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ANCIENT RITUAL AND THE SEARCH FOR ARCADIA: FROM VERGIL TO POUSSIN

Oh, what's the way to Arcady?
The spring is rustling in the tree, –
The tree the wind is blowing through, –
It sets the blossoms flickering white.
I knew not skies could burn so blue
Nor any breezes blow so light.
They blow an old-time way for me,
Across the world to Arcady.
H. C. Bunner, *The Way to Arcady*[1]

Introduction

In his *Eclogues*, a collection of ten poems that seemingly praises the felicitous lives of Roman shepherds, Vergil addressed some of the most pressing issues of his day, focusing on the civil wars that dealt a soaring wound to the Romans of his generation, and the hope for reconciliation that was rising through the political vision of Augustus. His pastoral images reflecting on human nature and progress are ruled by primitivism and allude to a much desired, yet unachievable past.[2] Vergil specifies the locus of this ideal pastoral life, which originates in Hesiod and was revived many centuries later in the bucolic verses of Theocritus, as Arcadia.[3] The first part of this paper examines the ideological nexus of Arcadia in antiquity and its ability to appeal to the Romans of the first century BCE. I argue that Arcadia, the original locus to have experienced the Golden Age, was transferred by Vergil to contemporary Roman countryside and invested with ritual and philosophical notions that actually render the Arcadian experience

1. Cited by C. A. Forbes, "The Road to Arcady," *Classical Journal*, 50, no. 3 (1954), p. 103.

2. For the idea of the "noble savage" in antiquity, see A. O. Lovejoy and G. Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press), 1997.

3. For a literary review on ancient pastoral, see E. Anagnostou-Laoutides, *Eros and Ritual in Ancient Literature: Singing of Atalanta, Daphnis and Orpheus* (Piscataway, NJ : Gorgias Press, 2005), 238ff.; cf. P. Alpers, "Theocritean Bucolic and Virgilian Pastoral," *Arethusa*, 23 (1990), p. 19ff.

tangible, the reversal of time to humanity's first – primitive, yet happy – existence possible.

Vergil's apocalyptic vision was further sanctioned through the prophetic authority of Orpheus who is repeatedly mentioned in the *Eclogues*. The emphasis here is not only on Orpheus' musical excellence, but, also, his role as a theologian who had first introduced to the Greeks rites (*teletai*) concerned with the afterlife. Therefore, the second part of the paper, considers *Eclogues* 4, 5, and 10 in which Vergil is particularly at pains to present Arcadia as the background to Orpheus' adventures. By placing the new Golden Age in a Roman Arcadia with Orpheus or Orpheus-like figures as officiating at it, Vergil does not simply negotiate the idea of returning to this ancient Shangri-La, but, in fact, he introduces ritual as the only means of dealing with loss and death in this otherworldly paradise.[4]

In the third part of the paper, I turn to Arcadia's sudden popularity in early Renaissance art[5] and, in particular, to Nicolas Poussin's interpretation of Vergil's ideal landscape.[6] Poussin, who was born in 1594, had a profound classical education and was an avid reader of Vergil.[7] He produced

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4. These observations are compatible with the ancient claims that bucolic poetry had a ritual substance and endow this seemingly naïve genre and its ministers with prophetic dimensions later monopolised by Christian writers. See Anagnostou-Laoutides, *Eros and Ritual in Ancient Literature*, p. 145; cf. T. G. Rosenmeyer, *The Green Cabinet* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1969), pp. 77-78, and R. Poggioli, *The Oaten Flute: Essays on Pastoral Poetry and the Pastoral Ideal* (Cambridge MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1975). Also see the anonymous *Shepherd of Hermas* discussed below. Of course, the representation of the Garden of Eden in the *Old Testament* has been frequently mentioned as an archetype of a primitive, yet happy existence.

5. See Forbes, "The Road to Arcady," p. 106: "But the chief re-incarnation of Arcadia in the Italian literature of the Renaissance is Jacopo Sannazaro's Arcadia (1504), a prose romance with its twelve chapters set off by twelve lyrical eclogues. Sannazaro went back afresh to his Vergil and found something that delighted his heart in the picture of Arcadia. He took for a theme the story of a lovesick Neapolitan who, just like Vergil's friend Gallus, sought solace for his pangs in Arcadia's idyllic scenes." Guercino was the first painter to be inspired by Vergilian Arcadia in the 1620s; D. Carrier, *Poussin's Paintings: A Study in Art-Historical Methodology* (University Park, PA.: The Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 1993), p. 172, also quoting E. Panofsky, "Et in Arcadia Ego: Poussin and the Elegiac Tradition" in *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1955), pp. 303-04 and F. Della Corte, "Et in Arcadia Ego," *Maia*, 16 (fasc. iv) (1964), pp. 350-53.

6. Panofsky, "Et in Arcadia Ego," 295ff.; Forbes, "The Road to Arcardy," p. 104ff. In the paintings of Poussin Arcadia is interpreted as a metaphor for the locus of souls after death. M. F. Denton, "Death in French Arcady: Nicholas Poussin's The Arcadian Shepherds and Burial Reform in France c. 1800," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 36, no. 2 (2003), p. 195ff.

7. H. W. van Helsdingen, "Notes on Two Sheets of Sketches by Nicolas Poussin for the Long Gallery of the Louvre," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 5, nos. 3/4 (1971), p. 172ff.; H. Raben, "'An Oracle of Painting': Re-Reading Poussin's Letters," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 30, nos. 1/2 (2003), p. 34ff.; cf. H.

two paintings entitled *Arcadian Shepherds*, in 1631 and 1635 respectively. His paintings focus on a tomb situated in mythical Arcadia that is visited by a number of shepherds and bears the inscription: "Et in Arcadia Ego," a phrase whose meaning has been debated fiercely. Nevertheless, the painting is clearly inspired by Vergil's *Eclogue* 5 in which the tomb of Daphnis, the archetypal bucolos, is depicted.[8] I argue that despite Sannazaro's melancholic revisiting of the *Eclogues*,[9] Poussin's understanding of Arcadia is essentially symbolic and it continues the Vergilian tradition.[10] Poussin, like Vergil, appreciated allegorical thinking and, unlike his contemporaries in the early sixteenth century, was interested in ancient pagan rites.[11] Consequently, the phrase "Et in Arcadia Ego" need not express sadness at the conquest of Arcadia by death, but insightful reflection on death as a precondition for life.[12]

W. van Helsdingen, "Aantekeningen bij de ikonografie van Poussin (Notes on the Iconography of Poussin)," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 3, no. 3 (1968/9), p. 153ff. Also, see J. Thuillier, *Nicolas Poussin* (Paris: Fayard, 1988), p. 43: "la connaissance directe des lettres antiques, qui seront constamment la reférénce, et comme l'armature intellectuelle de sa création, jointe à une certaine manière de penser, faite à la fois de critique et de raisonnement, qui le soutint dans sa vie et dans son art."

8. Daphnis first featured in Theocritus' *Idyll* 1 where his premature death is described in totally bucolic terms. For the association of Daphnis with near eastern dying and rising deities of the calibre of Adonis, Tammuz and Dumuzi, see E. Anagnostou-Laoutides, "The Death of Daphnis," in *Cult and Death*, D. Naoum, G. Muskett and M. Gregoriadis, eds., BAR International Series, 1282 (2004), p. 77ff.; Anagnostou-Laoutides, *Eros and Ritual in Ancient Literature*, p. 105ff.; cf. E. Anagnostou-Laoutides and D. Konstan, "Daphnis and Aphrodite: A Love Affair In Theocritus' Idyll 1," *American Journal of Philology*, 129, no. 4 (2008 forthcoming). Daphnis' association with ritual mourning which anticipates the hope for his resurrection is a novel understanding of ancient pastoral which emphasises the connection of the pastoral genre with ritual.

9. D. Kalstone, "The Transformation of Arcadia: Sannazaro and Sir Philip Sidney," *Comparative Literature*, 15, no. 3 (1963), p. 234ff.

10. T. Murray, "Et in Arcadia Video: Poussin' the Image of Culture With Marin and Kuntzel," *Modern Language Notes*, 112, no. 3 (1997), p. 431ff.; G. P. Bellori, the first biographer of Poussin interpreted his two representations of Arcadia as such: ". . . *the grave is to be found even in Arcady and that death occurs in the very midst of delight*." For the burial reform that was implemented in France circa 1800 and its influence on the interpretation of Poussin's paintings of Arcady, see Denton, "Death in French Arcady." However, Poussin's second biographer A. Félibien, thinks that the grave "underlines the fact that the person buried in this tomb lived in Arcadia."

11. Carrier, *Poussin's Paintings*, p. 233 emphasises Poussin's interest in Pan, the pagan god of fertility, who features at the end of Vergil's *Eclogue* 4 (ll.58-9); cf. A. Blunt, "Poussin et les cérémonies religieuses antiques," *Revue De l'Art*, 10 (1960), p. 66 also cited by Carrier ad loc. Also, see H. W. van Helsdingen, "Notes on Poussin's Late Mythological Landscapes," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 29, nos. 3/4 (2002), p. 152 for Poussin's fame as a *philosophe* in the late eighteenth century.

12. Panofsky, "Et in Arcadia Ego," p. 309 wrote that Poussin's *Arcadian Shepherds*

PART A

Setting out for Arcadia: From Theocritus to Vergil

Vergil employed the myth of Arethusa[13] to associate Sicily, the locus of pastoral adventures in Theocritus, with his Arcadia (*Eclogue* 10.1-10).[14] However, the realism and practical impact of this kind of poetry have been doubted. Snell wrote[15]:

> In Theocritus, as in Virgil, the shepherds are less concerned with their flocks than they are interested in poetry and love.[16] In both writers, therefore, they are gifted with passion and intellect, but in different ways. Theocritus' herdsmen, notwithstanding their pastoral status, often prove to be urban intellectuals in disguise. Virgil's shepherds, on the other hand – and it is charming to follow the steady progress from eclogue to eclogue – become increasingly more delicate and sensitive: they become Arcadian shepherds.

Hence, in Theocritus' footsteps, Vergil introduced the ideal setting of Arcadia[17] to an audience that could take pleasure in listening to the naïve

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"shows . . . a contemplative absorption in the idea of mortality;" also cited by Carrier, *Poussin's Paintings*, p. 64.

13. Arethusa, a sea-Nymph, when pursued erotically by the river Alpheus in Arcadia was transformed by Artemis into a river that flowed under the sea to Sicily. There she emerged as a fountain in Ortygia in Syracuse. See D. M. Halperin, *Before Pastoral. Theocritus and the Ancient Tradition of Bucolic Poetry* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1983), pp. 129-30, and L. Rumpf, *Extremus labor: Vergils 10. Ekloge und die Poetik der Bucolica* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1996), pp. 81, n 16 and 124 for Vergil's Hellenistic sources in citing the tale of Arethusa. See J. van Sickle, "The Unity of the Eclogues: Arcadian Forest, Theocritean Trees," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 98 (1967), p. 491 for Arcadia and unity in the *Eclogues*.

14. It was argued that by citing the tale, Vergil implied that Sicily was secondary to Arcadia, and hence, that Greek bucolic was less original than his, since he managed to return to the source. Rumpf, *Extremus labor*, pp. 128, 135, 243, 250; J. van Sickle, "Staging Vergil's Future and Past," *Classical Journal*, 93 (1998), pp. 213-14; cf. Servius on Ec.10.4.

15. B. Snell, "Arcadia: The Discovery of a Spiritual Landscape" in *The Discovery of the Mind: The Greek Origins of European Thought*, T. G. Rosenmeyer, trans. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1953 (repr. New York, 1960)), p. 287 argues that in Theocritus "[T]he simplicity is more ideal than fact, and so his shepherds, in spite of all realism, remain fairly remote from the true life in the fields. But this remoteness is as it should be, for a genuine summons back to nature would silence the whole of pastoral poetry; as it turned out, that is exactly what happened in a later age."

16. A.S.F. Gow, ed., *Theocritus*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1952), p. 19; W. Clausen, *A Commentary on Vergil* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), intro. and p. 267 argued that the woods have a constant presence in the Vergilian corpus unlike that of Theocritus.

17. Arcadia has been interpreted as Vergil's invention in the *Eclogues*; van Sickle, "The Unity of the Eclogues," p. 491; G. Jachmann, "Die vierte Ekloge Vergils," *Annali della*

adventures of characters so distant from themselves.[18] In expanding this view I suggest that the need for a scenery change was not just poetic,[19] but, essentially, political.[20] Deeply familiar with the traditions that suggested Arcadia as the region that had most likely experienced the Golden Age and its fatal end, Vergil sets Arcadia as the background to the new Golden Age he envisages for the Roman state in *Eclogue* 4.[21] The impending revival of the Golden Age is sustained through a careful reading of Hesiod who mentioned that elements of the initial Golden Age remained with the just caste of farmers, an idea that Vergil fully expands in his *Georgics*, and through allusions to the Epicurean belief of the Great Year that implies a cyclic perception of time and history.[22] Religious rites such as the Orphic or Bac-

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scuola normale di Pisa, 21 (1952), pp. 161-70; R. Jenkyns, *Virgil's Experience: Nature and History; Times, Names, and Places* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1998), pp. 26-39. Büchner, *Real Encyclopaedie* (1955), 15a: 1261-62 argued that Vergil presented Arcadia as the land of poetry because, according to tradition, it was home of Pan; Hom.h.Pan.19.27-47; in Ec.10 Vergil repeats the idea that the Arcadians are masters of bucolic song (esp.31-4); cf. Ov.Fast.5.91-5; 2.289-31; 2.424-7; cf. Polyb.4.20.

