

THE BUCOLIC PROBLEM

KATHRYN GUTZWILLER

THE ANCIENT READER of *Idyll* 1, which undoubtedly opened the papyrus bookrolls of Theocritus' poetry, repeatedly encountered the adjective βουκολικός, first when Thrysis is said to have come to the pinnacle of the "bucolic Muse" (1.20) in singing of Daphnis, and then in the refrain that accompanies his "bucolic song" (1.64, etc.). The adjective occurs elsewhere in Theocritus only in his most programmatic poem, *Idyll* 7, where Lycidas proposes to Simichidas that they "begin the bucolic song" (49). Appearing but one time in extant Greek literature before Theocritus, and then as a proper name for a mouth of the Nile (Hdt. 2.17), *bucolic* became, from Theocritus' use of it, the standard ancient term for both the Greek and the Latin poetry that we now connect with the pastoral genre. By the first century B.C.E., at least some of Theocritus' poetry, if not all, had acquired the label τὰ βουκολικά, which was likewise applied to the poetry of his Greek successors, Moschus and Bion.¹ In transliterated form, the same generic label was used as a title for the Vergilian poetry book now commonly referred to as *Eclogues*, as well as to the Latin pastorals of Vergil's successors.² But it remains unknown just how and when Theocritean poetry came to be so called,³ and scholars have not been able to explain how the label *bucolic* defines this set of poetry as a separable and identifiable genre. Collectively, these uncertainties may be said to constitute the "bucolic problem."⁴

Scholars continue to speculate, without consensus, about the origin of the term, as well as its evolving significance for the poets who worked in the genre and for the readers who were their consumers. Some have posited that Theocritus invented bucolic terminology to be a generic label for a new

1. The earliest evidence for the use of βουκολικά as a generic label is the epigram that Artemidorus attached to his edition of bucolic poetry in which he speaks of gathering the once-scattered "Bucolic Muses" into one fold (*Anth. Pal.* 9.205 = [Theocr.] *Epigr.* 26 Gow). The primary evidence that even Theocritean *Idylls* not directly concerned with herdsmen were considered bucolic is the scholium to Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.1234–39b where the "Hylas" (*Id.* 13) is included in Theocritus' *Bucolica* (Θεόκριτος ἐν τοῖς βουκολικοῖς ἐν τῷ "Υλῳ ἐπιγραφομένῳ). Vergil's imitation of nonherding *Idylls*, most prominently the allusions to *Id.* 2 in *Ecl.* 8, provides supporting evidence for the extension of the term to all Theocritus' poetry by the first century B.C.E. For discussion, see Gow 1952b, 1:lix–lxii.

2. The evidence is reviewed by Schröder (1999, 68–70), who also points out that the term *ecloga* had a special association with Vergil's pastorals.

3. On the early history of the Theocritean corpus, with an argument for εἰδύλλια rather than βουκολικά as the first title, see Gutzwiller 1996a.

4. See Hunter 1999, 5: "What requires explanation is the 'bucolic' terminology itself."

kind of poetry.⁵ Others have argued the likelihood that he derived the term from earlier reference to Sicilian herding songs, with the implication that the generic application of *bucolic* to his poetry, rather than the songs within it, was a post-Theocritean event.⁶ Recently, it has been suggested that Theocritus adapted his bucolic terminology from a tradition about song making that was itself a construction of earlier Sicilian authors.⁷ In truth, our current information is insufficient to determine the pre-Theocritean use of *bucolic* for song (although we cannot therefore assume that none existed), nor can we be certain, given our present state of knowledge about early Theocritean editions, that Theocritus intended the term to be extended from its only usage within the *Idylls*—referring to the songs sung by characters—to his poetry itself.⁸

Here I focus away from questions of origin and authorial intent to consider the implications of the word *bucolic* for readers immersed in Greek culture. Surprisingly little scholarly attention has been paid to the semantic range attaching to the verb βουκολέω and its related forms. Yet all the principal meanings were in existence before Theocritus, and their uses, both before and after the third century B.C.E., provide important, if largely neglected, clues to ancient readers' interpretations of Theocritus' herding poems and so to the evolution of the bucolic concept. The first part of this paper reviews the various meanings of βουκολέω and words from the same root, beginning with the literal and moving toward the metaphorical, with focus on how the cultural associations of cowherding gave rise to the word's semantic range. The second part demonstrates how bucolic meanings interacted with the precedent set by Theocritus' herding poetry to create a generic conception that expanded beyond formal matters of content, meter, and dialect to what is now commonly called mode. There I show that principal elements accruing to other major genres in the ancient literary critical tradition—such as their objects of representation, stories of origin, purpose, and audience effect—were suggested to readers of Theocritus and his successors by bucolic terminology, which was first used to define the songs sung by herdsmen and then as a generic label for the poetry in which herdsmen (and eventually others) were represented.

I

The inadequacy of the LSJ entry for βουκολέω necessitates a reassessment of the verb's various meanings and the key passages in which they appear.

5. Van Sickle 1975, 57–58, and 1976, 22–25; Halperin 1983, 78–79, 249–57, who concludes that Theocritus intended *bucolic* to designate all his hexameter poetry as a new type of epic; and Schmidt 1987, 110, who argues that Theocritus intended *bucolic* to refer only his herding poetry.

6. Nauta 1990, 128–29; Gutzwiller 1996a, 121–23.

7. Hunter 1999, 9.

8. As a result, some scholars take an agnostic approach: Hutchinson (1988, 144) states that “there is no evidence for Theocritus' conception of his work”; Gutzwiller (1991, 103) points out that “to take ‘bucolic’ as a generic label for some or all of Theocritus' *Idylls* remains an act of analogical reconstruction, and so inherently uncertain, unauthorized”; and Reed (1997, 5) argues that bucolic terminology in the genuinely Theocritean poems always refers, in its literal sense, simply to herdsmen and their songs. See also Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004, 138.

I divide the semantic range of βουκολέω into four categories: (1) cowherd/herd/graze, (2) tend/guard, (3) soothe/beguile, and (4) cheat/deceive.⁹ These four categories are not completely separate semantic realms but remained interrelated throughout antiquity because of their core association with actual or perceived cowherding practices.

(1) *Cowherd/herd/graze*. A verb with a solid Indo-European etymology,¹⁰ βουκολέω is used in early Greek poetry in the active form, both transitively (*Il.* 21.448; *Hymn Hom. Ven.* 55) and intransitively (*Il.* 5.313; *Od.* 10.85), to refer to herding cattle. But even by the time of Homer the middle voice had lost its exclusive reference to cattle and was used to mean simply “graze,” “pasture.” Homer applies it to horses (*Il.* 20.221;¹¹ cf. ἵπποβουκόλοι in Eur. *Phoen.* 28), Aristophanes to a dung beetle (*Pax* 153),¹² Eupolis to goats (frag. 19 KA, a transitive use), and Callimachus to deer (*Hymn* 3.101) and stars (*Hymn* 4.176).¹³ Throughout Greek culture βουκολέω retains this strong and weak form of meaning, so that the ambiguity of τὰ βουκολικά—that it has to do with a cowherd and that it is about herding more generally—is built into the underlying verbal form from the very beginning of Greek literature.

(2) *Tend/guard*. It is an easy step from the basic meaning “herd” to a more general application that can be conveyed by the translation “tend” or “guard.” The earliest usage in this sense, if Ludwig’s emendation is correct, is found in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*. There the baby Hermes explains to his mother that by stealing Apollo’s cattle he is “tending” the two of them, looking out for their interests (βουκολέων ἐμὲ καὶ σέ, 167).¹⁴ In Xenophon, Astyages comments that if he failed to protect his grandson Cyrus from dangerous sport, he would be “tending the child carelessly,” that is, letting him stray (τὸν παῖδα ἀποβουκολήσαιμι, *Cyr.* 1.4.13), and, to take a later example, a farmer’s wife in Alciphron complains that he leaves her alone to “tend the children” (τὰ παιδία βουκολοῦσα, 2.22). As the bucolic scholia

9. LSJ⁹ lists two principal categories of meaning: (I) “tend cattle” with the subsidiary meaning (I.2) “tend, serve” (of persons) and (II) “cheat, beguile.” But certain key passages are erroneously explained, even as corrected in the supplement of 1996, and as a result of these long-standing errors, standard commentaries on principal passages often give incorrect interpretations. In addition, the division in LSJ into two categories leaves unexplained the connection between the core meaning and the metaphorical one, between tending cattle and cheating someone.

10. Deriving from the roots *gwou- “cow” and *kwel- “tend,” βουκολέω, attested in Linear B (*qo-u-ko-ro*), has exact parallels in αἰπολέω and θεοπολέω as well as cognates in other Indo-European languages. See Schwyzler 1968, 1:298–99; Frisk 1960, 1:257.

11. The middle is here reflexive (τρισχίλια ἵπποι ἔλος κάτα βουκολέοντο), so that the point in Homer is apparently that the horses pasture themselves without a herdsman; cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 196: ἀνευ βοτῆρος αἰπολούμενα (metaphorically, of the Furies). LSJ⁹ claims that the Homeric usage (I.1) is passive, as opposed to the transitive middle found in Eupolis (βουκολεῖσθαι αἴγας). But this seems wrong, since none of the forms is securely passive and the future in Ar. *Pax* 153, βουκολήσεται, is certainly middle.

12. Although the R scholia correctly explain the phrase κατωκάρα ρίψας με βουκολήσεται as a reference to grazing, the V scholia opt for the meaning “deceive”: βουκολήθεις καὶ δელασθείς τῇ ὁδοῇ τῶν ἀποπατημάτων. The latter interpretation is no longer accepted by scholars. Platnauer (1964, ad loc.), for instance, translates “will turn to browsing,” and Olson (1998, ad loc.) points out “the implicit comparison of the beetle to a herd-animal.”

