suffering from unrequited love of Lycoris. His suffering causes the natural world to respond to his condition.

*Quae nemora aut qui vos saltus habuere, puellae
Naiades, indigno cum Gallus amore peribat?
nam neque Parnasi vobis iuga, nam neque Pindi
ulla moram fecere, neque Aonie Aganippe.
illum etiam lauri, etiam flevere myricae,
pinifer illum etiam sola sub rupe iacentem
Maenalus, et gelidi fleverent saxa Lycaei.*

What groves, what glades were your abode, you virgin
Naiads, when Gallus was pining with unrequited love? For
no heights of Parnassus or of Pindus, no Aonian Aganippe

³⁹ *Eclogue* 5.20-21 and 27-28. Fée 1823, 51 notes that hazel wood was commonly used for the handles of implements like axes, pikes, and javelins. These passages provide an interesting juxtaposition of militaristic trees, nymphs, rivers, and Punic lions.

⁴⁰ *Eclogue* 5.36-39.

made you tarry. For him even the laurels, even the tamarisks wept. For him, as he lay beneath a lonely rock, even pine-crowned Maenalus wept, and the crags of cold Lycaeus.⁴¹

The question that begins this passage asking where the nymphs were when they should have been mourning Gallus is an echo of *Idyll* 1.66-67:

πᾶ ποκ' ἄρ' ἦσθ' ὄκα Δάφνις ἐτάκετο, πᾶ ποκα, Νύμφαι;
ἦ κατὰ Πηνειῶ καλὰ τέμπεα, ἦ κατὰ Πίνδω;

Where were you, Nymphs, where were you when Daphnis was wasting? In the fair vales of Peneius or of Pindus?

From there, the Virgilian passage shifts to an imagined death scene for Gallus, in which the natural world mourns his death. And like *Idyll* 1, where Hermes, Priapus, and Aphrodite visit the dying Daphnis, in *Eclogue* 10 Silvanus and Pan, two rustic gods, visit the dying poet. By aligning Gallus with Daphnis in this passage, Virgil is creating his own figure at whose death it is possible to imagine an impossible natural world.⁴² Even for the poet in an unrequited relationship the natural world can respond to his condition.

Virgil again echoes the first *Idyll* in *Eclogue* 8, when Damon's unrequited love for Nysa also has an unnatural effect on plants and animals.⁴³ Like the adaptation of Gallus in *Eclogue* 10, Damon also becomes a Daphnis-figure, imagining what will happen upon his death because of an “*indigno amore*.”⁴⁴ Nysa, we are told, has been given to Mopsus. In response, Damon imagines inversions of nature that he believes equal to her not loving

⁴¹ *Eclogue* 10.9-15.

⁴² The key difference is, of course, that Gallus was a real writer, not a mythological figure.

⁴³ *Eclogue* 8 is one of the most dense *Eclogues*. In addition to the allusions to *Idylls* 1, 2, 3, and 11, the opening seems to address an unknown patron, perhaps Pollio, perhaps even Octavian. See Clausen 1994, 233-237.

⁴⁴ *Eclogue* 8.18. Clausen 1994, 246 notes the same “*indignus amor*” idea is echoed at *Eclogue* 10.10.

him back. In the first two *adynata*, we have the *idea* of a blended animal, or at least the potential for one:

*iungentur iam grypes equis, aevoque sequenti
cum canibus timidi venient ad pocula dammae.*

Griffins now shall mate with mares, and, in the age to come, the timid deer shall come with hounds to drink.⁴⁵

Damon continues, imagining

*nunc et ovis ultro fugiat lupus, aurea durae
mala ferant quercus, narcisso floreat alnus,
pinguia corticibus sudent electra myricae,
certent et cycnis ululae, sit Tityrus Orpheus,
Orpheus in silvis, inter delphinas Arion.*

Now let the wolf flee before the sheep, let rugged oaks bear golden apples, let alders bloom with daffodils, let tamarisks distil rich amber from their bark, let owls, too, vie with swans, let Tityrus be an Orpheus in the woods, an Arion among the dolphins!⁴⁶

Like Daphnis, Damon imagines a world where he can command impossibilities in the natural world because he cannot command Nysa to love him. Furthermore, Nysa will not love him because she is with Mopsus now; and perhaps Damon also envisions his impossible world to be as natural as Nysa being with someone else. The world he imagines is wrong because it is wrong that Nysa does not love him.

Within these commands to the natural world, there are direct points of contact with Theocritus' *adynata* in *Idyll* 1. The predator-prey relationship is inverted and oaks bear apples. The tamarisks put forth amber instead of alders or poplars,⁴⁷ and the

⁴⁵ *Eclogue* 8.27-28.

⁴⁶ *Eclogue* 8.53-59.

⁴⁷ Coleman 1977, 240-241 note ad loc.

narcissus here blooms on the alder instead of on the Theocritean juniper.⁴⁸ The swans and owls compete with each other, a pairing which provides aviary contrast. Swans reportedly only sing before their death, and the nocturnal screech owl sounds like a mourner, giving the aviary element a particularly dark and funereal tone.⁴⁹ The loosely chiasmic last line of this passage imagines the Virgilian pastoral singer, Tityrus, having the same kind of command over his realm as Orpheus has over the woods, and Arion among dolphins.

Unlike Daphnis and Gallus, however, Damon is not going to waste away. Instead, he sings that he will take his own life, or perhaps more accurately, he imagines taking his own life as a result of his unrequited desires (8.59-60). This imagined suicide, the absolute inversion of the natural course of a human life, is the grand finale of both his song and his *adynata*.⁵⁰

In the Virgilian version of Daphnis' mythology, Daphnis is deified after his death. In the second half of *Eclogue 5*, Menalcas sings about Daphnis' apotheosis, which also has a profoundly positive (but unnatural) effect on the natural world in 60-64:

*nec lupus insidias pecori nec retia cervus
ulla dolum meditantur; amat bonus otia Daphnis.
ipsi laetitia voces ad sidera iactant
intonsi montes; ipsae iam carmina rupes,
ipsa sonant arbusta...*

⁴⁸ Ross, 1987, 105-108 comments that this passage both echoes Theocritus' pine-pear combination, and also intentionally violates Varro's warning at 1.40.5 of *De Re Rustica* that oaks will not accept a fruit tree graft. Varro also notes that apple-pear grafts do not work. Because Varro's work was published at nearly the same time as the *Eclogues*, and Virgil includes a pear-apple graft in Book 2.32-34 of the *Georgics*, Ross argues for a potential point of contact between Virgil and Varro.

⁴⁹ Clausen 1994, 241 note ad loc.

⁵⁰ Damon's song and imagined suicide also parallels *Idyll 3*, wherein a goatherd threatens suicide by leaping off a cliff into the water because Amaryllis does not love him (*Idyll 3*. 25-27). See also Clausen 1994, 237.

The wolf plans no ambush for the flock, and nets no snare
for the stag; kindly Daphnis loves peace. The very
mountains, with woods unshorn, joyously fling their voices
starward; the very rocks, the very groves ring out...

The world that previously mourned Daphnis' death now is imagined to be rejoicing. This pathetic fallacy provides hope for the herdsmen: Daphnis, who wasted away from unrequited love, becomes a god, and the natural world celebrates him. This passage also inverts and makes positive *Eclogue* 2.3-5. There, Corydon flings his "artless strains," because of his one-sided love for Alexis:

*tantum inter densas, umbrosa cacumina, fagos
adsidue veniebat. ibi haec incondite solus
montibus et silvis studio iactabat inani.*

As his one solace, he would, day by day come among the thick beeches with their shady summits, and there alone in unavailing passion fling these artless strains to the hills and woods.

Daphnis, as the champion of unrequited lovers, is redeemed; he becomes a god, and one can assume he gains a sense of completeness. His mythology seems to bolster the idea that perhaps all of the suffering of the herdsmen is not for naught: even if the herdsman cannot convince his lover, he can at least imagine his songs having power, potentially aligning the singer with the likes of godly Daphnis, Apollo, Orpheus, and Linus.

In *Eclogue* 8.59, Damon wishes Tityrus to have command over the pastoral world. The opening of the first *Eclogue* provides an example of how herdsmen believe they can control nature with their songs. Meliboeus comments to Tityrus:

*Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi
silvestrem tenui musam meditaris avena
nos patriae finis et dulcia linquimus arva;
nos patriae fugimus: tu, Tityre, lentus in umbra
formosam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas.*

You, Tityrus, lie under the canopy of a spreading beech,
wooing the woodland Muse on slender reed, but we are
leaving our country's bounds and sweet fields. We are
outcasts from our country; you, Tityrus, at ease beneath the
shade, teach the woods to re-echo "fair Amaryllis."⁵¹

Tityrus is seen in the shade, teaching the woods (his arboreal students) to sing about his beloved Amaryllis. Clausen notes the "echo-effect" of "*Amaryllida silvas*," highlighting the echoing (*resonare*) of the forest.⁵² This scene is simultaneously an *adynaton* and a pathetic fallacy: Tityrus expects the trees to learn to respond to his desires. This scene is not that dissimilar to Daphnis' commands in *Idyll* 1.

Furthermore, the opening of the *Eclogues* aligns Virgil and his Hellenistic predecessors. Virgil echoes Theocritus with "Amaryllis," the beloved from *Idyll* 3. Just as the inclusion of Amaryllis associates Virgil's poetry with Theocritus' poems, the "slender pipe" associates Virgil with Callimachus. Callimachus' *Aitia* fragment 1.21-24 Pf. seems to be the inspiration for *Eclogue* 1.2:

καὶ γὰρ ὅτε πρότιστον ἔμοῖς ἐπὶ δέλτον ἔθηκα
γούνασιν, Ἀπόλλων εἶπεν ὁ μοι Λύκιος·
'.....]... ἀοιδέ, τὸ μὲν θύος ὄττι πάχιστον
θρέψαι, τῆ]ν Μοῦσαν δ' ὠγαθὲ λεπταλέην.'

Indeed, the first time I placed a writing tablet on my lap,
Lykian Apollo said to me: "Make your sacrifice
as fat as possible, but keep your Muse slender."⁵³

This fat sacrifice/slender poetry ideal is repeated in *Eclogue* 6.3-5:

*Cynthus aurem
vellit et admonuit: 'pastorem, Tityre pinguis
pascere oportet ovis, deductum dicere carmen*

⁵¹ *Eclogue* 1.1-5.

⁵² Clausen 1994, 39 note ad loc.

⁵³ Translation my own.

Cynthius [Apollo] plucked my ear and admonished me. “Tityrus,
a shepherd should pasture a fat sheep but a slender song.”

In this passage from *Eclogue 6* Virgil aligns himself with “Tityrus,” which then reminds the reader of *Eclogue 1*.⁵⁴ Virgil then writes that if anyone reads the *Eclogue 6* verses, the tamarisks and groves will sing of Varus (*si quis / captus amore leget, te nostrae, Vare, myricae, te nemus omne canet*).⁵⁵ Again, Virgil (as Tityrus) anticipates that the trees and forests have been correctly taught to sing Varus’s praises, just as Tityrus attempts to teach the woods in *Eclogue 1*.

Eclogue 6 continues in honor of Varus as a narrative poem sung by Silenus.

Silenus, too, has the power in his poetry to affect nature resulting in a pathetic fallacy; his power is even greater than that of Apollo or Orpheus:

*tum vero in numerum Faunosque ferasque videres
ludere, tum rigidas motare cacumina quercus;
nec tantum Phoebos gaudet Parnasia rupes,
nec tantum Rhodope miratur et Ismarus Orphea.*

Then indeed you might see Fauns and fierce beasts sporting
in measured dance, and unbending oaks nodding their
crests. Not so does the rock of Parnassus rejoice in
Phoebus; not so do Rhodope and Ismarus marvel at their
Orpheus.⁵⁶

Virgil explains at the end of this *Eclogue* that the education of nature, however, stems from Apollo himself, who taught songs to the laurel, and now all the valleys know them

⁵⁴ “Tityrus” also appears in *Idyll 7.72-77* sings about Daphnis, and how the hill and oak trees lamented his death. Daphnis’ death and the accompanying *adynata* are linked through the name “Tityrus,” a name which Virgil takes on in his own Callimachus-inspired education from Apollo about poetry. See also Alpers 1979, 102.

⁵⁵ *Eclogue 6.9-11*. On the identification of Varus, see Coleman 1977, 177 note ad 7 and Clausen 1994, 181 note ad 6-7. Smith 1997, 88 notes that “Varus’ appearance in Tityrus’ world perhaps parallels the ‘intrusion’ of another literate poet, Gallus, onto the mythical slopes of Helicon.”

⁵⁶ *Eclogue 6.27-30*. This passage also contains geographic allusions to *Idyll 7.76-77*.

well enough to fling them to the stars.⁵⁷ This passage, too, reminds the reader of *Eclogue* 8.59 which exhorts Tityrus to be an Orpheus or Arion figure. There is a desire on the part of the herdsmen to have god-like power.

Coleman notes that the sixth is the least pastoral of all the *Eclogues*. There are few direct echoes of Theocritus, even though there is an abundance of rustic imagery which includes flowers, trees, animals, and bees. “It does not,” he writes “cohere to form a single evocative landscape.”⁵⁸ It is, however, representative of the Hellenistic aesthetic, even beyond the “slender muse.” Silenus, a satyr, who has just woken up to find himself shackled by flower wreaths after a wine-filled night, narrates the story of the creation and degradation of man. Clausen notes that Silenus’ song about creation is an echo of Orpheus’ creation song in Apollonius of Rhodes’ *Argonautica* (1.496-504).⁵⁹ Thus *Eclogue* 6, situated in the middle of Virgil’s Latin/Roman pastoral world, is rife with Hellenistic references, and Virgil has also made his non-heroic Silenus a singer in line with the likes of Apollo, Linus, Orpheus, Hesiod, and Gallus for his “slender” and Callimachean narrative quasi-epic.⁶⁰

Even though Virgil consciously alludes to Hellenistic poets in his *Eclogues*, he is not a simple follower of their influence. In the opening of *Eclogue* 1, while simultaneously announcing that he is in a Theocritean pastoral tradition, Virgil announces his break from it:

Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi

⁵⁷ *Eclogue* 6.82-86.

⁵⁸ Coleman 1977, 203.

⁵⁹ Clausen 1994, 176.

⁶⁰ See Ross 2008 for the Hesiodic motifs of the poem.

*silvestrem tenui musam meditaris avena
nos patriae finis et dulcia linquimus arva;
nos patriae fugimus: tu, Tityre, lentus in umbra
formosam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas.*

You, Tityrus, lie under the canopy of a spreading beech, wooing the woodland Muse on slender reed, but we are leaving our country's bounds and sweet fields. We are outcasts from our country; you, Tityrus, at ease beneath the shade, teach the woods to re-echo "fair Amaryllis."⁶¹

The inclusion of the political element in the pastoral realm—the land confiscations to which Meliboeus refers—increases the distance between Virgil and Theocritus. Peter Bing, while discussing literary antecedents of Callimachus, comments on the liminal state of an author to his predecessors:

it is here [in this liminal state]...that we grasp not just the relationship that an author attempts to establish with his poetic antecedent, but the distance that separates them both in terms of cultural/historical circumstances and in poetic aims.⁶²

These opening lines of Virgil announce that he is following in the path of his pastoral predecessor, Theocritus, with Theocritean character names (Tityrus and Amaryllis), the setting with a programmatic tree, and the *silvestrem musam*. At the same time, Virgil is creating Latin pastoral—and is the first to do so; his tree is the native Italic beech, and his herding companion immediately mentions the political climate of Rome and Italy, noting that its impact is even felt in the countryside. Thus Virgil occupies a liminal space between the Greek and Latin literary traditions, looking back to the Greek and Hellenistic literary tradition and also forward to the Roman world.

⁶¹ *Eclogue* 1.1-5.

⁶² Bing 2008, 94-95

Later in *Eclogue* 1, Tityrus tells Meliboeus about his trip to Rome, and that as a result of this trip, his land is safe. He says:

*Ante leves ergo pascentur in aethere cervi,
Et freta destituent nudos in litore pisces,
Ante pererratis amborum finibus exsul,
Aut Ararim Parthus bibet aut Germania Tigrim,
Quam nostro illius labatur pectore vultus.*

Sooner, then, shall the nimble stag graze in air, and the seas leave their fish bare on the strand –sooner, each wandering over the other’s frontiers, shall the Parthian in exile drink from the Arar, and Germany the Tigris, than that look of his shall fade from my heart.⁶³

This motif of mixing creatures from the sea and the land is a very old trope, though the direct inspiration for this *adynaton* seems to be Lucretius.⁶⁴

*Denique in aethere non arbor, non aequore in alto
Nubes esse queunt neque pisces vivere in arvis
Nec cruor in lignis neque saxis sucus inesse.*

Then a tree cannot exist in the upper air, no a cloud in the deep sea, nor can fish live in the fields; nor is there blood in wood not sap in rocks.⁶⁵

⁶³ *Eclogue* 1.59-63.

⁶⁴ A fragment of Archilochus shows a similar impossibility fragment 74.7-9.

μηδ' ἐὰν δελφῖσι θῆρες ἀνταμείψωνται νομόν
ἐνάλιον καὶ σφιν θαλάσσης ἠχέεντα κύματα
φίλτερ' ἠπειπού γένηται, τοῖσι δ' ὑλήειν ὄρος

Not even if animals exchange with dolphins the pastures of the sea, and the roar of the ocean waves becomes more dear to them than dry land. (Translation from Coleman 1999)

⁶⁵ *De Rerum Natura* 3.784-786. Translation my own.

Lipka notes that Virgil makes Lucretius' images more vivid. He uses *in aethere* instead of Lucretius' *in aere*; instead of one landscape, Virgil makes two; and Lucretius' unspecific vocabulary (*esse, vivere*) is replaced by "colourful verbs" (*pascentur, destituent*).⁶⁶ Additionally, whereas Lucretius has antithesis, alliteration, and repeated negations (*non, neque, and nec*), Virgil's passage has symmetry through anaphora and repetition of "*ante*" which divides the animal inversions from the geographical *adynata*.⁶⁷ Because this type of *adynaton*, where animals are seen displaced from their natural habitat, is one of the oldest and most common, it seems to be most closely linked with traditional sayings.⁶⁸ Thus, through the *adynata* and the pathetic fallacies, Virgil asserts his position in the pastoral and Latin literary world in *Eclogue 1*, while also creating characters that use the impossible situations to imagine their desires being realized.

Because the herdsmen are powerless in their political climate, they imagine a world where they have power to control *something*. Similarly, when herdsmen are in love, they also imagine situations where they have the power to control nature since they cannot control the emotions of their beloved. These imagined situations, however, are fairly limited in scale compared to the overabundance that will be seen in the Golden Age descriptions of the next section.

***Adynata*: imagining a Golden Age**

⁶⁶ Lipka 2001, 69-70. Putnam 1970, 51-55 offers a negative reading of this passage, claiming that "both the animals and men have been afflicted" by Rome's wars. I do not agree with this reading of the *Eclogues*.

⁶⁷ Dutoit 1936, 68 discusses the theories behind the *adynata* of the geographical locations.

⁶⁸ Traditional sayings, but not proverbs. Cf: the English cliché *adynaton*, "when pigs fly."

The positive response of the natural world to the human condition can be expanded to an inversion of nature that is so abundantly positive that it creates an Edenic Golden Age. Theocritus provides a brief example of Golden Age imagery in *Idyll* 5. In this *Idyll*, two herdsmen, Comatas and Lacon, engage in a singing contest exchanging couplets on various topics. They sing about gifts they could give their beloveds, and complain about pests in their fields (locusts, foxes, and beetles). Lacon becomes angered because Comatas brings up their past history, and both men suggest antidotes for anger, Comatas the squill, and Lacon the cyclamen. Comatas comments, that if cyclamen would work:

C: Ἰμέρα ἀνθ' ὕδατος ρείτω γάλα, καὶ τὸ δέ, Κραῖθι,
οἶνω πορφύροις, τὰ δέ τοι σία καρπὸν ἐνεΐκαι.
L: ρείτω χά Συβαρίτις ἐμὴν μέλι, καὶ τὸ πότορθρον
ἀ παῖς ἀνθ' ὕδατος τῆ κάλπιδι κηρία βάψαι.

C: Let Himera run milk instead of water, and Crathis redden⁶⁹ with wine and its reeds bear fruit.
L: And for me let Sybaris flow with honey and at dawn my girl dip honeycomb for water in her pitcher.⁷⁰

If, in this fantasy world, there was a botanical remedy for anger, other *adynata* would be equally possible, but the concordant world would still be confused. Both men name springs in *Magna Graecia* (Southern Italy and Sicily), where the action of the poem takes place.⁷¹ Comatas introduces “Golden Age” imagery of a spring—the Himera—

⁶⁹ Some ancient sources claim the Crathis river could dye one’s hair auburn, while other sources claim it would turn one’s hair yellow to white. The reddening of the river may pick up on some of these anecdotal claims.

⁷⁰ *Idyll* 5.124-127.

⁷¹ Gow 1952, 94. Gow 1952, 114 note ad loc remarks that rivers are typically masculine, and here the names are feminine, indicating they are springs, not rivers.

producing milk.⁷² This spring would ostensibly feed the river Himera, which mourns the death of Daphnis in *Idyll 7*. Beyond the milk spring, Comatas imagines the Crathis river running with wine. Lacon continues the theme, adding a honey-laden Sybaris with reeds which (untypically) bear fruit. Although this *adynaton* is only two couplets long, it helps to establish honey's role in pastoral Golden Age imagery.

The herdsmen, Lacon and Comatas, compete from their respective pleasing places—their songs are introduced with descriptions of *loca amoena* discussed in the previous chapter. They are able to imagine springs flowing with milk and honey from places which are already pleasing to the senses. Rosenmeyer, however, does not see the Golden Age quality in their imagined worlds:

They [the herdsmen] are not temperamentally equipped to imagine themselves transplanted into a life of beauty and inexhaustible cheer. The answer must be that the men offer their *adynata* because they know they are appropriate to a pastoral encounter. Such wish-dreams are simple, concrete, and benighted. They are, of course, entirely different from the fiery remonstrations of dying Daphnis. But their kind is more common; their artless utopianism is more easily built into the pastoral *otium*.⁷³

I think the couplets the herdsmen sing undermine Rosenmeyer's point. Not only are they currently surrounded by pleasing places (lines 31-59), but they imagine a world that goes beyond what they already know. More than anything, the *adynata* show that the herdsmen have fantastic imaginations, and they can create impossible scenes, worlds, and entirely new ages which are hardly "artless."