18. L. P. Wilkinson, *The Georgics of Vergil* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1969), p. 53; cf. G.4.125-27 for the only personal experience of Vergil in agriculture; A. La Penna, *L'integrazione difficile. Un profilo di Properzio* (Torino: G. Einaudi, 1977), p. 55. See Denton, "Death in French Arcady," for the importance of Poussin's paintings for the royal family, so obviously detached from the rustic engagements of Arcadian shepherds.

19. Clausen, *A Commentary on Virgil*, pp. 289-290 admitted that "the Arcadian poetic tradition, tenuous as it now appears, is probably sufficient to account for Vergil's choice of Arcadia."

20. Van Sickle, "The Unity of the Eclogues," pp. 493-94 argued that poetic trajectory from Sicilian toward Arcadian, foreshadows what the *Eclogues* as a whole accomplish. In the seventh poem, the palpable Sicilian Daphnis recollects the voices of the first Arcadians and establishes a memory that involves Arcadia as the homeland of Sicilian pastoral happiness. T.P. Olson, *Poussin and France: Painting, Humanism and the Politics of Style* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale Univ. Press, 2002), p. xiii puts forward a similar thesis regarding the political content of Poussin's paintings: "By turning my gaze to France, I was intrigued by the fact that Poussin's production of a body of works identified with pictorial and thematic severity coincided with a period of major transformation and political unrest."

21. E. Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes Geschichte einer religiösen Idee*, Studien der Bibliothek Warburg 3 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1924), pp. 96, 152-54 appreciated *Eclogue* 4 as foreshadowing the advent of Christ, a view which is rather passé nowadays, but still emphasises the dynamic of interpreting the poem in ritualistic terms. More recently, B. Arnold, "The Literary Experience of Vergil's Fourth Eclogue," *The Classical Journal*, 90, no. 2 (1994), p. 143ff. (esp. n 2) suggested that the references to Arcadia in the poem should be understood in literary terms, as references to the poetic genre. In my view, by focusing on the poetic associations of Arcadia and consequently, on Vergil's vision for his stance in the new Golden Age, we get to appreciate only part of the tradition that the poet employs.

22. The Epicurean idea of the Great Year predicted that the universe is destroyed at certain times and recreated and was quite influential in antiquity; cf. Heraclitus (Diog.Laert.9.7-9) and Empedocles (Simplicius Phys.158.1). The Pythagoreans (Eudemus, Phys.B.3fr.51) believed that the world and history are repeated perpetually. The Stoics

chic mysteries also celebrated spiritual rebirth and, in my view, are implied in Vergil's description of the leader destined to pave the way to this new era. In combining these traditions, very much in imitation of his Hellenistic models, Vergil invites his fellow Romans to trust their future in the hands of Augustus who shall play a key role in the realisation of the new Golden Age, an essentially Roman Arcadia.

It has been argued that by replacing Theocritus' Sicily[23] with mythical Arcadia, the locus of the primal Golden Age, in the *Eclogues*[24] Vergil put his poetry into the sphere of absolute fiction.[25] However, in my view, far from wishing to convince his audience for the accuracy of his descriptions, Vergil was eager to debate the political situation at Rome and the possibility for a second Golden Age under the auspices of the early Roman Empire.[26] Vergil's poetry does not address readers simply interested in the

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(Euseb.Praep.Evang.25.18.1-3) argued that all substance changes into fire as its elemental stuff and that from this the ordered universe arises as it was before.

23. Theocritus included many references to Arcadia and Wilamowitz assumed that he had studied an *Arcadica*. However, Theocritus tends to describe the countryside by reference to generic features such as a grassy bank or a river which would be recognisable by all. P. Alpers, "The Eclogue Tradition and the Nature of Pastoral," *College English*, 34 (1972), p. 356; cf. C.P. Segal, "Landscape into Myth: Theocritus' Bucolic Poetry," *Ramus*, 4 (1975), p. 115 and Jachmann, "Die vierte Ekloge Vergils," p. 161ff.; Rosenmeyer, *The Green Cabinet*, p. 233; cf. Gow, *Theocritus*, 1.26; R. Hunter, *Theocritus and the Archaeology of Greek Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1996), pp. 100-01.

24. According to Calpurnius Siculus and Nemesianus, Vergil denied geographical realities. Both poets ignored totally Theocritus and the Greek bucolic literary production; P. Damon, "Modes of Analogy in Ancient and Medieval verse," *University of California Publications in Classical Philology*, 15 (1961), p. 298; W. L. Grant, *Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1965), pp. 74, 112, 371-72; D. M. Halperin, *Before Pastoral. Theocritus and the Ancient Tradition of Bucolic Poetry* (New Haven, CT and London, 1983), p. 3 esp. nn 13, 14, and 15; G. B. Townend, "Calpurnius Siculus and the Munus Neronis," *Journal of Roman Studies*, 70 (1980), p. 166ff.; and R. Mayer, "Calpurnius Siculus: Technique and Date," *ibid*., pp. 175-76.

25. Nowadays scholarship tends to interpret pastoral by discarding the sense of fiction and convention surrounding the genre; see Alpers, *What is Pastoral?*, p. 22 citing K. Burke, *A Grammar of Motives* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1969): ". . . we will have a far truer idea of pastoral if we take its representative anecdote to be herdsmen and their lives, rather than landscape and idealised nature"; cf. T. K. Hubbard, *The Pipes of Pan: Intertextuality and Literary Filiation from Theocritus to Milton* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1998), pp. 4-5. However, in terms of appreciating pastoral in early Renaissance paintings the fictional aspect of Arcadia is still a prevalent trend, which hinders us from grasping the true essence of pictorial Arcadian references; see Carrier, *Poussin's Paintings*, p. 145ff.

26. C. P. Segal, "Tamen Cantabitis Arcades – Exile and Arcadia in Eclogues One and Nine," *Arion*, 4 (1965), pp. 237-66 discussed Arcadia and the notion of exile in *Eclogues* 1 and 9. Van Sickle, "The Unity of the Eclogues," p. 505 argued about the formulation of "the genesis of Arcadian from Theocritean in Vergilian pastoral."

pleasures of the countryside or contemporary literary debates; on the contrary, he is preoccupied with his fellow Romans, who, having experienced a sense of disorientation and painful loss during the long civil wars, are now called to unite under Augustus so that Rome can fulfil its foretold destiny:[27] the Julian clan – we are told – led by Caesar, will bring the glory of the Empire to the Ocean – his successor, Augustus, will pacify it.[28]

Arcadia encapsulates uniquely Vergil's "national" vision; Roman ethnic identity of the first century BCE was entwined around Aeneas who hailed from mythical Troy;[29] likewise, for its spiritual regeneration Rome should be linked with Arcadia. Thanks to its geographical isolation from cultural advances Arcadia was regarded as a notable relic where progress followed its own pace.[30] Many archaic institutions were still preserved there and Arcadian mystery cults would have appealed to Vergil with their secret knowledge and hopeful message.[31]

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27. I. S. Ryberg, "Vergil's Golden Age," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 89 (1958), p. 118 associated Hes.Th.24-6 with *Eclogue* 1 that discusses precisely the uneven result of the civil wars. Panofsky, "Et in Arcadia Ego," pp. 295-326 related the idea of death in the pastoral landscape interpreting Arcadia as an idealised Utopia. Cf. Snell, "Arcadia: The Discovery of a Spiritual Landscape," pp. 281-309 and contra G. Jachmann, "L'Arcadia come paesaggio bucolico," *Maia*, 5 (1952), p. 161ff.

28. Aen.6.286-96; U. Molyviati-Toptsis, "Sed Falsa ad Caelum Mittunt Insomnia Manes (Aeneid 6.896)," *American Journal of Philology*, 116, no. 4 (1995), p. 639ff.; J. O'Hara, *Death and Optimistic Prophecy in Vergil's Aeneid* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1990), *passim*.

29. See K. Galinsky, *Augustan Culture: An Interpretative Approach* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1996), p. 93ff.; P. Zanker, *Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1988); W. Eck, *The Age of Augustus* (Köln: Cologne University. Series: Blackwell Ancient Lives, 2003), ch. 1; J. Elsner, "Inventing imperium: texts and monuments in Augustan Rome," in J. Elsner, ed., *Art and Text in Roman Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1996); E. Gruen, *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press, 1992), pp. 6-51.

30. E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and Latin Middle Ages*, W. R. Trask, trans. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1953), pp. 195-200; R. Poggioli, "The Oaten Flute," *Harvard Library Bulletin II* (1957), pp. 154-84. Snell, "Arcadia: The Discovery of a Spiritual Landscape," p. 309 wrote: "Arcadia was a land of symbols, far distant from the quarrels and the acrimony of the present. In this land, the antique pagan world was permitted to live on without injury to anybody's feelings. . . . Only when Europe began to be dissatisfied with the goods handed down to her, and when she took thought upon her own spiritual substance, did Arcadia run into trouble. But that was also the time when the genuine Greece was restored to her rightful place."

31. For the celebration of mysteries in Arcadia, see M. Jost, "Mystery Cults in Arcadia" in M. B. Cosmopoulos, ed., *Greek Mysteries, The Archaeology and Ritual of Ancient Greek Secret Cults* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 143. Most of these cults are dedicated to Demeter, to Demeter and Kore, to Dionysus and to Artemis. Also, see her pages 154-62 for the agricultural character of the Arcadian mysteries that are influenced by Orphic as well as Eleusinian beliefs. The presence of numerous criomorphic figurines which

Arcadia and the golden age

The Arcadians were referred to as the first autochthonous people whose ancestors must in all probability have experienced the Golden Age.[32] Pausanias recorded a myth according to which Pelasgos was the first man who ever lived in Arcadia.[33] He led his people out of their primitive stage and introduced certain aspects of civilisation such as eating acorns instead of grass, leaves, and roots.[34] His son, Lycaon,[35] founded a city and instituted games in honour of Zeus.[36] At that time, because of their justice and piety men shared the table of the gods.[37] Hesiod wrote:

> Common were the dinning tables at that time and common were the sitting chairs for the immortal gods and mortal men.[38]

The end of this carefree period came when Lycaon sacrificed a child on the famous altar of Zeus on Mount Lycaion and, thereby, he was turned into a wolf.[39] The myth represents another version of the initial happy state

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Jost interpreted as human *mystai* disguised as animals is not to be overlooked.

32. M. L. West, "Hesiodea," *Classical Quarterly*, 11 (1961), pp. 142-45; Hesiodic Marriage of Ceyx (fr.266, Merkelbach-West); Plut.Mor.286a. It was a kind of saying that the Arcadians had lived there since before the moon was created. See Hippys in FHGr554F7; Eudoxos fr.41 (Gisinger = schol.Ap.Rhod.4.263); Lycoph.Alex.479-83; Pind.fr.985.7-8; schol.Ar.Nub.397; Callim.Iamb.fr.191.32 and 56 (Pfeiffer).

33. Paus.8.1-2 and 8.3.1-5; also Ov.Met.1.438-520; Hes.fr.164 (Merkelbach-West); Apollod.Bibl.3.9.6-9 and 3.8.1. The Arcadians were regarded as "Balanēfagoi" (=acorn-eaters); cf. the oracle in Hdt.1.66; Lyc.483 with *scholia*; Verg.Ec.10.20.

34. See Georg.1; Lucr.DRN5.965 and at ll.939-42, where early man feeds on the produce of "oak trees and the arbutus;" cf. DRN5.933-4 and Aratus Phenom.129-31.

35. K. Dowden, *Death and the Maiden: Girls' Initiation Rites in Greek Mythology* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), pp. 182-83. West (see *Ibid*., n26) showed that there are two distinct genealogical systems in Arcadia. One starts with Lycaon and catalogues local eponyms of communities participating in the cult of Zeus Lycaios. The other starts with the son of Callisto Arcas and refers only to the towns of eastern Arcadia.

36. See Plut.Es.carn.(Orat.2) wherein a festival is indicated: "we danced with delight;" Hes.fr.163 (Merkelbach-West); cf. M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* (München: Beck, 1955 (originally published in 1940)), 1: 397-401.

37. See Cat.64.397-99; cf. M.C.J. Putnam, *Vergil's Poem of the Earth* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1979), pp. 140-41.

38. Hes.fr.82 (Merkelbach-West = 216 Rzach). The quotation was used by Origen, Contra Cels.4.79 to show that in the beginning of human history men were protected by a supernatural power so that a union of the divine and human natures might be found. Also cf. schol.Arat.103, 4 (Maas).

39 Lycaon is both a cultural institutor and a sinner; Pl.Resp.8.565d; Theophr.adPorphyr.Abst.2.27.2; Paus.8.38.7; cf, N. Robertson, "Orphic Mysteries and Dionysiac Ritual" in M. B. Cosmopoulos, ed., *Greek Mysteries, The Archaeology and Ritual of Ancient Greek Secret Cults* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 226. Also, see R. Buxton, "Wolves and Werewolves in Greek Thought" in J. N. Bremmer, ed.,

of primitive man that came to an end because of human transgression.[40] Pausanias also mentioned that one of Lycaon's descendants, Arcas, would invent agriculture, bread making, and weaving.[41] Consequently, it becomes clear that from then on part of the human condition would be that men would no longer share the table of the gods.[42] The myth also attests that the gods were believed to deliver justice.[43]

Vergil in *Eclogue* 4 (ll.15-25) anticipates the reversal of the Hesiodic Iron Age and the world's orbit towards a new Golden Age through the birth of a miraculous baby boy whose life will once more anticipate the mingling of gods with mortals:[44]

> He shall have the gift of divine life, shall see heroes mingled with gods, and shall himself be seen of them, and shall sway a world to which his father's virtues brought peace. But for thee, child, shall the earth untilled pour forth, as her first pretty gifts, straggling ivy with foxglove everywhere and the Egyptian bean blended with the smiling acanthus. Uncalled, the goats shall bring home their udders swollen with milk, and the herds shall fear not huge lions… (Fairclough)

Interpretations of Greek Mythology (London: Croom Helm, 1987), p. 60ff. for a comparison of Lycaon and Callisto; cf. Ov.Met.1.365 where Lycaon poses as one of the causes of the Deluge.