13. A similar usage appears in Latin: Lucr. 1.231, *aether sidera pascit*; Verg. *Aen.* 1.608, *polus . . . sidera pascet*.

14. This correction for the transmitted βουλεύων is widely accepted; see Allen, Halliday, and Sikes (1936, ad loc.), who point out similar metaphorical uses of ποιμαίνω at Pind. *Isthm.* 5.12 and Aesch. *Eum.* 91.

report (*Anecdoton Estienne* 3.4 = Wendel, p. 10; cf. Wendel, p. 4), the first-century B.C.E. scholar Didymus gave βουκολέω an etymology from βοῦς and κομέω, explained by the gloss ἐπιμελοῦμαι (cf. Serv. *Comm. in Verg. Buc.* 3.1.1–2, 12 Thilo = Wendel, p. 20, *bucolica . . . a custodia boum, id est ἀπὸ τῶν βουκόλων*).

The meaning “tend/guard” early on acquired an extended significance by application to mental activity, to guarding thought. In Aeschylus’ *Suppliants*, where cowherding forms part of the background myth of Io, the king replies to a threat by saying that “this will be unherded in my mind” (ἀβουκόλητον τοῦτ’ ἐμῷ φρονήματι, 930), and in the *Agamemnon* a messenger who reports the wreck of the Greek fleet comments, “we cowherded the new disaster in our thoughts” (ἐβουκολοῦμεν φροντίσιν νέον πάθος, 669). David Sansone comments, “The metaphor gives the picture of thoughts as docile grazing beasts located, apparently, in the *phrenes*. The individual is himself, presumably, the herdsman.”¹⁵ Homer and Hesiod had already used the verb φυλάσσω of mental activity (e.g., *Il.* 23.343, *Od.* 2.346, *Op.* 491), and Aeschylus’ association of cowherding with contemplation seems just a bolder expression for a linkage already present in the Greek cultural code.¹⁶ In Sophocles, Ajax is called a “solitary pasturer of thought” (φρενὸς οἰοβώτας, *Aj.* 614–15), and, with transference from thought to speech, Pindar’s “tongue wishes to shepherd” (γλῶσσα ποιμαίνειν ἐθέλει, *Ol.* 11.9) a victor’s praise.¹⁷

The same meaning is also found in two passages from Aristophanes, in both of which the figure of the cowherd is essential to the joke. At the beginning of the *Wasps* two slaves, who are supposed to be guarding a house door, have been drinking and dozing. Sosias asks Xanthias what is wrong with him, and he says, “I’m learning to neglect the night watch” (line 2). Sosias then reveals that he too has been drinking (6–10):

Σω. σὺ δ’ οὖν παρακινδύνευ’, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦ γ’ ἐμοῦ
κατὰ τοῖν κόραιν ὕπνου τι καταχεῖται γλυκύ.

Ξα. ἀλλ’ ἢ παραφρονεῖς ἐτεδὸν ἢ κορυβαντιᾶς;

Σω. οὐκ, ἀλλ’ ὕπνος μ’ ἔχει τις ἐκ Σαβαζίου.

Ξα. τὸν αὐτὸν ἄρ’ ἐμοὶ βουκολεῖς Σαβάζιον.

Sos. You’re taking a chance, since the sweetness of sleep is flowing down over my eyes as well.

Xan. Do you mean you’re going mad or in a Corybantic trance?

Sos. No, but some sleep from Sabazius has got hold of me.

Xan. You’re cowherding the same Sabazius as I am.

15. Sansone 1975, 27. LSJ⁹ places this Aeschylus passage under category II, “cheat, beguile,” while the revised supplement of 1996 creates a separate subcategory for it (I.1.c) and translates “feed in one’s mind.” But I see no reason that a unique usage should be posited; the verb has the same core meaning—“tend, guard”—that we find elsewhere in this dramatist (*Supp.* 930, *Eum.* 78), though, in typical Aeschylean fashion, with metaphorical extension to guarding thought. The scholiast paraphrases ἐθεραπεύομεν ἐν λογισμοῖς τισι, and Hesychius glosses βουκολήσομεν with μεριμνήσομεν.

16. For the cultural association of herding with intellectual activity that underlies the analogy of herds-men to poets, see Gutzwiller 1991, 29–44.

17. Likewise, Timon of Phlius called Democritus a “shepherd of words” (ποιμένα μύθων, Diog. Laert. 9.40 = 820 *Suppl. Hell.*) because of his effective ability to construct argument, and Ps.-Lucian speaks of “shepherding the unlearned with clever uses of words” (ὀνομάτων κομψεύμασιν τοὺς ἀμαθεῖς ποιμαίνετῶσαν, *Amores* 54). For the use of ποιμαίνω in the general sense “tend,” see Eur. *Hipp.* 153, with the note by Barrett (1964, 191), and *Anth. Pal.* 12.99.2.

Sabazius was a Phrygian deity, relatively new to Athens in the fifth century. Wine clearly played a role in his cult, and, perhaps for that reason, ancient writers tended to identify him with Dionysus.¹⁸ Scholars have suggested that Aristophanes here chose the verb βουκολέω because Sabazius may have been tended, as was Dionysus, by devotees called βουκόλοι, perhaps because of the god's assumption of bull form.¹⁹ Although direct evidence for Dionysiac initiates called βουκόλοι is not available before the first century B.C.E., circumstantial evidence suggests that the association was older.²⁰ It seems highly likely, then, that the joke in Aristophanes turns on the mystic role of βουκόλοι in the rituals of Sabazius, but it turns as well on negative stereotypes of the cowherd. While the herdsman's essential role was to keep his animals from harm, he was sometimes conceived as lazy, ineffective, prone to pleasure at the expense of duty.²¹ The irony of the Aristophanes statement is that, in "cowherding Sabazius," that is, getting drunk, Xanthias and Sosias are neglecting their proper guarding duties. There is a striking similarity between the language of this passage, particularly the phrase ὕπνου τι καταχεῖται γλυκύ (7), and key phrasing in later bucolic poetry, where ἄδύ τι often acts as a programmatic statement of the pleasure afforded by bucolic song (Theocr. *Id.* 1.1–8, [Theocr.] *Epigr.* 5.2, [Mosch.] 3.120, [Bion] 2.1, Bion frag. 2.2).²² I am not arguing here for the mysteries as a source of bucolic poetry, but rather that both mysteries involving βουκόλοι and bucolic poetry drew on a set of assumptions about cowherds common in Greek culture.

A similar set of ideas about the cowherd underlies a passage found in the *Ecclesiazusae*. There women have been sent to steal articles of clothing from their husbands, and one returns with the staff of Lamias, purloined while he was sleeping. Praxagora delivers the punch line (79–81):

νῆ τὸν Δία τὸν σωτήρ' ἐπιτήδειός γ' ἂν ᾔν
τὴν τοῦ πανόπτου διφθέραν ἐνημμένος
εἶπερ τις ἄλλος βουκολεῖν τὸ δῆμιον.

18. For the similarities between the cults of Dionysus and Sabazius, see Turcan 1989, 289–324. In a study based more closely on inscriptional and artefactual evidence, Lane confirms the use of wine in the Sabazius cult (1989, 30–32) but argues that the association with Dionysus is primarily a misunderstanding (11–15, 53–60).

19. See, for instance, MacDowell 1971, ad 10. The best piece of evidence for the early association of Dionysus with βουκόλοι is Aristotle's report (*Ath. Pol.* 3.5) that the archon basileus occupied the so-called βουκολεῖον, where his wife was joined in marriage with Dionysus. It is uncertain whether in a fragment of Euripides' *Antiope* (*TrGF* 203) a cowherd wreathes a pillar sacred to Dionysus or whether the god is the βουκόλος; see Kannicht (2004, ad loc.), who favors the emendation that gives the latter reading.

20. A Thessalian inscription belonging to the first half of the third century does mention a *koinon* of "cowherds" (*SEG* 35.496), although any religious affiliation for this group is unclear. *BGU* 2427 (apparently third century) and *P Hib.* 67.21 (228 B.C.E.) record payment for textile goods called βουκολικά, which may have been used in some kind of ritual context; see Brashear 1980, 111. But epigraphic evidence for the title βουκόλος, as well as ἀρχιβούκολος, in the Dionysiac mysteries of the imperial period is ample. In addition, Lucian *Salt.* 79 includes cowherds among titans, corybantes, and satyrs as performers in Bacchic dances. For discussion of this evidence, see Merkelbach 1988.

21. The locus classicus is Hom. *Il.* 18.525–26, a scene on Achilles' shield in which two herdsman take pleasure in their syrinxes, unaware of an impending ambush. For this characteristic of herdsman, see Gutzwiller (1991, 27–44), who finds the herdsman's inadequacy in his tendency to self-absorbed pleasure, and Haubold (2000, 19–46), who, reading in social/political terms, finds the herdsman's inadequacy to preserve the herd/people as a systemic weakness, due to his status as a hireling.

22. For the idyllic picture of rural life in Aristophanes as a forerunner of Theocritean bucolic, see Bernsdorff 2001, 28–43.

By Zeus the savior, this guy, if he would just put on the jerkin of the All-Seeing One [Argos], would make a fine cowherd of the public trust.