⁷² Weiss 1998, 55 connects the name of this river with one of the Greek words for desire, *himeros*.

⁷³ Rosenmeyer 1969, 265.

In the *Eclogues*, there are two poems with Golden Age imagery, *Eclogues* 3 and 4. Both poems involve the consul Pollio, Virgil's first patron. In the third *Eclogue*, Menalcas and Damoetas engage each other in a singing contest with Palaemon judging. Although the contest is contentious, for two and a half couplets the two herdsmen compliment Pollio, which leads to *adynata*. Damoetas begins:

*D. Qui te, Pollio, amat, veniat quo te quoque gaudet;
Mella fluant illi, ferat et rubus asper amomum.
M. Qui Baviium non odit, amet tua carmina, Mevi,
Atque idem iungat vules et mulgeat hircos.*

D. May he who loves you, Pollio, come where he rejoices
that you, too, have come! For him may honey flow and the
bramble bear spices!
M. Let him who hates not Bavius love your songs, Mevius;
and let him yoke foxes and milk he-goats!⁷⁴

Damoetus' last couplet of the passage clearly echoes Theocritus *Idylls* 1.132, in which Daphnis commands brambles and acanthus to bear violets. Virgil has altered the bramble-flower combination by having the bramble bear *amomum*. *Amomum* is most likely cardamom, which bears a flower with three white petals, one of which is much larger with violet to magenta-colored streaks. Cardamom is contrasted against the roughness of the bramble in this *adynaton*, just as the violet is in *Idyll* 1. In addition to the rough/delicate contrast, Virgil also highlights the domestic/foreign (or common/exotic) pairing. In *Eclogue* 4.26, Virgil describes *amomum* as "Assyrian." Brambles, on the other hand, are very common throughout Greece and Italy.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ *Eclogue* 3.88-91.

⁷⁵ "Bramble" is a generic name for any number of thorny shrubs, are our common blackberry (*Rubus fruticosus*) and raspberry (*Rubus idaeus*) bushes. See Sargeant 1920, 114; Daubeny 1865, 88; and Dioscorides *De Materia Medica* 4.38 (Gunther 1968).

Damoetas also alludes to *Idyll* 5.126 in which Lamon imagines the Sybaris river flowing with honey. Virgil uses honey as a Golden Age motif; it occurs again in conjunction with Pollio in *Eclogue* 4.30. Here the *adynaton* is a positive type: the herdsmen imagine a small scale Golden Age, and the natural world responds to Pollio's existence by inverting nature, creating abundance.

Menalcas' response to Damoetas' *adynata* change the golden-age tone by making references to yoking foxes and milking he-goats. Coleman notes that these expressions "may have been traditional metaphors of incompetence in popular speech."⁷⁶ Conington, in a much earlier commentary, writes "Here, however, '*iungere vulpes*' and '*mulgere hircos*' appears to be a sort of comic purgatory, opposed to the paradise of v. 89."⁷⁷

Pollio, who inspires Damoetas' *adynata*, is also the inspiration for the most dense series of *adynata* and pathetic fallacies in pastoral in *Eclogue* 4. *Eclogue* 4 was written to commemorate the consulship of Gaius Asinius Pollio in 40 BCE and has inspired the most scholarship of all the *Eclogues*. This *Eclogue* is steeped with references to the Greek and Latin literary traditions. In the first lines of the poem Virgil writes that he is going to change Theocritus' pastoral model (*Sicelides Musae*), and write about a politician:

*Sicelides Musae, paulo maiora canamus.
Non omnis arbusta iuvant humilesque myricae;⁷⁸
Si canimus silvas, silvae sint consule dignae.*

⁷⁶ Coleman 123 note ad 91.

⁷⁷ Conington 1881, 48 note ad 90-91.

⁷⁸ This description of tamarisks has given Virgil a bad reputation as a botanist. Alice Lindsell writes: "Now the tamarisk is never lowly: it is a big bush at the least, and often a small tree: and it does not grow in cultivated ground, as Virgil suggests, but in sand or on rocks." (Lindsell 1937, 80) Stearn 1983, 341, however, notes that *humilis* can be used "when the stature of a plant is not particularly small, but smaller than other kindred species."

Sicilian Muses, let us sing a somewhat loftier strain. Not everyone do orchards and the lowly tamarisks delight. If our song is of the woodland, let the woods be worthy of a consul.

Although Virgil stays in a pastoral “strain,” he also aligns himself with Hesiod and Aratus’ mythical Golden Ages in the lines that follow:

*Ultima Cumaei venit iam carminis aetas;
Magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo.
Iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna;
iam nova progenies caelo dimittitur alto.*

Now is come the last age of Cumaean song; the great line of the centuries begins anew. Now the Virgin returns, the reign of Saturn returns; now a new generation descends from heaven on high.⁷⁹

The return of the Virgin (Dikē, according to Aratus’ *Phaenomenon*) marks the return of the Golden Age, as does the rule of Saturn, who, according to Hesiod’s *Works and Days*, was the ruler of the first Golden Age. Hesiod writes that he lives in the terrible Iron Age, and Virgil also designates his own age one of iron (*ferrea gens*, lines 8-9). It is during Pollio’s consulship that the new age will begin.⁸⁰

In contrast with the small-scale Theocritean Golden Age in *Idyll 5* and *Eclogue 3*, *Eclogue 4* provides an overwhelming abundance, forcing nature into confusion, but in the

⁷⁹ *Eclogue 4.4-7*. Thomas 1982, 100-101 comments that Virgil uses the phrase *nascitur ordo* in *Aeneid* 7.44-45, but in the *Aeneid* the connection is between Latinus and Saturn. Virgil strengthens Latinus’ association with Saturn in Book 8 when he provides the lineage for Latinus.

⁸⁰ The next lines talk about the birth of a child. The identity of the child is unknown for certain, but the combination of the “Virgin” and a baby being born whose life would bring a Golden Age led people to assert that Virgil was foretelling the birth of Jesus Christ. For a detailed discussion on the potential identity of the child, see Clausen 1994, 150-154. There has also been scholarship about the Eastern influences on the poem. See Nisbet 2008, 155-188.

most concordant way possible. The enhancement of the natural world begins when the infant, whose maturation will parallel the development of the Golden Age, is born:

*At tibi prima, puer, nullo munuscula cultu
errantis hederas passim cum baccare tellus
mixtaque ridenti colocasia fundet acantho.
ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae
ubera, nec magnos metuent armenta leones;
ipsa tibi blandos fundent cunabula flores.
occidet et serpens, et fallax herba veneni
occidet; Assyrium vulgo nascetur amomum.
At simul heroum laudes et facta parentis
iam legere et quae sit poteris cognoscere virtus,
molli paulatim flavescet campus arista
incultisque rubens pendebit sentibus uva
et durae quercus sudabunt roscida mella.*

But for you, child, the earth untilled will pour forth its first pretty gifts, gadding ivy with foxglove, everywhere, and the Egyptian bean blended with the laughing briar [acanthus]; unbidden it will pour forth for you a cradle of smiling flowers. Unbidden, the goats will bring home their udders swollen with milk, and the cattle will not fear huge lions. The serpent, too, will perish, and perish will the plant that hides its poison; Assyrian spice will spring up on every soil.

But as soon as you can read of the glories of heroes and your father's deeds, and can know what valour is, slowly will the plains yellow with waving corn, on wild brambles the purple grape will hang, and the stubborn oak distil dewy honey.⁸¹

Within these *adynata* of abundance, three motifs stand out. First, there is a spontaneous abundance and fertility. “*Nullo cultu* (spontaneously, without cultivation),” there will be a proliferation of commonly-found plants such as ivy and foxglove, but also exotic plants like (Greek) acanthus, Egyptian beans, and Assyrian spice.⁸² Virgil then shifts from simple botanical abundance to the loss of the usual predator-prey relationship between

⁸¹ *Eclogue* 4.18-30.

⁸² Here, too, Virgil contrasts common and exotic plants.

lions and oxen; the snake will die, as will poisonous plants. Once the transition to this sort of Golden Age has begun, it is easy to make elements of the natural world continue to do the impossible. The third motif involves fantastic *adynata*: the agricultural crops (grain and grapes) grow without human tending, the infant's cradle will blossom with flowers and oak trees will produce honey from their bark. Unlike Theocritus' *adynata* in *Idyll* 1, which break off and do not proceed as the reader expects, Virgil maintains the rhetorical crescendo, beginning with things that are possible (yet hyperbolic) and ending with the impossible.

As the child matures, the Golden Age motifs continue the movement to the Golden Age fantasy. When the baby becomes a man, there will be no need for travel or trade, and

*omnis ferret omnia tellus.*⁸³
Non rastros patietur humus, non vinea falcem;
Robustus quoque iam tauris iuga sovelt arator.
Nec varios discet mentiri lana colres,
Ipse sed in pratis aries iam suave rubenti
Murice, iam corceo mutabit vellera luto;
Sponte sua sandyx pascentis vestiet agnos.

every land will bear all fruits. Earth will not suffer the harrow, nor the vine the pruning hook; the sturdy ploughman, too, will now loose his oxen from the yoke. No more will wool be taught to put on varied hues, but of himself the ram in the meadows will change his fleece, now to sweetly blushing purple, now to a saffron yellow; and scarlet shall clothe the grazing lambs at will.⁸⁴

In creating this Golden Age, Virgil follows Hesiod's "Ages of Man" passage in *Works and Days*. Hesiod's Golden Age is created by Greek Cronus (Roman Saturn) and

⁸³ Lipka 2001, 72 notes the near quotation of Lucretius at 1.1166 (*ferre omnes omnia possent*). The sentiment, however, seems to be proverbial. See the "*omnis*" entry of Otto 1890, 254-5.

⁸⁴ *Eclogue* 4.39-45.

is marked by its lack of labor and abundance. This race of men is eventually destroyed and is replaced by a worse race of the Silver age. In Hesiod, the Iron Age, the age in which he himself lives, will only come to an end when Zeus destroys it. In contrast, Virgil writes that this new age will not involve the wholesale eradication of mankind. Instead, this new age develops after a period of Roman civil wars is brought to an end. Emily McDermott notes, “the pessimistic Hesiodic motif was transformed by addition of an apocalyptic element: the notion that the Golden Age can be restored, with a cyclic turn of the Iron Age.”⁸⁵ Virgil is imagining an amelioration of the world, reversing the process of the decline of ages.⁸⁶

The Golden Age imagery concludes with a pathetic fallacy:

*aspice convexo nutantem pondere mundum,
terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum;
aspice, venture laetentur ut omnia saeclo!*

See how the world bows with its massive dome—earth and
expanse of sea and heaven’s depth! See how all things
rejoice in the age that is at hand!⁸⁷

Virgil’s new world is not dissimilar to Daphnis’ in *Idyll* 1: both have desires, one for peace, one for love, and imagine a confused natural world to respond to their desires.

Horace’s *Epode* 16 provides an interesting counterpoint to *Eclogue* 4. The *Epode* is associated with the *Eclogue* because it also has Golden Age imagery, and because both

⁸⁵ McDermott 2010, 250.

⁸⁶ Courtney 2010, 28.

⁸⁷ *Eclogue* 4.50-52.

poems were composed at about the same time.⁸⁸ In Horace's version of the post-civil war escapist Golden Age, he deems it right to leave—to go “wherever our feet shall bear us, wherever the south and boisterous south-west winds shall call us across the waves (*ire pedes quocumque ferent, quocumque per undas / Notus vocabit aut proteruus Africus*).”⁸⁹

It will be acceptable, he continues, to return when the impossible happens:

*simul imis saxa renarint
vadis levata, ne redire sit nefas;
neu conversa domum pigeat dare lintea, quando
Padus Matina laverit cacumina,
in mare seu celsus procurrerit Appenninus
novaque monstra iunxerit libidine
mirus amor, iuuet ut tigris subsidere cervis,
adulteretur et columba miluo,
credula nec rivos timeant armenta leones
ametque salsa levis hircus aequora.*

Just as soon as rocks are raised
from the deeps and float, then let it be no sin to return;
No provocation to set our sails from the passage home
When the Po shall wash the Matine peaks,
The Apennine heights jut out in the sea,
Wonderful love join monsters in novel passion, tigers
Be pleased to mount deer, doves fornicate with hawks,
the trusting herd not fear the tawny lion
and the hairless goat enjoy the briny sea.⁹⁰

This passage shares imagery from both *Eclogue 1* and *Eclogue 4* with the displaced rocks

(as with the displaced animals) and the complete loss of the predator-prey relationship.

Horace continues, though, that people in this self-imposed exile should seek the rich

islands and farms:

⁸⁸ I.e., 40 BCE. There has been an ongoing debate in the scholarship as to which was composed first. Most scholars seem to agree that the *Eclogue* was written first, with the argument that Horace is responding to the optimism of the *Eclogue*. See Mankin 1995, 244-245.

⁸⁹ *Epode* 16.21-22.

⁹⁰ Horace *Epode* 16.25-34. Penguin Translation by W. G. Shepherd.

*arva beata
petamus, arva divites et insulas,
reddit ubi cererem tellus inarata quotannis
et inputata floret usque vinea,
germinat et numquam fallentis termes olivae
suamque pulla ficus ornat arborem,
mella cava manant ex ilice, montibus altis
levis crepante lympa desilit pede.
illic iniussae veniunt ad mulctra capellae
refertque tenta grex amicus ubera
nec vespertinus circumgemit ursus ovile
nec intumescit alta viperis humus;*

Let us seek
The rich islands and farms, the blessed farms,
Where every year the earth, untilled, yields corn;
And the vines, unpruned, forever bloom;
And the never failing sprigs of olive bud;
And dusky figs adorn their trees;
And honey drips from the hollow oak; and the stream
With plashing feet leaps lightly down from the lofty crag;
And the goats, unbidden, come to the milking-pail;
And the kindly flock brings home full udders;
And no bear growls around the sheepfold at dusk;
and the soil is never tumescent with snakes.⁹¹

Like Virgil’s Golden Age *adynata*, there is no work involved—but unlike Virgil’s new Roman Golden Age, Horace’s *cannot* take place in Rome. Horace comments in the first two lines, “Already another generation is being ground down by civil war. Rome reels from her own might (*altera iam teritur bellis civilibus aetas / suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit*). People must abandon Rome; only those leaving will be able to enjoy this abundance.⁹² Although Horace’s Golden Age imagery is composed of *adynata*, his version of the new epoch is much less celebratory, and much more pessimistic than Virgil’s.

⁹¹ Horace *Epode* 16.41-52.

⁹² Horace *Epode* 16.63-66.

A political reading of the Virgilian and Horatian utopias bears mentioning. Although these poems have been considered emblematic of the Augustan Golden Age ideology, Karl Galinsky notes that because these versions of Golden Ages are marked by a complete lack of work, they are “far removed from the realities and the ethos of the Augustan age.”⁹³ Instead, he argues, in the Augustan age “the Golden Age comes to connote social order rather than a paradisiacal state of indolence.”⁹⁴ *Eclogue* 4 and *Epode* 16, then are the opposite of Augustan ideology, which is more accurately depicted in Virgil’s representation of the Golden Age in the *Georgics* (1.121-175) where perpetual work is required of the farmer. Galinsky notes, “The idea that underlies the Augustan ethos is that peace and bliss (*felicitas*) are a threat to energetic human endeavor, the quest for excellence, and the maintenance of high morality.”⁹⁵ This idea was seen in the last chapter with the *locus amoenus* quality centuriation of the tilled fields had around Oplontis.

The Golden Age of Virgil reflects a literary tradition of the descriptions of gardens tended by gods more than Augustan ideals, particularly since Augustus was still Octavian at the time *Eclogue* 3 and 4 were written. The earliest example of an impossible garden is found in *The Odyssey*. The perpetual abundance and lack of seasons makes the description of King Alcinoos’ garden simultaneously a *locus amoenus* and an

⁹³ Galinsky 1996, 91.

⁹⁴ Galinsky 1996, 93.

⁹⁵ Galinsky 1996, 138. See also McDermott 2010, 254. Zanker 1988, 181, when considering the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, reads the visual *adynata* in direct connection with *Eclogue* 4. “Grapes, figs, and palmettes [grow] out of acanthus branches...garlands bearing all manner of fruit... was meant to characterize the new age as a paradise on earth (cf. Vergil’s Fourth *Eclogue*).”

adynaton. When Odysseus arrives at the island of the Phaeacians, Homer offers a description of the gardens there:

ἔκτοσθεν δ' αὐλῆς μέγας ὄρχατος ἄγχι θυράων
τετράγυος· περὶ δ' ἔρκος ἐλήλαται ἀμφοτέρωθεν.
ἔνθα δὲ δένδρεα μακρὰ πεφύκασι τηλεθόωντα,
ὄγχυαι καὶ ῥοιαὶ καὶ μηλέαι ἀγλαόκαρποι 115
συκέαι τε γλυκεραὶ καὶ ἐλαῖαι τηλεθόωσαι.
τάων οὐ ποτε καρπὸς ἀπόλλυται οὐδ' ἀπολείπει
χείματος οὐδὲ θέρευς, ἐπετήσιος· ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἰεὶ
Ζεφυρίη πνεῖουσα τὰ μὲν φύει, ἄλλα δὲ πέσσει.
ὄγχνη ἐπ' ὄγχνη γηράσκει, μῆλον δ' ἐπὶ μήλῳ, 120
αὐτὰρ ἐπὶ σταφυλῇ σταφυλή, σῦκον δ' ἐπὶ σύκῳ.
ἔνθα δὲ οἱ πολύκαρπος ἀλωὴ ἐρρίζωται,
τῆς ἕτερον μὲν θειλόπεδον λευρῶ ἐνὶ χώρῳ
τέρσεται ἠελίῳ, ἑτέρας δ' ἄρα τε τρυγώωσιν,
ἄλλας δὲ τραπέουσι· πάροιθε δὲ τ' ὄμφακές εἰσιν. 125
ἄνθος ἀφιῖσαι, ἕτεραι δ' ὑποπερκάζουσιν.
ἔνθα δὲ κοσμηταὶ πρασιαὶ παρὰ νεΐατον ὄρχον
παντοῖαι πεφύασιν, ἐπηετανὸν γανόωσαι·
ἐν δὲ δῶο κρῆναι ἢ μὲν τ' ἀνά κῆπον ἅπαντα
σκίδναται, ἢ δ' ἐτέρωθεν ὑπ' αὐλῆς οὐδὸν ἴησι 130
πρὸς δόμον ὑψηλόν, ὅθεν ὑδρεύοντο πολῖται.
τοῖ ἄρ' ἐν Ἀλκινόοιο θεῶν ἔσαν ἀγλαὰ δῶρα.

Outside the courtyard, fronting the high gates,
a magnificent orchard stretches four acres deep
with a strong fence running round it side-to-side.
Here luxuriant trees are always in their prime,
pomegranates and pears, and apples glowing red,
succulent figs and olives swelling sleek and dark.
And the yield of all these trees will never flag or die,
neither in winter nor in summer a harvest all year round
for the West Wind always breathing through will bring
some fruits to the bud and others warm to ripeness—
pear mellowing ripe on pear, apple on apple,
cluster of grapes on cluster, fig crowded fig.
And here is a teeming vineyard planted for the kings,
beyond it an open level bank where the vintage grapes
lie baking to raisins in the sun while pickers gather others;
some they trample down in vats, and here in the front rows
bunches of unripe grapes have hardly shed their blooms
while others under the sunlight slowly darken purple.
And there by the last rows are beds of greens,
bordered and plotted, greens of every kind,

glistening fresh, year in, year out. And last,
there are two springs, one rippling in channels
over the whole orchard—the other, flanking it,
rushes under the palace gates
to bubble up in front of the lofty roofs
where the city people come and draw their water.

Such

Were the gifts, the glories showered down by the gods
On King Alcinous' realm.⁹⁶

There are no seasons in the garden, the trees are perpetually fruitful, and the garden provides year-round. This is made possible, we learn, from the intervention of the gods.

There are echoes of King Alcinous' garden in both Philetas' and Lamon's gardens in *Daphnis and Chloe*.⁹⁷ Philetas, we learn, has Eros bathing in the streams he uses to water his garden; Lamon's temple to Dionysus and Pan likewise blends sacro-idyllic elements.

Virgil, in fact, maintains the divine element of the *Eclogue* 4 Golden Age.

Clausen notes that Octavian, having been adopted by Julius Caesar, could declare divine lineage, and ostensibly, so could Octavia, his sister. Mark Antony traced his family's ancestors back to Hercules. Both Antony and Octavian could be referred to in the description of the child: *pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem* (and he shall rule the world to which his father's prowess brought peace).⁹⁸ Thus, even Virgil's Golden Age comes about through the influence of the divine son of Octavia and Mark Antony, and from an overriding desire for peace which will arise from the political pact of Octavian and Antony.

⁹⁶ *Odyssey* 8.112-132. Fagles translation.

⁹⁷ Hunter 1983, 72-73. The gardens of Philetas, Lamon, and Alcinous blend two basic types of gardens as outlined by Stephanie Ross. Ross 1993, 159 writes that there are generally two types of gardens, "the sacred grove and Nymphaeum dedicated to pagan deities" and "utilitarian kitchen and medicinal garden."

⁹⁸ Clausen 1994, 122.

In conclusion, although the length and detail of Golden Age *adynata* can vary, at the heart of the scenes lies the connection and intersection of desires and the natural world. Lamon and Comatas imagine a world that would exist if there was a botanical remedy for anger in *Idyll 5*; Virgil establishes political desires as the basis for his *adynaton* in *Eclogues 3* and *4*. The abundance of the new ages is simply an amplification of the impossible motifs, the *adynata*.

A reexamination of Roman wall painting

The last chapter showed the connection between the abundance of pastoral garden descriptions and Roman wall paintings, especially the frescoes at Oplontis and Livia's villa at Prima Porta. Although the paintings can provide a pleasing place to situate desire, or can themselves stimulate desires, they can also be a realization of otherwise completely impossible scenes.

Briefly, the east wing at Oplontis (rooms 69-95 on the plan, Image 12) is decorated with a series of rooms which have lush botanical paintings. These rooms face the pool, and look to the plane trees and oleander planted beyond that. Room after room in this wing features multiple wall paintings of bird-bath like fountains. There are peacocks and birds on and around the fountains, and perpetually green trees, ivy, and oleander painted around each fountain.

Like the villa in Oplontis, Livia's garden room (Images 15-16) depicts a garden that simultaneously contains every season, and is season-less: trees have quinces on them and the arbutuses have berries, a late summer or early fall phenomenon; spring violets and summer poppies and roses bloom beside each other; as do cypresses, and date palms.