40. Hesiod held Prometheus responsible for the ending of the Golden Age. R Buxton, *Imaginary Greece: The Contexts of Mythology* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994), p. 199; in Hesiod's *Theogony* man is the sacrificer: to follow the procedures inaugurated by Prometheus' founding act is to distinguish oneself simultaneously from the gods and from the beasts. C. Perkell, "On the Corycian Gardener of Vergil's Fourth Georgic," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 111 (1981), ch. 2 discussed Golden Age in the *Georgics*.

41. According to Paus.8.9.3-4, Arcas became king of the Pelasgians after Nyctimus. He introduced agriculture, which he learned from Triptolemus.

42. The story can be compared with Hes.Th.535, wherein Prometheus' attempt to deceive Zeus resulted in a definite end to the commensality of men and gods. Also, see Buxton, "Wolves and Werewolves in Greek Thought," pp. 60-79.

43. Justice played an important role in pastoral visions of Hesiod and Aratus, but the tradition originates in ancient Near East; R. Poggioli, "Naboth's Vineyard or the Pastoral View of Social Order," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 24 (1963), pp. 3-14 cited the story of *Naboth and his Vineyard* in the *Old Testament* quoted by Rosenmeyer, *The Green Cabinet*, p. 108.

44. Hesiod wrote in *Works and Days* (ll.112-19): "Like the gods they lived with hearts free of care and completely without labours/ and misery; neither did wretched old age lie upon them, but always the same/ in foot and hand they enjoyed themselves in feasting apart from every evil; / and they died as if subdued by sleep; but all good things were theirs; and the /grain-giving land bore fruit spontaneously and in great abundance; and they /gladly possessed their lands in peace with good things in abundance." For the translation, see Arnold, "The Literary Experience of Vergil's Fourth Eclogue," p. 152. See below for a closer analysis of *Eclogue* 4.

Vergil also seemed very conscious of the toll humanity had to pay for the "enablement" of the new Golden Age. The invention of Arcas was not just a symbol of the distance between men and gods, but, also, an expiatory solution. Agriculture replaced the total divine providence, which primitive man enjoyed, and, hence, it could be seen as a way of simulating the initial Golden Age.[45] This could also explain why in the *Georgics* Vergil chose to promote the farmer as the ideal Roman citizen.

Roman Arcadia: Towards a Roman golden age

Vergil's interest in emphasising the Golden Age experience of Arcadia would serve his literary intentions doubly as it combined the Hesiodic and Theocritean traditions. Besides, the character of the Arcadians who were renowned for their simple diet and their simple secrets for happiness suited perfectly the rural image of the frugal citizen that Vergil built up in his poetry.[46] The conception of Arcadia as an ancient Shangri-La survives also in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, an early Christian document probably written about 140-154 CE.[47] There Arcadia is described as the land of simple rustic virtue, an ideal that echoes its ancient associations.[48] At the same time, Arcadia was also characterised as a distant land of mystery, which was not accessible to everyone.[49] Vergil also seems to have been aware of a legend

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45. Dicaearchus of Messene, a student of Aristotle, in his *Life of Greece* divided the history of civilisation in three stages (frr.48-51 Wehrli): during the Golden Age men would live in the company of the gods; of course, they had no experience of war or social tumult. The second stage was the *nomadikos bios* during which the idea of ownership and ambition came into the scene. According to Dicaearchus, this led to the third stage, the life of the settled farmer; cf. Varr.Rust.2.1.3 and 1.2.15. The text is quoted by Rosenmeyer, *The Green Cabinet*, p. 74.

46. For Arcadia as a fool's paradise, see Rosenmeyer, *The Green Cabinet*, pp. 234-35. Also, see L. Alfonsi, "Dalla Sicilia all' Arcadia," *Aevum*, 36 (1962), pp. 234-39.

47. According to the *Muratorian Canon*, a list of canonical books from about the 3rd century CE, Hermas was written by the brother of Pius, Bishop of Rome. Although the author remains unknown, it is likely that the work was composed over a longer period of time. Visions I-IV were composed during a threatened persecution, probably under Trajan. C. Osiek, *The Shepherd of Hermas, A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999), quoted *Similitude* 9 [78] 4-10: "So he took me away to Arcadia to a breast shaped mountain, sat me down at the top of the mountain, and showed me a large plain surrounded by twelve mountains each of them different in appearance. . . ." Also, see R. S. Kraemer, *Her Share of the Blessings: Women's Religions among Pagans, Jews and Christians in the Greco-Roman World* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1992), p. 169.

48. Osiek, *The Shepherd of Hermas*: *Mandate* 4.1 [29] 2 describes lust as a great sin that brings death upon its victims. Note that Vergil in *Georgics* 3 rejects disorderly passion that leads to death and destruction; cf. *Similitude* 6 [61] 1-5 which describes the angel of luxury as a joyous shepherd.

49. See Jost, "Mystery Cults in Arcadia," 143ff. Hermas had to pass nine deserted mountains before reaching the one hoped for an oasis. Curtius, *European Literature and*

according to which Arcadia had been transplanted to the site of Rome, on the Palatine hill. In the eighth book of the *Aeneid* Arcadians were (conveniently) described as settling beside the banks of Tiber under the leadership of Evander and Pallas. There they established a rustic utopia as the first nucleus of the "pax aurea" (golden peace). The myth was not rare, since versions of it survive in Varro, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Livy.[50] According to Dionysius, the first inhabitants of the site of Rome were Sicels who were displaced by Aborigines. However, the latter were elsewhere identified with the Arcadians. Hence, Dionysius combined both the Sicilian (Theocritean) and the Arcadian (Hesiodic) tradition in his report of the previous simple life when people lived in accordance with nature and held the wisdom of the old Arcadians. Furthermore, this myth could better explain Vergil's perception of an Arcadian Golden Age situated on Italian soil.[51] As remarked, Vergil alluded often to the change of the pastoral location from Sicily to Arcadia throughout the *Eclogues*.[52] The combination of a land so prosperous and yet hidden qualified Arcadia as the appropriate soil for a spiritual regeneration.[53] In *Eclogue* 4 (ll.4-7) Ver-

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Latin Middle Ages, p. 190 wrote about Vergil's choice of Arcadia instead of Sicily: "Sicily, long since become a Roman province, was no longer a dreamland. In most of his *Eclogues* Vergil replaces it by romantically faraway Arcadia, which he himself had never visited."

50. Varro, DeVit.Pop.Rom.; Dion.Hal.Hist.Rom.1.8.1 and 2.1.2; Livy 1.7; cf. Varr.Ling.5.101 and Pliny HN3.5.9.56. However, W. Berg, *Early Vergil* (London: Athlone Press, 1974), p. 109 observed that Vergil's shepherds never dwell in Arcadia even they are addressed as Arcadians.

51. Poussin's peculiar tendency to represent ancient monuments in unrelated or strictly erroneous locations could be seen as continuing the ancient trend of "transferring" mythical traditions geographically in an attempt to re-interpret them. See Carrier, *Poussin's Paintings*, p. 161: "Dempsey argues that Poussin's inclusion of Castel Sant'Angelo in one painting and the Vatican Belvedere in another can 'be interpreted specifically,' that they have meaning which 'transcends localization in time and space.' The real buildings are in landscapes in which 'they are combined' or melt 'into timeless unity'."

52. Rumpf, *Extremus labor*, p. 71 discussed the ability of Arcadia to embrace the past and the future of the bucolic world; cf. Ec.2.32-34; in Ec.7, Arcadian singers are presented on Italian soil as quoting actual verses in competition; Ec.8.22-24; J. van Sickle, "Virgil vs Cicero, Lucretius, Theocritus, Callimachus, Plato and Homer: Two Programmatic Plots in the First Bucolic," *Vergilius*, 46 (2000), pp. 40-41.

53. Snell, "Arcadia: The Discovery of a Spiritual Landscape," pp. 293-94: "Virgil . . . turns away from this harsh and evil world [of conventional politics]; he leaves it far behind, and sets out for Arcadia, where he allows no hope, not even any desire to do something about the suffering world, to lighten his sorrow and his despair. If he is striving for a better world, he does so with his emotions, not with his thought or his will. A nostalgic refugee from sombre realities, he places his hopes, not upon a just state, but on an idyllic peace in which all beings will live together in friendship and fraternity, a golden age in which the lion and the lamb lie down side by side in harmony, in which all opposites are joined and tightly knit in one great love. Only a miracle could bring this about. Later, when he was composing the *Georgics*, he saw this miracle in the achievement of Augustus. Augustus

gil anticipated such a regeneration, which he regarded as the first step towards the revival of the Golden Age.[54] The next section is devoted to a twofold analysis: first, I shall emphasise Vergil's celebration of the new Golden Age with reference to ancient mystery rites in *Eclogue* 4.[55] Then, I shall indicate Vergil's painstaking association of Arcadia with Orpheus, an association which refers to Orpheus' musical excellence, but, also, his religious profile.

PART B

Orpheus and the return of the golden age

In *Eclogue* 4 Vergil predicted the return of the Golden Age; by adding that he aspired to compete one day against Pan in Arcadia, he employed the Arcadian locus as the background for the new Golden Age.[56] The new era would begin with the birth of a miraculous baby boy. Such symbolic births

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gave back to Italy the gifts of peace, quiet, and order. Virgil stepped back into politics in so much as his dreams of Arcadia seemed to have found their fulfilment. . . . In return Virgil was always careful not to get involved in the slippery problems of political action."

54. Van Sickle, "The Unity of the Eclogues," p. 494; Snell, "Arcadia: The Discovery of a Spiritual Landscape," pp. 301-02: "It was not merely because of his prophecy in *Eclogue* 4 that Virgil was, in the Middle Ages, regarded as a pioneer of Christianity. His Arcadia is set halfway between myth and reality; it is also a no-man's land between two ages, an earthly beyond, a land of the soul yearning for its distant home in the past"; see Putnam, *Vergil's Poem of the Earth*, pp. 136-45. Dante in his *Divine Comedy* plays upon the idea of Vergil as proto-Christian.

55. Zanker, *Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, p. 44 writes: "But mythology served not only as a tool for propaganda. In the struggle between Marc Antony and Octavian we can observe how mythological figures and imagery gradually shaped the protagonists' own view of themselves and began to affect their behaviour. In particular the gods Dionysus and Apollo seem to have served in certain situations as models for Antony and Octavian, respectively, helping to determine the way they behaved and thus how they responded to the hopes for salvation attached to each god. The uncertainties of the present and the capriciousness of politics in Rome, along with the absence of any concrete realistic expectations of what the future might bring, provided fertile soil for seers and soothsayers, irrational longing for a saviour, and predictions of a new and blessed age." The mood which inspired Vergil's famous Fourth Eclogue shows that even his educated contemporaries harboured such fervent hopes.

56. Snell, "Arcadia: The Discovery of a Spiritual Landscape," p. 282; E. W. Leach, *Vergil's Eclogues: Landscapes of Experience* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell Univ. Press, 1974), p. 21 (esp. n 6). Note that Vergil wishes this competition to be judged by Arcady, in the presence of Apollo and Calliope, a scene interpreted by Arnold, "The Literary Experience of Vergil's Fourth Eclogue," pp. 146-47 as a strong reference to the god's musical and prophetic skills. However, while Arnold appreciates the allusion to poetry, he ignores Apollo's mystery associations and his role as a divine bucolos. Note that Poussin in his *Inspiration of the Poet* (c. 1630) represented Vergil in the presence of Apollo and Calliope, a painting obviously inspired by Vergil's *Eclogue* 4.

played a crucial role in ancient mystery religions and might hold the clue to the much-debated identity of the Vergilian boy.[57]

> The last age of the Cumaean song comes now; the great line of centuries begins anew. Now the Virgin returns, the reign of Saturn returns. Now a new generation descends from heaven on high. (Eclogue 4.1-3, Fairclough)

Vergil linked the idea that the Golden Age could recur with a prophecy of the *Sibylline Oracle* of the kind that seems to have been fashionable during his time.[58] The oracle with its reference to the automatic production of honey from the trees, is very close to the original Golden Age as described by Hesiod.[59] Nevertheless, the way to the new Golden Age was not

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57. M.C.J. Putnam, *Virgil's Pastoral Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1970), pp. 4-5: "though filled with problems which we still cannot solve, the *Eclogues* are not veiled allegories whose mysterious references to contemporary affairs in the fourth and third decades of the last century before Christ cannot be understood today. Vergil does use disguises . . . and understatement is the essence of his art. However, when a clue is necessary . . . it is usually forthcoming." For the allegorical approach of the *Eclogues*, see J.J.H. Savage, "The Art of the Second Eclogue of Vergil," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 91 (1960), pp. 353-75 and "The Art of the Seventh Eclogue of Vergil," *ibid.*, 94 (1963), pp. 248-67. See Putnam, *Virgil's Pastoral Art*, p. 136 where he quoted G. E. Duckworth, "Recent Work on Vergil (1940-56)," *Classical World*, 51 (1957-8), pp. 124-26 and "Recent Work on Vergil (1957-1963)," *ibid.*, 57 (1964), pp. 200-02 as a source for critical works on *Eclogue* 4.