If τὸ δῆμιον is the correct reading here,²³ then Praxagora is suggesting, ironically (γε), that Lamias demonstrates, by snoozing during the theft of his staff, his ability, or lack thereof, to guard the resources of the state. But the important thing for our purposes is to note that the joke hinges on the comparison of Lamias to Argos, who despite being “all eyes,” and so the perfect cowherd, fell asleep while guarding Io and was killed by Hermes. This is apparently a parodic allusion to Sophocles’ *Inachus*, in which Argos came on stage singing and was likely put to sleep by the sound of Hermes’ syrinx (*TrGF* IV 281a, with the scholium ad *Eccl.* 81, where the allusion to Sophocles is noted). The mere use of the verb βουκολέω is here sufficient to evoke the common cultural assumption that the cowherd’s principal job of guarding was intertwined, paradoxically, with his susceptibility to dereliction of duty, especially through beguilement.

(3) *Soothe/beguile*. The meaning “tend” sometimes took on the connotation “tend with soothing effect,” so that in later Greek βουκολέω commonly means “soothe,” often with reference to pain, physical or emotional. The earlier existence of this usage is indicated by a line in the *Eumenides* where Orestes is advised not to weary in the task of “cowherding” his labor (τόνδε βουκολούμενος πόνον, 78–79, glossed in the scholia with περιέπων, ἐνεργῶν in the sense of “dealing with”). We may compare a much later passage in Paulus Silentiarius in which sea travelers passing an island rejoice “soothing the pains of their boundless cares” (ἄλγεα βουκολέοντες ἀλικμήτοιο μερίμνης, *Descriptio Ambonis* 228) or the familiar fable in Babrius in which the fox who fails to reach luscious ripe grapes “cowherds its pain” (βουκολοῦσα τὴν λύπην) by proclaiming the grapes sour (*Fab.* 19).²⁴ Of special interest is a passage in pseudo-Lucian’s *Amores* where a compound of βουκολέω refers to the soothing of erotic pain. A young man who falls in love with Praxiteles’ statue of Aphrodite at Cnidus tries to “give himself some comfort from his suffering,” or, more precisely, “cowherd himself away,” through the distraction of dicing (τοῦ πάθους ἑαυτὸν ἀποβουκολῆσαι, 16). Continuing awareness of the literal reference to herding is shown by an epigram ascribed

23. The point of the joke has been much debated, partly because the manuscript reads τὸν δῆμιον, “the public executioner.” Worthington (1987, 161–64), for instance, attempts to preserve the transmitted text by arguing that Lamias, whom he interprets as a jailer, “does ‘look after’ (βουκολεῖν) the public executioner by keeping the prisoners incarcerated until their execution and . . . so provides him with a living” (163). But this seems quite unlikely, since what a δεσμοφύλαξ guards is prisoners, not the executioner. The idea that Lamias was a jailer comes from the scholiast, who probably was guessing about Lamias’ profession from the analogy to Argos as the guard of Io. If we accept the neuter form τὸ δῆμιον, suggested by Bothe, and understand it as a reference to public funds, perhaps because of some office held by Lamias, all falls into place: the analogy of herdsman to political leader was a commonplace of Greek culture, on which see Gutzwiller 1991, 69–73, and Haubold 2000, 17–46. For a similar interpretation of the passage, see Vetta 1989, ad loc.

24. See also Babrius *Fabulae* 136, where a father decorates his son’s chamber with paintings of animals to soothe the distress of being imprisoned there (χῶπος ἔχη τι βουκόλημα τῆς λύπης, 9); the *Suda* glosses βουκόλημα, from this passage, with τὸ θέλητρον.

to Antipater of Thessalonica (*Anth. Pal.* 9.150 = 68A Gow-Page, *GP*) in which a poor man who has lost his one sheep and one cow is said to have lost the “salve of his poverty” (πενίης . . . βουκόλιον), with a pun on the meaning “herd.”²⁵ Related nouns, connected with healing, develop from this meaning. Pliny (*HN* 25.31) gives *bucolicon* as an alternative name for a plant called *panaces* (“all-heal”) or *asclepion*; he explains the origin of the name from the practice of Macedonian herdsmen who collected the sap of the plant. In addition, a type of bandage is called βουκολίσκος in Greek medical texts (Galen 18(1).777 Kühn). Cowherding words thus came to be associated with the soothing of both physical and mental pain.

The practice that gave rise to this meaning was the herdsman’s ability to calm his animals with music produced by voice or pipe. Already in Homer shepherds play the syrinx as they accompany their herds (*Il.* 18.526). In Euripides’ *Alcestis* Apollo, serving as herdsman for Admetus, plays herding songs for the flocks (βοσκήμασι σοῖσι συρίζων ποιμνίτας ὑμεναίους, 576–77, explained by the scholium as ποιμενικὰς ᾠδὰς δι’ ὃν ἦγεν τὰ βοσκήματα εἰς τὸ ἀλλήλοις μίγνυσθαι), and the charm of his music is so great that wild beasts—lynxes, a lion, and a fawn—are “shepherded together with joy at the song” (σὺν δ’ ἐποιμαίνοντο χαρᾷ μελέων, 579). Plato also knows the herdsman’s ability to guide animals through the charm of soothing music: “To the extent that herd animals naturally participate in amusement and music, no other one is better at comforting them and soothing them with his charms (παρὰμυθεῖσθαι καὶ κηλῶν παύνειν) by practicing both with instruments and with voice alone the music that is best for his herd” (*Plt.* 268b). The tranquilizing effect of the herdsman’s music is the point, too, of Anyte’s epigram (*Anth. Pal.* 16.231 = 19 Gow-Page, *HE*) in which Pan, asked the purpose of his piping, explains that he assists his heifers in their grazing, and in Apollonius Rhodius a shepherd guides his flock from pasture to stead by “playing a herding tune on a clear-toned syrinx” (1.577–78).²⁶

A parallel between the musical herdsman and the poet was evident early on in Greek culture, as in Hesiod’s investiture as a poet while tending sheep on Mount Helicon (*Theog.* 22–34) or the cult story of the Muses giving Archilochus a lyre for a cow he was tending (*SEG* 15.517, Col. II = T 3 Gerber).²⁷ When Plato in the *Ion* asks who is better equipped—the rhapsode or the cowherd—to soothe (παρὰμυθουμένῳ) restless cows (540c), he evokes this parallel, while indicating that the cowherd’s musical expertise was focused on a particular type of sound, one that calms and controls his animals. A later passage from Maximus of Tyre shows other analogical forms that musical cowherding assumed in Greek culture—through its power to charm and

25. The last two couplets of the epigram repeat in Philip *Anth. Pal.* 9.255 = 46 Gow-Page, *GP*; for discussion of this oddity, see Gow and Page 1968, 72–73.

26. This pastoral scene appears in a simile used to illustrate the charming and soothing effects that Orpheus’ lyre music has upon fish following the Argo; see Bernsdorff 2001, 70–73. Control through music was sometimes part of actual herding practice: Polybius (12.4.1–7) describes how in Corsica goats and cows respond to the herdsman’s summoning trumpet and how in Italy swineherds gather their pigs by sounding a horn, or βυκόνη.

27. On these and similar stories, see Gutzwiller 1991, 29–35.

soothe. In explaining how inexperienced souls should be introduced to philosophy, he states (4.3c):

οὕτω καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ πρότερον μὲν δι' ἀπλότητα καὶ τὴν καλουμένην ταύτην εὐήθειαν ἐδεῖτο φιλοσοφίας μουσικῆς τινος καὶ πραοτέρας, ἣ διὰ μύθων δημαγωγῇσει αὐτὴν καὶ μεταχειριεῖται, καθάπερ αἱ τιτθαὶ τοὺς παῖδας διὰ μυθολογίας βουκολῶσιν.

Because of its tenderness and simplicity, the soul at first needs a musical and gentle philosophy that will win its favor and direct it by means of myths, just as nurses cowherd children with mythology.

The imagery in this comparison is complicated and multiple. Most simply, the nurses' soothing of children with mythical stories illustrates how a simple philosophy based on myths best wins over the young soul. But βουκολῶσιν introduces the further image of the cowherd calming his herd with music, which is extended from the simile of the nurses to the main clause through the words "musical and gentle" modifying philosophy and associating it with the syrinx playing of the cowherd. In addition, δημαγωγῇσει likens the allurements of the inexperienced soul through philosophical myths to the sophistic persuasion of the *demos*, and the idea of sophistry, verbal subtlety for persuasive purposes, had become associated, connotatively, with βουκολέω: the lexicographers list as one of its synonyms σοφίζομαι.

(4) *Cheat/deceive*. As the Maximus passage illustrates, the meaning "soothe" slides easily into "beguile"; from there it is but a short step to "cheat" or "deceive," a meaning documented as early as the fourth century B.C.E. and rather common in later Greek texts. The process by which this semantic shift occurs can be observed by tracking the expression "pasture on hopes," a commonplace saying that appears several times in tragedy. In Euripides' *Phoenissae*, to cite only one example, Jocasta says to Polyneices, "Fugitives are pastured on hopes, as the saying goes" (αἱ δ' ἐλπίδες βόσκουσι φυγάδας, ὥς λόγος, 396) and then adds, "Has not time revealed these hopes to be empty?" (οὐδ' ὁ χρόνος αὐτὰς διεσάφησ' οὔσας κενάς, 398). Jocasta's express statement, as well as similar phrases in Aeschylus (*Ag.* 1668), Sophocles (*Ant.* 1246; *TrGF* 948), and elsewhere in Euripides (*Bacch.* 617; *TrGF* 826), show that "pasture on hopes" was indeed a commonplace by the fifth century and that the phrase often connotes the emptiness of illusion.²⁸ One of the most frequent uses of βουκολέω in imperial Greek texts is in phrases of this type, as a synonym for βόσκω, and the hopes on which one is cowherded are often specifically "useless" or "empty," as, for instance, in Lucian (ἐλπίδι ματαία μωρὰ βουκολούμενοι, *Trag.* 29), Favorinus (βουκολούμενος ἐλπίσι ματαίαις, 28.3.35), and Vettius Valens (κεναῖς ἐλπίσι βουκοληθέντες, 247.2). So Hesychius glosses βουκολέω with ἀπατάω and explains βουκολεῖσθαι with χρησταῖς ἐλπίσι (ἀπατᾶσθαι).²⁹ The deceptive hopes that

28. See also Semon, frag. 1.6 West, Antiphanes frag. 121.7 KA, and Eubulus frag. 9.7 KA, with discussion in Fraenkel 1950, ad 1668. Cf. Herod. 8.15, where the goatherd compliments a slave: "nor do you pasture foolish thoughts" (οὐ . . . νηπίας φρένας βόσκεις).