All of the nearly twenty-five different kinds of plants are in full bloom at the same time. Ann Kuttner has also noted that the abundance of the produce on the plants strongly contrasts with the maturity of the plants: young, slender plants produce abundantly. Furthermore, she notes, the fruit trees are arranged with firs and oaks, normally uncultivated trees of the forest, which “monumentalizes and estheticizes them.”⁹⁹ If we step back and consider that the Prima Porta Augustus statue was found near this room, the ancient viewer would have been able to see the reciprocal relationship between the “exterior and interior manifestations of the *miraculum* of the new era.”¹⁰⁰ This idea of a new, bountiful, peaceful era naturally looks back to *Eclogue 4*.

In this reconsideration of the botanical wall paintings, Bettina Bergmann’s comments about the wall paintings from the east wing of Oplontis gain a greater weight:

Why not create an orderly, maintenance-free environment, where fruit never rots and birds never die? The depiction of living creatures caught in a moment of arrested animation engages the viewer in suspense and in the protracted observation of signs and time and life: water, fresh fruit, and birds—resulting in an intensification of taste and vision, a visual delectation. *Here is a farm without its mess.*¹⁰¹
(Emphasis added)

These comments, though directed specifically at the Oplontis villa, hold true for Livia’s garden room as well. The “farm without its mess”—the fiction that makes the rooms such pleasing places—also makes them a complete fantasy—an *adynaton*.

⁹⁹ Kuttner 1999, 28.

¹⁰⁰ Kellum 1994, 224.

¹⁰¹ Bergmann 2002, 119.

Like *Eclogue 4*, Alcinous' gardens in *The Odyssey*, or Philetas' and Lamon's gardens in *Daphnis and Chloe*, the vegetation that is represented in the wall paintings represents a completely fictional ideal. The trees are always green and bearing fruit; the flowers are always blooming, and the animals, too, are in their places.¹⁰² Thus the rooms can simultaneously be read as *loca amoena* and *adynata*. The rooms are pleasing precisely because they represent the impossible.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the *adynata* in Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus. The *adynata* are, like *loca amoena*, again connected to desire. These inversions of nature permit the singer/poet to have control over nature when he is powerless in his immediate desires. Thus, literary *adynata* become expressions of fictional control: herdsmen imagine a confused world when they cannot make their beloved love them back and Virgil imagines a superabundant world with peace that will come out of a period of political unrest in Rome. This control, it must be stressed, is entirely fictional. Although the *adynata* are imagined, it does not change the situation at hand that the person cannot control. This fictional control is visually echoed in the wall paintings at Oplontis and Prima Porta. These paintings, which fulfill the owners' desires, which give control over the (artificial, visual) natural world to the owner, provide a space like the *loca amoena* in which desires can be acted out, but more actively can inspire one to act on his or her own desires.

¹⁰² Zanker 1988, 181 reads the visual *adynata* on the *Ara Pacis Augustae* in direct connection with *Eclogue 4*. "Grapes, figs, and palmettes [grow] out of acanthus branches; ivy and laurel spiraling between heavy volutes; garlands bearing all manner of fruit; all this was meant to characterize the new age as a paradise on earth (cf. Vergil's Fourth *Eclogue*)."

Chapter 4: Alleviating Desire: Botanical Magic

The previous two chapters showed that the major botanical contexts in the pastoral literature of Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus could be used to give desire a pleasing place and or could be used to imagine a world in which a person could control the natural world when they were otherwise powerless in their immediate desire. This chapter shifts to the alleviation of desire through magic. Although erotic magic is performed to fulfill a desire—typically to make the beloved love the practitioner in return—the act of performing magic also has a palliative effect on the practitioner.

The desire to influence another through gifts is the basic tenet of the definition of magic presented by Christopher Faraone. He defines magic as “a set of practical devices and rituals used by the Greeks in their day-to-day lives to control or otherwise influence supernaturally the forces of nature, animals, or other human beings.”¹ The flowers and fruits in which the herdsmen abound are mundane “practical devices,” yet the gifts are presented to entice the beloved. The devices (i.e., the plants, flowers, and fruits) are, in fact, so mundane that classical scholarship has overlooked their intrinsic role in the culture of the Greco-Roman world.² The enunciations of desire in the pastoral world overlap with what we know of magic, and readers of Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus would have picked up on these cues.

It will be important to establish first what we know of erotic binding spells, which

¹ Faraone 1999, 16. This book has been problematic for some reviewers (See R. Hamilton’s response to E. Kadletz’s review of C. Faraone in BMCR 2000.02.41 at <http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2000/2000-02-41.html> and Peter Green’s dismissive review in *The New Republic* [2000]).

² Medieval scholarship does not avoid this approach to magic, however. See, for example, Doggett 2009.

Faraone notes are typical love spells.³ This section will particularly pay close attention to the role of symbolic actions and rites, noting that it is symbolism,⁴ not a strict orthopraxy,⁵ that is the key to erotic binding spells. The second section examines *Idyll* 2 and *Eclogue* 8, poems which both depict a woman practicing magic to bring back a lover. The women portrayed in these poems use elements of traditional magic outlined in the first section with mixed results. The third section of this chapter connects magic to the botanical world of pastoral love. In this section I argue that plants are substitute elements of pastoral binding spells, and the astute reader would have seen the shift of traditional magic elements into a rustic context. The fourth section looks at the function of the most common botanical magical element, the apple, and the symbolism it contains in erotic contexts. I conclude this chapter by offering an interpretation of *Idyll* 11, which depicts Polyphemus simultaneously attempting to woo and to love Galatea. By drawing on elements of the previous sections of this chapter, I argue that the poem appears to be a rejection of love magic, but yet contains elements of magical spells. This opens up a discussion, then, about the interconnectedness of magic and courtship, but also how one can actually remedy desires.

What is known about binding spells

Binding spells were used in commercial activities, athletic or public

³ Faraone 1999, 28: These binding spells may include “incantations over bound images, tortured animals, burning materials, or apples.”

⁴ Cohen 1977, 117 offers this definition of symbols, which is helpful for how I will use the term “symbolism”: “By symbols I mean normative forms that stand ambiguously for a multiplicity of meanings, evoke emotions and sentiments, and impel men to action. They usually occur in stylised patterns of activities, such as the rituals of religion or the ceremonials of kinship.”

⁵ Here I use the term “orthopraxy” in the sense of adherence to a particular series of actions in a specific order.

performances, amatory curses (with the subcategories of separation and aphrodisiac curses), and judicial curses.⁶ For the purposes of this chapter, amatory curses will be of most importance.

There are two types of binding spells, those that are written down (*καταδέσμοι* in Greek, *defixiones* in Latin for those written on papyrus, and *tabellae defixionum* for those on metal) and those that involve figurines, though the two types can be used in tandem.⁷ Nearly two thousand examples of written curses tablets have been found, the term “tablet” being used very generally as spells have been found on any number of surfaces such as lead, pottery, stone, papyri, wax, and ceramic.⁸ Though lead tablets are the most common because lead was a material that was inexpensive and relatively easy to acquire,⁹ it seems that the choice of material is of little importance as long as it preserves what is written on it.¹⁰

The earliest evidence for written binding spells comes from the beginning of the fifth and early fourth centuries BCE in Attica and Sicily. These early examples list only a name, usually in the nominative. In instances where only an accusative is used, it is hypothesized that there was a verbal element where the binding verb was spoken.¹¹

Because it is believed that the binding verb was spoken it may also be true that binding

⁶ Faraone 1991, 10.

⁷ Graf 1997a, 3.

⁸ Collins 2008, 65. For obvious preservation reasons, wax tablets fared worst, but Ovid *Amores* 3.7.29 refers to a wax tablet binding spell. Faraone 1991, 7 notes that some wax figurines did survive in Egypt.

⁹ Gager 1992, 4 and Graf, 1997b, 100. Graf here further comments that lead is easily inscribed and was an early material for letter writing. It is only later that it is chosen for the “symbolism inherent in its gray, deathless color or heavy weight.”

¹⁰ Graf 1997b, 100.

¹¹ Collins 2008, 65. Collins 2008, 66 also notes the use of a single name could also be connected with the use of *ostraka*, as some binding spells were also found on *ostraka*.

spells were originally purely spoken rituals. The speech of the Erinyes in *Eumenides* 306 is an example of this.¹² Recent scholarship, however, seems to favor the simultaneous development of the “spoken formula and attendant gesture.”¹³ Nevertheless, it does seem that the spoken aspects of the spell gradually make their way onto the tablets, resulting in much longer spells as they developed through the Roman period.¹⁴ Indeed by that time fully written binding spells appear throughout the Mediterranean.¹⁵

Minimally, curse tablets contain the name of the victim to be bound. The victims of the spells frequently are named in the tablets with matrilineal designations. Whereas a patrilineal designation could be questionable, there was little doubt about the identification of a mother. In the case of the binding spell, it was of utmost importance to indicate the exact person to be bound by the spell in order to affect the correct person.¹⁶ Within the written spells themselves, the letters of the name or the parts of a spell could be written forwards or backwards or upside down (or a combination). This appears not to be related to the back-and-forth *boustrophedon* style of Greek writing, but rather expresses a symbolically literary way to bind or twist the person to whom the spell is

¹² Faraone 1985, 150.

¹³ Faraone 1991, 4. Two additional points: 1) Faraone 1991, 4-5 also mentions a cache of 40 blank tablets that were found and led to the conclusion that writing was optional in early binding spells, and that even blank tablets could be twisted or punctured with similar effectiveness. These tablets, however, have since gone missing, and there seems to be some debate about their existence. 2) Thomassen 1999, 61 uses the analogy of the modern wedding to underscore the importance of the combination of words and gestures even today. It is not enough to say simply “I do” at a wedding, but the “act of promise is given additional emphasis through the solemn exchange of rings.”

¹⁴ It is generally accepted now that texts were predominantly read aloud in the ancient and late antique periods. Even written components of spells would be read aloud. See, for example, Johnson 2010, and cf. the myth of Acontius and Cydippe.

¹⁵ Faraone 1991, 3 and Gager 1992, 7.

¹⁶ Gager 1992, 14.

addressed.¹⁷ A relatively late (fourth century CE) spell provides a clear example of this epigraphical phenomenon:

esehT	These
all	all
I bind	I bind
sēppirhkrA	Arkrippēs
sēteniapE, etc.	Epainetēs, etc. ¹⁸

Here, the names and the pronoun associated with the names of those to be bound are written backwards, but the individual letters are not, nor are the words of the spell itself. Faraone believes that the use of retrograde inscriptions became a “petrified” tradition, and that backwards writing was used as a matter of tradition as the spells themselves became more detailed and explicit.¹⁹ Nonetheless the reversed or inverted writing is symbolic of the binding by means of “twisting up” the names of the victim.²⁰ This epigraphical practice indicates that names in spells no longer function simply as labels, but rather that they symbolically “embodied the person . . . and gave some measure of control over them.”²¹ As we will see below, this type of symbolism is one of the trademarks of erotic binding spells.

While the early tablets include only a binding verb, as tablets develop over time they show spells fully written out with invocations to divinities and the method by which

¹⁷ Ogden 1999, 29, citing M. Delcourt’s 1957 *Héphaistos, ou la légende du magicien* (Liege) and M. Detienne and J.-P. Vernant’s 1974 *Les Ruses de l’intelligence: La Métis des grecs* (Paris), writes “Twisting was seen as something inherently magical, and for that reason the Magician-god, Hephaestus, was often portrayed with twisted legs.” Faraone 1992, 133-135, however, sees the twisted legs as an apotropaic feature. The most obvious reason for the twisted legs, however, is the mythology surrounding Hephaestus’ lameness.

¹⁸ Translated by Collins 2008, 67 from R. Wunsch’s 1897 *Defixionum Tabellae Atticae* in *IG* vol. 3 (Berlin).

¹⁹ Faraone 1991, 8.

²⁰ Gager 1992, 5.

²¹ Gager 1992, 14.

the beloved is to be affected by the spell. Christopher Faraone has simplified the types of binding spells into four basic categories,²² which can appear singly or in any combination: first, those that contain a “direct binding formula” with the binding verb in the first person singular (καταδῶ). This type is the simplest and appears in the earliest examples where there is only a name and a verb, and is seen in the example above involving Arkhrippēs and Epainetēs. Second, a “prayer formula” which employs an imperative verb addressed to any of a wide range of divinities. Hermes, Persephone, and Hecate are the most common starting in fifth-century BCE Attica, though other gods, abstract divinities (like Δικὴ, Justice) and *daimones* of individuals could also be called upon for assistance with spells. An example from fourth-century BCE Euboea provides an example of a combination of the first two types. This spell appears on one side of a flat lead figurine in the shape of a person with short arms and legs:

καταγράφω Εἰσιάδα τὴν Α<ὐ>τοκλεάς
 πρὸς τὸν Ἑρμῆ τὸν κάτοχον.
 κάτεχε αὐτῆ<ν> παρὰ σα<υ>τόν.

καταδεσμεύω Εἰσιάδα πρὸς τὸν Ἑρμῆ
 τὸν κάτοχον· [χ]εῖρες,
 πόδες Εἰσιάδος, σῶμα ὅλον.

I register Isias, the daughter of A(u)toclea, before Hermes
 the Restrainer. Restrain her by your side!

I bind Isias before Hermes the Restrainer, the hands, the
 feet of Isias, the entire body.²³

The third type is a “wish formula” appearing with the third person optative. Though this may be as simple as “may X love me,” it could also be more explicit. The opening of the

²² Faraone 1991, 5.

²³ SGD 64, translation from Faraone 1991, 3.

spell below which was found in an Athenian Agora well, contains the wish formula and opens with *magicae voces*, strings of seemingly nonsense magic words or letters—something like our “abracadabra”—and an invocation to a divinity named “Beptu.” The goal of this spell is to keep Leosthenes and Peios from Juliana, who is identified through her mother, Marcia.

BORPHORBABARPHORBARBARPHORBABARPHORBABAIE Oh powerful BEPTU, I deliver to you Leosthenes and Peios, who frequent Juliana, to whom Marcia gave birth, so that you may chill them and their intentions, in order that they may not be able to speak or walk with one another, nor sit in Juliana’s place of business, nor may Leosthenes and Peios be able to send messages to Juliana.²⁴

Finally, the fourth type, the “*similia similibus* formula,” functions by analogy. This can be seen at the end of the spell against Leosthenes and Peios:

Just as these names are cooling off,²⁵ so may the names of Leosthenes and Peios cool off for Juliana and also their soul, their passion, their knowledge, their passion, their charm, their mind, their knowledge, and their reasoning. May they stand deaf, voiceless, mindless, harmless, with Juliana hearing nothing about Leosthenes and Peios and they feeling no passion or speaking with Juliana.

The repetition of “their passion” and “their knowledge” within the spell is also a common feature in these spells, underscoring the exact outcome the practitioner desires. Although repetition is a common element of spells, is not a necessary component.²⁶

²⁴ Gager 1992, 89. From SGD 31. Collins 2008, 77 notes the *voces magicae* are common elements of the tablets, and seem not to be any known language, though some have connections to Semitic languages, or are a combination of Coptic, Hebrew, and Greek. *Voces magicae* could also appear, for example, with Latin words written in Greek or Coptic, or any combination of the writing and languages.

²⁵ I.e., in the well in which the tablet would be deposited, though Gager 1992, 89 notes that this may have sexual overtones.

²⁶ For example, PGM XXXVI.361-71. Frequently in erotic spells the repetition is simply “quickly, quickly, now, now” as in PGM XXXII.1-19, PGM XXXVI.69-101 and 102-33. The name of the god being invoked also frequently repeated: Hecate (PGM XXXVI.187-210) Adonai (PGM XXXIIa.1-25).

In addition to these four types of spells, there are other possible additions to the erotic binding spells. Nearly a quarter of all the extant tablets are of an erotic nature, and examination of these reveal more similarities among them.²⁷ The main goal of such spells is to constrain the victim to the practitioner's desires. In order for that to happen, frequently the practitioner asks that the victim lose his or her memory, thus breaking "social ties and obligations that interfered with erotic relationships (real or fancied) of one kind or another."²⁸ Violence also plays a disturbing role in the tablets: victims of curse tablets commonly are to be dragged by the limbs, hair, or soul, to be tormented by passion, to be killed with madness, or deprived of sleep or memory. Gager offers an admonition, however, about the violence being a literal desire. These words and the piercing of tablets (or as we will also see, figurines), he suggests, are meant in a symbolic, non-injurious way because the practitioner clearly does not want the beloved to die or waste away or be harmed.²⁹ Faraone, however, sees a connection between the violence of the spells and the violent nature of Eros/Cupid, who was a "frighteningly demonic figure" associated with the Harpies and frequently depicted with torches, arrows, and whips.³⁰

Once the spell was written down and the accompanying rite performed, the tablet would be folded or rolled up (if the material would permit rolling) and sometimes pierced with a nail before being buried. In some extant examples, the practitioner included hair or a piece of cloth belonging to the victim. This material, called "οὐσία" is the "being"

²⁷ Gager 1992, 78.

²⁸ Gager 1992, 79.

²⁹ Gager 1992, 81.

³⁰ Faraone 1999, 45-46. See also pages 43-55 for a full treatment of this topic.

or the essence of the victim; the inclusion of hair (or clothing, which is less preferable) makes the victim symbolically “present.”³¹ David Jordan offers some specific examples of hair being used in spells: in a third-century CE tablet found in an Athenian agora well, the first lines of the spell are lacunose because “a wad of hair was impressed into the surface on being rolled up inside the tablet. Several of the grooves left by the hair and a few dark brown strands of the hair itself remain.”³² Hair is also mentioned in the spell itself, which identifies the οὐσία as belonging to the intended victim of the spell. PGM CXVII from the first century BCE requires “two strands of her hair.”³³ Jordan also notes that other ancient magical texts containing love spells show traces of the inclusion of hair: PGM XVI from first-century CE Egypt, PGM XIXa from fourth- or fifth-century Hermopolis Magna, and a *defixio* from Egypt now in the inventory of the Ashmolean Museum, which contained human hair, wool threads, and small pieces of gypsum all held together with mud.³⁴

After the tablet was physically bound, the spells were often buried. The spell, it was believed, kept its power indefinitely as long as the text itself remained intact. Breaking the tablet on which the spell was written had the power to break the spell.³⁵ Thus, as a result of the precarious nature of the written spell, binding spells were commonly buried with the dead, particularly those who died young (ἄωροι) or violently (βιαιοθάνατοι). If burial with the dead was not possible, then curse tablets were

³¹ Gager 1992, 16.

³² Jordan 1985a, 251.

³³ Winkler 1991, 224.

³⁴ Jordan 1985a, 251. Winkler 1991, 224 adds PGM LXXXIV to the list of spells found with hair.

³⁵ Graf 1997b, 99.

deposited in wells, springs, rivers, bath-house water tanks, or any location “towards the interior of the earth.”³⁶ These locations would make the tablets simultaneously difficult to remove and break and would situate the tablet nearer the underworld divinities commonly summoned. Gager notes that the graves of those who died untimely deaths were preferred because it was believed that their souls wandered restlessly until they reached their expected lifespan, providing a way for the practitioner to connect with other-worldly beings and divinities.³⁷ It should be noted, however, that the use of divinities associated with the dead (i.e., Hermes, Persephone, and Hecate) and the placement of the spells in graves do not imply that the spell intends death for the victim. Rather, such spells attempt to harness the energy of the spirits found in and around the graves. John Winkler notes that there have been binding spells with οὐσία found that were placed in dry-heat rooms of a public bath. The heating of the οὐσία could parallel the “heating” desired of the victim.³⁸

The other basic type of binding spells, in addition to those inscribed or written on tablets, involves the use of figurines. The figurines could depict the man or woman who was to be bound by the spell. The figurines developed at about the same time as the tablets and the earliest Greek examples date to about 400 BCE and were found in the Kerameikos.³⁹ Most of the figurines extant today are made of durable materials like clay or metals, particularly lead and bronze. Faraone notes other non-durable materials were

³⁶ Graf 1997b, 101.

³⁷ Gager 1992, 19.

³⁸ Winkler 1991, 224.

³⁹ There may be an Egyptian antecedent: a Middle Kingdom Egyptian prescription details the process for making a wax image of one’s enemy and burying it in a grave “for harsh treatment by Osiris” (Gager 1992, 15). It should be noted, however, that Plato writes in *Laws* 2.933b that waxen figurines (κῆρινα μιμήματα πεπλασμένα) could be found on doors, crossroads, and on relatives’ graves.

used that would have been inexpensive and easy to obtain; for example, a few extant wax examples are preserved from Egypt.⁴⁰ The spell noted above, directed at Isias, was written on a two-dimensional figure with stubby limbs (like a gingerbread man); three dimensional figurines with varying degrees of detail have also been found. The figurines could be labeled with the name of the intended victim, which again emphasizes the importance of naming and labeling the victim in these spells. The figurines also may have their hands and/or feet twisted together or their bodies pierced by nails. Like the nails in the tablets, these nails and twisted limbs do not indicate a desire to harm those at whom the spell is directed, but enumerate exactly the desires of the practitioner: to bind them and to twist up their worlds, so as to love the practitioner. Indeed there is also a wax example from Upper Egypt that shows a male and female figurine entwined in an embrace, providing for the divinities a clear example of the intended outcome. The figurines, like the tablets, have been found deposited for the same reasons in hard-to-disturb locations like cemeteries, wells, and springs. The figurines sometimes accompany tablets, and it seems likely that the separate figurines eventually migrate to the written tablet in the form of drawings, which appear as the details of the written spells increase.⁴¹

Having outlined what we understand about ancient love magic from the archaeological and non-literary record, and the importance of symbolism in each of the steps of creating a binding spell, the next step is to examine two poems of Theocritus and Virgil that clearly demonstrate the use of magic by fictional characters in a literary

⁴⁰ Faraone 1991, 7.

⁴¹ Gager 1992, 7.

context.