58. For the popularity of the *Oracula Sibyllina* in the Augustan period, see J. J. Collins, "The Development of the Sibylline Tradition," *Aufstieg Und Niedergang Der Römischen Welt II*, 20, no. 1 (1987), pp. 421-59. For their possible *New Testament* background, see F. E. Brenk, *Clothed in Purple Light: Studies in Vergil and in Latin Literature, Including Aspects of Philosophy, Religion, Magic, Judaism, and the New Testament Background* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999), ch. 20 and ch. 21; cf. Amm.Marc.23.1.7; Stilich.Rut.Namat.2.52. Sibylline wisdom became very popular with the proto-Christians as well who sought support in the pagan books for their beliefs; a reference to a Sibyl first appeared in the *Shepherd of Hermas*; see H. W. Parke, *Sibyl and Sibylline Prophecy in Classical Antiquity*, B. C. McGing, ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 1988), pp. 152-73.

59. Orac.Sibyll.3.743-59 and 787-95 quoted by Lovejoy and Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity*. The oracle predicted that a new Golden Age shall come during which the earth will bear crops of its own accord, honey will drip by the fruits of every hard-shell tree, milk will flow from the sheep and war will stop. Former predators and victims will graze side by side on the same pastures and lions will prefer hay as their staple just like cattle. Babies will be able to lead wild animals in chains and befriend them as God's hand will keep them from harm. Also see Collins, "The Development of the Sibylline Tradition," p. 342; Arnold, "The Literary Experience of Vergil's Fourth Eclogue," pp. 146-48 (esp. n 14); in his footnote Arnold is careful to stress that the automatic, miraculous production of milk and honey is closer to the original Golden Age as it contained no agricultural labor.

meant to be rosy. History would be repeated[60] and a new heavy toll would be demanded (ll.31-6)[61]:

> *Yet a few traces of the old sin lurk behind*, to call men to challenge the sea by ships, to gird towns with walls, and to cleave the earth with furrows. A second Tiphys shall then arise, and a second Argo to carry chosen heroes; a second warfare shall be there too, and again a great Achilles will be sent to Troy. (Fairclough)

However, this harsh condition, this ultimate deterioration would be precisely the required presupposition for the development of another race of mortals who would enjoy the new Golden Age.[62] This idea of loss or tragedy that needs to precede the Golden Age is prominent both in Vergil and ancient mystery rites.

By alluding to mystery rites,[63] Vergil promotes, unlike Lucretius,[64] a hopeful message of regeneration and prepares the reader for the transformation of Daphnis in *Eclogue* 5 from a rustic shepherd to a benevolent deity of the countryside. The poet mentioned in particular that this boy was

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60. Plato in Leg.677Aff. argued that after each of the periodic destructions that separate one Great year from the next, the beginnings of the new life and civilisation are first experienced on the pastoral level; see Rosenmeyer, *The Green Cabinet*, p. 74.

61. In Aen.6.89 the Sibyl predicted that Aeneas would become another Achilles; cf. J. Penwill, "Two Essays on Virgil: Intertextual Issues in Aeneid 6 and Georgics 4," in *Studies in Western Traditions Occasional Papers*, No. 2 (Bendigo: La Trobe Univ. Press, 1995), p. 15.

62. P. Johnston, *Vergil's Agricultural Golden Age* (Leiden: Brill, 1980), p. 9ff. examined the Golden Age as depicted in the *Georgics* of Vergil. There, the Bugonia, the creation of a beehive from the rotting corpse of a cow, reflects Vergil's notion that the new Golden Age can be renewed through agriculture. Arnold, "The Literary Experience of Vergil's Fourth Eclogue," p. 153ff. associates ll.26-36 with Catullus' poem 64 where the heroic stance of Achilles is undermined by his bloodthirsty cruelness. On page 155 he writes: ". . . the *puer* in that stage is incapable of any moral perception of good and evil." In his view, this missing moral code is restored as the boy reaches adulthood (Verg.Ec.4.37-45; cf. Lucr.DRN.5.933-38 and 999-1006).

63. For the significance of piety in Vergil's *Eclogues*, see Rosenmeyer, *The Green Cabinet*, pp. 125-26; cf. Verg.G.1.130-4.

64. B. Farrington, "Vergil and Lucretius," *Classical Antiquity*, 1 (1958), pp. 45-50; also Wilkinson, *The Georgics of Vergil*, pp. 135-38. F. Klinger, *Studien zur griechischen und römischen Literatur* (Zürich: Artemis Verlag, 1967), p. 271 quoted by E. M. Stehle, "Vergil's Georgics: the Threat of Sloth," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 104 (1974), p. 349, n 2 defined the difference between Vergil and Lucretius in that the latter wished to free men from fear, while Vergil entertained their fear of loosing harmony in the world; B. Otis, "A New Study of the Georgics," *Phoenix*, 26 (1972), pp. 45-54 and *Virgil. A Study in Civilised Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1964), p. 162.

destined to dine with the gods and to enjoy a divine liaison (ll.62-3) which remind us of the initial co-existence of men and gods in Arcadia.

> Begin, baby boy! Him on whom his parents have not smiled, no god honours with his table, no goddess with her bed.

It has been argued that the allusion here was to Heracles.[65] However, Vergil added a characteristic clue regarding the birth of the boy: he mentioned that the boy's cradle would spontaneously flower (ll.23).[66] The incident has its analogues in two other supernatural births, those of Dionysus[67] and Apollo[68] who in cult are juxtaposed as representing Bacchic mania and civic order respectively. Both deities are associated with Orpheus and Orphism. Another similar instance comes precisely from the tradition of Orpheus: Apollonius Rhodius, by allusion to the Golden Age, presented Orpheus as officiating at a sacrifice to Rhea; the goddess responded with some favourable signs of fertility similar to the sudden blooming of the divine cradle in Vergil:[69]

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65. C. Wendel, *Scholia in Theocritum Vetera* (Leipzig: in aedibus B. G. Teubneri, 1914), p. 145 with references. S. Ritter, *Hercules in der römischen Kunst von den Anfängen bis Augustus* (Heidelberg: Verlag Archäologie und Geschichte, 1995), p. 55. F. A. Sullivan, "Vergil and the Mystery of Suffering," *American Journal of Philology*, 90 (1969), p. 169.

66. Putnam, *Virgil's Pastoral Art*, p. 148; cf. G. E. Duckworth, "The Cradle of Flowers (Ecl.4.23)," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 89 (1958), pp. 1-8.

67. Eur.Phoen.649-54; cf. a small Athenian pitcher on which a mask of Dionysus decorated with sprigs of ivy was placed in a cradle (U. Bianchi, *The Greek Mysteries*. Iconography of Religions Series, Section XVII, Th.P. Van Baaren, L. Leertouwer, F. Leemhuis, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 1976), p. 35, pl 82). Representations of the birth or childhood of Dionysus survive in Paus.3.18.11. In the 5th and 4th century BCE the infant Dionysus is a popular theme with Attic red-figure vase-painters. More often, they celebrate the manifestations of Dionysus as Dionysus-Zagreus and as Dionysus-Iacchus. Dionysus-Zagreus was the offspring of Zeus and Persephone and was torn to pieces by the Titans. Iacchus was a minor Eleusinian deity who from the fifth century BCE onwards seems to have been closely assimilated with Dionysus.

68. Callim.h.4.262; cf. Hom.h.Apoll.118, where Earth is described as smiling at the birth of the god (see ch1n138). See C. Penglase, *Greek Myths and Mesopotamia: Parallels and Influence in the Homeric Hymns and Hesiod* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 83-88; also see ll.135-9 of the *Hymn* where the god caused Delos to flower with gold by striding on her land as does a mountain peak with woodland flowers.

69. Ap.Rhod.1.1144-5; for other descriptions of the Golden Age with reference to natural blossoming, see G.1.130, Ecl.4.24, Aen.8.325, Ti.1.3.47, Ov.Met.1.98ff. Also see S. G. Cole, "Landscapes of Dionysos and Elysian Fields" in M. B. Cosmopoulos, ed., *Greek Mysteries, The Archaeology and Ritual of Ancient Greek Secret Cults* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 208 citing the context of an Orphic tablet in which the initiate is called: "man-child-thyrsos." Also, see G.2.47-9 where the exuberance of nature relies on agricultural effort; Anagnostou-Laoutides, *Eros and Ritual in Ancient Literature*, p. 340.

> . . . the trees poured with unspeakably many fruits, around her feet the earth sprang of its own accord flowers of tender grass, wild animals leaving their dens in the woods came towards her shaking their tails.

Interestingly, Vergil refers to Orpheus and Apollo precisely at the conclusion of *Eclogue* 4 with the excuse of the poetic contest he anticipates for himself once the new age has materialised.[70] However, apart from the obvious reference to Orpheus' musical talent, his religious profile is also implied here, especially since Daphnis, the *par excellence bucolos* and another reputed son of Apollo, is precisely compared in his Arcadian death with Orpheus (see below).

It seems, therefore, that *Eclogue* 4 refers to ancient cults that celebrated regeneration by the (simulated) birth of a baby.[71] Typically these mysteries were preceded by a tragic death. Since Apollo would reign in the new era, then possibly the necessary period of hardship and destruction ought to be reflected in the mysteries of Dionysus and Orpheus, both of whom had experienced death by dismemberment.[72] Although Vergil refers to Orpheus directly, he alludes to Dionysus through his cultic name, Linus, who is also bound to compete against the poet in Arcadia.[73]

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70. However, unlike Arnold, "The Literary Experience of Vergil's Fourth Eclogue," who reads the poem as a path to a developed poetic consciousness, I tend to understand this reference as an allusion not only to the poetic traditions of Orpheus and Linus, but also to their religious profiles.

71. G. Luck, "Virgil and the Mystery Religions," *American Journal of Philology* 94 (1973): 147-66. [re-edited in G. Luck (2000) *Ancient Pathways and Hidden Pursuits: Religion, Morals, and Magic in the Ancient World* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press), p. 151 quoted S. Reinach, 1900, *Revue d l'Histoire des Religions*, p. 375 = *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, II, 66ff., who argued that *Eclogue* 4 owes a substantial part of its imagery and its idiom to the Orphic mysteries. The idea was totally dismissed by W. Warde Fowler. Even Rose called it exaggerated, although he admitted that childbirth was a symbol used in the Mystery religions. According to the Platonic Axiochus (371e1), Heracles and Dionysus had already been initiated into the mysteries (cf. Cole, "Landscapes of Dionysos and Elysian Fields," p. 198).

72. The Orphics believed not only in the dismemberment of Orpheus in the hands of Thracian women, but also in the dismemberment of baby Dionysus in the hands of the Titans, a tale that accounts for the Titanic nature of man. Eur.Bacch.99-102, Diod.Sic.3.62, Orph.h.45.6; Clem.Al.Protr.2.16. The killing of Dionysus-Zagreus is actually attributed to Onomacritus who is quoted by Paus.8.37.3; cf. Pl.Leg.701c. For Plato's use of the Eleusinian and Bacchic mysteries in his works, see M.A. Farrell, "Plato's Use of the Eleusinian Mystery Motifs," PhD diss. (Univ. of Texas at Austin, 1999), ch. 2.

73. Linus, another son of Apollo who suffered a horrific death, was connected from an early date with the cult of Dionysus. See Paus.1.43.7 and 2.19.7; Conon Narrat.19 and Ath.Deipn.3.99; Plin.HN7.204; M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1983), p. 143 wrote that the dismemberment and rebirth are related to ritual initiation into the "adult community or secret society."

The common background of these cults was alluded already in Aeschylus who in his *Bassarai*,[74] performed between 470 and 460 BC, described Orpheus as being killed by Maenads (rather than Thracian women) because of Dionysus' wrath.[75] A number of later texts clearly mentioned Orpheus as the poet of the Bacchic mysteries.[76] In addition, the relation between the two was alluded to in the bone-tablets from Olbia, dated to the second half of the fifth century.[77] Orpheus was believed to have introduced a religious movement, named Orphism after him, in which Dionysus must have had initially, at least, an important role.[78]

Furthermore, the Arcadian version of the story, already recorded in the Hesiodic catalogues, could also be adumbrated here,[79] especially as the influence of Orpheus on Arcadian mysteries of Hellenistic and Roman date becomes increasingly acknowledged.[80] As mentioned, Lycaon caused the

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74. See Aesch.fr.82 (Mette, cf. Radt: 138f.) and West, *The Orphic Poems*, pp. 64-67.

75. The reason for Dionysus' wrath again varies; according to Eratosthenes, Orpheus during his journey to the Beyond converted from Dionysus to Helios; cf. Hyg.Poet.astr.2.7.

76. L. Zhmud, "Orphism and Grafitti from Olbia," *Hermes*, 120 (1992), p. 163.

77. M. L. West, "The Orphics of Olbia," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 45 (1982), pp. 17-29; Zhmud, "Orphism and Grafitti from Olbia," p. 168: "on the first grafitti in Olbia the following words are engraved in a row: 'life-death-life' and lower 'truth.' West says that these words imply the faith in a life after death. But most probably they refer to a cycle, where temporary death is replaced with a new birth." See Cole, "Landscapes of Dionysos and Elysian Fields," pp. 199-213 and Robertson, "Orphic Mysteries and Dionysiac Ritual," pp. 224-26.

78. West, *The Orphic Poems*, pp. 2-3; cf. Zhmud, "Orphism and Grafitti from Olbia," pp. 161-63; W.K.C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (London: Methuen, 1952); Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, p. 678ff.

79. Notably in *Eclogue* 4 (ll.24-5) Vergil also mentions that in the new era of bliss the serpent shall perish, a reference that alludes to the obvious death associations of the snake which in *Georgics* 4 (ll.458-9) is responsible for the death of Eurydice, Orpheus' wife. In a way this monstrous snake is also the cause of Orpheus' death. The episode is again linked with Arcadia, since Aristaeus, who pursued Eurydice before she stepped on the fatal snake, is called an Arcadian master (G.4.282). Once more, Arcadian Aristaeus, as another Arcas, illustrates the way to expiating past sins. Anagnostou-Laoutides, *Eros and Ritual in Ancient Literature*, 321ff.