29. A similar usage is found with the Latin verb *pasco* (*OLD* 4d): Verg. *Aen.* 1.464, *animum pictura pascit inani*; 10.627, *spes pascit inanis*; Ov. *Met.* 9.749, *spes est, quae pascit amorem*.

cowherd us are often associated with desire for pleasure. In pseudo-Lucian's *Amores* a man who is constantly falling in love declares that he is “cowherded by first one desire and then another” (ἄλλαις ἀπ’ ἄλλων ἐπιθυμίαις βουκολοῦμαι, 2), and in Alciphron (3.2.3) a parasite who is disappointed in his expectation of a fine dinner draws the moral: “We are cowherded on deceptive hopes (ἐλπίσιν ἀπατηλαῖς βουκολούμενοι) and end by getting more insults than pleasures (ἡδονῶν).” In Lucian (*Bis accusatus* 13.21), Pleasure herself (Ἡδονή) “cowherds away” (ἀπεβουκόλησεν) a lover of the Stoa.³⁰

The meaning “deceive” may have begun in colloquial speech, as it is first documented in passages from New Comedy. A lacunose passage from an unknown play contains the phrase “cowherd the master” (βουκολῆσαι δεσπο[τ, Adesp. frag. 1007.35 KA), evoking the trickery that is basic to the fourth-century comic plot. Menander uses the verb twice in the *Samia*, both times to work changes on the typical comic scenario in which youths and their slaves deceive father figures. In the first of these, Moschion is compelled to explain to his father Demeas that he has fathered a child on Niceratus’ daughter (528–31):

Μοσχ. ἔστι τῆς Νικηράτου
θυγατρός, ἐξ ἐμοῦ. λαθεῖν δὲ τοῦτ’ ἐβουλόμην ἐγώ.

Δημ. πῶς λέγεις;

Μοσχ. ὥσπερ πέπρακται.

Δημ. μή με βουκολεῖς ὄρα.

Μοσχ. οὐ λαβεῖν ἔλεγχόν ἐστι; καὶ τί κερδανῶ πλέον;

Mosch. It belongs to Niceratus’ daughter, and it’s from me. I wanted to hide this.

Dem. What do you mean?

Mosch. That’s what happened.

Dem. Make sure you’re not cowherding me.

Mosch. What proof can I give? How would I profit (from lying)?

Demeas is of course hoping that his son is presenting him with a false story, when in fact he is not—a typical Menandrian irony. While this first bucolic reference may be a play on Moschion’s name, some lines later Demeas himself is accused of assuming the cowherd’s role. He tries to soothe the angry Niceratus by claiming that perhaps Zeus has impregnated his daughter just as the god once impregnated Danae in a shower of gold (594–96):

Δημ. τότε μὲν γίνεθ’ ὁ Ζεὺς χρυσίον,
τότε δ’ ὕδωρ. ὁρᾷς· ἐκείνου τοῦργον ἐστίν. ὡς ταχὺ
εὔρομεν.

Νικ. καὶ βουκολεῖς με.

Δημ. μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, ἴγώ μὲν οὐ.

Dem. Sometimes Zeus becomes gold, sometimes water. You get it. It’s his deed. So we have quickly solved it.

Nic. You’re cowherding me.

Dem. No, by Apollo, I’m not.

30. The Stoics (Stobaeus *Ecl.* 2.112, 15–18 W = *SVF* 3.548.15–17) disavowed the sage’s susceptibility to such deception/cowherding: [φρασι] . . . οὔτε πλεονεκτεῖσθαι τὸν σοφὸν οὔτε βουκολεῖσθαι . . . ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα τὴν ἀπάτην περιέχειν. Cf. Oenomaus apud Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 2.52: τὸ πάθος καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία παραβουκολῆσαι (“desire leads astray/deceives suffering”).

Again, the “cowherding” involves deceptive speech, a story designed to soothe and beguile the one who hears it.³¹ And although Niceratus is not fooled into believing that Zeus has fathered his daughter’s child, he does calm down and agree to accept Moschion as his son-in-law. Demeas’ “cowherding” has its intended effect.

Once again, certain passages demonstrate that the Greeks remained aware of the etymological connection between this transferred meaning of βουκολέω and acts of tending cattle. In a fable of Aesop (*Fab.* 28.1 Hausrath-Hunger), for instance, a poor man who vows to the gods a hecatomb of cattle if his illness is cured later substitutes a hundred cows made of dough. The gods, who wish to “cowherd him in turn” (ἀντιβουκολῆσαι), send him a deceptive dream promising that he will find one thousand drachmas on the seashore. Instead he is captured by pirates, who sell him into slavery for just that amount. Here the act of “cowherding” involves a deceptive dream that creates false hopes, while the verb is literally relevant to the fable, where the gods out-cowherd the man who cheats them of their promised cows. Even clearer evidence that actual cowherding activity underlies the usage of βουκολέω to mean “cheat” or “deceive” is found in Longus (*Daphnis and Chloe* 1.27). There Daphnis tells Chloe a story about a beautiful and musical maiden who herded cows in the woods. She did not manage her animals by striking them with a staff or goad, but kept them under voice control by singing as she sat under a pine tree. A handsome boy, also a good singer, was herding cows not far away. Wanting to compete with the maiden (φιλο-νικήσας), he sang sweetly but more loudly than she, and so cowherded away (ἀπεβουκόλησεν) her eight best cows with beguilement (θέλξας). Longus here highlights the etymology of ἀποβουκολέω (which had acquired a transferred meaning as early as Xenophon), as the boy succeeds in charming away the maiden’s cows, who go “wandering” (πεπλανημένας). The *Etymologicum Magnum* glosses ἀποβουκολέω not only with ἀπατάω, “deceive,” but also with ἀποπλανέω, which means “lead astray” or “beguile.” Taking animals from another herdsman by stealth or deception was a common practice in Greek culture, attested as early as Homer (*Il.* 3.10–11). The clever theft of cattle is the primary means by which Hermes secures a place of honor among the gods in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, and Hermes’ slaying of Argos in order to release Io from his watchfulness is at base a story of animal theft, which in some versions was accomplished by lulling Argos to sleep with the syrinx. As the Argos story shows, the cowherd’s skill at soothing his animals in order to control and protect them is the same skill used to cheat or deceive another to get an advantage.³²

It is clear, then, that the entire semantic range of βουκολέω, as it progressed from the more literal meanings to the increasingly figurative ones, was in

31. Gomme and Sandbach (1973, ad 596) compare Ar. *Vesp.* 1406 (καὶ καταγελᾷς μου;) and Men. *Phasma* 90 (καὶ παρασκώπτεις με;). But this misses the particular nuance of βουκολέω: while Niceratus may take the impossible explanation as mockery, the kindhearted Demeas has a more gentle intention.

32. See Gutzwiller 1991, 35–44, for these, and other myths. For similar practices in twentieth-century Greek communities, see Campbell 1964 and Herzfeld 1985.

place by the early Hellenistic period. The more extended meanings first appear in the fifth century, in the bold metaphors of Aeschylus or the comic images of Aristophanes. Then in the fourth century, as in Xenophon and in New Comedy, transferred meanings for βουκολέω and related forms have apparently become part of the common parlance. Even so, the metaphorical usages never became so faded that their basis in herding practices, real and mythical, was not easily evoked.

II

We return now to τὰ βουκολικά as the generic term for a type of poetry written by Theocritus and his successors, among whom we know only Moschus and Bion. As scholars have become more cognizant of the distinction between the modern concept of pastoral poetry and the ancient concept of τὰ βουκολικά,³³ it has become increasingly obvious that ancient bucolic poetry cannot be adequately explained on the sole basis of formal criteria—contents, meter, and dialect. While the secondary stage of bucolic poems that are less focused on mimetic depiction of herdsmen shows clearly that bucolic was an evolving concept throughout the Hellenistic period, it has not been clear what underlying principles were guiding this development. The most plausible explanation of the type as it was formulated by the first century B.C.E. looks to the presence of the bucolic metaphor, particularly the identification of the poet with a cowherd. But I would argue that we can understand more, that the presence of the bucolic metaphor, whether explicit or implicit, is conditioned by the cultural understanding of what it means to cowherd, of the entire connotative and denotative range of βουκολέω.³⁴ I have emphasized that this semantic range was fully developed by the third century in order to show that Theocritus' use of bucolic terminology could evoke all literal and transferred meanings at the time his poetry was composed, and my recurring focus on *Idyll* 1, as a key poem both for Theocritus and for later bucolic, will show that all meanings of βουκολέω can be read into one or another of its aspects. But even if it seems likely that Theocritus *intended* the full range of bucolic signification to function in this *Idyll*, we should not therefore conclude that he set out to define a new genre with "bucolic" characteristics. He may simply have been exploring throughout this poem about the essential bucolic song—the Daphnis song—the cultural associations that then accrued to the figure

33. Halperin's insistence that the modern concept of pastoral is fundamentally different from Theocritus' concept of bucolic has been particularly influential. But his contention that βουκολικός and *pastoralis* "were never equated" (1983, 10) is overstated, since *pastoralis* is used as the Latin equivalent of the generic term; cf. Isid. *Etym.* 1.38.16 = Wendel, p. 21: *bucolicum, id est pastorale carmen, plerique Syracusis primum compositum a pastoribus opinantur*. While Vergil's reworking of Theocritean bucolic in the *Eclogues* did alter the generic conception, a simple linguistic dichotomy between "bucolic" and "pastoral" is too simple to encompass the complexity of generic development over centuries of time.