Practitioners of magic in Theocritus and Virgil

Elements of binding spells are found in the non-pastoral *Idyll 2* of Theocritus and its echo, Virgil's *Eclogue 8*.⁴² Although some scholars have cautioned that these poems are not to be read as "real" spells, they nevertheless contain many of the key components of binding spells as we understand them. Furthermore, the audiences of both Theocritus and Virgil would know the types of characters being depicted. In *Idyll 2*, Simaetha is attempting to bring back her lover, Delphis, by means of a love spell. Simaetha had had a relationship with Delphis, and when she is performing this spell, he has not been to see her in eleven days. The poem is divided into two sections: the spell performed to try to bring Delphis back (lines 1-63) and the background story of how their relationship began (lines 64-158). Simaetha's spell is reminiscent of an erotic binding spell, and contains many elements of what is seen in "real" binding spells, and in this case Simaetha is attempting a specific type of spell, an ἀγωγή (a leading away) spell to bring Delphis back to her. Like the repetition that is seen in binding spells, throughout the poem she has two repeated refrains. The first is used during the performance of her spell and is spoken to her "ἴγξ," a magic implement (sometimes called a wheel, sometimes a bird) that was spun as a part of various rituals: ἴγξ, ἔλκε τὸ τῆνον ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶμα τὸν ἄνδρα (My magic wheel, draw to my house the man I love).⁴³ The second refrain begins when her

⁴² Although the Virgil may have had a collection of only pastoral Theocritean poems without *Idyll 2*, *Eclogue 8* seems an argument against this. See Clausen 1994, 237-238 and Coleman 1977, 253.

⁴³ The ἴγξ first appears in Pindar's Pythian 4.213-219 as a bird bound to a wheel and ostensibly spun. Tavenner 1933, 109 provides a full discussion of the *iunx* and *rhombus*. See also Detienne 1977, xiii, Faraone 1993, Johnston 1995, and Faraone 1999, 55-69.

spell breaks off when she begins to recount the history of her relationship with Delphis and addresses Selene, the goddess of the moon: φράζεό μεθ τὸν ἔρωθ' ὄθεν ἵκετο, πότνα Σελάνα (Mark, Lady Moon, whence came my love). She first employs a combination of the *similia similibus* formula with a wish formula as she commands Thestylis, her slave girl, to bind red wool around a cup so as to bind Delphis to her (2.2-3):

στέψον τὰν κελέβαν φοινικέω οἶος ἀώτῳ,
ὡς τὸν ἐμὸν βαρὺν εὖντα φίλον καταδήσομαι ἄνδρα

Wreath the bowl with fine crimson wool that I may bind a
spell upon my love, so hard to me.

She then declares that she will bind him with fire spells (2.10), summoning Selene and Hecate (a goddess associated with the Underworld and witches) to help her to create a spell as potent as those of Medea, Circe, and Perimede. The fire spell that Simaetha uses parallels her own suffering from love, as she declares in line 40 that she herself is “all afire” because of Delphis (ἐπὶ τήνῳ πᾶσα καταίθομαι). Thus when she burns the barley, bay, and bran so that Delphis may also burn (*similia similibus* again) her goal is to make him suffer as she has. Simaetha also burns wax and while she melts it over the fire she chants (2.29) “ὡς τάκοιθ' ὑπ' ἔρωτος (so that he may melt from love).” Simaetha then offers a triple libation to Artemis⁴⁴ and cries three times that Delphis should forget whomever he is sleeping with now (lines 43-44). This repetition of the number three and the desire for Delphis to lose the memory provides a literary echo of the spell against Leosthenes and Peios seen above. Simaetha also prays for Delphis to become as mad as the foals do when they eat coltsfoot (lines 48-51). She then tears and burns a fringe from his cloak, the οὐσία symbolically burning the essence of Delphis (lines 53-54). She then

⁴⁴ Within this spell, Simaetha invokes the three aspects of Mother, Maiden, and Crone by summoning Selene, Artemis, and Hecate, respectively, and also the realms of heaven, earth, and Hades.

orders Thestylis to take magical herbs (τὰ θρόνα) and knead them on the threshold while saying (line 62) “τά Δέλφιδος ὀστία μᾶσσω (I knead the bones of Delphis).” This aspect of the spell, in which magical components of a spell are placed where the victim would frequent, is reflected in a later example from the early Byzantine period when a binding spell was buried under the threshold of the victim’s house, thereby affecting the victim whenever he would pass over it.⁴⁵ Although the Byzantine example is much later, it is possible to see in *Idyll 2* a parallel use of the threshold as a magically effective location.⁴⁶ At this point in the poem, the spell breaks off and it is unclear whether Delphis returns to Simaetha, and she begins to recount how she met Delphis. Although Simaetha’s spell exists within a literary context (i.e., Theocritus’ poem) her spell nonetheless replicates aspects of the magical papyri and shows that Theocritus and his learned audience knew people like Simaetha (or characters like her), and knew of these sorts of rituals.

Idyll 2 serves as the model for Virgil’s *Eclogue 8*, in which two shepherds, Damon and Alphesiboeus, stage a pastoral singing contest. Damon sings about his unrequited love for Nysa. Alphesiboeus’ contribution is a song about an unnamed woman who is performing a magical spell to win back her lover. While Theocritus’ Simaetha lived in the city, Virgil underscores the pastoral element by changing the name of the woman’s assistant (slave?) to the botanical “Amaryllis” in place of Simaetha’s Thestylis, and Virgil has named the missing lover Daphnis, the most famous herdsman, in

⁴⁵ Graf 1997b, 101, citing a story from Sophronius, *Narratio miraculorum SS Cyri et Ioannis sapientium Anargyrorum*, 55. Winkler 1991, 225 provides another example in the *Papyri Demoticae Magicae* 61.116 where a wax statue of Osiris was to be buried under the victim’s door sill, but the power of the statue would only become “awakened” during the nocturnal ἀγωγὴ erotic binding ritual.

⁴⁶ There are also reports that Germanicus was affected by magical materials being placed in the walls and floors of his living quarters (Tacitus, *Annales*, 2.69) as well as Libanius (4th c CE) being affected by a spell placed in his lecture room (Libanius, *Oratio*, 1.248).

place of Delphis.⁴⁷ The pastoral world is also implied in the woman's repeated refrain: *ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnin* (Bring from the city, my magic songs, bring Daphnis home). This refrain also highlights that, like Simaetha, the woman is performing an ἀγωγή (leading away) spell to bring back Daphnis. The woman begins by ordering Amaryllis to wind soft wool around an altar (line 64; cf. the wool around the cup in *Idyll 2*) and she burns herbs (*verbenae*) and male frankincense. She notes the magical power of songs (*carmina*), which here clearly carry the connotation of "spells" because of their ability to draw down the moon, make snakes burst open, and in the case of Circe, transform Ulysses' men. Lines 73-77 are particularly laden with magical imagery:

*Terna tibi haec primum triplici diuersa colore
 licia circumdo, terque haec altaria circum
 effigiem duco: numero deus impare gaudet.
 Necte tribus nodis ternos, Amarylli, colores;
 Necte, Amarylli; modo et "Veneris" dic "vincula necto."
 ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnin.*

Three threads here I first tie round you, marked with three
 different hues, and three times round this altar I draw your
 image. In an uneven number heaven [*deus*] delights.
 Weave, Amaryllis, three hues in three knots; weave them,
 Amaryllis, I beg, and say, "Chains of love I weave!"

She winds three threads of different colors around an effigy (a variation of a figurine) of Daphnis, and this effigy is carried around the altar three times. Here, Daphnis' image, and therefore Daphnis himself, has physically been bound by the threads. The repeated use of three is also magical: Coleman notes that odd numbers, especially prime numbers were particularly venerated. He also points out that the *deus* who "rejoices in odd

⁴⁷ Again, there are immediate botanical connections between Daphnis' name and the plant, laurel, which is burned in these literary love rituals.

numbers” in this instance may be a generic deity or a *daimon*, but Virgil also uses *deus* to refer to Venus in *Aeneid* 2.632.⁴⁸ Amaryllis is told twice (in a magical repetition) to weave (*necte*) three colored threads into three knots, and to say that she is binding Daphnis with the “chains of Venus.” There are again three uses of the verb *nectare*, used with the three threads (again, an odd number) which can also mean “to knot or braid or weave.” This verb is important because three threads that are braided/knotted/or woven together have more power (and strength) to bind than the individual threads.

The woman also performs a *similia similibus* burning spell, hardening a clay image (representing the woman’s own erotic burning) and melting a wax image (so Daphnis may melt with love) as meal is burned with laurel and pitch. She twice prays that Daphnis be seized by longing (*talis amor teneat*, lines 85 and 89) for her. As a modification of the threshold spell in Theocritus, she then buries things Daphnis left with her (οὐσία, his essence) in her own threshold.⁴⁹ The final step of her spell, which seems to indicate the spell’s efficacy, is not known to be a part of the binding spell tradition: she orders Amaryllis to toss embers over her head into a running brook. When the ashes flare up, the unnamed woman takes this as a sign of Daphnis’ return. Unlike *Idyll* 2, then, the poem seems to end on a happy note.

In addition to providing literary examples of practitioners of magic and consumers of magical spells, the two poems by Theocritus and Virgil provide information about the type of person who practiced magic. Simaetha and the anonymous woman of *Eclogue* 8 have commonly been called “witches” or “sorceresses” in

⁴⁸ Coleman 1977, 246 note on line 75. *Aeneid* 2.632: “*descendo ac ducente deo flammam inter et hostis / expedior*; I descend and, guided by a god, make my way amid fire and foes.” Translation by Fairclough.

⁴⁹ The efficacy of this is unclear. The power of the οὐσία here seems to be able to summon Daphnis back to his own magical “stuff” and, with it placed below her own threshold, to her.

scholarship.⁵⁰ These are loaded terms, however. The modern connotations can lead the reader astray and do not seem to apply to these women. Literary sources reveal there was general knowledge that existed among everyday people about both magic and plants, which could blur into the realm of knowledge about religion and medicine. Simaetha and the woman from *Eclogue* 8 are nothing like the wild mythological witches Medea or Circe, or even the witches in Lucan or Apuleius.⁵¹ Rather, a different term needs to be applied to people who had first-hand knowledge of plants. Laine Doggett, in her book on medieval love cures, labels these people “empirics” or “empirical practitioners.” Empirics, then, have magical folk knowledge of plants. Empirics are differentiated from ancient root-cutters (ρίζοτόμοι), because they were a semiprofessional class of people with knowledge of plants. Root-cutters were associated more with medicine than with magic, though in contrast to modern medicine their practices could tend toward the magical or irrational.⁵² The root-cutters differ from empirics because of this alignment with medical practitioners, among the doctors (ιατροί), drug-sellers (φαρμοκοπῶλαι), midwives, and gymnastic trainers.⁵³ Although Simaetha summons Hecate in her spell to make hers as powerful as those of Circe, Medea, and Perimede (lines 14-16), she nevertheless knows she does not have the same kind of powers they do:

⁵⁰ There is a litany of names which were used in the ancient world to identify people who practiced magic. See, for example, Graf 1997, 20-60; Dickie 2001, 12-13, and Stratton 2007, 26-38.

⁵¹ Segal 2002 notes that Medea and Circe are both introduced in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* as milder magic practitioners who develop into their better-known darkly powerful (witch) characters. It is possible that Apollonius of Rhodes’ young Medea or Theocritus’ Simaetha or even Virgil’s unnamed woman in *Eclogue* 8 contributed to Ovid’s characterization.

⁵² Scarborough, 1991 138.

⁵³ Lloyd 1979, 38. See also Theophrastus, *Enquiry into Plants* 9.16.8. In this passage he relies on Thrasyas and Alexias, two root cutters for his information on poisons. Theophrastus comments that Alexias, the student of Thrasyas, was καὶ γὰρ τῆς ἄλλης ἰατρικῆς ἔμπειρος (also skilled in medicine).

χαῖρ', Ἐκάτα δασπλήτι, καὶ ἐς τέλος ἄμμιν ὀπάδει,
φάρμακα ταῦτ' ἔρδοισα χερείονα μήτε τι Κίρκας
μήτε τι Μηδείας μήτε ξανθᾶς Περιμήδας.

Hail, grim Hecate, and to the end attend me, and make
these drugs of mine as potent as those of Circe or Medea or
golden-haired Perimede.⁵⁴

Simaetha calls upon these three “real” witches to help her with her spell, which both situates the poem and the spell in a literary realm and also makes the reader mindful that Simaetha is no Medea or Circe. She is not wise with magical knowledge, but rather the contrary. When she was suffering from the symptoms of love before she and Delphis had consummated their relationship, she says (90-91): “καὶ ἐς τίνος οὐκ ἐπέρασα, ἢ ποίας ἔλιπον γραίας δόμον ἄτις ἐπᾶδεν;” Gow translates these lines as “was there a witch’s house I didn’t visit, or a spell-chanting hag’s house I overlooked?” Anthony Verity translates them “There wasn’t a witch’s house I didn’t/ Visit, and I pestered the homes of spell-chanting hags.”⁵⁵ Both translators have opted for the word “witch” to translate the phrase “ποίας...γραίας” which literally just means an old woman (with knowledge of) herbs. I would argue here that Simaetha is visiting empirics and seeking knowledge from them. By substituting the word “empiric” for witch, the tone of the lines is made less

⁵⁴ The identification of Perimede has proven slightly problematic. Dover 1971, note on 2.15 notes that there is an Epean princess named Agamede in *Iliad* 11.740-741 whom Homer writes is knowledgeable in the drugs of the world, and is also described with the adjective “ξανθή”: πρεσβυτάτην δὲ θύγατρ' εἶχε ξανθὴν Ἀγαμήδην, ἣ τόσα φάρμακα ἤδη ὄσα τρέφει εὐρέϊα χθών. Perimede has also been associated with Polydamna, the Egyptian woman from whom Helen received the gift of *nepenthe* in the *Odyssey* 4.228. Although Homer writes that Polydamna has knowledge of drugs, she is Egyptian, and is not described as “ξανθή.” The name, however, could be a pun on the Greek prefix “περι” with the “μηδη” root, which has associations with the Medes and with magical/divine knowledge in general. Graf 1997, 20 has noted that Herodotus identifies the *magoi* (first at 1.101) as one of the six Median tribes, but with particular knowledge of sacrifices, funerals, divination, and interpretation of dreams. Xenophon (*Cyropaedia* VIII.3.11) claims that they are particularly knowledgeable about “everything concerning the gods.” No one has commented on this obvious linguistic connection with Medea, one of the most powerful witches, whose name also has connections with the Medes. Thus “Perimede” may be a play on words simply equating to “with reference to the Medes or Medea.”

⁵⁵ Verity 2002, 9.

fantastic, and is more in the realm of what seems to be normal in ancient society. Dover writes on this line:

Simaitha's search for old women who cast spells is not a manifestation of any special propensity to magic on her part, for common Greek practice (taken for granted by the Platonic Sokrates, e.g. *Rep* 427b) looked upon spells (ἐπωδαί) and amulets in the same light as medicines.⁵⁶

Towards the end of the poem, Simaetha notes that she was taught the properties of “noxious drugs” by an Assyrian stranger (lines 161-162). These consultations show that she was not inherently knowledgeable about magic—she was not an empiric or a witch—and had to consult others who were skilled in these types of spells to try to remedy her own love pangs and to bring Delphis back to her.⁵⁷

Because Simaetha is not familiar with magical spells, she combines magical techniques that (as far as we know) were not combined. This combination can be read as her frantic effort to bring back Delphis; her “spell” mirrors her own desperation. As Joan Burton has noted, Simaetha wants Delphis to suffer from love as she has: to burn, be consumed, and go mad.⁵⁸ The scattered quality of the spell (binding, burning, poison, etc.) is also mirrored by her fluctuating intentions: she wants him back, she wants him to suffer, and if he does not return, she wants him to die (lines 4-5, 26, 29, 159-160).

Likewise, the woman from *Eclogue* 8 had to seek assistance from someone else. She says that she obtained her poison and herbs from a man named Moeris who was able

⁵⁶ Dover 1971, 107 n on 91.

⁵⁷ Winkler 1991, 240 note 73 points out that the women in literature who seek help are aided predominantly by men. In *Idyll* 2, the old women could not help her, but the male Assyrian stranger did. In *Eclogue* 8, Moeris helps the woman. In Lucian's *Dialogues of the Courtesans* 4.4-5 there is a Syrian herbalist, and in Heliodorus' *Aethiopika* 3.17 there is an Egyptian priest pretending to be a love wizard.

⁵⁸ Burton 1995, 65.

to turn himself into a werewolf, draw spirits from graves, and charm sown crops from another's fields. Here Virgil has begun with Theocritus as his model, but has moved the poem into a Roman context. The abilities he gives to Moeris are exactly those outlawed on the Twelve Tables compiled in 451 BCE which prohibited drawing crops from another's field.⁵⁹ Although she acquires her herbs and poisons from an ostensible witch, this does not make *her* a witch. Instead she and Simaetha become (at best) low-level empirics with a bit of magical knowledge. These poems, then, reveal that magical knowledge was available to anyone—including women from the city and from the pastoral world, and could be acquired from various sources. Again, though this assessment is based on fictional characters in Theocritus and Virgil, these are types of people with whom many readers must have been familiar.

The relief that magic offered to real consumers and practitioners was the transference of feelings into actions. The erotic binding spells—whose 1200 years of use speak to their effectiveness—may have also been effective insofar as they offered a way to remove tensions that the one performing the spell felt.⁶⁰ although there is little Simaetha or the unnamed woman can do through culturally-accepted activities, magic was a possible strategy for bringing back men who were not their husbands.⁶¹ Erotic binding spells were practiced by both men and women to attract their beloveds in both homosexual and heterosexual relationships. The spells show both men and women taking their romantic lives into their own hands, and what seems to be an impetus to use

⁵⁹ Calpurnius Piso wrote of a case against C. Furius Cresimus for charming his neighbor's crops in the second century BCE, but Cresimus was acquitted when he demonstrated that it was simply his own hard work that made his crops flourish and his neighbor's to lag. (Ogden 2008, 44)

⁶⁰ Gager 1992, 23.

⁶¹ Gager 1992, 21.

magic is being in a powerless position. Like the control the *adynata* could provide the powerless in the previous chapter, anyone who is jilted or pining for another falls into the category of one who could use magic to attempt to ameliorate his or her situation.⁶²

Winkler notes that in literary examples of magic the practitioner is more often than not a female, but that in the generic magical papyri where there were literally blanks left to fill the names of the agent and victim, the practitioner is “unselfconsciously assumed” to be a man using a spell to attract a woman.⁶³ Thus, it is not surprising that in the pastoral literature of Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus herdsmen also availed themselves of a variation on erotic binding spells. The pastoral world abounds in flowers, trees, and fruits, and the magic that is represented there is a variation on the traditional magic spells.

Pastoral magic variations: prayers and garlands

Idyll 2 and *Eclogue 8* show that Theocritus, Virgil, and their readers had knowledge of magic, but beyond this, the prevalence of magic in every genre of classical literature speaks to its commonness in ancient society.⁶⁴ The previous sections have shown that magic was practiced by all types of people, regardless of class, gender, or position in society. Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus also embed magic and magical elements into their pastoral writing in subtle ways. The subtlety of these elements has caused them largely to be overlooked by modern scholarship, because they do not

⁶² Braarvig 1999, 26 writes in his discussion on the dichotomy between religion and magic: “Usually it is the losers, the weak, who resort to magic, people who are angered, but do not have means and power to take revenge or have satisfaction in an ordinary way.”

⁶³ Winkler 1991, 227.

⁶⁴ See, for example, Ogden 2009. There is no genre that does not provide a literary source for the practice of magic in the Greek and Roman worlds.

immediately conform to our conceits about ancient magic.⁶⁵ The pastoral variation on magic shows the ways it could be manipulated, but still retain elements of traditional magic. Further, the pastoral variations show, in some instances, the (pastoral) empiric practitioner at work.

In this section, I will look at some of the pastoral poems that involve someone wooing another and consider what words and actions each participant employs in his or her attempt. This examination will demonstrate the range of magical possibilities, from poems that incorporate only verbal elements of spells, like *Idyll 7*, to those that offer complete pastoral variations on erotic binding spells as is seen in *Eclogue 2* and *Idyll 3*. *Eclogue 2* and *Idyll 3* both reveal the importance of the garland in binding spells, while in *Idylls 5* and *12* the ephemeral quality of the garlands mimics the ephemeral quality of the relationship being sought. What becomes apparent is that herdsmen of the literary pastoral world used plants in much the same symbolic way as the practitioners of magic who were on display in *Idyll 2* and *Eclogue 8*.

Theocritus' *Idyll 7* offers the first example of embedded magic. In *Idyll 7*, Simichidas and his friends encounter a goatherd, Lykidas, while on their way to a festival to Demeter. To pass the time, Simichidas and Lykidas have a singing contest. Lykidas begins the contest by singing about his beloved Ageanax's safe return to Mytilene. Simichidas' response song is about the beloved of his friend, Aratus. He offers a prayer to Pan to grant a safe return to Aratus, in which Marco Fantuzzi and Franco Maltomini have noted that there are elements of a magical spell in lines 103-114:

⁶⁵ Furthermore, as mentioned in the first chapter, there has been little work done on the plants in pastoral literature recently, especially since magic became an important field of study in last quarter of the twentieth century. Because of these factors, a botanical approach to magic has not yet been studied.

Τόν μοι, Πάν, Ὀμόλας ἐρατὸν πέδον ὅστε λέλογχας,
 ἄκλητον τήνοιο φίλας ἐς χειρας ἐρείσαις,
 εἴτ' ἔστ' ἄρα Φιλίνος ὁ μαλθακὸς εἴτε τις ἄλλος. 105
 κεί μὲν ταῦτ' ἔρδοις, ὦ Πάν φίλε, μήτι τυ παῖδες
 Ἄρκαδιοὶ σκίλλαισιν ὑπὸ πλευράς τε καὶ ὤμωσ
 τανίκα μαστίζοιεν, ὅτε κρέα τυτθὰ παρείη·
 εἰ δ' ἄλλωσ νεύσαις, κατὰ μὲν χροά πάντ' ὀνύχεσσι
 δακνόμενος κνάσαιο καὶ ἐν κνίδαισι καθεύδοις· 110
 εἴησ δ' Ἡδωνῶν μὲν ἐν ὄρεσι χεῖματι μέσσω
 Ἔβρον πὰρ ποταμὸν τετραμμένος ἐγγύθεν Ἄρκτω,
 ἐν δὲ θέρει πυμάτοισι παρ' Αἰθιοπέσσι νομεύοις
 πέτρα ὑπο Βλεμύων, ὅθεν οὐκέτι Νεῖλος ὀρατός.