80. Jost, "Mystery Cults in Arcadia," p. 154: "A somewhat particular case is presented by the Mysteries of Demeter Thesmia at Pheneos, where we suspect the existence of both Eleusinian and Orphic features." And finally she concludes (p. 164): "Ultimately we can discern in the Mysteries of Arcadia both a strong Eleusinian influence and an original, distinct and indigenous one." Also, see P. Bonnechere, "Trophonius of Lebadea; Mystery Aspects of an Oracular Cult in Boiotia" in M. B. Cosmopoulos, ed., *Greek Mysteries, The Archaeology and Ritual of Ancient Greek Secret Cults* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 175ff. where he underlines the association of Boiotian cults with Orphic ideas, the Pythagorean sect and the Eleusinian model, especially during the Hellenistic and Roman times! Cf. K. Clinton, "Stages of Initiation in the Eleusinian and Samothracian Mysteries" in M. B. Cosmopoulos, ed., *Greek Mysteries, The Archaeology and Ritual of Ancient Greek*

wrath of the gods when he sacrificed a human victim and served it to the gods in order to test Zeus' omniscience. There have been many disputes about the identity of the boy who was sacrificed,[81] but among them Eratosthenes,[82] who invoked Hesiod as his source, argued that the boy was Arcas, the eponymous hero of the Arcadians and Lycaon's grandson.[83] The story was well known among the Romans because Varro who has been recognised as one of the major literary influences on Vergil's work had recorded some rather peculiar details about the sacrificial festivals of the Arcadians which he had attested from a Hellenistic author called Euanthes.[84] In addition, parallel to this strictly male festival, the women would attend their own rites in the cave where Rhea gave birth to Zeus.[85] Arcadian women, then, attended to newborn life, which was most probably celebrated with the symbolical birth of a child.[86] Furthermore, Arcas like Orpheus and Dionysus had been cast as an inventor of civilisation.[87]

Having outlined the metaphors that Vergil probably employed in order to associate his new Golden Age with ancient rites that projected the regen-

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Secret Cults (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), pp. 50-78.

81. On the identity of the boy that was sacrificed, see Apollod.Bibl.3.98 (native boy); Ov.Met.1.227 (hostage); Lycoph.Alex.481 (Nyctimos).

82. Fr.163 (Merkelbach-West) = Eratosth.[Cat.]fr.Vatican (Rehm 1899: 2).

83. In some versions of the story, the gods' punishment is a flood, which destroyed most of the human race. The Arcadians survived in order to offer secret sacrifice to the altar throughout time. The story bears resemblance to the myth of Pyrrha and Deucalion (cf. the wolfman Damarchos of Parrhasia). See Apollod.Bibl.3.98-9; Tzetzes ad Lycoph.Alex.481; Ov.Met.1.240ff; Hyg.Fab.176; cf. Robertson, "Orphic Mysteries and Dionysiac Ritual," p. 226.

84. Varro in FGrH320 (=Pliny HN8.81); Aug.Civ.Dei18.17; moreover, it seems that the Arcadians worshipped the goddess of Eleusis especially and that they had several peculiar traditions regarding the goddess and her mysteries: Paus.8.37.7-9; cf. Paus.8.15.1-4; 8.25.4-7; 8.31.1-2; 8.42.1-7. Also, see R. Seaford, "Sophocles and the Mysteries," *Hermes*, 122/123 (1994), pp. 296-97.

85. See Paus.8.38.2, 8.36.3 and 8.31.4; Callim.h.Zeus10-4. Only "consecrated women" could enter the cave because they represented the Arcadian Nymphs who nurtured the infant. See Jost, "Mystery Cults in Arcadia," p. 163 and Robertson, "Orphic Mysteries and Dionysiac Ritual," pp. 220-23 who analyses the tradition of the ancient pastoral goddess Rhea as Mother of the gods in the Orphic religion. See also N. Robertson, "The Ancient Mother of the Gods. A Missing Chapter in the History of Greek Religion," in E. Lane, ed., *Cybele, Attis and Related Cults* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), pp. 239-304.

86. W. Burkert, *Homo Necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*, P. Bing, trans. (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1983), pp. 247-97; For Vergil's preoccupation with the mystery of suffering, see Sullivan, "Vergil and the Mystery of Suffering," pp. 161-77.

87. See above. For the civilising aspects of Orpheus and Arcas which also emphasised their institution of religious rites, see Anagnostou-Laoutides, *Eros and Ritual in Ancient Literature*, p. 365ff. For Dionysus, see Anagnostou-Laoutides, *Eros and Ritual in Ancient Literature*, p.226ff. with references.

eration of the natural world in a nexus of ideas that proved most popular with proto-Christians,[88] I shall now focus on Vergil's introduction of death in Arcadia, the theme that inspired Renaissance artists. Vergil described death in Arcadia in essentially Orphic terms.

Death in Arcadia: The toll for the new golden age

Vergil not only associates Arcadia with the New Golden Age, but expects it to be the place in which his protagonists will learn how to cope with loss. In *Eclogue* 5 Daphnis, as another Orpheus, is depicted as dying and rising in this idyllic countryside that hosts a tomb for the first time. In *Eclogue* 10 again Vergil summons Arcadia as the background for the tragic loss of Orpheus himself.

According to Berg,[89] Vergil incorporated in his representation of Daphnis a number of mythological shepherds whose model could be traced back to Apollo Nomius.[90] I suggest that Daphnis was particularly cast as Orpheus because the role of the latter in the establishment of mystery religions could promote Daphnis' transformation from a naïve shepherd to a countryside deity. Vergil's description of Daphnis' death in *Eclogue* 5, and especially the reference to his mourning mother, was modelled after Antipater's representation of Orpheus' mourning mother.[91] Orpheus, the most talented of poets, could tame with his music wild animals and change the course of rivers.[92] According to Vergil, Daphnis' presence seems to have had a similar effect on the natural world (Ec.5.60-4):[93]

> . . . the wolf plans no ambush for the flock, and nets no snare of the stag; kindly Daphnis loves peace. The very mountains with woods un-

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88 Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes Geschichte einer religiösen Idee*, pp. 51-52; H. Koester, "The Memory of Jesus' Death and the Worship of the Risen Lord," *The Harvard Theological Review*, 91, no. 4 (1998), pp. 335-41 makes a valid argument about the association of cult and story in ancient Greece and Rome, which naturally appealed to the early Christians as the common background of populations bound anew by their Christian beliefs.

89. W. Berg, "Daphnis and Prometheus," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 96 (1965), p. 12.

90. Servius, Vergil's commentator, realised Vergil's intentions; see his comments on Buc.1.12-3 (Thilo and Hagen) and Buc.5.35.

91. E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer* (Leipzig: Auflage, 1914 (repr. Hildesheim 1960)), pp. 125-26; Anth.Pal.7.8.

92. Cf. Ec.3.46: "Orphea . . . silvestris sequentis . . ." (the wood following Orpheus); see P. E. Knox, *Ovid's Metamorphosis and the Tradition of Augustan Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1986), p. 48.

93. Similar powers were also attributed to other shepherds in the *Eclogues*; cf. Ec.6.27; 8.71; 10.16. Note that the Sibylline Oracle describing the Golden Age included similar references.

> shorn, joyously fling their voices starward; the very rocks, the very groves ring out the song: A god is he, a god, Menalcas! (Fairclough)

In addition, a great number of Orphic tablets seem to have a bucolic pretext since they compare the initiates to ‘kids that fell in milk’; often the initiate has to utter the phrase “I am the son of Earth and the starry sky” or a similar phrase which sounds close to Daphnis’ claim that he is known “all the way from here to the stars” (Ec.3.43).[94] Berg was convinced that Vergil had in mind the verses of Damagetus in praise of Orpheus when he composed lines 29-31 *Eclogue* 5:[95]

> Daphnis taught men to yoke Armenian tigers under the chariot, to lead the dances of Bacchus, to entwine the tough spears in soft leaves.[96]

As a being that dies and finds new life, Daphnis reflected the dying and rising divinities popular among the Greeks like Adonis, the Thracian Dionysus, and Osiris, not to mention such heroes as Heracles, the Dioscuri, and Romulus, who found their way after death to the company of the gods.[97] Orpheus, who was reported to have been a hierophant at Eleusis and was ambiguously related to Dionysus,[98] was recognised as a benefactor of humanity who had dramatically intervened in the course of civilisation. In similar manner, Vergil referred to Daphnis as receiving yearly vows from the farmers:[99]

> *... Daphnis’ apotheosis does away with evil and, in re-creating nature, sanctifies the new force which during his life he bestowed on the pastoral georgic world.*

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94. Cole, “Landscapes of Dionysos and Elysian Fields,” pp. 204-09; cf. G. Zuntz, *Persephone* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1971), pp. 370-76.

95. Damagetus Anth.Pal.7.9.6-7; cf. Hor.Od.3.3.13-5 and Verg.Aen.6.804-5. On the Armenian tigers as an invention of Vergil, see Clausen, *A Commentary on Vergil*, p. 161 ad Ec.5.29. Also, see Hor.ArsPoet.391-93 where Orpheus appears as a hierophant of secret rites who is also able to tame wild tigers and lions.

96. Clausen, *A Commentary on Vergil*, p. 162 ad Ec.5.30.

97. H. J. Rose, *The Eclogues of Vergil* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1942), p. 137 characterised Daphnis as a “recognisable literary type, the lamentation for the dying god followed by his resurrection.”

98. Robertson, “Orphic Mysteries and Dionysiac Ritual,” p. 218ff.; Cole, “Landscapes of Dionysos and Elysian Fields,” p. 193ff. and Bonnechere, “Trophonius of Lebadea,” p. 169ff.

99. Putnam, *Virgil’s Pastoral Art*, pp. 186-87. See M. Bull, “Poussin’s Bacchanals for Cardinal Richelieu,” *The Burlington Magazine*, 137, no. 1102 (1995), 5ff., who discusses a series of Bacchic triumphs painted by Poussin featuring Heracles and Apollo.

Indeed the tomb becomes the most crucial signifier in Vergilian Arcadia and is placed in the centre of the pastoral stage;[100] but instead of Theocritean mourning, the tomb happily reminds passers-by that Daphnis has experienced apotheosis in Orphic terms, his spirit having been transmuted into energy that effects an "alacris voluptas" to all nature, an intense yearning. But far from his earthly amorous desires, Daphnis now effects on nature a yearning for pastoral peace and acceptance.

Death in Arcadia: The sacrifice of the poet

In *Eclogue* 10 Vergil presented Gallus,[101] the shadowy and much admired precursor of Latin elegiac poets, as bearing his hapless love for Lycoris in Arcadia, the place of the utmost understanding of "otium." The "otium" which in *Eclogue* 1 was presented as the ideal of leisure that a shepherd would enjoy is here expanded to the serenity that befits the shepherd-bard.[102] The comparison of Gallus with Orpheus[103] in *Eclogue* 10 was long ago discussed by scholars who mostly argued that Gallus was apparently destined to perish because he, like Orpheus, was painfully enamoured to the point that he destroyed the Epicurean vision of "Arcadian" serenity.[104] Gallus, like Orpheus remained inconsolable in the hard rocks of a

100. The presence of death in Arcady seems to have captured the imagination of critics who focus solely on the overwhelming vision of the tomb. Murray, "Et in Arcadia Video," p. 437.

101. Snell, "Arcadia: The Discovery of a Spiritual Landscape," p. 302 argued that Vergil used Gallus to boast indirectly about the achievement of poetry and in particular his own. For Gallus' poetic contribution, see D. O. Ross, *Backgrounds to Augustan Poetry. Gallus, Elegy, and Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1975), pp. 85-106; P. Fedeli, *Sesto Properzio. Il primo libro delle Elegie* (Tuscan, 1980), pp. 203-06; Clausen, *A Commentary on Vergil*, pp. 290-91, 306 ad 50. Van Sickle, "The Unity of the Eclogues," pp. 493-94 argued that poems 4, 7 and 10 "broach, enlarge and perfect the idea" (of Arcadia); cf. J. van Sickle, "Review Article: The End of the Eclogues," *Vergilius*, 41 (1995), pp. 130-31; see Catull.78.1.3.5; Prop.2.34.91; Ov.Am.1.15.29-30; 3.9.64.

102. B. F. Dick, "Ancient Pastoral and the Pathetic Fallacy," *Comparative Literature*, 20 (1968), pp. 27-44; Otis, *Virgil. A Study in Civilised Poetry*, pp. 97-143; Segal, "Tamen Cantabitis Arcades," pp. 237-66; Van Sickle, "Virgil vs Cicero," pp. 46-56.

103. Vergil encourages the association of Gallus with Orpheus; hence, in Ec.10.64-9 Vergil refers to Hebrus and the Thracian snows. He concludes with the expression "Love conquers all, let us too yield to Love" – "omnia vincit Amor: et nos cedamus Amori," an expression that Ovid employed to describe Orpheus' descent to Hades (Met.10.25-6): "vicit Amor" (Love has won). Clausen, *A Commentary on Vergil*, pp. 307 ad 52-53 and 309 ad 65-68. Generally, the image of a poet weeping in idyllic isolation over the loss of his beloved is essentially Orphic.