34. My approach is thus fundamentally different from that of scholars who seek to identify an essentialist set of generic characteristics for ancient bucolic (see, e.g., van Groningen 1958, 293–317). Among recent attempts to use formal criteria for the inclusion or exclusion of poems from the bucolic canon are Rossi 2001, 31, on the bucolic epigrams, and Bernsdorf 2001, 12. Trovati, who provides an excellent discussion of the role of meter and the Doric dialect in the development of later bucolic (2001, 51–61), nonetheless conceives the subject matter of the genre too narrowly, in terms only of erotic themes (61–68).

of the cowherd and to a type of song named after him.³⁵ My primary task in the second part of this paper is, then, to observe how the paradigm provided by Theocritus' herding poetry combined with and interacted with the commonplace semantic implications of bucolic terminology to shape, over time, the ancient concept of the genre.

Idyll 1, as likely the first poem encountered by ancient readers of a Theocritean collection, became a foundational poem for the bucolic genre, with the result that the multiplicity of meanings for βουκολικός suggested by this poem took root and contributed to the development of the concept of bucolic poetry. The basic meaning "to cowherd" and its early extension "to herd" are clearly operative here.³⁶ The goatherd's suggestion that Thyrsis had reached the "pinnacle of the bucolic Muse" (1.20) in an earlier performance of the Daphnis song, followed by the repeated references to "bucolic song" in Thyrsis' refrain, suggest, most simply, that bucolic song is song about the cowherd Daphnis or, alternately, song of the type he once performed. Allusions in ancient authors to Daphnis as the inventor of bucolic song, though perhaps based on both literary sources and subliterate practices now lost to us, reinforce such readings of the first *Idyll*. Aelian (*VH* 10.18) implies that Daphnis was the first to sing "bucolic songs" (τὰ βουκολικὰ μέλη), with the *pathos* of his blindness as their subject, and that Stesichorus of Himera introduced this story into lyric poetry; similarly, Diodorus (4.84) attributes to Daphnis the discovery of "bucolic poetry and song" (ἐξευρεῖν τὸ βουκολικὸν ποίημα καὶ μέλος), which, he reports, was still sung in Sicily in his own day.³⁷ But bucolic song, even if invented by or sung about Daphnis, was also song sung by herdsmen, so that the extended meaning "herd" for βουκολέω would support the impression that bucolic was simply herdsmen's song. This impression is reinforced in *Idyll* 1, where the shepherd Thyrsis sings for an unnamed goatherd, and in *Idyll* 7, where the goatherd Lycidas is the best musician "among herdsmen and reapers" (7.28–29). In *Idyll* 8, apparently one of the earliest post-Theocritean bucolic poems,³⁸ the young cowherd Daphnis establishes himself as "first among shepherds" (92) by winning a contest in "bucolic song" (31–32) against the shepherd Menalcas, a story perhaps intended to explain, etiologically, why songs sung by herdsmen of all types are called bucolic.³⁹

35. This is a subtle distinction, but a valid one. It is one thing for Theocritus to be aware of, and to evoke in his poetry about herdsmen and their songs, the cultural implications of bucolic terminology as it had developed by the third century B.C.E.; it is quite another thing for him to offer up these bucolic songs as a model for a new genre, with its own stylistic characteristics, typical characters, and thematic concerns.

36. A common starting point for the discussions of the bucolic problem: van Groningen 1958, 295; Van Sickle 1975, 56–57, 1976, 22; Halperin 1983, 79–81; Schmidt 1987, 110; Nauta 1990, 127; Hunter 1999, 8–9.

37. See too Diomedes *Artes grammaticae* 3.487 Keil (= Wendel, p. 17) and schol. ad *Id.* 1.141a. In [Theocr.] *Epigr.* 2 (= *Anth. Pal.* 6.177) Daphnis plays βουκολικοὺς ὕμνους on his syrinx.

38. On its early date, see Arland 1937, 64; Van Sickle 1975, 65; and Schmidt 1987, 122–23. On its importance in establishing the "bucolic manner," see Fantuzzi 1998.

39. The scholiasts deal with the semantic ambiguity in τὰ βουκολικά by explaining that the genre was named after cows, rather than sheep or goats, because cows are the larger animals (e.g., Prolegomena Ca and Cc = Wendel, pp. 3–4, *Anecdota Estienne* 3.4 = Wendel, p. 10). From this rather simplistic explanation there apparently developed the concept of the hierarchy of herdsmen, which Schmidt (1969) argues is an invention of late Latin commentators.

If the core meanings of βουκολέω help to define the objects of representation in bucolic poetry and to suggest its origin, the extended meanings point to other important elements of genre—purpose and effect. One traditional purpose for poetry in Greek culture was to instruct, especially to transmit the wisdom of the past, and the meaning “guard” for βουκολέω, with its metaphorical extension to guarding thought, promoted through etymology an association of bucolic song with the preservation of knowledge. So Thyrsis’ bucolic song preserves memory of Daphnis, a connotation signaled immediately before Thyrsis begins his performance when the goatherd points out that “you will not at all preserve (φυλαξεῖς) your song when you are in Hades that causes forgetfulness (ἐκλελάθοντα)” (62–63). In *Idyll 7* Lycidas’ “bucolic song,” which memorializes both Daphnis and the goatherd Comatas, evokes this connotation differently, since his purpose in hearing about these earlier herdsmen is to ease “memory” of his beloved Ageanax (μεμνημένος Ἀγαάνακτος, 7.69). When in the same poem Simichidas claims that the Nymphs “taught” (δίδαξαν, 7.92) him as he cowherded in the mountains, he grants himself, as scholars have often noted, poetic instruction like that knowledge of divine matters received by the shepherd Hesiod from the Muses.⁴⁰

In later Greek bucolic the cowherd-poet continues to be constructed in the traditional role of διδάσκαλος, but now particularly as an instructor in matters of erotic love. Moschus, for instance, offers τὰ διδάγματα for the loveless, namely, advice to avoid the circle of pursuit and flight and to love only reciprocally (frag. 2.7 Gow). Bion, in a programmatic poem, pictures himself as a cowherd (βοῦτα, 10.4 Gow) ordered by Aphrodite to instruct Eros in song.⁴¹ The subjects he chooses for his bucolic singing (βουκολίασδον, 10.5) are stories of how various gods—Pan, Athena, Hermes, Apollo—once invented musical instruments. But the intransigent pupil turns instructor to teach Bion about the erotic longings of gods and men, and the poet “forgets” (ἐκλαθόμαν, 12) all except what Eros has taught him. The lesson here seems to be that the traditional knowledge preserved by the bucolic poet should consist only of erotic stories since his life and art are controlled by the dictates of Eros. In another poem by Bion (frag. 13 Gow), the old man who instructs a boy in the art of fowling (τάνδε τέχνην ἐδιδάξατο, 13.9) warns him about the power of Eros, and this figure later becomes a model for Longus’ cowherd Philetas, who instructs Daphnis and Chloe in the arts of love (παυδεύσας, 2.8.1). A final example comes from the *Epitaphios Bionos*, an essential text for the later stages of the bucolic concept. There the dead Bion, who

40. A basic discussion remains Puelma 1960; on such initiation scenes more generally, see Kambylis 1965.

41. These lines have been read as a programmatic statement of the new focus on the erotic in bucolic poetry by Arland (1937, 41–42), or as a turning from bucolic to erotic poetry by Fantuzzi (1980–82, 159–60). Reed (1997, 8, 165) argues, however, that the cowherd who speaks here is not necessarily synonymous with the author and does not offer a description of himself in generic terms. Reed is correct to point out (p. 165, n. 35) that “late bucolic turns toward amatory themes, without disavowing pastoral” (that is, herding themes). But since Bion is so persistently represented as a cowherd-poet in the *Epitaphios Bionos* (especially 80–84), it seems most likely that he represented himself in this fashion in his own poetry; and this excerpt was likely preserved partly because of its character as a version of poetic initiation. Erotic material, not stories of gods, was the stuff of bucolic in Theocritus as well.

is said to have “taught the kisses of boys” (παίδων ἐδίδασκε φιλήματα, 83), now sings a “Lethan song beside Pluto” (22), that is, a song of forgetfulness. But his pupil, the composer of the epitaph, expects the bucolic tradition to continue, since Bion has taught (διδάξας, 95) him Doric song.⁴² By presenting the cowherd-poet as a διδάσκαλος, but more particularly an ἐρωτοδιδάσκαλος, bucolic poetry assumes for itself the traditional function of benefiting its reader, who is projected as a lover, or potential lover, in need of instruction on how to manage erotic longing.