Ah, Pan, to whom has fallen the lovely plain of Homole,
 lay him unsummoned in my dear friend's arms, whether it
 be the pampered Philinus or another. And if you will, dear
 Pan, then never may Arcadian boys flog you with squills
 about the flanks and shoulders when they find scanty meat.
 But if you do not consent so, then may you be bitten and
 with your nails scratch yourself from top to toe; may you
 sleep in nettles, and in midwinter find yourself on the
 mountains of the Edonians, turned toward the river Hebrus,
 hard by the pole. And in the summer may you herd your
 flock among the furthest Ethiopians beneath the rock of the
 Blemyes from where the Nile is not seen again.⁶⁶

The beginning of this passage is a not uncommon request prayer, first to bring the boy
 back (103-105), with the promise of stopping physical abuse of a statue of Pan (106-108).
 What changes this from a common “*do ut des*” reciprocal prayer appears in the following
 lines that contain a threat to Pan if he does *not* fulfill the prayer (108-114). Fantuzzi and
 Maltomini note that threats of violence towards a divinity appear in *defixiones*⁶⁷ and they
 find parallels in the magical papyri.⁶⁸ In PGM IV 2329 the practitioner threatens “Ὅ

⁶⁶ Richard Hunter, in his commentary that accompanies Verity's 2002 translation, notes on page 98 the
 “radical reversal of pastoral life” in this threat. This could be read as a type of *adynaton*.

⁶⁷ Fantuzzi and Maltomini 1996, 28.

⁶⁸ Slicherl 1972, 59 notes that only in magical spells are the gods threatened with violence if the prayer is
 fulfilled, and sees this passage instead as a parody of a prayer: “En efecto, Teócrito ha creando,
 incorporando elementos mágicos, una parodia de suplica con intención humorística. La súplica a Pan se
 halla en el ámbito de la magia amoratoria.” On this passage, Gow is silent, though Dover 1971, 159 (on lines

γίγνεται αὔριον, εἰ μὴ γένηται ὃ βούλομαι (Tomorrow does not come if my will is not done).”⁶⁹ In PGM IV 2069 the threat is “εἰ μή, ἑτέρας κολάσεις προσδόκα (And if you don’t, expect other chastisements).” This is interesting for two reasons: first, Simichidas assumes power by threatening Pan, a divinity, to do as he, a mortal, wishes.⁷⁰ Second, Pan is also elided into an erotic deity associated with love with the power to bring back a lover. This transition seems to be an important tenet of the pastoral world. The traditional gods of the pastoral world, namely Pan and nymphs, are foregrounded and assume responsibilities of the traditional Olympian gods. The Olympian gods play a secondary role in the pastoral life to the nymphs and Pan.⁷¹ Thus in *Idyll 7*, a strictly pastoral poem, the verbal elements of a magical spell appear without any sort of accompanying physical action or gesture.

Virgil’s second *Eclogue*, however, provides what I think would have been read as the clearest example of a pastoral variation on magic. This *Eclogue* contains both verbal elements and gestures, namely the picking of flowers and weaving of garlands. In pastoral love magic, plants—specifically flowers and herbs—are used as a substitute for the “ingredients” of spells. *Eclogue 2* is a monody sung by Corydon who was “burning for lovely Alexis.” He sings that he, along with nymphs and a naiad, are gathering gifts for Alexis (lines 45-55):

...tibi lilia plenis 45

96-127) writes “Simichidas’s prayer is notably irreverent; he threatens and curses the god as if Pan were a kind of djinn possessing magical powers but serving human masters.”

⁶⁹ Translation by Betz 1992, 80.

⁷⁰ It is perhaps also notable that Simichidas is a city-dweller, out in the country in order to attend a harvest festival. This snubbing of Pan may be another way to mark Simichidas as “not rustic.”

⁷¹ This is especially true in *Daphnis and Chloe*. Pan and the nymphs feature prominently in the development of Daphnis and Chloe’s relationship.

*ecce ferunt Nymphae calathis; tibi candida Nais,
pallentis violas et summa papavera carpens,
narcissum et florem iungit bene olentis anethi;
tum casia atque aliis intexens suavibus herbis
mollia luteola pingit vaccinia caltha. 50
ipse ego cana legam tenera lanugine mala
castaneasque nuces, mea quas Amaryllis amabat;
addam cerea pruna—honos erit huic quoque pomo—
et vos, o lauri, carpam et te, proxime myrte,
sic positae quoniam suavis miscetis odores.*

...look—the nymphs are bringing lilies in full baskets for you, the radiant nymph, picking pale violets and poppy tops, she weaves the narcissus flower with sweet-smelling dill; then, braiding cassia with the other sweet herbs embellishes the delicate bilberries with yellowy marigolds. I myself will collect pale quinces with soft down, and chestnuts, which my Amaryllis used to love; I will add waxy plums—there will be honor for this fruit also—and you, O laurels, I will even pick you, and you, close by myrtle, since when you are arranged like this you blend your sweet smells.⁷²

Examination of this passage from *Eclogue 2* shows first that the nymphs are involved in this amatory vegetal offering but Cupid and Venus are missing. This, too, is an example of the repositioning of the importance of the nymphs. Corydon here is an empiric: there is an initial threefold plucked-flower offering for Alexis: lilies, violets, and poppies. The nymph—acting as an assistant to Corydon in his spell much like Thestylis and Amaryllis—makes a garland for him that has five constituent plants: narcissus, dill, cassia, bilberry, and marigold.⁷³ Corydon himself offers three edible gifts: quinces, chestnuts, and plums.⁷⁴ This collection of flowers, fruit, and herbs can be read as a sort

⁷² Translation is my own. Sappho 44.30-34 also mentions the combination of frankincense, cassia, and myrrh being burnt at the wedding of Hector and Andromache.

⁷³ I read “with the other sweet smelling herbs” as referring to the narcissus and anise, not other plants that were included in the garland.

⁷⁴ The only grouping that does not fit with the odd number theme is the laurel and myrtle. So although the last plants break the odd number “rule,” they nevertheless have love and love magic associations.

of variation on the love magic ritual in *Eclogue* 8. As was seen in *Eclogue* 8.75, odd numbers are pleasing to Aphrodite (*numero deus impari gaudet*), and here Corydon and the nymphs are offering three collections of odd-numbered plants. The act of weaving together a garland, of *binding* it together, itself is a variation on the erotic binding spell. Faraone observes that binding is one of the typical traits of a spell to induce love, which may include “incantations over bound images, tortured animals, burning materials, or apples.”⁷⁵ Just as the unnamed woman in *Eclogue* 8 orders the three strings to be wound around themselves and the altars, and as Simaetha has Thestylis wind red wool around the cup in *Idyll* 2, so the flowers and herbs are wound around each other. The creation of the garland by binding it together in conjunction with the monody by Corydon, replicates the incantation pronounced over a bound element. In the offering to Alexis, laurel and myrtle are arranged together (*positae*) with the garland and fruit. Both of these plants have erotic (and magical) associations: laurel is an ingredient in both love binding spells in *Idyll* 2 and *Eclogue* 8, and as Virgil points out in *Eclogue* 7.62: *formonsae murtus Veneri [gratissima]* (Myrtle is most pleasing to lovely Venus).⁷⁶ Finally, Virgil says that the laurel and myrtle also “blend their sweet odors” when they are near each other, using the verb *miscere*, which carries sexual overtones.⁷⁷ Unlike Simaetha and the eighth *Eclogue* woman, Corydon knows which plants carry certain erotic associations and how

⁷⁵ Faraone 1999, 28.

⁷⁶ The myth of Apollo and Daphne also contributes to a perverse reading that laurel has erotic associations. (Ovid *Met.* 1.452ff) Calame 1999, 160 notes that Solon frag. 127 contains the wedding scene of Helen and Menelaus, in which “quinces, myrtle leaves, and crowns woven from roses and violets” were scattered on the wedding procession path. Bowie and DeHart 2011, 101 note that Aphrodite hid behind a myrtle bush when she came ashore at Paphos on Cyprus.

⁷⁷ Adams 1982, 180-181.

to bind them together in his attempt to woo Alexis, exemplifying this non-witch category of “empiric.”

In addition to these magical elements, there are also literary allusions to two *Idylls*, both of which contain magic: 2 and 11. In *Eclogue* 2.69, Corydon sings “*a, Corydon, Corydon, quae te dementia cepit* (Ah, Corydon, Corydon, what madness has gripped you?). This echoes Polyphemus in *Idyll* 11: “ὦ Κύκλωψ Κθκλωψ, πᾶ τὰς φρένας ἐκπετότασαι (O Cyclops Cyclops, whither have thy wits wandered?)”⁷⁸ Simaetha, in her spell, also asks her assistant, Thestylis, the same thing “πᾶ τὰς φρένας ἐκπετότασαι.” Furthermore, at two points in Corydon’s song (2.10 and 2.43) he mentions a servant girl named “Thestylis.” These allusions, along with the binding of plant material, reinforce a magical reading of this poem.⁷⁹

One of the main concerns about a *defixio* was that the spell would be broken if it was dug up or otherwise disturbed. The destruction of the tablet or figurine destroyed the spell. The same phenomenon appears with the binding spell garlands. In *Idyll* 3 Theocritus presents a goatherd who is serenading Amaryllis’ cave in a tragi-comic pastoral *paraclausithyron* (a serenade outside a beloved’s house). The goatherd seems to know that his love is unreciprocated at the start of his song, hence he does not dare go inside the (open) cave to see her. Nevertheless, he brings ten apples with him, promises to bring ten more tomorrow (3.10-11), and wishes he could be a bee so that he could fly into her cave to see her (3.12-14), revealing a sliver of hope that she may eventually reciprocate. In his fluctuation of erotic emotions, the goatherd also claims to know Eros

⁷⁸ *Idyll* 11.72.

⁷⁹ The element of immoderate love in *Eclogue* 2.69 is echoed in *Eclogue* 6.47, which addresses Pasiphae: *a, virgo infelix, quae te dementia cepit!*

is a “grievous god” who was suckled by a lion (3.15). Similar to what was seen in *Idyll*

7, at this point the goatherd prays to Amaryllis but also includes threats:

ὦ τὸ καλὸν ποθορεῦσα, τὸ πᾶν λίθος, ὦ κυάνοφρυ
νύμφα, πρόσπτυξαί με τὸν αἰπόλον, ὥς τυ φιλήσω
ἔστι καὶ ἐν κενεοῖσι φιλήμασιν ἀδέα τέρψις. 20
τὸν στέφανον τῖλαί με κατ’ αὐτίκα λεπτὰ ποιησεῖς,
τόν τοι ἐγών, Ἄμαρυλλί φίλα, κισσοῖο φυλάσσω,
ἀμπλέξας καλύκεσσι καὶ εὐόδομοισι σελίνοις.
ὦμοι ἐγών, τί πάθω, τί ὁ δύσσοος; οὐχ ὑπακούεις.

O maiden of the fair glances, all of stone, O dark-browed
maiden, come to my arms, your goatherd’s arms, that I may
kiss you. Even in empty kisses there is sweet delight.

You will make me shred my wreath to pieces, the wreath
of ivy which I twined with rosebuds and fragrant celery,
and wear for you, dear Amaryllis.

Alas, what is to become of me, poor wretch? You’re not even
listening.⁸⁰

He first prays to Amaryllis to come to him, and if she does not, he threatens to shred his garland. The rending of the garland (made up of an odd-number of bound plants: ivy, and rosebuds, celery) will destroy the love spell he has attempted. By breaking the bound plants, he is breaking the spell he has begun at line 18. This interpretation is strengthened by the fact that Gow noticed the word “δύσσοος” is very rare, and is only found in a *defixio* from the fifth century BCE from Camarina.⁸¹ Interestingly, Amaryllis’ disinterest is not unknown to the goatherd, as he had learned of it from a woman who “divines with her sieve” (τάλαθέα κοσκινόμαντις).⁸² The contact with Agroeo, the diviner, also shows that Theocritus is not placing the goatherd far from the supernatural or magical world.

⁸⁰ *Idyll* 3.18-24. Modified Gow translation.

⁸¹ Gow 1952, 69 note on 24.

⁸² *Idyll* 3.31. It is unclear how the sieves functioned for divination.

Thus, reading the rending of the garland as the destruction of a spell seems not too far afield.

Garlands are, of course, common in antiquity, and are typically associated with sympotic activities.⁸³ In the unrequited relationships in ancient pastoral literature, however, garlands function as ephemeral versions of leaden tablets and figurines. The ephemeral quality of the garland reflects the ephemeral quality of the desired relationship. Unlike the leaden tablets, these physical elements of pastoral magic will not last, and will quickly lose all their effectiveness. The goatherd in *Idyll 3* knows Amaryllis is not in love with him; Corydon seems to know that Alexis does not love him back, as he concludes his song with the assertion that he will find another Alexis. In the examples from Theocritus and Virgil, garlands function in this brief temporal way—they are not intended to bring about a lasting result. In *Idyll 7*, Lykidas promises (to no one in particular) to make a garland of anise, roses, or stock if Ageanax makes it to harbor safely.⁸⁴ In *Idyll 12*, garlands are given as the prize to the victor of the “best kisser” contest in Megaria, though the kinds of flowers plaited together are not specified. The pastoral garlands, it seems, represent a relationship that is inherently short-lived—just as the garland will die, the relationship will quickly fade: in *Eclogue 10*, the elegiac poet

⁸³ Virgil blends the sympotic with the pastoral in *Eclogue 6*. Silenus is first seen sleeping off the previous night’s revelries, with his garlands askew on his head. Nymphs spot him and take the garlands off his head and turn them into floral fetters, refusing to release him until he sings to them. Here garlands are *literal bonds*.

⁸⁴ *Idyll 7.63-64*

Gallus laments that Phyllis used to bring him garlands,⁸⁵ but that relationship is in the past.⁸⁶

Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* provides another example of the difference between the pastoral variation on magic and simple courtship rituals. In Book 1, Dorkon, a cowherd who falls in love with Chloe attempts unsuccessfully to court her by "inducements or force (δῶροις ἢ βίῃ)" bringing her a fawn skin, cheese, apples, and garlands (1.15.3). When these do not work, he also brings her a newborn calf, a wooden cup and some mountain birds. Although these gifts equally can be read as normal courtship rituals, or courtship rituals with a bit of magic (apples and garlands), Longus plays with the dramatic irony of the situation. We, the readers, recognize and know what Dorkon is doing. Chloe, on the other hand, is too naïve even to know what love is. (She and Daphnis will be told about it at the beginning of Book 2.) All that she knows is that Dorkon, the cowherd, is giving gifts to Daphnis and to her. It is impossible for her to properly "read" the amatory gifts from Dorkon as anything but gifts. In addition to the gifts for Chloe, Dorkon also gives gifts to Chloe's father, Dryas, as a part of his formal courtship. Dryas rejects the gifts, however, believing Chloe to be better than a cowherd's wife.

Chloe's naïveté also colors an exchange of a crown of violets she makes for Daphnis. In 3.20, Daphnis returns from the woods where he had been taught the physical ways of love by Lycaneion and finds Chloe weaving a crown of violets.⁸⁷ She places the

⁸⁵ *Eclogue* 10.41.

⁸⁶ In *Idyll* 18.39-40 maiden attendants tell Helen that they will go to the meadows to pick flowers for garlands in honor of her marriage to Menelaus. Coincidentally, all of Helen's marriages have an ephemeral quality.

⁸⁷ In *Idyll* 10.29, violets are listed as the flower men prefer for garlands.

crown on his head and kisses his head, and they share some dried fruit and bread. Some fishermen then create an echo, which startles Chloe since she had never experienced an echo before, and Daphnis (kindly) laughs at her naïveté and then at 3.22.4 places the crown on *her* head. While this exchange of the bound flowers can be read as a mutual binding spell—the crown representing their reciprocal love—Longus is also playing with the new power dynamic in their relationship. Daphnis has been educated about physical love, but Chloe is still ignorant. Longus stresses this difference by describing how Chloe put the fruit and bread in Daphnis’ mouth and “stole it from his mouth and ate it, like a baby bird (ἀπο τοῦ στόματος ἤρπαξε καὶ οὕτως ἤσθιεν ὡς περ νεοττὸς ὄρνιθος).”⁸⁸ Daphnis places the crown of violets on her head just before he explains where echoes come from through the myth of Pan and Echo. This also places him in the role of “teacher,” just as he will be on their wedding night. Because of this new dynamic, it is perhaps more accurate to interpret the garland that Chloe offers to Daphnis as (just) a gift: she is still too ignorant of love to understand fully what she is doing. Daphnis, as the more-knowing half of the couple, having taken on the role of parent and instructor, using the crown and the story of Echo and Pan as the means to get “ten more kisses from her (παρ’ αὐτῆς ἄλλα φιλήματα δέκα.)”⁸⁹ Thus, in giving Chloe the crown of violets, as the fully-knowing Daphnis uses a “practical devices”—the crown and the story—to elicit love (kisses) from Chloe.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Morgan 2004 note ad loc writes that this scene “puts D[aphnis] in the role of the parent bird feeding its young, and thus highlights his new maturity against her dependence.”

⁸⁹ *Daphnis and Chloe* 3.22.4.

⁹⁰ Faraone 1999, 16.

Apples in pastoral magic

I have demonstrated how the pastoral world employs plants in erotic binding spells which can be found as simply a song-spell or a combination of song-spell and attendant action (particularly picking, weaving together, and giving flowers). One element of botanical magic that deserves special attention is the use of the apple. Of all the botanical references in the pastoral works of Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus, apples appear the most frequently. The Greek and Latin words for apple, μήλον/μάλον and *malum*, can be translated as “apple,” but also can refer to any sort of round sweet fruit, including apples, peaches, quinces, and pomegranates. This fruit can have mundane uses; for example, in pastoral literature apples are used for food, as markers of summer or fall, and as a part of a garden in pastoral literature.⁹¹ Apples were also used as a point of comparison with various body parts, particularly the breasts (*Idyll* 27.49), though the face, cheeks, breath, and tears could also be likened to apples.⁹² The majority of the references to this fruit, however, involve apples being used in an amorous context.

This section will look at the various ways an apple can be used to attract a lover as a form of erotic magic. As an element of erotic magic, apples can be either given to or tossed at the beloved. Once someone is in love, or has been touched by love, apples and apple trees can either be neglected or fostered.⁹³ What these situations show is that because of long-established associations with Aphrodite, the apple acts as the vehicle to

⁹¹ Apples as food: *Eclogue* 1.83. Apples as seasonal markers: *Idyll* 7.144; *Eclogue* 7.54; Longus 1.23, 3.33. Apples as elements of a garden: Longus 2.3.

⁹² Apples compared with a face: Longus 1.24; cheeks: *Idyll* 7.115; breath: Longus 1.25; and tears: *Idyll* 14.38.

⁹³ In *Eclogue* 1.37, apples are neglected on trees because of love; in *Eclogue* 2.58-59 Corydon's love for Alexis has caused him to neglect his flowers which are now withered and his spring which has been muddied by boars. At line 70, he has left his vines half-pruned because of Alexis.

cause desire in the recipient (regardless of gender), whether the apple is given as a gift or tossed at the recipient. It has been argued that these fruits are associated with fertility and therefore love, because of the many seeds or pips contained inside the fruit.⁹⁴ In contrast, Faraone has argued that “the use of apples in marriage rites and seduction scenes reveals that they were designed to produce sexual desire in the females, not fertility, and as such, merit a close discussion as a form of erotic magic.”⁹⁵ But where do such associations with love, fertility, or desire come from?

A source seems to be the mythological story of the judgment of Paris. A brief summary of the story: Eris, the goddess of discord, tossed a (golden) apple inscribed with the words “for the fairest” at the wedding party of Peleus and Thetis because she was angered she had not been invited. Zeus refuses to make a decision between his wife, Hera, daughter Athena, and (sometimes) daughter Aphrodite. Instead, Paris, a mortal shepherd, is forced to judge which of three goddesses is most deserving of the apple. Aphrodite wins the apple by promising Paris the most beautiful woman in the world, Helen, who is already married to Menelaus, ultimately causing the Trojan War. This story is unusual in that there is no literary record of the story until Lucian’s *Dialogus*

⁹⁴ See, for example, Foster 1899, Trumpf 1960, Littlewood 1967, and McCartney 1925.

⁹⁵ Faraone 1999, 70. In his commentary of a review of Faraone’s *Ancient Greek Love Magic*, Richard Hamilton found problems with Faraone’s treatment of “apple-spells” because the evidence Faraone provides for them are “a few non-Greek ‘apple-spells’ all of which involved incantations or magical inscriptions as well.” For the Augustan-era Greek love spell with apples mentioned by Faraone 1999, 73-74, see PGM CXXII.1-55. This spell is also discussed in Daniel and Maltomini 1991, 106-127. The spell claims to be from Heliopolis, and was translated (like many of the ancient spells) from a much earlier Egyptian text and includes references to both throwing apples and being hit by them so that a woman would not stop loving the practitioner. Daniel and Maltomini note, however, that formal apples are not commonly found in erotic spells of the the magical papyri (114). Other scholars, however, have accepted that apples were an element of love spells: Segal 2002, 8 and Ogden 2009, 112 and 235. A possible argument could be made that apples are such common erotically-charged objects that they do not make their way into the papyri. Instead, we have the mythological stories and anecdotal evidence about the use of apple is in literature.

Deorum in the second century CE. There are, however, examples in material culture, including an ivory comb from c. 700 BCE, that depict the judgment.⁹⁶ This early archaeological evidence of the mythology associates Aphrodite with apples and reveals a long-standing association of them with Aphrodite.⁹⁷

Longus (believed to be a contemporary of Lucian) includes a reference to the judgment story at the end of Book 3 of *Daphnis and Chloe*: Daphnis has been granted permission from Dryas, Chloe’s father, to marry her and runs to find her to tell her the news. He finds her, and they spot an apple tree that has been stripped bare of all the leaves and fruit, except for a single apple on the topmost branch. Daphnis climbs the tree against Chloe’s advice to pick the apple, and she leaves (3.34.1), “ἀμελθεῖσα ὀργισθεῖσα (furious at being ignored).” Daphnis successfully climbs the tree, picks the fruit, and then attends to the angry Chloe. He tries to reason with her, claiming he could not possibly allow such a perfect fruit to fall on the ground to be damaged, or to just rot away. He concludes his speech (3.34.2-3):

“Τοῦτο Ἀφροδίτη κάλλους ἔλαβεν ἄθλον· τοῦτο ἐγὼ σοι δίδωμι νικητήριον. Ὅμοίος ἔχετε τοῦς [σοῦς] μάρτυρας· ἐκεῖνος ἦν ποιμὴν, αἰπόλος ἐγώ.” Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐντίθησι τοῖς κόλποις, ἡ δὲ ἐγγυὸς γενόμενον κατεφίλησεν...

“This is what Aphrodite won as a prize for beauty, and this is what I give you to mark your triumph. You and she have the same sort of person to bear your witness: he was a shepherd, and I am a goatherd.” And with these words he put it into her bosom, and as he drew close she kissed him.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Littlewood 1967, 151. Also Foster 1899, 44.