104. Vergil may have wished to allude to the thematic range of Gallus' erotic elegies; see R. Coleman, "Gallus, the Bucolics and the Ending of the Fourth Georgic," *American Journal of Philology*, 83 (1962), pp. 55-71. Segal, "Tamen Cantabitis Arcades," p. 261 argued that Gallus was willing to quit war for a poetic Arcadia, a view rejected by Putnam,

surprisingly inhospitable Arcadia (Ec.10.23; cf.ll.47-9).[105] By placing Orpheus firmly in Arcadia,[106] Vergil embarks on another discussion of loss in this idyllic landscape, this time touching upon the loss of the poet himself.

In general, it has been accepted that Vergil followed closely Theocritus' *Idyll* 1 on the death of Daphnis,[107] and that he rendered Gallus as a Roman Daphnis who would weep "sola sub rupe iacentem" (ll.14: as he lay beneath a lonely rock).[108] However, when Apollo asked Gallus about the reason of his fury (Ec.10.44-5)[109] his thoughts suddenly turned away from his passion for Lycoris to another aspect of his life, his career as a soldier and politician which he characterised as an insane love for harsh Mars.[110] By conflating love with war, his role as a poet with his military profile, Gallus not only evoked a well-established elegiac motif, but also inserted the hor-

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Virgil's Pastoral Art, p. 380, n 38.

105. Putnam, *Virgil's Pastoral Act*, p. 351 argued that in *Eclogue* 10 Vergil presented a novelty. Enamoured Gallus cannot find consolation even in Arcadia (which consists of cold rocks and lonely crags) cf. Ec.1.1 or Daphnis Ec.7.1, examples that show the impossibility of finding comfort in such a spot.

106. Jachmann, "L'Arcadia come paesaggio bucolico," pp. 161-67. J. van Sickle, "Theocritus and the Development of the Conception of Bucolic Genre," *Ramus*, 5 (1976), p. 491: "from the Arcadian vantage point of the tenth poem, the poet sees his own work as a whole and he gives expression to his own recollective, assiduous, passionate self-consciousness in the symbol of Arcadia."

107. It is interesting to note the motifs that Vergil chose to employ in order to establish the similarity of Gallus with Daphnis: in Ec.10.9-12 Vergil wondered where the Naiads were when Gallus was wasting away with love, similar to Theoc.Id.1.66-9; in Ec.10.15 a reference to mountain Maenalus alludes to Theoc.Id.1.123-4; 10.17-18 was compared to Theoc.Id.1.109-10; Gallus is visited by three deities (Apollo, Silvanus and Pan, Verg.Ec.10.21-6) like Daphnis (Theoc.Id.1.81-5).

108. J. H. Gaisser, "Tibullus 2.3 and Vergil's Tenth Eclogue," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 107 (1977), pp. 131-45. Generally, Vergil's multiple textual references to his sources (i.e., Gallus cast as Orpheus and at the same time as Daphnis) is characteristic of his thought and creative style and it could be argued that it is primarily this quality that he confers on his readers.

109. C. Fantazzi, "Vergilian Pastoral and Roman Love Poetry," *American Journal of Philology*, 87 (1966), pp. 171-91; Ross, *Backgrounds to Augustan Poetry*, pp. 61-65 and 72-74; contra J.E.G. Zetzel, "Gallus, Elegy, and Ross" (review of D. O. Ross, Jr., *Backgrounds to Augustan Poetry*), *Classical Philology*, 72 (1977), pp. 253-54; cf. E. A. Schmidt, Review of "Backgrounds to Augustan Poetry-Gallus, Elegy and Rome by D. O. Ross," *Gnomon*, 51 (1979), p. 435; D. West, *Hesiod Works and Days* (Oxford: Clarenden Press, 1978), p. 210. For a supportive critique, see R. M. Rosen and J. Farrell, "Acontius, Milanion, and Gallus: Vergil, Ecl.10.52-61," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 116 (1986), pp. 241-54.

110. Putnam, *Virgil's Pastoral Act*, p. 368. Also, see Clausen, *A Commentary on Vergil*, p. 304 for the divergence of opinions on the meaning of the line. M. Janan, *The Politics of Desire: Propertius IV* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2001), p. 17ff. for the incompatibility of Gallus' erotic profile with his political ambitions.

ror of war in an earthly paradise such as Arcadia.[111] It might be argued that this view complies with the tragic destruction of the pastoral vision described in *Eclogues* 1 and 9.[112] Although it has been argued that the depiction of a dysfunctional Arcadia would not convince a Roman audience, flattered by the idea that they could rejuvenate the Arcadian Golden Age,[113] I think that *Eclogue* 10 joins Arcadia with Roman contemporary reality. Out of the desolate Roman countryside, destroyed by the fierceness of the civil wars, an Arcadian location can and will emerge. The comparison of Gallus with Orpheus not only joins war and love as passions of the same order, but it also casts Gallus in the role of Orpheus at the beginning of this new cycle of life in a new (Roman again) Arcadia. As a man of passions, however, Gallus should be passionate for 'peace':

> Love is the god of Peace; we worship peace when we fall in love;
> enough are for me the fights with my harsh lady.[114]

The *Eclogues* concluded with a conviction that sexual drive as well as martial ambition was doomed to failure, yet with an equally strong recognition that Love conquers all.[115] Coleman[116] argued that Gallus' death is metaphorical: here, the consuming power of love, typically linked with madness in ancient literature,[117] anticipates Gallus' destruction which will

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111. Snell, "Arcadia: The Discovery of a Spiritual Landscape," p. 283.

112. See Van Sickle, "Virgil vs Cicero," pp. 41-42, esp. n 86: "Vergil seized the opportunity to claim notional priority over Theocritus by gradually linking his new bucolic with Arcadia . . . and Gallus, his Roman elegiac replacement for Daphnis, will perish in Arcadia, but do so at a notional time imagined as prior to the Nymph's Arethusa's flight to Sicily, where Theocritus' Daphnis dying bid her farewell."

113. Van Sickle, "Theocritus and the Development of the Conception of Bucolic Genre," p. 508: "At least the mortal discontent of Gallus becomes the eternal content of Arcadian song. The myth of poetry of *Idyll* 1 passes into Arcadian dimensions. Arethusa returns from her exile. In the tenth *Eclogue*, the poetics of the seventh *Idyll* come to term with the poetics of the first. The new formal circumstances, poetic feeling, promise a certain immortality in art."

114. Prop.3.5.1-2; G. B. Conte, *The Rhetoric of Imitation: Genre and Poetic Memory in Virgil and Other Latin Poets* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press, 1996), pp. 112-40.

115. Luck, "Virgil and the Mystery Religions," pp. 147-66 for the role of Love in mystery religions.

116. Coleman, "Gallus, the Bucolics and the Ending of the Fourth Georgic," pp. 61-62. Also, cf. Pl.Symp.212B3 who argued that *Eros* supplies with an extraordinary energy to compose music, "whether the music is philosophy, as in Plato, or singing and piping as it is in the pastoral" (Rosenmeyer, *The Green Cabinet*, p. 84); C. J. Rowe, *Plato: Phaedrus* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1986), pp. 135-41.

117. See M. Gale, *Virgil on the Nature of Things: The Georgics, Lucretius and the Didactic Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2000), p. 125 where she writes: "Virgil alludes to the stories of Saturn (3.89-94) and Philyra (3.550ff.) and of Io (3.152f.) and

give way to his emergence as a poet.[118] The notion of tragic loss is again tempered with a hopeful message, this time concerning poetic inspiration and production. The poet needs to be totally consumed by his art so that his personal destruction can give way to the discipline of his verses. In my view, erudite readers of Vergil in subsequent eras, such as Poussin, had the textual background and scholarly training to appreciate his allusions and even adopt them in their own debates about (artistic) creation and its cancellation through death.

PART C

Arcadian shepherds: A Renaissance finding

The serenity of Arcadia and its sad, but contained realisation of mortality suited ideally Renaissance Christians who aspired to a spiritual afterlife existence. Orpheus and his rites were also widely known at this time and steadily syncretised with Christian ceremonies as pagan presentiments of Christ and of the Christian miracle.[119] Coleman's view would also comply with Balzac's representation of Poussin in the *Anonymous Masterpiece*,[120] as a young poet most anxious to discover the meaning of artistic ingenuity. Although spiritual awakening is far from Sannazaro's melancholic rediscovery of pastoral[121] and his sense of loss for a utopian Arcadia,[122] it could

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the gadfly in a context which implicitly connects them with the dehumanising power of *amor*."

118. In the third book of the *Georgics* Vergil is occupied with two kinds of love: the fecundity of the carefully disciplined animals and the "amor caecus" (blind love) which releases violent and uncontrolled energies. Gale, *Virgil on the Nature of Things*, pp. 96-100. B.S. Thornton, *Eros, The Myth of Ancient Greek Sexuality* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1997), p. 131: "the philosophical goal is not to eliminate *Eros*, but to exploit its creative energy just as the farmer uses the fertile power of the earth, subjecting it to the technology of agriculture."

119. See S. McTighe, *Nicolas Poussin's Landscape Allegories* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1996), p. 87 for Orpheus' depiction as the creator of laws and government in the early Renaissance period; cf. n 143 below.

120. D. Ashton, *A Fable of Modern Art* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1991), p. 23; cf. H. de Balzac, *The Unknown Masterpiece*, R. Howard, trans. (New York: New York Review of Books, 2001), p. 29 and M. Gotlieb, "Poussin's Lesson: Representing Representation in the Romantic Age," *Word and Image*, 16 (2000), 124ff.

121. Arcadia was reinvented in the 1460s and 1470s, during the Florentine Renaissance. Sannazaro (1504) presented Arcadia as a world of idyllic bliss, lost forever for his contemporaries. His tone survived in the 1590s and Sir Philip Sidney's pastoral novel *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*. Sometime between 1618 and 1622 Guercino produced the first painting of Arcadia with the inscription "Et in Arcadia Ego," inspired by the familiar *memento mori* theme which became very popular in sixteenth century Venice.

122. Sannazaro depicted the tomb of Phyllis in his *Arcadia* (ll.527-67) inscribed with the following epigram: "I will make thy tomb famous and renowned among these rustic folk. Shepherds shall come from the hills of Tuscany and Liguria to worship this corner of

be argued that Poussin understood Arcadia in Vergilian terms, much more than modern scholars and art critics often assume. As one of the most influential pioneers of French Classicism,[123] he would be equally concerned with the Arcadian judgments about art.

The last part of this paper, argues that the two paintings representing *Arcadian Shepherds* by Poussin echo Vergil's urge to channel personal passion appropriately. Poussin, a zealous classicist and converter to compositional geometry,[124] was fully aware of the need to subject emotion to sober reflection;[125] although not often taken into account as a factor that might have influenced his pictorial style and subjects, Poussin's debilitating disease (he was suffering from syphilis) doubtless forced him to seek consolation in artistic perfection.[126] Most crucially as an individual who experienced the major debates about civil society and Christianity in Renaissance Europe, Poussin seems to find in Vergil's Arcadia a perfect balance between religious mysticism and secular rationalism.[127] Therefore, my re-tracing of Poussin's Vergilian interpretation of Arcadia relies so much on his quest for Art as much on his historical and cultural experiences, an-

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the world solely because thou hast dwelt here once. And they shall read on the beautiful square monument the inscription that chills my heart at all hours, that makes me strangle so much sorrow in my breast: 'She who always showed herself so haughty and rigid to Meliseo now lies entombed, meek and humble, in this cold stone.'"

123. K. Oberhuber, *Poussin: The Early Years In Rome: The Origins of French Classicism* (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1988), *passim*; for a summary of the scholarship about Poussin, see E. Cropper and C. Dempsey, *Nicolas Poussin, Friendship and the Love of Painting* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1996), p. 5ff.

124. A. Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin: The A. W. Lectures in the Fine Arts* (New York, 1967), p. 9; see Olson, *Poussin and France*, p. 26 for the depth of Latin and Greek education that schoolboys would receive in French colleges of the sixteenth century.

125. R. Verdi, *Tancred and Erminia, exh. cat*, (Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, 1992), pp. 28-30 compared Poussin's life changes of about 1630 to the general theme of the triumph of reason over passion presented in Tasso's *Allegoria del poema*. However, no connection has been made yet between Poussin's venereal illness and Orpheus' unquenched passion for Eurydice; cf. J. W. Unglaub, "Poussin's Reflection," *Art Bulletin*, 86 (2004), n 57.

126. Poussin got married in 1630, just before he produced the first version of the *Arcadian Shepherds* in 1631. Given the nature of his illness, his marriage relied more on mutual devotion and admiration, rather than amorous passion. G. B. Passeri, *Vite de pittori, scultori, ed architetti*. Reprinted in J. Hess, ed., *Die Kunstlerbiographien nach den Handschriften des Autors* (Leipzig: H. Keller, 1934), pp. 324-25 informs us that only after his marriage Poussin found inner peace and could finally focus on his art; also cited by Unglaub, "Poussin's Reflection," nn 52-53. Oberhuber, *Poussin: The Early Years In Rome*, pp. 234-38 argued that Poussin's illness influenced his style towards a more sobering classicism; cf. Thuillier, *Nicolas Poussin*, pp. 104-05, 133-41.

127. J. K. Powis, "Repression and Autonomy: Christians and Christianity in the Historical Work of Jean Delumeau," (Review Article), *The Journal of Modern History*, 64, no. 2 (1992), pp. 373-74; cf. n8 above.

other frequently overlooked aspect in the appreciation of his artistic production. In addition, since Vergil's Arcadia is presided, as argued, by Orpheus, we also need to take into account the influence of Orpheus on Poussin's interpretation of life and art.