The other extended meanings of βουκολέω—“soothe”/“beguile”/“deceive”—serve as a guide to the effect that bucolic poetry was expected to have upon its audience. Again, *Idyll* 1 may serve as a paradigm since it provides us with an internal audience, the goatherd, to anticipate and reflect upon Thyrsis’ bucolic song. We are not expressly told why the goatherd is so eager to hear Thyrsis sing, but much suggests that he longs for the soothing pleasure afforded by the performance. The shepherd’s song is “sweeter” (ἄδιον, 7), the goatherd asserts, than his own “sweet” piping (ἄδύ, 2), and proof is the claim that his syrinx music will arouse the bitterness of Pan while Thyrsis’ “lovely” (ἐφίμερον, 61) song is conducive to the god’s sleep. Later on when the song ends, the goatherd elaborately defines its effect in terms of honey and “sweet” (ἄδεϊαν, 148) dried figs and claims that Thyrsis sings better than the cicada, an emblem of the enchanting sounds of nature. But the goatherd is not the only internal audience. As Pan snoozes, perhaps lulled by the sound, the herd animals are apparently calmed, or entranced, as well. The goatherd’s final warning to the she-goats not to skip lest they attract the billy goat conveys just this, that they are now released from the song’s effect and need other forms of control.⁴³ We have already observed that βουκολέω acquires the meaning “soothe” from the herdsman’s ability to calm his animals with music, a cultural assumption so basic that it finds little emphasis in Theocritus and the later bucolic poets. Thyrsis’ Daphnis song is, then, just as the goatherd proclaims, the best of bucolic song, a model for all later bucolic singing, including the poems written by those who fictioned themselves as cowherds. It deserves its label as the pinnacle of the bucolic muse, because the soothing pleasure it creates in its audience—animal, human, and divine—is the quintessential bucolic effect.⁴⁴

The emotional turmoil to which herdsmen are subject is predominantly erotic, and other poems show that if a herdsman practices his soothing music, not for the benefit of his animals or another human listener, but for his own benefit, then he may find a way of relieving the intensity of erotic

42. Hubbard (1998, 37) even argues that bucolic poetry was defined in its generic essence as “concerned with poetic inheritance and succession.”

43. Scholars often emphasize the raw, animal sexuality of this passage, in contrast to the sentimentality of the preceding song, and compare *Id.* 4.58–63, 5.147–50; see, for instance, Stanzel 1995, 85–87, Hunter 1999, ad 151–52, and Bernsdorff 2001, 158. But this overlooks the causal relationship to the song’s end. Likewise, in *Id.* 6, after Daphnis and Damoetas sing, they begin to pipe, and the calves dance in response (44–45); the implication is that their sung music soothes the animals during their noon rest but their piping tunes are more vigorous, guiding the herd back to controlled activity.

44. For ἡδύς and ἁρμονία as fundamental to Theocritus’ concept of “pastoral,” see Edquist 1975, 101–14.

pain. *Idyll* 11, a paradigmatic text in the later bucolic tradition,⁴⁵ provides a key example of a herdsman—Polyphemus—who cowherds his own emotions, manages his pain, as does Orestes in the *Eumenides* (βουκολούμενος πόνον, 78–79). The framing address to Nicias, both physician and poet, in which the Muses are said to be the best φάρμακον for love, better than salves and plasters, intersects with the use of bucolic terminology in the medical realm (cf. *bucolicon*, βουκολίσκος),⁴⁶ and at the close Theocritus uses the phrase ἐποίμεινεν τὸν ἔρωτα (80, given that Polyphemus is a shepherd rather than a cowherd) in the sense “tend with soothing effect.”⁴⁷ Certainly, in some ancient readings, the singing Cyclops was seen as practicing an alleviation of erotic longing, a therapy for desire, as advocated by various Hellenistic philosophical systems.⁴⁸ One scholium states that Theocritus’ opening reference to the Pierides as “something light and sweet” in matters of love refers to the alleviation of *pathos* that comes from desiring κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν, that is, through a reasoned quietening of passion (schol. ad 11.3/4b, τὸ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν ἔρᾶν κουφότητα παρέχει τῷ πάθει), and another scholium explains the phrase “he found the φάρμακον” as meaning that Polyphemus “soothed” his love “through song” (παρεμυθεῖτο δὲ τῇ ᾠδῇ, schol. ad 14). The idea that Theocritus’ herding poetry is connected in some way with a striving after the philosophical goal of ἀταραξία, especially in an Epicurean manner, is scarcely new,⁴⁹ but what scholars have not recognized, and I want to emphasize, is how this poetic goal is semantically implicit in bucolic terminology. Despite the comic aspects of his character, Polyphemus’ ability to soothe, at least temporarily, the emotional distress caused by his love for Galatea becomes a model for the behavior of later bucolic poets. So, for instance, bucolic song as self-therapy is suggested by a fragment from Bion (frag. 3 Gow):

Μοῖσας Ἔρως καλέοι, Μοῖσαι τὸν Ἔρωτα φέροιεν.
 μολπὰν ταὶ Μοῖσαι μοι αἰεὶ ποθέοντι διδοῖεν,
 τὰν γλυκερὰν μολπὰν, τὰς φάρμακον ἄδιον οὐδέν.

45. For a list of passages that constitute a “rezeptionsgeschichtliches Stemma” for *Id.* 11 in later bucolic poetry, see Schmidt 1987, 111.

46. The curing of the disease of love through (herdsman’s) song was present already in Philoxenus’ dithyramb about the Cyclops; see the scholiast ad 11.1–3b: καὶ Φιλόξενος τὸν Κύκλωπα ποιεῖ παραμυθεύμενον ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς Γαλατείας ἔρωτι καὶ ἐντελλόμενον τοῖς δελφίσιν, ὅπως ἀπαγγείλωσιν αὐτῇ, ὅτι ταῖς Μοῖσαις τὸν ἔρωτα ἀκείται. On the medical imagery in *Id.* 11, see Erbse 1965, 232–36; Farr 1991, 477–84; and Hunter 1999, ad 11.1–6.

47. As Gow (1952b, ad loc.) decides, the fundamental idea is “keep under control” or “manage,” though surely Polyphemus does this by soothing his erotic impulse: the phrase used by the scholiasts in arg. a,d and ad 11.1–3a is ἔρωτα παρηγορεῖν, “to soothe his love.” Gow’s suggestion that the meaning “cheat, beguile” comes into play has been rejected by Hunter (1999, ad loc.) and Cozzoli (1999, 46–47), and it is difficult to find any use of ποιμαίνω (including Ps.-Lucian *Amores* 54) where the meaning “cheat,” “beguile” is necessary. But other metaphorical uses of ποιμαίνω parallel those of βουκολέω, and the shift in meaning from “soothe his love” to “beguile his love” (that is, delude himself about his own feelings) is slight. Cf. Alpers 1979, 123: “The wit largely involves the opacity of ‘shepherded’ . . . , which suspends divergent interpretations by saying, in effect, ‘saw it through by behaving like the herdsman that he was.’”

48. The perennial scholarly issue concerning whether Polyphemus does or does not cure himself of love has now been effectively handled by Hunter (1999, 220–21), who argues that there is nothing in the last lines of poem “to suggest a final ‘curing’ or *katharsis*, in which despair is replaced by whole-heartedness”; rather, Polyphemus’ “song ‘relieves’ his love, but in ‘shepherding’ it he keeps it alive.” See too the reading of Stanzel 1995, 162–73. On the ambiguous meaning of φάρμακον, see Goldhill 1991, 249–61.

49. The Epicurean connections have been emphasized particularly by Rosenmeyer (1969). For the importance of therapy of desire in various Hellenistic philosophies, see Nussbaum 1994.

Let Eros summon the Muses, let the Muses support Eros.
 Let the Muses give me song in my constant state of longing,
 pleasant song than which no drug is sweeter.

Whether spoken by Bion or another, these lines define the bucolic experience in terms of a perpetual erotic longing, perpetually soothed by the “sweet” φάρμακον of song.

The later bucolic genre, which sometimes abandons herdsmen as mimetic objects in favor of metaphor, is yet defined, I would argue, by the audience effect that poetry composed by a cowherd should produce. So in the anonymous *Epithalamium of Achilles and Deidameia* one character, apparently a herdsman, asks Lycidas to sing “a sweet Sicilian song” (1), which is to be “lovely, sweet in spirit, and erotic” (ἡμερόεν γλυκύθυμον ἐρωτικόν, 2). Though the hero of the *Iliad* is the main character in this song, the story told of his seduction of Deidameia as he hides among the girls of Scyros creates in the audience a vicarious erotic experience that is the expected effect of bucolic, not epic, poetry. In the *Epitaphios Bionos*, which encapsulates the bucolic vision as it had developed by the first century B.C.E., Galatea’s reaction to Bion’s song is characterized as τέρψις (Γαλάτεια . . . , ἅν ποκ’ ἔτερπες, 58), although his death has now produced a state of longing as she sits by the shore, herding his cattle still. A short poem by Moschus (frag. 1 Gow), a comparison of life on sea and on land, does not expressly concern herding, but its description of pleasures on land—“sweet sleep under a broad-leaved plane tree” (11) and an echoing spring that “pleases the sleepless one and does not agitate” (τέρπει . . . τὸν ἄγρυπνον, οὐχὶ ταρασσει, 13)—signals the basis on which it was assigned (as in Stobaeus) to Moschus’ τὰ βουκολικά.⁵⁰ Soothing pleasure as relief from longing, specifically erotic, had become by the first century B.C.E. so closely connected with bucolic that it could be evoked in other poetic types to signal a mixing of genres. So Meleager constructs himself as the audience for a bucolic song in a pair of epigrams in which he calls upon a grasshopper and a cicada to play some lovely rustic tune and lull him to sleep as escape from his longings (*Anth. Pal.* 7.195–96).⁵¹ This pair of poems, in which the lover moves to the countryside to seek solace, begins with an address to the grasshopper as “deceiver of my longings” (ἐμῶν ἀπάτημα πόθων) and “soother of sleep” (παραμύθιον ὕπνου), both covert references to the proper effect of bucolic song. Here the beneficiary of the insects’ music will be the lover, who asks the grasshopper to rescue him from the “pains of sleepless care” (πόνων ῥύσαιο παναγρύπνοιο μερίμνης, 7.195.5) and requests that the cicada sing so that he may escape Eros and find noon sleep “reclining under a shady plane” (ὅπῳ σκιερᾷ κεκλιμένος πλατάνω, 7.196.8). As the latter phrase evokes key passages in Greek bucolic (*Id.* 7.88–89 with 7.133–36, *Epitaph. Bion.* 21; cf. Anyte, *Anth. Pal.* 9.313.1

50. For the association of bucolic with the *locus amoenus*, see Elliger 1975, 318–75, Bernsdorff 2001, 140–42.

51. For the Meleager epigrams as intermediary text for the reception of bucolic in Verg. *Ecl.* 1.1–2, see Gutzwiller 1996b, 95–96; on the bucolic allusions in these epigrams, see Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004, 177–78.

and Mnasalces, *Anth. Pal.* 7.192.3), so ἀπάτημα and παραμύθιον stand in as precise synonyms for τὸ βουκολικόν.