⁹⁷ There are many depictions of Aphrodite with apples in ancient art. It is hard to know if, in the representations of Aphrodite where she is holding an apple, this is a direct connection with the judgment of Paris, or if it is a more general association (a pretty, sweet fruit).

⁹⁸ Hunter 1983, 75 aligns this scene with the Atalanta and Hippomenes story (discussed below), and well as the erotic poetry tradition established by Sappho on Lesbos, where the novel is set.

In this passage from Longus, Daphnis makes Chloe Aphrodite to his (notably unnamed) Paris.⁹⁹ The apple also serves as an analog for Chloe's virginity: Daphnis (who has already been educated by Lycaneion about love at this point) will take her virginity at the right time, and he will not allow it to be damaged or wasted, just as he does not neglect this apple. The apple, as well as his words, compel Chloe to kiss Daphnis, increasing her sexual desire for him even more. In a reversal of the gender roles, *Chloe* initiates the kiss she gives Daphnis.

It is exactly the situation Nape fears in Book 3. At this point, Dryas and Nape have had numerous offers to marry Chloe (3.25.2):

Ἡ μὲν οὖν Νάπη ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐπαιρομένη συνεβούλευεν ἐκδιδόναι τὴν Χλόην μηδὲ κατέχειν ὄικοι πρὸς πλεον τηλικαύτην κόρην, ἢ τάχα μικρὸν ὕστερον νέμουσα τὴν παρθενίαν ἀπολέσει καὶ ἄνδρα ποιήσεταιί τινα τῶν ποιμένων ἐπὶ μήλοις ἢ ῥόδοις...

Nape was elated by the prospects; her advice was to marry Chloe off, not to keep a girl of her age at home any longer, when any day now she might lose her virginity while out grazing, and make a man of one of the shepherds in return for apples or roses.

J. R. Morgan comments that “Nape has no comprehension of the romantic ethos surrounding Daphnis and Chloe: for her it is a natural and morally neutral assumption that Chloe is up for casual and promiscuous sex, bought with rural currency [i.e., roses and apples]. The only issue is that the suitors are offering hard cash, not worthless

⁹⁹ Morgan 2004, 223 comments that perhaps Daphnis does not align himself fully with Paris to avoid “his negative connotations.” There are closer parallels, however, to Paris and Daphnis: both were exposed as infants and are from a higher social class than herdsmen.

trivia.”¹⁰⁰ Nape, as a rustic woman herself, understands the power apples and roses can have on a girl, thus her fear stems from her daughter being powerless against these erotic offerings. Her concern about Chloe’s virginity also strengthens the argument that apples increase sexual desire in the recipient. And, at 3.34, Chloe proves her mother right by being the instigator of the kiss she gives Daphnis in return for the apple left on the tree.¹⁰¹ Although the financial gain from a proper suitor is an issue for Chloe’s family, the larger issue for Nape is that Chloe is constantly surrounded by fellow herders who would have access to the powerful erotic gifts of roses and apples.¹⁰²

Another non-pastoral source for evidence of apples being given amorily is found in Athenian marriage laws. Faraone, citing Plutarch’s *Solon*, points out that giving apples was a sufficiently common phenomenon to be included in a law concerning the marriage of *epikleroi*, heiresses.¹⁰³ According to sixth century BCE law, *epikleroi* were required to be married off to the nearest relative in their husband’s family in order that the children (and property) would stay in the husband’s family.¹⁰⁴ The law from Solon dictates that the *epikleros* was required to eat a quince (literally a “Cydonion apple”) before having conjugal relations with her new husband, who was required by this law to

¹⁰⁰ Morgan 2004, 217. Hunter 1983, 3-4 notes that the actual amount of money given to Dryas in order for Daphnis to marry Chloe, 6000 drachmas, would have been nearly worthless in the early centuries of the empire, even though this amount of money is “fantastically large” for Chloe’s family.

¹⁰¹ At 3.23.5, in exchange for the violet crown and the story of Echo, Chloe also gives Daphnis “lots and lots (πάνυ πολλά)” of kisses.

¹⁰² Winkler 1991, 233’s interpretation of ἀγωγαί here may add more nuances to the situation. He argues that the magical spells could be “very useful for the face-saving needs of families who have actually eluded parental control.” Here Nape is willing to blame the offering of roses and apples on Chloe’s willingness to give up her virginity. Likewise, the impotent narrator of Ovid’s *Amores* III.7.27-35 blames magic (*Thessalico...veneno*) for his inability to perform.

¹⁰³ Faraone 1999, 71.

¹⁰⁴ See MacDowell 1978, 95-108 on the laws and (lack of) rights concerning *epikleroi*.

visit the new wife three times a month.¹⁰⁵ Faraone sees this interaction not as a fertility rite, even though the rest of the law is concerned with the production of legitimate heirs, but rather as a way to increase the sexual intimacy of the (legally compelled) couple.¹⁰⁶

This interpretation, increasing intimacy between two people by means of apple gifts, is easily supported by examples in Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus. The first example of apple gifts appears in *Idyll* 3.10-11. In this *Idyll* a goatherd is trying to woo Amaryllis by singing to her outside her cave in a pastoral *paraclausithyron*. This *Idyll* was seen above when the goatherd threatens to rend the garland he made for her. Before his song takes the negative turn, however, he proclaims his love through his gifts:

ἦνίδε τοι δέκα μᾶλα φέρω· τηνῶθε καθεῖλον
ὦ μ' ἐκέλευ καθελεῖν τό· καὶ αὔριον ἄλλα τοι οἰσῶ.

See, ten apples I bring thee, gathered from the very place you
asked me; and tomorrow will I bring you more.

In an echo of this *Idyll*, Menalcas says nearly the same thing about his love, Amyntas, in *Eclogue* 3.70-71:

*Quod potui, puero silvestri ex arbore lecta
aurea mala decem misi; cras altera mittam.*¹⁰⁷

I have sent my boy—it was all I could—ten golden apples, picked
from a tree in the wood. Tomorrow I will send a second ten.

¹⁰⁵ Plutarch, *Solon* 20.3

¹⁰⁶ Faraone 1999, 70-71 and McCartney 1925, 71 both cite a similar custom described by Strabo (15.3.17) that in Persia the bride was only allowed to eat apples and camel marrow on her wedding day. I think in the sense of formal weddings, the apple may carry some sense of fertility, but in casual relationships (see the Aristophanes passage below) the fertility is not the goal, but rather, intimacy. That said, intimacy and fertility can lead to love, as Euphiletus explains in *Lysias* 1.6, their relationship and “bond of affection” became stronger. On this case see Carey 1997, 26-36.

¹⁰⁷ Clausen 1994, 109 note ad loc rightly raises the question “Did αὔριον ἄλλα (μᾶλα) suggest ‘*aurea mala*’?” I disagree with his interpretation for what the “*aurea mala* (golden apples)” could have meant: “bright perfect fruit; ten, and ten more tomorrow—an absurd boast, since wildings tend to be blemished and misshapen.” There is no reason to assume that “*aurea*” here has to mean “perfect.” It could simply refer to apples with yellow-gold skin.

What is interesting in these two passages is that the recipients, Amaryllis and Amyntas, are completely uninterested in the giver. Two ideas seem to be at play in these ten-apple offerings from the goatherd and Menalcas: first, they are revealing their pastoral wealth (and tenacity) by the sheer quantity of apples they are willing to give to their beloved. Second, within two days, they will have given twenty apples, which, if one believes in the erotic magic properties of apples to increase sexual desire, would mean twenty apples worth of increased desire.

Let us return to the second *Eclogue* in which the shepherd Corydon attempts to attract Alexis. In it, he gives Alexis a bountiful gift of flowers, herbs, nuts, quinces, and plums (2.51-53):

*ipse ego cana legam tenera lanugine mala
castaneasque nuces, mea quas Amaryllis amabat;
addam cerea pruna—honos erit huic quoque pomo—*

I myself will collect pale quinces with soft down, and chestnuts,
which my Amaryllis used to love; I will add waxy plums—there
will be honor for this fruit also—

Here, Corydon is preparing a gift of apples with soft down (i.e., quinces) for Alexis with the hope that he will love him back. This passage strengthens the amatory context because apples and nuts are both components of marriage rituals: apples were an element of Greek weddings, and nuts were tossed at or by the groom in Roman weddings.¹⁰⁸

What is markedly different, however, is that these apples and nuts are being used in a homosexual relationship, strengthening Faraone's argument that apples increase desire, since fertility in such a relationship is irrelevant. In his description of the gifts for Alexis, Corydon provides a hierarchy of amorous gifts by noting that his inclusion of plums

¹⁰⁸ See, for example, *Eclogue* 8.30 or Catullus 61.130.

grants them “honor.”¹⁰⁹ The plum benefits from being combined with erotically-charged botanical elements (quinces and nuts) in order to sway Alexis to Corydon.

A final example of Virgilian apple gifts is found in *Eclogue* 8. In this *Eclogue*, two shepherds, Damon and Alphisiboeus, have a singing contest. Alphisiboeus’ song was discussed earlier as an echo of *Idyll* 2. Damon’s song about this love for Nysa echoes the unrequited love of Polyphemus for Galatea in *Idyll* 11.25ff. Damon sings (8.37-41):

*saepibus in nostris parvam te roscida mala
– dux ego vester eram – vidi cum matre legentem.
alter ab undecimo tum me iam acceperat annus,
iam fragilis poteram a terra contingere ramos.
Ut vidi, ut perii, ut me malus abstulit error!*

Within our garden hedge I saw you—I was the guide for both—a little child with your mother, gathering dewy apples. My eleventh year ended, the next had just greeted me; from the ground I could reach the frail boughs. In the moment I saw you I lost my heart, and a fatal frenzy swept me away.

Here, Damon sees Nysa in the orchard, and at the same time he seems to be providing apples for her, since he is tall enough to reach the “laden branches.” The effect of the apples, however, is on himself, as he—*not she*—is struck with the same type of maddening love as Simaetha and as will be shown, Atalanta.¹¹⁰

In *Daphnis and Chloe*, the first occurrence of an apple gift is at 1.15.3, when Dorkon has fallen in love with Chloe and attempts to court her by “bribery or force (δῶροις ἢ βίᾳ).” Dorkon’s irreverent approach to love (and Chloe) compels the reader,

¹⁰⁹ In *Idyll* 5.94-95, acorns are compared to wild apples, and wild apples are deemed preferable because the husk of the acorn is meager, and the apple’s skin is sweet. In *Idyll* 12.4, the apple is considered to be sweeter than a plum.

¹¹⁰ Coleman 1977, 237 notes the echo of *Idyll* 2.82 and *Idyll* 3.42. “The unusual use of *ut* in two different senses indicates that Vergil has both passages very much in mind; the hiatus after *perii* may also be a deliberate imitation of the latter line.”

who knows Eros has had a hand in the love between Daphnis and Chloe, to want his overtures to be ineffective. Although the apple is among a litany of potential courtship gifts (a fawnskin, cheese, a garland, apples, a calf, a wooden bowl, and some mountain birds) Chloe's ignorance of love and ignorance of the details of courtship preclude the gifts from having a magical effect on her. And, as was discussed above, Nape, Chloe's mother fears for Chloe's virginity lest she be wooed by a herdsman with an apple or rose, a fear which is not unfounded when Chloe initiates a kiss to Daphnis when he gives her an apple.¹¹¹

The other way to attract beloveds is to toss apples towards or at them. An early reference to tossed apples occurs in Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women*, as a part of the story of Hippomenes and Atalanta. Atalanta was to be married to the suitor who was able to defeat her in a foot race. One suitor, Hippomenes, threw apples—sometimes golden ones—in order to slow Atalanta and allow him to win the race and her hand in marriage. In this fragment from Hesiod, he acts on the advice of Aphrodite: “And she [i.e., Atalanta], quick as a harpy [. . .] snatched it. And he threw the second one to the ground with his hand [. . .] swift-footed Atalanta held two apples, and she was near the end of the race. But he threw the third to the ground, and with it he fled death and destruction.”¹¹² Byzantine-era Theocritean scholia indicate it was Aphrodite who gave Hippomenes the apples that he used in this race.¹¹³ The story of Atalanta and Hippomenes does not appear again in extant texts until Theocritus includes them in *Idyll* 3.40-42:

Ἴππομένης, ὅκα δὴ τὰν παρθένον ἤθελε γᾶμαι,

¹¹¹ *Daphnis and Chloe* Book 3.25 and 3.34.

¹¹² Translation of Hesiod frag. 76.18-23 M-W from Faraone 1999, 69.

¹¹³ Wendell 1967, 289-290.

μᾶλ' ἐν χερσὶν ἐλὼν δρόμον ἄνυσεν· ἃ δ' Ἀταλάντα
ὡς ἴδεν, ὡς ἐμάνη, ὡς ἐς βαθὺν ἄλατ' ἔρωτα.

Hippomenes, when he would wed the maid, took the apples in his hand and ran his course; and Atalanta saw, and frenzy seized her and deep in love she plunged.¹¹⁴

Virgil also mentions this race, though only very briefly in a song sung by Silenus in *Eclogue* 6.61: *Tum canit Hesperidum miratam mala puellam*. (Then he [Silenus] sings of the maid [Atalanta] who marveled at the apples of the Hesperides).¹¹⁵

Although there is a gap in the references to the myth of Atalanta and Hippomenes from Hesiod to Theocritus, there is, however, a fragment of Stesichorus from the sixth century about the wedding of Helen which associates weddings with thrown apples:

πολλὰ μὲν Κυδώνια μᾶλα ποτερρίπτουν ποτὶ δίφρον ἄνκτι,
πολλὰ δὲ μυρσίνα φύλλα
καὶ ῥοδίνους στεφάνοθς ἴων τε κορωνίδας ὄυλας.

They were throwing many Cydonian apples [quinces] at the bride-groom's chariot, and many myrtle leaves and crowns of roses and garlands of twined violets.¹¹⁶

Although this scene is of the mythical wedding of Helen and Menelaus, this passage has been interpreted to have some bearing in real ancient Greek weddings.¹¹⁷ The apples in this scene are almost ironic: although the apples may be increasing sexual desire, it is

¹¹⁴ Atalanta's reaction to the apples from Hippomenes mirrors Simeais's at 2.82. Cholmeley 1901, 205-206 discusses Simeais's quick succession of the symptoms of love, linked by the repeated use of ὡς.

¹¹⁵ Segal 2002, 8 reads the apples used in Ovid's account of the Atalanta myth as "an obvious instrument of love magic."

¹¹⁶ Stesichorus Fragment 187. Translation my own.

¹¹⁷ Foster, 1899, 45. McCartney 1925, 70-71 likens the throwing of apples to throwing rice at modern weddings.

precisely an apple that will disrupt Helen and Menelaus' marriage.¹¹⁸

Tossing apples at one's beloved to indicate non-marital sexual interest first appears in Aristophanes' *Clouds*. In lines 996-997 "Just Argument" warns Pheidippides:

μήδ' εἰς ὄρχηστρίδος εἰσαίττειν, ἵνα μὴ πρὸς ταῦτα κεχηνῶς
μήλω βληθεὶς ὑπὸ πορνιδίου τῆς εὐκλείας ἀποθραυσθῆς.

And don't run after dancing girls, so that as a consequence
you don't, while foolishly gaping, get hit by an apple
thrown by a prostitute and wreck your good name
completely.¹¹⁹

A scholiast on this passage and later lexicographers note that "to be hit by an apple" means "to become enamored or sexually excited."¹²⁰ It is also notable that this early instance of apple tossing shows that a female could throw an apple at her love interest, becoming the aggressor or pursuer in the relationship, contrary to normative courtship rituals. It is also this type of situation that supports Faraone's argument that the apple represents intimacy, not fertility.

Both Theocritus and Virgil provide examples of females throwing apples at their love interests. In *Idyll 5*, Lacon and Comatas, two herders who seem to have had a pederastic relationship, hold a contentious singing competition. They alternate singing distichs about how superior their current beloved is to the other's. At lines 88-89, Comatas remarks:

βάλλει καὶ μάλοισι τὸν αἰπόλον ἅ Κλεαρίστα

¹¹⁸ Callimachus' *Aitia* 3 includes the story of Acontius and Cydippe, which describes how Acontius used an apple inscribed with an oath to compel Cydippe to marry him. When she reads aloud the words "By Artemis, I will marry Acontius" she commits herself to oath she has spoken. See Nisetich 2001, 141-147.

¹¹⁹ Translation from Faraone 1999, 73.

¹²⁰ Faraone 1999, 73, and Littlewood 1967, 154-155. Foster 1899, 46 writes about this passage: "We labor under the disadvantage, then, of having to investigate a custom which, by the time of our earliest source, has already become so stale as to provide this metaphor."

τὰς αἴγας παρελᾶντα καὶ ἀδύ τι ποπυλιάσδει.

With apples too Clearista pelts the goatherd [Comatas] as he passes with his flock, and sweetly she whistles to him.¹²¹

Likewise, in *Idyll* 6, an unknown narrator recounts to Aratus another singing competition between Damoetas and the famed Daphnis. Both sing about the ill-fortuned love between Polyphemus and Galatea, and in line 6, Daphnis sings:

βάλλει τοι, Πολύφαμε, τὸ ποιμνιον ἅ Γαλάτεια
μάλοισι, δυσέρωτα καὶ αἰπόλον ἄνδρα καλεῦσα.¹²²

Galatea pelts thy flocks with apples, Polyphemus, and calls thee cursed in love and goatherd.

Polyphemus, however, does not notice her flirtatious advances, even when she switches to pelting his herding dog (9-10): “πάλιν ἂδ’ ἴδε, τὰν κύνα βάλλει, ἃ τοι τᾶν οἴων ἔπεται σκοπός (See, there again she pelts the dog that follows you to watch thy sheep).”¹²³

In Virgil’s third *Eclogue*, Menalcas and Damoetas also compete in song, much like Lamon and Comatas in *Idyll* 5. Damoetas’ sings about his girl, Galatea (64-65):

*Malo me Galatea petit, lasciva puella,
et fugit ad salices et se cupit ante videri.*

Galatea, saucy girl, pelts me with an apple, then runs off to the willows—and hopes I saw her first.

Here, Virgil is echoing *Idyll* 5 and the Polyphemus poems *Idylls*, 6 and 11 by including “Galatea.” Littlewood notes that Virgil’s use of this same motif—of the girl pelting the

¹²¹ It is hard not to recognize the echo of the opening of *Idyll* 1 where “ἀδύ” is also used adverbially to modify aural phenomena: “Ἀδύ τι τὸ ψιθύρισμα καὶ ἅ πίτυς, αἰπόλε, τήνα, / ἅ ποτι ταῖς παγαῖσι, μελίσδετα, ἀδύ δὲ καὶ τὴ / συρίσδες... (Sweet is the whispered music of yonder pinetree by the spring, goatherd, and sweet too thy piping).”

¹²² Hunter 1999, 250 (note ad loc) notes that the phrase “δυσέρωτα ... αἰπόλον” is “very likely a near contemporary allusion” to a verse of Posidippus’ description of Polyphemus as “αἰπολικὸς δύσερος.”

¹²³ The scholia on these passages do not shed more light on the scenes other than noting that that one would throw an apple at their beloved wishing to compel them to love. Wendell 1967, 173 and 191.

male—“follow[s] the Alexandrian poet.”¹²⁴ This use of the verb *petere* reveals its polysemous nature as the verb can mean “to attack or assail” as well as “to woo.” Thus, line 64 could equally be read “Galatea pelts me with an apple” or “Galatea woos me with an apple.” Although Virgil is clearly working in a Theocritean mode, he differentiates his pastoral world by establishing willows as a location for trysts. In *Eclogue* 10, the speaker fantasizes about having Amyntas or Phyllis or anyone to “*mecum inter salices lenta sub vite iaceret* (lie among the willows beneath the pliant vine with me).” Neither Theocritus nor Longus has similar references to willow trees in their pastoral writing.¹²⁵

In contrast to Clearista and the two Galateas, the main characters of Longus’ *Daphnis and Chloe* toss apples at each other. Just as they place the crown of violets on each other’s heads in Book 3, there is no “aggressor” in the scene at 1.24. At this point in the novel, they understand they have feelings toward one other, though they have not yet been told what love is, nor have they voiced their feelings. Thus, tossing apples at one another is a means to interact on a basic level and is only a small part of their innocent activities:

Ἦδη ποτὲ καὶ μήλοις ἀλλήλους ἔβαλον καὶ κεφαλὰς ἀλλήλων
 ἐκόσμησαν διακρίναντες τὰς κόμας, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἔικασεν αὐτοῦ τὴν
 κόμην ὅτι μέλαινα μύρτοις, ὁ δὲ μήλω τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς ὅτι
 λευκὸν καὶ ἐνερευθὲς ἦν.

One day they even threw apples at one another, and groomed one another’s heads by combing their hair. She thought his hair was like myrtle-berries, it was so black, and he thought her face was like an apple, it was so pink and white.

In contrast to Virgil’s Galatea who seems to be actively propositioning Damoetas,

¹²⁴ Littlewood 1967, 154.

¹²⁵ The closest Theocritus comes is in *Idyll* 16.79, where he makes a reference to a willow-wicker shield. In contrast, Virgil has references to willows at *Eclogues* 1.54, 1.78, 3.83, 5.16, and 10.40.

Daphnis and Chloe are too shy even to voice their thoughts about each other's hair and face. David Konstan sees this type of behavior as representing a "special form of sexual reciprocity, in which the couple are not sundered by the apparent violence of phallic penetration into active and passive partners, but restrict themselves to the undifferentiated practices of kisses, embraces, and cuddling."¹²⁶ J. R. Morgan notes that the comparison of Chloe's face with an apple is reminiscent of *Idyll* 7.117: ὦ μάλοισιν Ἔρωτες ἐρευθομένοισιν ὁμοῖοι (you Loves as rosy as apples). On the other hand, it also seems instinctive for the two lovers to resort to the natural world for points of comparison: "it is no co-incidence that [Daphnis and Chloe] have lit instinctively on erotic symbols common in literature."¹²⁷

In conclusion, giving apples as gifts and throwing apples at a beloved provide ways to increase sexual desire in another, stemming from early associations with Aphrodite. The literary examples of the role of apples provide evidence of magic according to the definition of magic by Christopher Faraone: "a set of practical devices [i.e., apples] and rituals [i.e., giving or throwing] used by the Greeks in their day-to-day lives to control or otherwise influence supernaturally the forces of nature, animals, or other human beings."¹²⁸ The examples discussed in this section are all relevant to the use of magic to woo another, but what happens when one wants to attract his beloved without magic? Is it possible?