The conventional understanding of Arcadia since the early Renaissance has been summarised by Snell's observation that for the Romans, Arcadian landscapes had "nothing whatever to do with any real landscape outside the theatre."[128] It is no wonder, therefore, that having dismissed Vergil's attempts to associate Arcadia with death and loss, as experiences that contemporary Romans could relate to, we commonly regard Arcadia as an otherworldly retreat about which we can fantasise but never gain.[129] Furthermore, we tend to impose this contemporary view on previous generations of readers. Hence, Carrier observes that unlike a Utopia, an ideal world that we might go to, we simply cannot visit Arcadia, because it "is oriented toward the immemorial past as Utopia is oriented towards the inscrutable future."[130] Nevertheless, in truly Vergilian fashion this "escapist genre has frequently been used to make political statements about the here and now."[131] Poussin, like Vergil, has been often charged with making his Arcadia an inaccessible place, an ideal, yet unreal landscape.[132] However,

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128. Snell, "Arcadia: The Discovery of a Spiritual Landscape," p. 286. See above.

129. According to A. Patterson, "Vergil's Eclogues: Images of Change" in A. Patterson, ed., *Roman Images: Selected Papers from the English Institute* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Univ. Press, 1984), p. 163, during the Renaissance pastoral's "dialectical, tensive structure" was subject to a twofold understanding. While the Theocritean tradition placed emphasis on the rustic simplicity of naïve shepherds, Vergil introduced to it realism related to "the consequences of civil war, problems of landownership and the relationship of writers to rulers." Therefore, artists treated Vergilian pastoral as "a metaphorical system by which they could allude to the power structures of their own society, describe their own poetics and determine their own cultural stance."

130. H. Levin, *The Myth of the Golden Age in the Renaissance* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1969), p. 99 quoted by Carrier, *Poussin's Paintings*, p. 170. However, as argued in the previous two parts of this article, Vergil was mostly interested in linking the past with the future through the necessity of enduring a nightmarish present.

131. Carrier, *Poussin's Paintings*, pp. 170-71, n 81 quoting among others Patterson, "Vergil's Eclogues," p. 174 and Leach, *Vergil's Eclogues*, pp. 21, 46. Puttenham, again, in the late sixteenth century, appreciated the subversive nature of pastoral when he wrote that the "eclogue" was devised to enable the poet "under the vaile of homely persons and in rude speeches to insinuate and glaunce at greater matters, and such as perchance had not beene safe to have beene disclosed in any other sort"; see G. Puttenham, "From *The Arte of English Poesie,*" in O. B. Hardison Jr., ed., *English Literary Criticism: The Renaissance* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963), p. 163ff. According to Puttenham, Vergil in his own *Eclogues* treats "by figure matters of greater importance than the loves of Titirus and Corydon"; for Puttenham holds that these poems "containe and enforme morall discipline, for the amendment of man's behaviour"; Puttenham, "From *The Arte of English Poesie*," p. 167.

132. Carrier, *Poussin's Paintings*, pp. 171-72; Panofsky, "Et in Arcadia Ego," pp. 300-

Poussin's Arcadia, like Vergil's locus of the new Golden Age, debate the main issues of their times and stand for the optimistic vision societies could experience subject to certain conditions.[133]

The poet and the painter

Poussin was scarred by the French civil wars of the seventeenth century, known as the Fronde, in many ways. Not only as a patriot, but also as poet who relied on his patrons, he needed to be vigilant of the political changes in France. Based on Poussin's correspondence, Olson writes:

> Indeed Poussin did not segregate contemporary realities from his discussion of art. The evidence of the letters diminishes the mythic distance between the artist and the political history of France. In fact, Poussin's letters written after his return to Rome, and in particular between 1648 and 1652, trace his response to the momentous events in Paris and the provinces. What emerges from the letters is an historical account of the period leading up to and including the Fronde from the vantage point of an artist interested in its direct consequences for his clients.[134]

Poussin was deeply disturbed by the civil wars, and wrote to his patron Chantelou that he feared "the malignancy of the century" in which "[V]irtue, conscience, religion [we]re banished from among men" and had given way to "vice, deceit and self-interest."[135] Yet he still hoped that "as often happens, this great disorder might bring about some good reform."[136] The notion has been extensively discussed in relation to Vergil's *Eclogues*

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04. Again, note that as Carrier, *Poussin's Paintings*, p. 150 notes, the Italian countryside in the seventeenth century was hardly an idyllic place, ravaged by malaria; cf. A. Blunt, "The Heroic and the Ideal Landscape in the Work of Nicolas Poussin," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 7 (1944), p. 158.

133. Poussin has also been charged with transferring Orpheus' adventures in Rome, although this remains an essentially Vergilian endeavor. See McTighe, *Nicolas Poussin's Landscape Allegories*, p. 6.

134. Olson, *Poussin and France*, p. 74; cf. McTighe, *Nicolas Poussin's Landscape Allegories*, p. 51.

135. Cf. Zanker, *Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, p. 101: "The mood in Rome, even in the first years after Actium, remained pessimistic, especially among the upper class. They were not hopeful for the future, primarily because they saw the civil war and all the other calamities as a consequence of a complete moral collapse. . . . But at the same time there were also hopes of a utopian sort. Sibyls, prophets, and politicians had all promised a new age of peace and prosperity. As often in times of transition, grave doubts and wild optimism existed side by side."

136. Olson, *Poussin and France*, pp. 77-78; Olson recognises in the letter of Poussin the voice of "late humanist reader of Tacitus," but not of Vergil.

(especially poems 4 and 5) and his hope for the restoration of peace in Rome under the rule of Augustus. Poussin's correspondence leaves no doubt that the political situation in France influenced his art and his decisions about the subjects of his paintings.[137] Besides, Poussin's classical erudition and antiquarianism was particularly expedient in this era since the ruling elite sought in ancient symbols the reaffirmation of their power, as legatees of the Roman Empire. Augustus, the founder of the new, golden era of peace for the Romans, had done exactly the same; by promoting a back-to-basics message in his political propaganda he sought to convince the Roman masses of his divine right to government.[138] In Rome Poussin belonged to an elite circle dedicated "to the acquisition and exchange of knowledge of ancient artifacts."[139] The connection here between Vergil's circumstances, the first committed artist of the Roman Principate, and Poussin, the painter of the *noblesse de robe*, is difficult to miss. When Cardinal Mazarin, who was politically intolerable for Poussin, came to power, Poussin responded with a drawing of Polyphemus depicted as an expressly lustful character. However, "in this case the monster is more specifically associated with the tyranny of a lawless-minded individual, Mazarin."[140] Although Poussin employed a Homeric metaphor to reply to the threat that Mazarin posed to his patrons and himself, the association of lust with tyranny is, in essence very Roman, and indeed Vergilian.[141] And, of course, it should be underlined that, similarly to Vergil, Poussin was attached to the monarchical regime that could generously sustain a circle of court artists.

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137. Olson, *Poussin and France*, p. 78.

138. See n 29 above. The re-establishment of religion was one of Augustus' first goals; Zanker, *Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, p. 101 writes: "At the same time as his 'restoration of the Republic' and the creation of his new political style, Augustus also set in motion a program to 'heal' Roman society. The principal themes were renewal of religion and custom, *virtus*, and the honour of the Roman people." And he continues on p. 103: "As early as 29 B.C. a program of religious rebuilding was proclaimed. Octavian had himself commissioned by the Senate to bring the old priesthoods up to their full complement. Cults, many of which existed in name only, were newly constituted, with statues, rituals, priestly garb, and chants all revived or, if need be, recreated in archaic style."

139. Olson, *Poussin and France*, p. 30 also citing Cropper and Dempsey, *Nicolas Poussin, Friendship and the Love of Painting*. A few lines below Olson observes: "Beginning as early as the sixteenth century, archaeological expertise became part of organised political practice in France"; cf. his pages 102-11 for the manipulation of Greco-Roman classical imagery in contemporary French politics.

140. Olson, *Poussin and France*, pp. 78-79.

141. Horace famously celebrated the death of the lustful Queen Cleopatra in *Ode* 1.37, and, of course, Vergil cast Dido, the Carthaginian Queen, in similar terms in the fourth book of the *Aeneid*. Furthermore, Vergil illustrated the destruction ensuing from exaggerated sexuality in the third book of the *Georgics*.

During the Fronde, the French landscape was gradually depicted as reflecting the level of devastation that the people experienced. "We still have not forgotten the furies of our recent civil war; our countrysides, covered by dead bodies, are not yet cleansed, our streams, our rivers, and our fountains are still reddened by French blood…."[142] The destruction was of such proportions that at times farming was impossible due to lack of resources; the similarity with the abandonment of the Roman countryside in the aftermath of the civil wars of the first century BCE is arresting. This association could also explain why Poussin decided to paint landscapes in the first place: "the landscape had the power to call forth social memory."[143]

In his representation of the landscape as a retreat from the vices of the city, a convention most integral of the pastoral genre, Poussin did not renounce his influence from Vergil's *Eclogues*:

> Readers of Latin literature in sixteenth – and seventeenth – century France could not have viewed Poussin's representations of the countryside without the lens provided by pastoral poetry…. For seventeenth century French viewers, that pastoral situation was conceived as the continuity between Virgilian pastoral and the use of bucolic imagery in the poetry of the previous century. The pastoral situation was not however a lotus land where social memory and frustrated desire were erased: as one of the first poetic genres adopted from antiquity during the French Renaissance, the eclogue was never an autonomous genre but one always closely associated with the politics of state. On one level, it was understood to be allegorical. Virgil's fifth eclogue, the dialogic response to the death of the shepherd Daphnis, which was interpreted as an elegy for Julius Caesar, became the major precedent for an extensive tradition.[144]

The undeniable importance of Vergil's *Eclogues* as a textual background for Poussin's (Arcadian) landscapes seems to focus on the notions of death and unexpected loss in an otherwise idyllic world or a world that has the potential to become idyllic anew. Considering Poussin's personal circumstances but, also, the fortunes of his country, it becomes obvious that

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142. From a pamphlet published during the Fronde; cited by Olson, *Poussin and France*, p. 213; also see his pages 214ff.

143. Olson, *Poussin and France*, p. 218; cf. L. Marin, *To Destroy Painting*, M. Hjort, trans. (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1995), p. 69: "The Arcadian Shepherds recounts, in what is at once a musical and plastic manner, the moment when the song of the origin is interrupted, the silent moment when history intrudes upon the scene."

144. Olson, *Poussin and France*, p. 224; Carrier, *Poussin's Paintings*, pp. 148-49 also citing among others W. Friedlaender, *Poussin* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1966), pp. 77-78, 184-85.

Vergil's Arcadia could uniquely endow him with the source to endure his woes and, at the same time, to transform his art into a symbol for universal suffering. Unsurprisingly, in his encounter with suffering Poussin, resorting as always to his classical models, was attracted to the figures of Orpheus and Dionysus whose mystic suffering reflected not only the painter's reality, but also a hopeful message of (spiritual) resurrection.[145] After all, both Orpheus and Dionysus had been recast as pagan premonitions of Christ since late antiquity, a metaphor also adopted during the early Renaissance.[146] In the emotional hyperbole of these figures, redeemed through their pathos, Poussin seems to have recognised the need for Stoic temperance toward the "Tricks of Fortune."[147]

145. McTighe, *Nicolas Poussin's Landscape Allegories*, p. 23 explains Poussin's relation with Orpheus as a result of his involvement with the libertins, a group of thinkers who rejected the Christian tradition and the notion of the afterlife. Instead they believed that the pagan fertility rites which celebrated the seasonal cycle held the key to our inescapable need to submit to nature. Hence, Orpheus, known for his mystic rites, becomes a symbol of "death and regeneration as passions of nature," even of the Arcadian nature; cf. D. Carrier, "Nicolas Poussin's Landscape Allegories-Review," *The Art Bulletin*, 80, no. 3 (1998), 569ff. who doubts whether Poussin's contact with libertins could have had any evident impact on his painting; P.N. Miller, "Nicolas Poussin's Landscape Allegories-Review," *Journal of Modern History*, 70, no. 2 (1998), pp. 471-72, on the other hand, points out more solid evidence for Poussin's connection with the circle of neostoicists led by Pierre Charron and the influence he exercised on Poussin's paintings.

146. A. Henrichs, "Loss of Self, Suffering, Violence: The Modern View of Dionysus from Nietzsche to Girard," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 88 (1984), 205ff.; C. Allen, "Ovid and Art," in Ph. Hardie, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Ovid* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2002), pp. 336-67.

147. McTighe, *Nicolas Poussin's Landscape Allegories*, pp. 2, 31; R. Verdi, "Poussin and the Tricks of Fortune," *The Burlington Magazine*, 124, no. 956 (1982), p. 680ff. Based on a letter Poussin sent to Chantelou in June 1648 we have solid evidence that Poussin had adopted a "prevailing Stoical attitude towards life. . .. It is also generally agreed that the subjects which form the basis of the *Sacraments* are treated by Poussin not as a series of religious mysteries but as a series of moral lessons." Also, see Friedlaender, *Poussin*, p. 65 (also cited by Verdi, "Poussin and the Tricks of Fortune"): "All the actions in the *Sacraments*, from Baptism to Extreme Unction, acknowledge the wisdom or higher *sagesse* which provides the believer with armor against the tempests (or the 'tricks' of Fortune)." Soon after, Poussin dedicated himself to a series of landscape paintings which depicted various mishaps inspired by famous mythological episodes. Verdi and McTighe also discuss Poussin's tempest imagery as one often employed in order to signify an imminent change of fortune for the protagonists of his paintings. However, they do not comment at all on tempests as a favourite Vergilian motif, prominent both in the *Aeneid* and the *Georgics,* which could have inspired Poussin; cf. Miller, "Nicolas Poussin's Landscape Allegories-Review," p. 472.