To the audience ear, the term *bucolic* not only suggested a specific kind of poetry, that which produces a soothing calm; it also evoked critical theories of what poetry itself should be. In the continuum of ancient views about the function of literature, whether to entertain or to teach, the bucolic genre falls toward that end of the scale where pleasure is preferred to instruction, and certain third-century literary critics, including Eratosthenes, advanced theories privileging ψυχαγωγία, the entrainment of the audience, over διδασκαλία, instruction designed to benefit the audience.⁵² Remnants of Philodemus' *On Poems* indicate that ψυχαγωγία came to be accepted by many Hellenistic literary critics as the principal goal of poetry and that debates centered on the question of whether the audience's enthrallment was achieved by sound alone or by content as well.⁵³ The passage from Maximus of Tyre cited above (4.3c) shows how easily ψυχαγωγέω and βουκολέω could be construed as synonyms: here nurses' ability to "cowherd" (βουκολῶσιν) children with stories is analogized to philosophy's ability to "lead" (δημαγωγῆσει) the "soul" (ψυχή).⁵⁴ If I am right, then, about how the connotations of βουκολέω play in the developing concept of bucolic poetry, this new genre offered its own mode of integrating instruction and pleasure, or rather of subsuming instruction to pleasure: the fictional tradition about herdsmen promoted in Theocritus and the other bucolic poets teaches by offering past examples of erotic experience, even as it strives to promote a sweet, seductive effect in its audience. A statement preserved in the bucolic scholia refers expressly to the charming pleasure that bucolic poetry was expected to bring its audience: συμπλέκει δὲ ὁμῶς αὐτῷ τὸ ἀνθηρὸν τῶν λόγων εἶδος, ὃ δὴ χάριν ὁμοῦ καὶ κάλλος ἔχον τέρπει καὶ ἥδει ὥσπερ ἄνθος τοὺς ἀκροατάς ("an intrinsic part of it [bucolic poetry] is the flowery manner of speech, which by possessing charm and beauty brings pleasure and sweetness, like a flower, to the listeners," *Anecdota Estienne* 3.6 = Wendel, pp. 11–12).

Now that we have shown how bucolic poetry's objects of representation, stories of origin, purpose, and effect are connected to certain meanings of βουκολέω and related words, there still remains to be considered a fourth semantic category—"cheat/deceive." This meaning, known from the fourth century B.C.E. and common throughout later antiquity, suggests that the bucolic singer may have a secondary purpose for his enchanting song, not to instruct the hearer in order to benefit him, but to persuade him for the singer's

52. Strabo 1.1.10 (cf. 1.2.3) attributes to Eratosthenes the statement that ποιητὴς πᾶς στοχάζεται ψυχαγωγίας, οὐ διδασκαλίας. Cf. too Agatharchides *GGM* 1.117, frag. 8, πᾶς ποιητὴς ψυχαγωγίας [μᾶλλον] ἢ ἀληθείας ἐστὶ στοχαστής, and Polyb. 2.56.11–13, who distinguishes ψυχαγωγία as the goal of tragedy, involving deception (διὰ τὴν ἀπάτην), from διδασκαλία as the goal of history, in which truth benefits the reader (τάληθές διὰ τὴν ὠφέλειαν).

53. See Janko 2000, frags. 12, 161–62, 166 (on Andromenides), frags. 109, 111 (on Pausimachus), frag. 151 (on Megaclides), and frag. 209 (on Heracleodorus), and for Philodemus' views on this debate, Asmis 1995.

54. Cf. Phld. *On Poems* 1, frag. 166.3–4 Janko, where ψυχαγωγία is etymologized with the phrase ἀ[κοίην τι]να ψυχῆς ἀγωγ[όν]. Wigodsky (1995, 65–68) insists too strongly that the etymological meanings of the word were entirely faded in Hellenistic criticism.

advantage, to create soothing illusion that misleads. As a result, the functioning of bucolic poetry as so far identified is problematized, and the genre comes to contain within itself, or within its identifying terminology, a kind of metapoetic self-questioning.

We have already seen an example of the herdsman's behavior that reinforces this meaning of βουκολέω in Longus (1.27), where a boy who competes with a maiden in singing steals her animals by "cowherding" them away with charming song, and we have noted that earlier mythical stories, such as that of Hermes slaying Argos, show the close cultural connection between herding music and aggressive deception. In Theocritus the verb βουκολιάσδομαι, which in the later tradition means simply "sing bucolic song," is, like the noun βουκολιαστάς, used to evoke this aggressive, competitive aspect of herdsmen's singing.⁵⁵ In the fifth *Idyll* Comatas and Lacon employ various means of verbal enticement to get an advantage over the other, both before the contest begins and in its exchange of songs. Each accuses the other of theft (3–19), and each tries to entice his competitor to his own location by describing the pleasant sensations of sight, smell, and touch to be experienced there (45–59). The shadow of competition haunts other Theocritean *Idylls* as well, such as *Idyll* 1, where the goatherd matches Thyrsis point by point, and *Idyll* 7, where Simichidas disavows, though not too convincingly, an aim to compete with more prominent poets (7.39–41).⁵⁶ Since he suggests an exchange of songs with Lycidas in a quasi-competitive manner (note ἰσοφαρίζειν, 7.30), his offer to "bucolicize" (βουκολιασδώμεσθα, 7.36) preserves the eristic aspects of the word, while providing a starting point for the interpretation of the verb in the more general sense of "sing bucolic song" ([Theocr.] *Id.* 9.1, 9.5, [Mosch.] *Epitaph. Bion.* 120, Bion frag. 10.5 Gow).

But bucolic deception was not always practiced by one person to get advantage over another, and the concept of "cowherding oneself on deceptive hopes," so common in later antiquity, could easily be read into Theocritus' herding poetry and the poetry of his bucolic successors. In a fragment of Bion (from Stobaeus' *περί ἐλπίδος*), a speaker who longs for Galatea declares explicitly that "not until old age will I abandon my sweet hopes" (τὰς δὲ γλυκείας ἐλπίδας ὕστατίω μέχρι γήραος οὐκ ἀπολειψῶ, frag. 16 Gow). In *Idyll* 3 the comic goatherd who serenades Amaryllis outside her cave is clearly, perhaps because Amaryllis is a nymph or even a stone statue of one,⁵⁷ deceiving himself with unobtainable hopes. Similarly, in *Idyll* 4 the cowherd Aegon has abandoned his herd in the improbable hope of winning

55. In 5.60 the verb is coupled as synonym with ποτέρισθε, and in 5.67–68 Lacon declares that he and Comatas "compete" (ἐρίσδομες) to see who is the better βουκολιαστάς. Gow (1952b, ad 5.44) comments that "the idea of challenge or competition seems on the whole to be inherent in the verb" and points out that the phraseology here finds a parallel in a number of Homeric threats or boasts; see too Hunter 1999, 6–7. Arguments that Theocritus coined the term (Rosenmeyer 1969, 33; Dover 1971, 1v; Van Sickle 1975, 57, 1976, 23–24; Halperin 1983, 81) overlook or discount the story from Epicharmus (in Ath. 14.619b) that a Sicilian cowherd Diomus invented the herding song called βουκολιασμός; see Nauta 1990, 128–29, Gutzwiller 1991, 138–39.

56. On competition in the *Idylls*, see Frangeskou 1996; on the alternation between modesty and boastfulness in Simichidas' self-presentation, see Segal 1981, 167–75.