¹²⁶ Konstan 1994, 89. Konstan 1994, 85 and note 58 sees these sorts of activities as "infantile sex-play" of the Freudian pregenital phase which "disperse[s] sexuality polymorphously in various regions of the body."

¹²⁷ Morgan 2004, 170 note ad loc.

¹²⁸ Faraone 1999, 16.

A reevaluation of *Idyll 11* and remedies for desire

Idyll 11 is important because it shows not only an intersection of desire and not only magic, but also *adynata* and *loca amoena*, and how hard it is to avoid magic. This reevaluation of *Idyll 11* will first examine Polyphemus' song and how magic elements are incorporated into it, and how elements like *adynata* and *loca amoena* also function within the song. Finally, although Polyphemus shuns magic and sings as a means to cure his desires, when Polyphemus' song is compared to other pastoral monodies, particularly *Idyll 3* and *Eclogue 2*, the relief Polyphemus feels seems to hinge on the very end of his song. At the end of his song, Polyphemus realizes the pastoral tasks he has neglected, and commands himself to work and think of other girls besides Galatea, which anticipates the precepts of Ovid's *Remedia Amoris*. The efficacy of his song, which may be therapeutic insofar as it is a song with elements of magic, is ultimately curative because of his call to action.

In *Idyll 11*, the narrator addresses Nikias, a physician, and explains that there is no medicinal cure for love—only the Muses can cure him. The narrator then uses Polyphemus as an example of one who has been cured by the Muses, and describes how Polyphemus would repeatedly sing to his beloved Galatea, and how these songs helped him. The reader would recognize the inversion of the Galatea-Polyphemus relationship from *Idyll 6*, where Daphnis describes how she pelts Polyphemus' flock and dog with apples, but he ignores her, preferring to pipe and flee from her as she pursues him.¹²⁹ Damoetas picks up the story, and singing as Polyphemus, that Polyphemus not only ignored Galatea, but even went so far as to tell her he was married and to train his dogs to

¹²⁹ *Idyll 6.6-19*.

bark at her in order to have Galatea completely surrender to him.¹³⁰

In *Idyll* 11.10-11, the narrator describes Polyphemus' approach to love, which seems to echo *Idyll* 6:

Ἦρατο δ'οὐ μάλοις οὐδὲ ρόδῳ οὐδὲ κικίννοις,
ἀλλ' ὀρθαῖς μανίαις, ἀγεῖτο δὲ πάντα πάρεργα.

He loved not with apples, or roses, or ringlets, but with
downright frenzy, counting all else but trifles.

Unlike Galatea, Polyphemus refuses to use apples—or roses or ringlets—to woo her. In his commentary, Gow interprets these lines as a rejection of love tokens, specifically ones that are exchanged between lovers. This, however, requires special pleading, as Gow notes: “It should however be observed that lovers do not seem to exchange locks of hair elsewhere in antiquity, and that the use of hair in various rituals, and the danger from its use in magic... may have made such an exchange less natural than it appears to moderns.”¹³¹ Dover follows Gow's line of argument, “It appears from this passage that a curl of hair was sometimes given as a love-token; since it could be used magically, lovers would thus put themselves in each other's power—but possibly a prudent lover would take care to give the girl a bit of someone else's hair.”¹³² In this flippant comment Dover glosses over the implications of such a swap. Apuleius' *Golden Ass* demonstrates this: the witch Pamphile (i.e., not an empiric) sends her slave girl to fetch hairs from a handsome young Boeotian man. Because she is unable to get the hair, the slave girl

¹³⁰ *Idyll* 6.21-34.

¹³¹ Gow 1952, 211, note on 10.

¹³² Dover 1971, 159, note on 10. If one gave his beloved someone else's hair, any magic practiced with the hair would affect the owner of the hair, not the one who gave it. This could, ostensibly, cause the first relationship to end. This comment, however, does antedate the rise in scholarship on magic in the ancient world.

substitutes some goat hair. When Pamphile performs the ἀγωγὴ spell, however, the hair is the critical ingredient:

Immediately, through this combination of the irresistible power of her magic lore and the hidden energy of the harnessed deities, the bodies from which the hair was crackling and smoking acquired human breath, and were able to feel and walk. They headed for the place to which the stench from the hair they had shed led them, and thus they took the place of the Boeotian youth barging at the doors, in their attempt to gain entrance.¹³³

As was discussed in the first section of this chapter, οὐσία, magical stuff, could play an important role in traditional binding spells, and Simaetha and the *Eclogue 8* woman use οὐσία in their binding spells. Lucian provides more non-pastoral literary evidence for the role of hair in love spells in his *Dialogues of the Courtesans*. In this text, a witch who claims to be able to bring back a lover tells a woman that she needs “something belonging to the man himself, such as clothing or boots or a few of his hairs or anything of that sort.”¹³⁴

Although both Gow and Dover rightly connect the ringlets with magic, they overlook the possibility of apples and roses having magical aspects. Even if apples and roses are “love tokens,” there is an element of magic to them. Although love tokens can seem like a benign gift, they can also be a way to quantify your love (in the quantity or expense of the gift) in order to compel your beloved to love you. Within ancient culture, the rose and apple carried a certain amount of erotic importance; they are a part of the “deep culture” where people would recognize their symbolism without explicitly

¹³³ 3.18 Translation by P.G. Walsh.

¹³⁴ *Dialogues of the Courtesans* 4.4, translation by Macleod.

realizing it.¹³⁵ For a love token to be recognized as such, both people must share this deep culture. Because love tokens, like roses and apples, are imbued with the erotic power, they become elements of magic; the line dividing tokens from magic becomes very fine.

Like apples and apple-spells, roses also have associations with Aphrodite and love, and these associations are seen in *Idyll* 10.32-35:

αἶθε μοι ἦς ὅσσα Κροῖσόν ποκα φαντὶ πεπᾶσθαι·
χρῦσει ἀμφοτέροί κ' ἀνεκείματα τὰ Ἀφροδίτα,
τῶς ἀλῶς μὲν ἔχοισα καὶ ἡ ρόδον ἢ τύγε μᾶλλον,
σχῆμα δ' ἐγὼ καὶ καινὰς ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἀμύκλας.

Would that I had such wealth as Croesus, in the tales, once owned. Then should we both stand in gold as offerings to Aphrodite—you with your pipes, and a rosebud or an apple, and I with raiment new and new shoes of Amyclae on either foot.¹³⁶

Even within the texts considered already in this chapter, in *Idyll* 3.22-23, the garland the goatherd threatens to rend contains ivy, rosebuds, and celery. In *Idyll* 7.63-64, Lykidas promises a garland of anise, roses, and white stock if the beloved Ageanax safely returns home. In *Daphnis and Chloe*, Nape reveals that roses and apples are the currency of one's virginity in the rural world, and roses are also included in Philetas' garden, which Eros himself is tending (2.4).

Thus, recognizing that apples, roses, and ringlets are all elements of erotic magic, *Idyll* 11.10-11 should be read as a rejection not of simple “love tokens” but rather the rejection of the physical components of love spells, which could be considered

¹³⁵ Shaules 2010, 10 writes “[Deep culture] refers to shared patterns of knowledge that our mind uses to create meaning and navigate our interaction with others.” This is a variation on the “thick description” found in Geertz 1973, 3-30.

¹³⁶ Gow translates “ρόδον” as “rosebud,” though this translation seems to be used to facilitate the poetry in English. A more literal translation would simply be “a rose.”

“trifles.”¹³⁷

The narrator then describes in lines 17-18 the “remedy” Polyphemus has discovered:

ἀλλὰ τὸ φάρμακον εὔρε, καθεζόμενος δ' ἐπὶ πέτρας
ὕψηλᾶς ἐς πόντον ὀρῶν ἄειδε τοιαῦτα·

Yet the remedy he found, and seated on some high rock would
gaze seaward and sing thus...

Theocritus relies on the polysemy of φάρμακον (remedy/spell) in this passage.¹³⁸ The song, we learn at the end of the poem, is a remedy, but I argue that the song in lines 19-79 contains elements of magical spells. Although the Greek verb that is used typically to indicate the singing of a magical spell is the compound ἐπαίδειν, the simple form, αἶδειν can also mean “to chant.”¹³⁹ In *Idyll* 2, Simaetha uses simple speaking verbs to describe what she is doing (φαῖνε καλόν [2.11], λέγε ταῦτα [2.21]). Thus, Polyphemus is going to sing—or chant—to Galatea.

Claude Calame has noted that “[t]he very activity of producing Greek poetry, quite apart from its contents, seems to have created erotic desire and pleasure, and this spell-binding power possessed by poetry leads us on to consider the function of the poet’s words of love and how that function related to the circumstances in which the words were uttered.”¹⁴⁰ The poetry of Polyphemus unavoidably creates an increased desire for Galatea while he is simultaneously seeking a remedy for it.¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ Hunter, in his commentary in Verity 2002, 90 notes that apples frequently appear in magical contexts.

¹³⁸ See also Fantuzzi 1995, 16-18.

¹³⁹ LSJ s.v. 1. αἶδω.

¹⁴⁰ Calame 1999, 38.

¹⁴¹ The remedy for love is a common trope in Greek literature. Winkler 1991, 239 note 54 enumerates some of them: in Plato’s *Phaedrus* 252A-B and Chariton 6.3.7 the only remedy is to see the beloved. In his

The performance of magic, however, can provide a remedy in and of itself. Richard Kieckhefer notes, “Many cultural anthropologists see magic not as causally efficacious but as symbolically expressive. In this interpretation, magic is not meant to work but to express wishes, or to encode in symbols a perception of how things do or should work.”¹⁴² Winkler agrees with this position, writing:

Looking at the fuller social context of their performance, we can see that *agōgai* are structured as a system of displacements. The first displacement, presumably of therapeutic value in itself, is the intense imaging of the client’s illness as a thing felt by someone else. . . . An *agōgē*, too, is the kind of last-ditch therapy made necessary by a certain cultural conception of eros, and as such it is a therapy that not only proclaims its own extremity but even in a certain sense its own impossibility. For the implied message of the rite . . . [is] that there is no cure for eros except the beloved herself.¹⁴³

Indeed, a close examination of Polyphemus’ song to Galatea reveals additional elements of magic expressing Polyphemus’ wishes. In traditional binding spells, it was common for the person on whom the spell was being performed to be indicated matrilineally. At line 26, Polyphemus claims he fell in love with Galatea when she was picking hyacinths with *his own* mother, and he was their guide.¹⁴⁴ This clearly is not the right kind of designation and identification. She should be identified through her own mother, but again, he loves her with “outright madness” and this is the closest way he can

Laws (8.836B), eros is the cause “of a million evils for individuals and whole cities, ‘what herbal drug can you cut to liberate these people from so great a danger?’” PGM XXXIV, a fragment of a novel, notes that the practitioner can “command the moon and sun and sea and air, ‘but for eros alone I find no drug.’” Callimachus, in Epigram 52 (GP 52 = Nisetich 3) agrees with poetry as a cure, but also adds starvation as a remedy.

¹⁴² Kieckhefer 1994, 814.

¹⁴³ Winkler 1991, 226.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. *Eclogue* 8.38-41. This flower-gathering scene can also be read as a variation on Persephone’s abduction by Hades while she was picking flowers with her age mates in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*.

identify her properly. And, having seen her then, he has been unable to stop loving her. Trying another mode in his song-spell, he orders her to abandon her marine life to live with him in his rustic world (11.42-49). As was seen in the second *Idyll* and *Eclogue* 8, the spells that can “lead or draw a person to a house and bedroom” are ἀγωγαί spells.¹⁴⁵ Polyphemus then attempts to lead her to his cave with things that would be utterly useless for a Nereid sea nymph: his cattle, vines, cold water, and an undying fire. He repeats this idea more forcefully at lines 63-66:

ἔξένθοις, Γαλάτεια, καὶ ἐξενθοῖσα λάθοιο,
ὥσπερ ἐγὼ νῦν ὧδε καθήμενος, οἴκαδ’ ἀπενθεῖν·
ποιμαίνειν δ’ ἐθέλοις σὺν ἐμῖν ἅμα καὶ γάλ’ ἀμέλγειν
καὶ τυρὸν πᾶξαι τάμισον δριμεῖαν ἐνεῖσα.

Come forth, Galatea; and coming, forget, as I do now sitting here,
to go home again. Consent to shepherd with me, and to milk, and
to set cheese with drops of acid rennet.

Polyphemus wants Galatea to forget (in a milder, optative rather than imperative form commonly found in spells) to return home,¹⁴⁶ yet he himself also forgets to return home, a result that is not common in magical spells.¹⁴⁷

Moreover, although he has rejected roses in line 10 of the poem, at lines 56-59 he fantasizes about having gills so he would be able to swim down to her and deliver to her lilies and poppies.¹⁴⁸ Although the narrator explains that Polyphemus rejects using roses,

¹⁴⁵ Winkler 1991, 223. Borgeaud 1988, 32 notes that the word “ἀγωγή” was used in bridal processions, leading the woman away from her family to her husband. This, perhaps, is why men seem to be the practitioners of these spells rather than women. (The exceptions being the women of *Idyll* 2 and *Eclogue* 8.)

¹⁴⁶ Cf. The spell against Leosthenes and Peios to forget Juliana, discussed above from SGD 31. See also PGM XV.1-21.

¹⁴⁷ Thank you to Professor Julie Laskaris for pointing out this detail.

¹⁴⁸ Huxley 1965, 21 notes that there is such a variety of lilies in Greece that this may be true, even though it seems that lilies and poppies seem today to bloom at about the same time.

in his song, he still imagines being able to bring Galatea flowers. Instead of roses, he imagines giving her lilies and poppies, both of which are still erotically charged flowers associated with Aphrodite.¹⁴⁹ Before ending his song, he takes a moment to blame and threaten his own mother for this predicament with Galatea, and then prays that she suffer as he suffers (11.70-71):

φασῶ τὰν κεφαλὰν καὶ τῶς πόδας ἀμφοτέρως μευ
σφύσδειν, ὡς ἀνιαθηῖ, ἐπεὶ κήγων ἀνιῶμαι.

I will tell her my head throbs, and both my feet, that she may suffer
since I too suffer.¹⁵⁰

Thus, in his attempt to avoid the physical elements of magic, Polyphemus has taken refuge with the verbal element of spells: he identifies Galatea matrilineally (though wrongly through his own mother), he attempts to lure her to his cave (which is part of a separation [ἀγωγή] spell), offers to bring her flowers, and threatens his own mother (a minor diety) for his predicament.¹⁵¹

Just as readers would recognize the inversion of the Polyphemus and Galatea stories in *Idylls* 6 and 11, they would have also picked up allusions to *Idyll* 2 in Polyphemus' spell. Polyphemus says "Come forth, Galatea; and coming, forget," and Theocritus uses a parallel construction describing Delphis on Simaetha's bed at 2.113:

ἔζετ' ἐπὶ κλιντῆρι καὶ ἐζόμενος φάτο μῦθον (he sat down upon the couch, and, sitting, told

¹⁴⁹ White lilies are associated with Aphrodite because of their pure beauty, and are associated with Aphrodite (see, for example, *Cypria* fragment 6, *Idyll* 23.30-31, *Eclogue* 2.45, Propertius 1.20.37, Longus 2.3.4 and 4.2.6). Pausanias (2.10.5) writes that the statue of Aphrodite of Kanachos in Sikyon was depicted holding a poppy in one hand, and an apple in the other. Poppies also appear among the flowers offered to Alexis in *Eclogue* 2.47.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. the discussion on *Idyll* 7.103-114.

¹⁵¹ Cf. the threats in *Idylls* 3 and 7.

this story).¹⁵² Furthermore, to underscore the fact that Polyphemus is actually attempting an ἀγωγή magical spell, Theocritus has both unhappy lovers, Polyphemus and Simaetha, say “πᾶ τὰς φρένας ἐκπεπότασαι; (whither have thy wits wandered?)”¹⁵³ These references create a link between two Theocritean characters who, according to what we know about magic, do not “get it right.”¹⁵⁴ This shows how Theocritus works within a magical framework, but also with two characters who suffer uncontrollably from desire. Theocritus depicts Simaetha performing a magic spell to bring Delphis back to her, and Polyphemus (unconsciously) including the verbal elements of magic spells to bring Galatea back to him.¹⁵⁵

This reading supports two conclusions: first, Polyphemus experiences relief from singing his song/spell about Galatea, which is one outcome of the performance of magic (and poetry). Second, the reader, picking up on these magical elements, would recognize that magic elements are implicit in courtship, and although Polyphemus is attempting to reject magic, as I argue, it is inherent to courtship. Although Polyphemus rejects what might be considered to be “traditional” elements of love magic (apples, roses, and ringlets), he still offers flowers to Galatea in his song, which become erotically charged. His song also contains the verbal elements of magic (an identification of the beloved, the commands to forget one’s life, to come to the lover, to fulfill the lover’s wishes, etc.), which are also very basic ideas in erotic desires and courtship. Magic, desire, and

¹⁵² The use of the optative in place of the more typical imperative softens the demand.

¹⁵³ *Idyll* 2.19 and *Idyll* 11.72.

¹⁵⁴ Hunter 1999, 29-30 and 219 comments that because of the strange metrical arrangement in this poem, it could either be early or parodic. Reading Polyphemus’ song as a parody could support not-quite-right magical elements in the song.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. *Idyll* 7.103-114 which also only contains the verbal elements of a spell.

courtship, then, are closely related.

Besides the flowers, Polyphemus also describes his cave in terms of a *locus amoenus* as a way to attract Galatea:

ἀλλ' ἀφίκευσο ποθ' ἀμέ, καὶ ἐξεῖς οὐδὲν ἔλασσον,
τὰν γλαυκὰν δὲ θάλασσαν ἕα ποτὶ χέρσον ὄρεχθεῖν·
ἄδιον ἐν τῶντρῳ παρ' ἐμὶν τὰν νύκτα διαξεῖς.
ἐντὶ δάφναι τηγεί, ἐντὶ ῥαδιναὶ κυπάρισσοι,
ἔστι μέλας κισσός, ἔστ' ἄμπελος ἅ γλυκύκαρπος,
ἔστι ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ, τὸ μοι ἅ πολυδένδρεος Αἴτνα
λευκᾶς ἐκ χιόνος ποτὸν ἀμβρόσιον προΐητι.

Nay, come to me, and you will fare well enough. Leave the green sea to pulse upon the shore; thou wilt pass the night more pleasantly in the cave with me. There are bays and slender cypresses; there is dark ivy, and the sweet-fruited vine, and cold water, which wooded Etna puts forth for me from her white snowfields, a draught divine.¹⁵⁶

Here, Polyphemus uses the description of his cave both as an offering to convince Galatea to love him, but also as a place where he can imagine his desire fulfilled: being with Galatea. The pleasing location is described to Galatea with the expressed purpose to compel her to love him. This passage provides an example of a description of landscape which intends to inspire desire.

Moreover, in his attempt to court her through his song, Polyphemus offers his sea nymph cattle, vines, fawns, bear cubs, fire, and fresh water. He also wishes he could grow gills or learn to swim.¹⁵⁷ These imagined situations add to the tragicomedy of the song, but also provide an example of *adynata*: Polyphemus imagines a world where land-based things would be important to a sea nymph, or where a terrestrial monster can

¹⁵⁶ *Idyll* 11.42-48.

¹⁵⁷ *Idyll* 11.34-41, 47, 51, and 54.

become a fish.¹⁵⁸ As Winkler noted above, *agōgai* spells are a type of psychological displacement, and in pastoral literature, *adynata* can similarly act as a displacement for unfulfilled desires.¹⁵⁹ Polyphemus cannot change that she does not love him, but he can still imagine their life together. These *adynata* are substitutes for his unfulfilled desires.

We are told by the narrator, however, that Polyphemus seems better, if not cured, because of his song (11.80-81):

Οὔτω τοι Πολύφαμος ἐποίμεινεν τὸν ἔρωτα
Μουσίσδων, ῥαῖον δὲ δι᾿ ἡ εἰ χρυσὸν ἔδωκεν.

Thus did Polyphemus shepherd his love with minstrelsy,
and fared easier than if he had spent gold.

The reader knows, though, that the song only works on Polyphemus; Galatea does not return to Polyphemus because of this song. This raises a larger question about shepherds' songs in pastoral literature: where is the efficacy, and how effective are they at relieving desire?

It is necessary to look to Ovid's *Remedia Amoris* for insight. At lines 250-252 Ovid explicitly mentions magic as an old fashioned approach to curing love. In his opinion, magic has become an ineffective way to deal with love. Instead, he announces in line 10 of the *Remedia* that he is working with reason now; remedies that came before were just passion-based (*Et quod nunc ratio est, impetus ante fuit*). Ovid's basic precept for the cure for love is to keep busy. He writes:

*Tam Venus otia amat; qui finem quaeris amoris,
cedit amor rebus: res age, tutus eris.*

¹⁵⁸ The land-based gifts for a sea nymph create a variation on an *adynaton* like that found in *Eclogue* 1.59-63.

¹⁵⁹ This is not to suggest that *adynata* are spells; *adynata* and spells simply have similar psychological effects.

Venus loves inaction; he who seeks an end of love,
Love yields to action: stay busy, and you will be safe.

The literary pastoral life, which is portrayed as essentially carefree and idle, becomes the setting in which both Venus and Cupid can torture a person. In the *Remedia Amoris*, Ovid suggests that the lover go away to the country, but work the fields, and find pleasure in agricultural duties.¹⁶⁰ Alternatively, he should hunt, travel, or seek urban crowds and avoid the places the beloved used to frequent.¹⁶¹ Ovid seems here to say that the pastoral world (and its magic) creates a terrible situation for the shepherd lovers wanting relief from their desires, and *Idyll 3* and *Eclogue 2* provide test cases.

In *Idyll 3*, an unnamed goatherd sings outside his beloved Amaryllis' cave. While he sings, he has entrusted his herd to another herdsman, Tityrus, neglecting his most basic responsibility. In his song for Amaryllis, he not only threatens to rend the garland of ivy, roses, and celery (a pastoral variation on magic), but also consults an old diviner (κοσκινόμαντις) named Agroëo about his relationship with Amaryllis.¹⁶² The goatherd goes on to sing about other relationships as *exempla*,¹⁶³ but his song ultimately fails him: he simply stops and lies down where the wolves will eat him.¹⁶⁴

Likewise, Corydon in *Eclogue 2* flings his “artless strains (*haec incondita*)” at the woods and mountains professing his love for Alexis. As demonstrated in the third

¹⁶⁰ *Remedia Amoris* 169-197.

¹⁶¹ *Remedia Amoris* 198-224; 579-608; 627-628.