Arcadian and allegorical landscapes

Poussin used classical themes not just in order to illustrate Greco-Roman myths, but as allusions to his own poetic themes.[148] Moreover, he seems to have understood perfectly Vergil's technique of blending places and times in order to achieve his prophetic vision of a second, Roman Arcadia, as it has been shown in the first part of this paper. In similar manner, Poussin has been thought of transcending "localization in time and space"[149]; for example, by showing a modern building in a scene from antiquity Poussin, far from admitting his lacking geographical and archaeological knowledge, wished to link those places. Dempsey wrote: "Poussin was the friend of scholars, and he used the fruits of their studies in his own work; but he was also a poet" creating with his paintings a timeless unity.[150] In employing allegories in his paintings Poussin followed a long-standing trend of post-antiquity literature that focused especially on Vergilian allegory.[151] Given his erudition, it is not irrational to assume that

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148. Cropper and Dempsey, *Nicolas Poussin, Friendship and the Love of Painting*, p. 145, n 29.

149. Carrier, *Poussin's Paintings*, p. 161 citing C. G. Dempsey, "Poussin and Egypt," *Art Bulletin*, 45 (1963), pp. 118-19ff.

150. Dempsey, "Poussin and Egypt," p. 111; cf. Carrier, *Poussin's Paintings*, p. 162: "Unlike scholars, who aim for accuracy, he sought that higher poetic truth which is literal untruth." For Poussin expression is "a means by which the painter is able to predetermine the disposition of the beholder." In addition, while Poussin's art has a profound historical consciousness at the same time it can be timeless. Cropper and Dempsey, *Nicolas Poussin, Friendship and the Love of Painting*, pp. 47-48 argue that the response of the beholder is primarily moral.

151. R. Sabbadini, "Sull'allegoria dei poeti, specialmente di Vergilio" in *Storia del ciceronianismo e di altre questioni letterarie nell'età della Rinascenza*, ed. idem. (Turin: Loescher, 1885); D. C. Allen, *Mysteriously Meant: The Rediscovery of Pagan Symbolism and Allegorical Interpretation in the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1970), pp. 139-54; V. R. Giustiniani, "Il Filelfo, l'interpretazione allegorica di Virgilio, e la tripartizione platonica dell'anima," in *Umanesimo e rinascimento: Studi offerti a Paul Oskar Kristeller*, Biblioteca di lettere italiana, studi e testi 24 (Florence: Olschki, 1980), p. 33ff; R. Mortimer, "Vergil in the Light of the Sixteenth Century: Selected Illustrations" in J. D. Bernard, ed., *Vergil at 2000: Commemorative Essays on the Poet and His Influence*, AMS Ars Poetica 3 (New York: AMS, 1986), pp. 159-84; F. Stok, "Virgil between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 1 (1994), p. 15ff.; cf. B. Pasquier, *Virgile illustré de la renaissance à nos jours en France et en Italie. Caesarodunum: Textes et images de l' Antiquité* (Paris: Touzot, 1992) and A. L. Pellegrini, ed., *The Early Renaissance: Virgil and the Classical Tradition*, Acta 9 (Binghamton, NY: Centre for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1985), *passim*. It should also be observed that in the Renaissance, unlike the Middle Ages, readers of ancient texts made a conscious effort to appreciate their cultural context and rediscover the intended meaning of the authors. This could imply that in the allegorical reading of Vergil Renaissance scholars recognised allegory as a typically Vergilian convention. See E. Garin, *Italian Humanism: Philosophy and Civic Life in the Renaissance*, P. Munz, trans. (Oxford and New

Poussin transmuted in his art an allegorical appreciation of the mythological episodes he chose to depict.[152]

Discussions about the origins of Poussin's landscapes have led to a general acceptance of his symbolic style.[153] Above all other paintings, Poussin's Arcadian landscape and its symbolism have raised by far the most debates: "If Panofsky is correct – and no one has really challenged his analysis – then *The Arcadian Shepherds* illustrates a text."[154] In agreement with the scholars that recognise the *Eclogues* in Poussin's landscapes, I believe that *The Arcadian Shepherds* were inspired in particular by *Eclogues* 4, 5 and 10 with their references to death in Arcadia. More precisely these poems refer to the death of Orpheus in Arcadia, an incident that allowed Vergil to focus in *Eclogue* 10 on the death of the poet in this idyllic locus. Similarly Poussin muses over the death of the creative master in his own Arcadia which possibly reflects Poussin's political and at the same time artistic vision. Although Poussin's *Arcadian Shepherds* were never linked with Orpheus, his evident knowledge of the *Eclogues* could mean that Orpheus' Arcadian suffering is the missing link to our understanding of the

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York: B. Blackwell, 1965), 6ff.; A. Grafton, *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450-1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1991), pp. 23-75; cf. R. Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1969); R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship 1300-1850* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1976); and J. D'Amico, *Theory and Practice in Renaissance Textual Criticism* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1988), *passim*.

152. Carrier, "Nicolas Poussin's Landscape Allegories-Review," p. 571 argues that "[a]llegorical interpretation in characteristically motivated by recognising that a picture is obscure or illogical when viewed as a naturalistic representation." However, literature and art often favours allegory as a way of recognising its models, a principle which rules ancient literary and artistic production, but which is largely rejected nowadays. See Anagnostou-Laoutides, *Eros and Ritual in Ancient Literature*, p. 1ff.

153. See Carrier, *Poussin's Paintings*, p. 167: "Poussin is hard to place either in the tradition of Northern landscape or in this Venetian tradition."

154. Carrier, *Poussin's Paintings*, p. 169; cf. R. Beresford, *A Dance to the Music of Time by Nicholas Poussin* (Wallace Collection, 2006), p. 51: "Very few of those who saw the picture can have had any very clear notion of its meaning."

painting(s).[155] After all, in painting and especially in Poussin's painting the visible is equally important with the invisible. [156]

Despite the association of Arcadia with death, in Vergil it still holds the memory of the primal Golden Age which is, in essence, the only consolation for our mortality: death becomes the precondition for our spiritual elevation. Hence, one possible interpretation of the painting might refer to the projected death of the painter whose tomb is a reminder of his artistic contribution. I also suggest that taking into account Vergil's appreciation as a theologian in the Renaissance,[157] Poussin was even more likely to recognise the importance of Orpheus as an allegory for the necessity of excessive passion to be transmuted into cosmic energy through the experience of death, just like Daphnis, who suffered an Orphic death.[158]

Poussin was very familiar with the story of Orpheus and Eurydice as his paintings suggest, and clearly he had read Vergil's rare version regarding the death of Eurydice from a snake bite in *Georgics* 4.[159] The allegorical

155. For Poussin's paintings of Orpheus and, in particular, his *Landscape with Orpheus*, see McTighe, *Nicolas Poussin's Landscape Allegories*, p. 56. A clue regarding Poussin's allusion to pagan rites in the *Et in Arcadia Ego* lies in the long debate about the figure of the shepherdess and its symbolism in this painting. While Klein understood it to refer to the short-lived youth of women, Russell interpreted it as a telluric allusion to "man's desire at death to return to Earth-Mother." J. Klein, "An Analysis of Poussin's 'Et in Arcadia Ego,'" *The Art Bulletin*, 19, no. 2 (1937), p. 314; H. D. Russell, *Claude Lorrain, 1600-1682, exh. cat*. (Washington and New York, 1982), p. 93, n 6, both quoted by Carrier, *Poussin's Paintings*, p. 171, n 81.

156. Cf. Carrier, "Nicolas Poussin's Landscape Allegories-Review," p. 572 where he quotes the words of Yves Bonnefoy (Rome, 1630) about Poussin: "Whether it be the actual presence of God, with Bernini; or, as with Borromini, the vain search for Him, or, as with Poussin the desire to base the moral values or reason to the atemporal, there is in all of them the conviction that the supreme reality is not in the tangible object; what only exists then in their eyes, and in their reflection, on the role of appearance is mediation between being, the invisible, and us." Also, see his p. 573 where he translates Milovan Stanic, a pupil of Fumaroli, who commented on the difficulty of understanding Poussin's use of symbols in his art as follows: "the invisible is represented by the evocative structure of the emblem which has the power to show the secret action of divine providence in the world." In my view, Vergil's Arcadia evoked for the erudite reader two notions: the trauma of the civil wars as a precondition for the Golden Age, and Orpheus' drama as a precondition for his artistic perfection.

157. C. Kallendorf, "From Virgil to Vida: The Poeta Theologus in Italian Renaissance Commentary," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 56 (1995), p. 41ff. and *Virgil and the Myth of Venice: Books and Readers in the Italian Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), pp. 91-123.

158. Poussin is not the first painter to disguise himself in one of his paintings; Caravaggio and Michelangelo are equally guilty of this trend; see Unglaub, "Poussin's Reflection," n42 with references including among others E. Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1968), p. 186ff. and B. Barnes, *Michelangelo's Last Judgment: The Renaissance Response* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1998), pp. 105-07.

159. McTighe, *Nicolas Poussin's Landscape Allegories*, p. 81. In fact, Vergil had re-

meaning of the *Landscape with Orpheus and Eurydice* has already been argued by McTighe.[160] In addition, it could be argued that Poussin was also familiar with Orpheus' profile as a sage who presided over rituals about death and regeneration,[161] the same regeneration he anticipated for his country and himself alike. Poussin was generally interested in ancient rituals, a detail that is often overlooked. A drawing known as *Sacrificial Instruments*, after a sixteenth century engraving by Nicolas Beatrizet, is indicative of his awareness of pagan rites which were often syncretised with those of Christianity.[162] *The Arcadian Shepherds* has been certainly understood by Panofsky and his followers as integrating Christian and pagan traditions.[163]

This paper offers another interpretation of Vergil's *Eclogues*, particularly of poems 4 and 5, by exploring the presence of Orpheus in his dual capacity as the *par excellence* musician, but, also, theologian of Greco-Roman tradition. In *Eclogue* 5 Vergil describes the apotheosis of Daphnis, the symbol of his pastoral world, in totally Orphic terms and he also concludes his prophetic *Eclogue* 4 with a competition between himself, Orpheus and Linus in the presence of Apollo. By alluding to Orphic rites which were associated with Apollo as well as Dionysus, Vergil anticipated the victory of Augustus, the protégé of Apollo, over Antony, the incarnated new Dionysus. Gradually Orpheus becomes intertwined with the Arcadian landscape of Vergil, like primeval Arcadia becomes intertwined with contemporary Rome. These fusions render religious awe to Vergil's hope for restoration of the Golden Age, following the Augustan restoration of the state. His notion of a possible repetition of the Golden Age is totally com-

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ferred to a snake lurking in the grass and causing anxiety for the shepherds in *Eclogue* 3.93 where he also described Orpheus as bewitching inanimate nature with his music. On p.56 McTighe claims that in Poussin's era the tale of Orpheus and Eurydice was a rather rare pictorial subject.

160. McTighe, *Nicolas Poussin's Landscape Allegories*, pp. 53-78.

161. D. P. Walker, "Orpheus the theologian and the Renaissance Platonists," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 16 (1953), p. 100ff.

162. Olson, *Poussin and France*, pp. 11-12; cf. Cropper and Dempsey, *Nicolas Poussin, Friendship and the Love of Painting*, p. 74 also cited by Olson ad loc. Olson (p. 15) also discusses the work of Du Choul on ancient religious history "informed by the recent discovery of Gallo-Roman objects." The author also accurately points out that for people like Du Choul (and Poussin) "antiquities were not artifacts from a distant historical civilisation," but something more familiar and flexible to their interpretations.

163. Carrier, "Nicolas Poussin's Landscape Allegories-Review," p. 573; also, see E. H. Gombrich, "Icones Symbolicae: The Visual Image in Neo-Platonic Thought," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 11 (1948), p. 163ff. Besides, Poussin was fascinated by the tradition of Osiris, an Egyptian deity readily syncretised with Orpheus, whose death and resurrection was celebrated annually. McTighe, *Nicolas Poussin's Landscape Allegories*, p. 118. Also, see p. 92ff. for Poussin's passion with Egyptian hieroglyphs.

patible with the upsurge of mystic speculation about the future that erupted in Augustan Rome in the aftermath of the battle of Actium. However, this vision would be totally alien for most Romans who, having experienced the civil wars for more than a century, had little hope for the future. Vergil's Arcadia becomes realistic because Daphnis and, in his steps, Gallus, a contemporary Roman politician, die in it. Even Orpheus (through Gallus' comparison with him) and the poet himself (through Gallus' poetic substance and Orpheus' comparison with the poet in *Eclogue* 4) are projected as dying in Arcadia.

To sustain this reading of the *Eclogues,* I turned to one of Vergil's most passionate students, the painter Poussin, who lived in sixteenth century France and Italy, at a period when what we now call antiquity was still perceived as relatively recent past. Poussin's decision to paint landscapes at a later stage in his career and particularly the two versions of *The Arcadian Shepherds* have long raised debates about their symbolism. Based on Poussin's familiarity with the *Eclogues* and the fortune of Orpheus in *Georgics* 4, it seems that he painted a Vergilian Arcadia that could carry a hopeful message for the political storm of contemporary France,[164] but also, for his own spiritual revamp in the wake of his venereal disease. As an artist, Poussin responded to the political and personal challenges that agitated him through his art[165]: he aspired to a realistic Arcadia that could not save his country or him from devastation, but posed as an attainable goal where despondency was replaced with enabling ambition for remembrance.

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164. McTighe, *Nicolas Poussin's Landscape Allegories*, p. 48 reminds us that the libertine and naturalist philosophy of the sixteenth century known as the horoscope of religions said that religions and governments die according to cycles. The notion is close to the Stoic belief regarding the Great Year, the time necessary for history to come to an end and start anew.

165. *Ibid*., p. 50: "the only response to fortune is careful consideration and judgement by men unblinded by passion and then resignation to the natural law that governs life and death."