¹⁶² *Idyll* 3.31-33. He is also very suspicious: when his eye twitches in lines 37-38, he thinks it might be a sign that he will see Amaryllis.

¹⁶³ Fantuzzi 1995, 22-27.

¹⁶⁴ *Idyll* 3.53.

section of this chapter, Corydon employs pastoral magic to attempt to attract Alexis.¹⁶⁵

We are not told if this song works on Alexis, or what its effect is on Corydon.

What sets Corydon apart from the goatherd in *Idyll 3* is that towards the end of his song, which has allusions to both *Idyll 3* and 11, Corydon echoes Polyphemus, who asks himself “πᾶ τὰς φρένας ἐκπεπότησαι; (whither have thy wits wandered?)”¹⁶⁶ asking himself “Ah, Corydon, Corydon, what madness has gripped you? (*a, Corydon, Corydon, quae te dementia cepit!*).”¹⁶⁷ This question prompts both Polyphemus and Corydon to recognize their untended work: Polyphemus realizes he should plait cheese crates, gather grasses for lambs, or milk a nearby ewe.¹⁶⁸ Corydon sings about his unpruned vines, that he should perhaps weave something he needs.¹⁶⁹ By turning their attention away from their desperate desires, they begin to follow the Ovidian prescription to stay busy. After realizing their responsibilities, Polyphemus and Corydon both turn their attention to new loves. Polyphemus sings (11.75-78):

τί τὸν φεύγοντα διώκεις;
εὐρησεῖς Γαλάτειαν ἴσως καὶ καλλίον' ἄλλαν.
πολλὰ συμπαίσδεν με κόραι τὰν νύκτα κέλονται,
κιγλίζοντι δὲ πᾶσαι, ἐπεὶ κ' αὐταῖς ἐπακούσω.

Why pursue him who flees? Another and a fairer Galatea
wilt thou find, maybe. Many a girl bids me spend the night
in sport with her, and they all giggle when they see I've
heard.

Corydon echoes Polyphemus' sentiment (2.73): *nvenies alium, sit e hic fastidit, Alexin*

¹⁶⁵ *Eclogue* 2.45-55.

¹⁶⁶ *Idyll* 11.72.

¹⁶⁷ *Eclogue* 2.69.

¹⁶⁸ *Idyll* 11.73-75.

¹⁶⁹ *Eclogue* 2.70-72.

(You will find another Alexis, if this one scorns you). These lines reflect Ovid's recommendation that "every love is conquered by a new successor (*successore novo vincitur omnis amor*)."¹⁷⁰ When the narrator concludes the poem and comments that Polyphemus fared well because of his song (11.80-81), it seems because he has anticipated the precepts of Ovid. Not only does Polyphemus get to experience the relief of singing about his love and employing magical elements to make his wishes known, he also sings about two of the methods Ovid outlines to get over a lost love: work and a new love.

In contrast, the reader is not told about the outcome of Corydon's song, but because it contains components similar to those found in *Idyll* 11, one has to think that Corydon was also relieved of his desires. The goatherd of *Idyll* 3, however, does not do any of the remedial activities, but instead lies down alone to wallow in his emotions.¹⁷¹ Thus it seems that Polyphemus and Ovid hit upon the effectiveness of these songs: not dwelling on the beloved.

In conclusion, *Idyll* 11 first provides an example of how difficult it was to avoid magic: although Polyphemus attempts to reject the common elements of magic, his song is nevertheless dotted with magical formulae and variations on them. In his song, there are also examples of a *locus amoenus* to attract and entice Galatea, as well as *adynata* wherein he imagines the fulfillment of his desires. The song, however, ultimately gains efficacy, especially in comparison to *Idyll* 3, when he commands himself to his work and other girls, just as Ovid will later prescribe. Polyphemus, it seems, has hit upon the true

¹⁷⁰ *Remedia Amoris* 462.

¹⁷¹ Being alone is another prohibited activity according to Ovid line 579: *uisquis amat, loca sola nocent, loca sola caveto!*

cure for love.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that in the literary pastoral world there is a system of magic that echoes the tenets and practices of traditional magic, which I believe learned readers would have seen. Pastoral erotic magic involves plants and fruit to attract and court a beloved. This magic, like traditional erotic magic, is not limited to men seeking women, but also to women propositioning men, and men seeking men (or boys). Botanical magic could be found in the city and the country: the parallels between apple magic and Athenian *epikleroi* laws indicate there were no distinctions in class or location as to who could use and benefit from magic. Magic, however, provides a way for practitioners to attempt to alleviate their suffering from unrequited love. If the practitioner is successful, the spell works, and he is loved in return. Magic was also pervasive in courtship, and Polyphemus shows in *Idyll* 11 both how hard it is to avoid magic, and that the palliative effect of magic leads to the one true remedy of desire, which is simply to move on.

Conclusion

This dissertation aims to fill some gaps in the scholarship on pastoral literature. First, by considering Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus together, I have looked beyond the pastoral genre to the pastoral mode, which allows for a better understanding of how Theocritus influenced Virgil, and how Theocritus and Virgil influenced Longus. Perhaps even more important than the influences from one to another author is how an author adapts the pastoral tradition to his work.

Furthermore, this dissertation has shown how the herdsmen in the pastoral worlds of Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus interact with the natural world, and how desire is situated at that intersection. Thus each chapter, which considers one of the three major botanical contexts, looks at how desire influences or is influenced by the contexts. The relationship between desire and the natural world reveals how these elite writers envision the emotional world of the herdsmen.

The first chapter provides an overview of important scholarship and definitions, beginning with scholarship about plants both in the pastoral world and in the ancient world at large. Then definitions for pastoral as literary mode are discussed, as are the generic qualifications of the novel to explain how Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus are connected. After reviewing the current scholarship on the three authors individually, I describe how Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus are connected through their use of a “Daphnis,” repeated botanical names, and their use of programmatic trees.

The second chapter considers one of the three major botanical contexts, the *locus amoenus*. This literary trope, which pauses the narration to describe a pleasing place, is

examined as a narrative frame around depictions of desire. In some contexts, the highly sensual *locus amoenus* descriptions can also inspire desire itself. The visuality of the verbal *loca amoena* is then compared with examples of Roman landscape wall paintings. This second section explores ways in which the artist, like the author, can control the viewer's gaze, and how nature and art can collaborate to fulfill or contribute to desires. Like the literary *loca amoena*, the visual landscapes can also be a catalyst for desire. The final section of this chapter considers *loca amoena* that are a part of both non-erotic and erotic desires, where the pleasing places themselves are offered up as an inducement to the beloved or are imagined to help fulfill a desire.

The next chapter looks at how the *adynaton*, an inversion of nature, imagines a world in which desires can be fulfilled, but not the immediate desire. After establishing the *adynaton* as a rhetorical figure, pastoral *adynata* are examined as a way of imagining a fulfillment of desires when (typically) erotic ones cannot be fulfilled. The songs of the herdsmen, therefore, become imbued with a believed power to control nature at large. These imagined worlds lead to a discussion of impossible Golden Age imagery. The fantastic Golden Age descriptions, particularly like those found in Virgil's *Eclogue 4*, take the reader to a completely fantastic world, where nothing appears to follow nature. These hyper-natural descriptions remind the reader again of the lush gardens of *Daphnis and Chloe* and the wall paintings from Oplontis and Livia's villa at Prima Porta. The final section of this chapter returns to these wall paintings to examine them as *adynata*.

The final chapter shows how botanical magic can alleviate desire. The first section reviews what we know of magic, paying close attention to the role of the symbolic nature of the rites. The second section examines the two poems that depict a

woman practicing magic to bring back a lover, *Idyll 2* and *Eclogue 8*. The women portrayed in these poems use elements of traditional magic outlined in the first section with mixed results. Moreover, I argue that these women are a subcategory of magicians I identify as empirics. Empirics, I believe, were common people—both men and women—who had some knowledge about plants and magic. I also argue that because magic was very common in the ancient world there is a version of pastoral magic happening in Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus. In this section I argue that plants are substitute elements of pastoral binding spells, and the astute reader would have seen the shift of traditional magic elements into a rustic context. The fourth section looks at the function of the most common botanical magical element, the apple, and the symbolism it contains in erotic contexts. I concluded this chapter by offering a reinterpretation of *Idyll 11* and alleviation of desire in pastoral. By drawing on elements of the previous sections of this chapter, I argue that Polyphemus appears to be rejecting love magic, yet cannot escape elements of it in his song. Polyphemus' song reveals that although magic intimately connected with courtship and although magic and poetry can help to remedy love, two important elements help cure love: activity and a new girl.

Delmore Schwartz wrote a short story entitled “In Dreams Begin Responsibilities.” In the pastoral literature of Theocritus, Virgil, and Longus, the phrase would perhaps be more fitting as “In Desires Begin Responsibilities.” Desire, either erotic or not, requires a degree responsibility or control to either bring it to fulfillment or to remedy it. Although the *loca amoena* can seem like inert framing devices, the singers and authors both exert control over the scene in the way they describe a location, and even by giving names to the plants themselves. These descriptions, like the wall

paintings at Oplontis and Prima Porta, become tightly controlled (fictional) scenes that depict what the elite learned audiences would imagine as the pastoral or natural world. Likewise, *adynata* also depend on control: the lack of control the lover feels in a relationship is transferred to an imaginary world where the lover can affect impossible things. Although these fictions can allow the lover to imagine control, he nevertheless does not actually remedy his desire. Magic, which is unavoidable in erotic circumstances, can be a last resort that grants control to the practitioner to change a situation through supernatural means. Ovid, a non-pastoral author, but a literary “expert” on love, and Polyphemus make clear the one true way to remedy unfulfilled desires: the one who desires must take control of his own emotions, his own life, and not dwell on what is not possible. The botanical world, then, functions alongside the frustrated desires and within these controlling fictions as a way to frame or inspire with *loca amoena*, to imagine *adynata*, or to alleviate desires through magic.

Images



Image 1: Boscotrecase Black room, north wall.



Image 2: Boscotrecase detail from Black room, north wall.



Image 3: Boscotrecase detail of Black room, west wall. (This panel is now lost.)



Image 4: Boscotrecase detail from Black room, east wall.



Image 5: Boscotrecase detail from Red room, north wall.



Image 6: Boscotrecase detail from Red room, east wall.



Image 7: Boscotrecase detail from Red room, west wall.

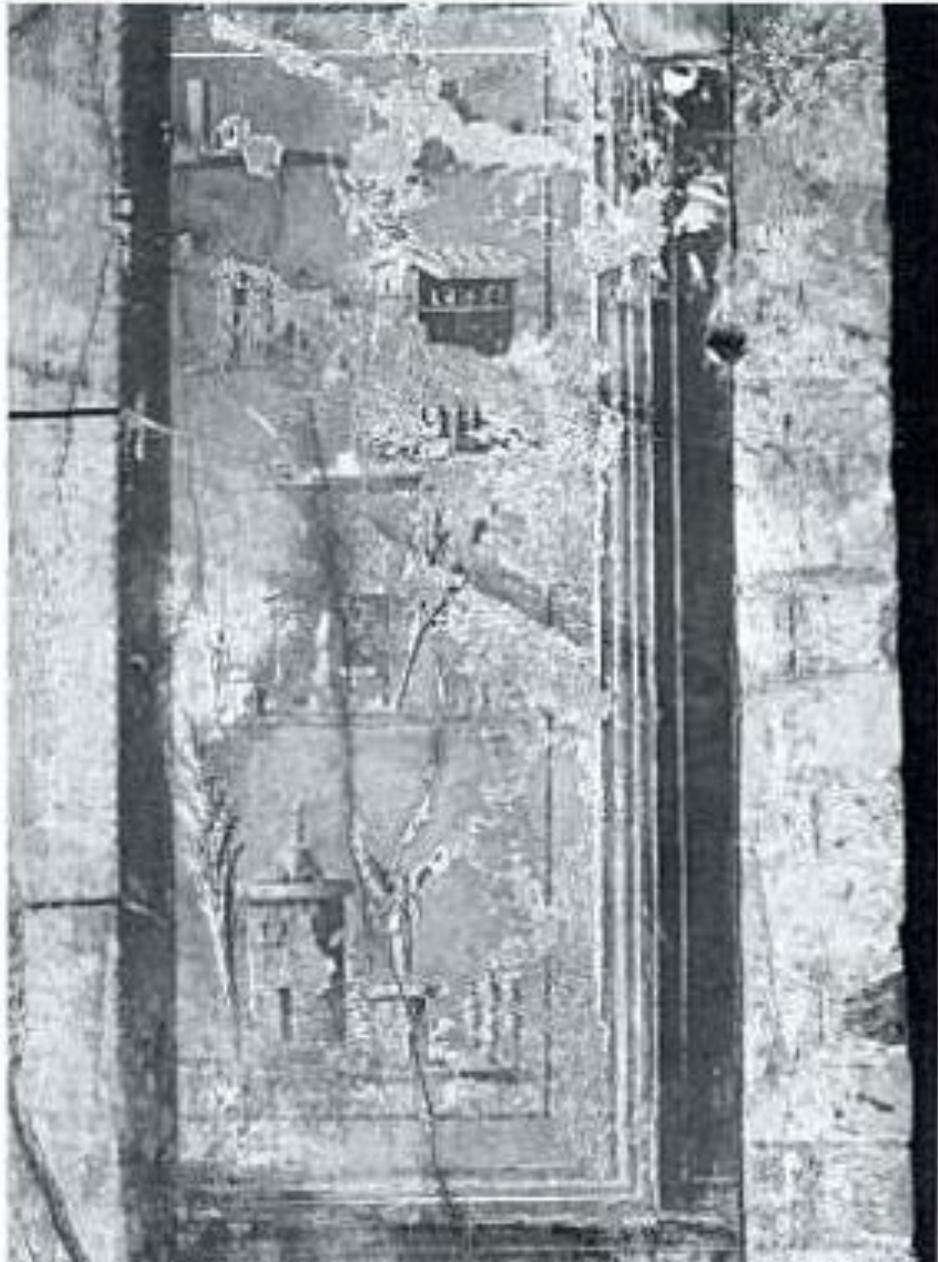


Image 8: Oplontis Yellow monochrome sacro-idyllic scene from the *triclinium*.



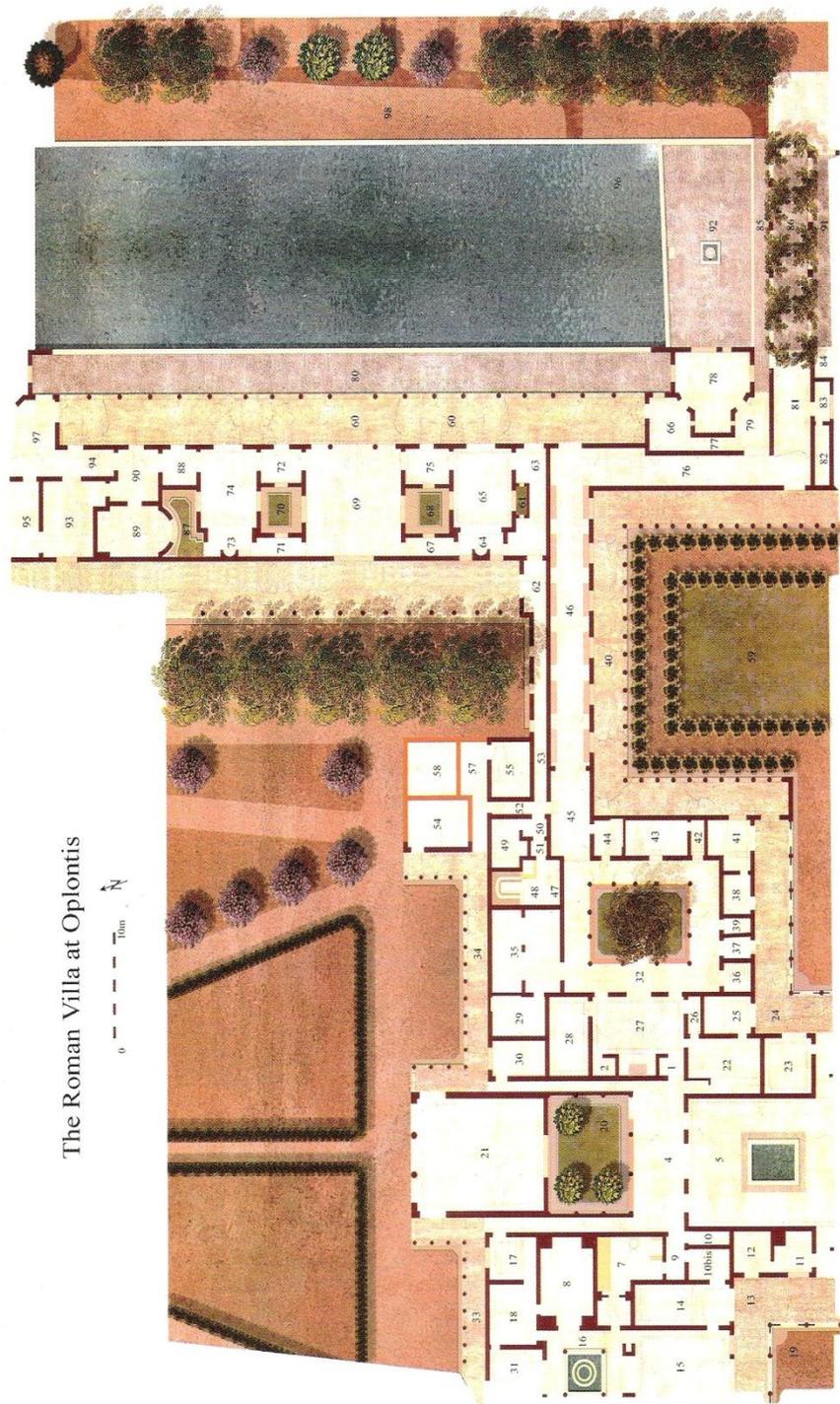
Image 9: Cubiculum from the villa of Publius Fannius Synistor in Boscoreale.



Image 10: Detail from the cubiculum from the villa of Publius Fannius Synistor in Boscoreale.



Image 11: Interior Garden Room from Oplontis.



The Roman Villa at Oplontis

Image 12: Plan of Oplontis.



Image 13: Oplontis room 87, looking southeast.

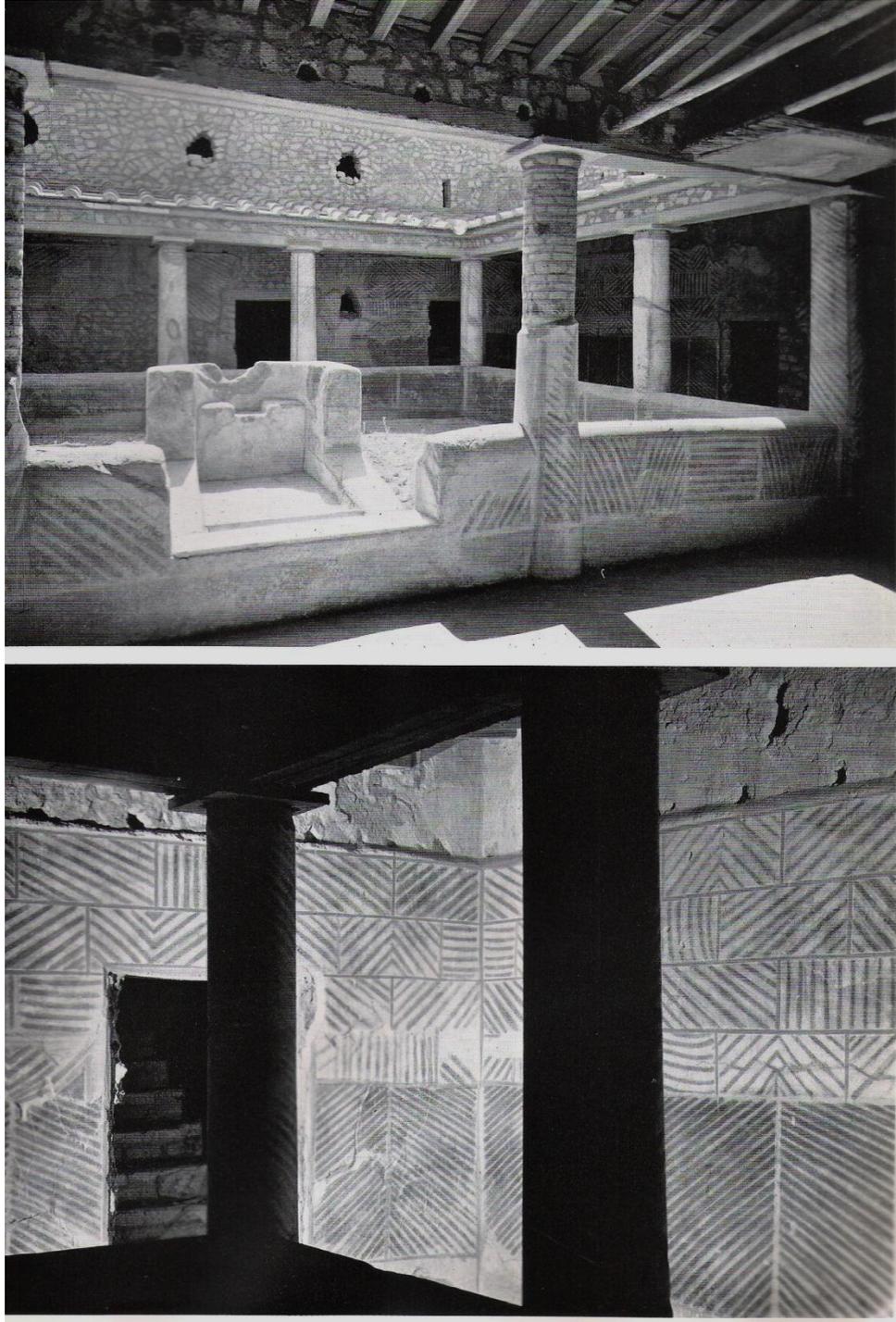


Image 14: Servant/domestic quarters at Oplontis.



Image 15: Garden Room from Livia's villa at Prima Porta



Image 16: Garden Room from Livia's villa at Prima Porta.



Image 17: Polyphemus and Galatea from Boscotrecase.

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VITA

Deanna Wesolowski was born in 1977. She received her BA in Latin, with a minor in Linguistics and certificate in Great Books along with her MA in Classics from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. Deanna was the recipient of the University of Missouri's Ancient Studies Fellowship for five years during her time doing doctoral work there. She has taught a wide variety of courses at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Marquette University, the University of Missouri, and most recently at the University of Richmond.