57. See Gutzwiller 1991, 118–21.

an athletic competition, since he “is in love with evil victory” (κακᾶς ἡράσσαιο νίκας, 27), and those left behind in the countryside with no syrinx music suffer, the cows with longing (ποθεῦντι, 12) for the cowherd and Battus with love for his dead Amaryllis. Yet the inept cowherd Corydon is persistently optimistic, proclaiming at one point, “Hope belongs to the living, the dead have no hope” (4.42), and we may note that, according to the *Suda* (s.v. Θεόκριτος), a poetic work entitled *Elpides* was attributed to Theocritus. It seems that, in time, the mere presence of illusion as a theme became sufficient reason for ancient readers to connect a poem with the bucolic genre, even if herdsmen were entirely absent. Theocritus’ *Idyll* 10 opposes a practical reaper to a dreamy lover with the bucolic-sounding name Boucaeus, who has a “longing for what is unobtainable” (πόθος τῶν ἔκτοθεν, 9). When Aelian (NA 15.19) speaks of Theocritus’ *iunx* song, a clear reference to the urban *Idyll* 2, as a “pastoral trifle” (νομευτικὰ παίγνια), he is perhaps thinking of Simaetha’s vain hope that Delphis may return her love. Likewise, in the apparently spurious *Idyll* 21 one fisherman tells another of a dream in which he caught a golden fish, and his companion advises him to find the “hope that comes from sleep” (ἐλπὶς τῶν ὕπνων) in his waking actions: “Seek fish of flesh to avoid dying from hunger and golden dreams” (21.66–67). If we worry how a poem about dreaming fishermen could be considered bucolic, we may note a passage from Porphyry that specifically connects the enchanting beguilement of dreams with the condition of “cowherding” oneself: καθεύδωμεν ὑπὸ τῶν ψυχαγωγούντων ἡμᾶς ἐνυπνίων βουκολούμενοι (“let us sleep, cowherding ourselves with soul-beguiling dreams,” *Ad Marcellam* 6).⁵⁸

Does the cultural implication of bucolic terminology help us, then, to understand why the theme of vain hopes, the pain or pleasure they may provoke and the alternative of the practical, is found already in the first *Idyll*, in the goatherd’s description of his cup? There two young men vie “uselessly” (ἐτώσια, 38) for a woman’s affection, while an old fisherman working to his utmost is juxtaposed with a boy joyfully plaiting a cricket cage, unaware of predatory foxes.⁵⁹ One way of reading these scenes is to see the painful longing of the young men answered by the alternatives of hard work or the enchantment of song, itself marked as temporary, illusory. Some scholars have interpreted the boy who “weaves” a cage for a maker of rustic song as Theocritus’ symbol of the bucolic poet,⁶⁰ but this reading is, again, based on the assumption that Theocritus viewed some or all of his hexameter poetry as a new genre, distinguishable from other forms of epic. I would offer the simpler explanation that Theocritus was exploring in this scene, as in a number of his other *Idylls*, the cultural implications of the bucolic, of what it means

58. Likewise, in Lucian *Dial. mort.* 15.2 hopeful heirs, cowherded (διαβουκολεῖ) by an old man who refuses to die, perish “midst their hopes” (ἀπὸ μέσων τῶν ἐλπίδων) as they leave behind “the wealth they dreamed of” (τὸν ὄνειροποληθέντα πλοῦτον). Cf. too Choricus 23.2.77–78, who in addressing those “hopes that cowherd away life” (ἀποβουκολίσασαι τὸν βίον ἐλπίδες) says that he “dreamed of gold” (χρυσίον ὄνειροπόλουν), “deceived by beguilements” (ψυχαγωγίαις ἡπατημένος).

59. Halperin (1983, 217–48) argues that the cup conveys the themes of Theocritean bucolic, but on different grounds, that the scenes on the cup illustrate a contrast with Homeric epic.

60. For instance, Segal 1981, 27; Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004, 142–45.

to “cowherd” or to “be cowerded.” So, for instance, the crafty foxes seem closely associated with cowerding/deception in Aesop’s *Fables* (of which Demetrius of Phaleron made a collection likely known to Theocritus; see Diog. Laert. 5.80–81).⁶¹ In one fable a fox explains to a jackdaw, who is waiting for some figs to ripen so that he might have the pleasure of eating them, that he is being “misled . . . by entrusting to hope, which knows how to cowerd, but not at all how to nurture” (πεπλάνησαι . . . ἐλπίδι προσέχων, ἥτις βουκολεῖν μὲν οἶδε, τρέφειν δὲ οὐδαμῶς, *Fab.* 128.1 Hausrath-Hunger). The boy joyfully obsessed with his cricket’s cage, unaware of the foxes who lurk nearby, is having a “bucolic” experience very like that of the jackdaw, one based on pleasant expectations that cannot last. We should not be surprised, then, that the goatherd’s description of the cup has been interpreted by many readers as a suitable counterpart for Thyrsis’ quintessential bucolic song of Daphnis’ death, since it presents a set of experiences that seem to delimit the cultural phenomenon known as bucolic.

The ease with which βουκολέω slides from the meaning “soothe/beguile” to “cheat/deceive” may also illuminate the underlying reason for the long-standing controversy about Theocritus’ presentation of the Cyclops figure. While some scholars believe that Theocritus intends Polyphemus’ song in *Idyll* 11 to illustrate a therapy for desire, a successful management of his love longing, to suit the proclamation in the poem’s frame, others believe the Cyclops to be an ironized figure who deludes himself with the expectation that he might someday be attractive either to Galatea or to any girl.⁶² In my view, the poem contains various clues that Theocritus is working with a culturally predetermined concept of herdsman’s song, as both beneficial and self-deluding. In reading Polyphemus’ song against the frame, it is often overlooked that his song is not initially, or for the most part, inwardly directed, but rather an attempt to persuade Galatea, through alluring argument, like a herdsman his sheep (cf. τὰν παρεοῖσαν ἄμελγε, 75).⁶³ But as the comic goatherd in *Idyll* 3 fails to persuade his Amaryllis, so too Polyphemus is a bad rhetorician who fails to win Galatea. For both herdsmen, the result is physical and emotional distress (ἀλγέω τὰν κεφαλάν, 3.52; φασῶ τὰν κεφαλάν καὶ τὼς πόδας . . . σφύσσειν, . . . ἀνῶμαι, 11.70–71). While the goatherd comically threatens suicide, Polyphemus turns his song inward, admonishing himself to return to work and proclaiming that other girls invite him to play with them. But surely, as an ancient scholiast noted (ἵσως δὲ καταγελῶσιν αὐτοῦ, ad 11.78b), Polyphemus misreads the laughter of these girls as erotic interest

61. See Matelli 2000, 413–47. Perhaps Theocritus’ odd choice of language—the fox depicted on the bowl “says” (φατῖ, 1.51) that he will make the boy go without his lunch—indicates a connection with the speaking animals in such tales.

62. The view that Polyphemus achieves a kind of catharsis goes back to Erbse 1965; cf. Holtsmark 1966. One of the strongest voices among recent supporters of this view is Cozzoli (1994), who places the poem in the tradition of Aristotelian catharsis while arguing that it introduces a more typically Hellenistic self-catharsis. For the view that Polyphemus is to be viewed ironically because he is deluded in believing that song can cure him of his love, see Effe and Binder 2001, 25–26; cf. Horstmann 1976, 80–110.

63. See, for instance, Walker 1980, 74: “The Cyclops sings in order to cure his dangerously depressed state of mind, not in order to woo Galatea.”

instead of mockery, so that the reader is alerted to the illusory nature of Polyphemus' comforting hopes: ironically, the only person the Cyclops is capable of beguiling is himself. In *Idyll* 6, as I read it, the cowherds Daphnis and Damoetas entertain themselves by dramatizing the delusions of the Cyclops, as Daphnis claims to spot Galatea flirting with him from the waves and Damoetas, assuming the Polyphemus role, accepts this reading of her behavior on the basis that he has himself observed his good looks in the sea's surface (6.35–38).⁶⁴ Again, this belief in his own handsomeness signals, unmistakably, the Cyclops' self-deception. Later Greek bucolic reads Theocritus' treatment of the Cyclops this way, since in the *Epitaphios Bionos* Galatea sits on the shore enchanted by Bion's song, unlike that of the Cyclops whom "lovely Galatea fled" (58–63).

Based on the metaphorical association of cowerding with deception, the poetic genre that came to be called bucolic may, then, exemplify, meta-poetically, the illusory nature of art. From at least the time of Gorgias (82 B 11.8, 23 DK) ἀπατάω, later a standard synonym for βουκολέω, could refer to the illusion created by speech, by fiction. In the *Phaedrus*, commonly recognized as an important forerunner of bucolic poetry,⁶⁵ Plato sets the conversation between Socrates and Phaedrus about Lysias' speech in a *locus amoenus*, which represents the enchanting power of language with its potential for (rhetorical) deception; later after Socrates' palinode, delivered to atone for his own false speech made under the influence of the local Nymphs, he defines the art of rhetoric, negatively, as ψυχαγωγία τις διὰ λόγων (261a; cf. 271c). The cicadas chirping overhead, once men so enchanted by the pleasures of music that they wasted away from lack of food and drink, watch to see if Socrates and Phaedrus will engage in a dialectic search for the truth or doze through the midday heat, like slaves or sheep, "charmed" (κηλουμένους) by their song "through inactivity of thought" (258e–259d). Although the precise connection between the *Phaedrus* and bucolic poetry has been difficult to determine (and surely they value differently the pleasures of nature and speech), what the Platonic dialogue clearly shows is that already when Theocritus came to write his herding poetry the soothing and musical effect of a *locus amoenus*—such as the one featured in *Idyll* 1—suggested, at least for certain intellectuals, the deceptive power of language. Bucolic terminology, I am arguing, is part of this complex of cultural associations.

So the bucolic genre contains, by virtue of its own label, not only an indication of its anticipated effect—soothing calm—but the further suggestion that this bucolic effect is always, on some level, but illusion, a temporary reprieve, like sleep during noon. This dual experience of the bucolic, as enchantment and distanced awareness of enchantment, feeds into current

64. Since the motivations of Daphnis and Damoetas are unstated, essentially ambiguous (see Hunter 1999, 244–47), other readings have been offered. Bowie (1996, 91–95), for instance, argues that the cowherds demonstrate to each other a willingness to love, while Bernsdorff (1994, 38–51) points out a parallel between Polyphemus' behavior toward Galatea in *Id.* 6 and Daphnis' behavior toward the κόρα (1.82) who seeks him in *Id.* 1 and argues that the Daphnis of the sixth *Idyll* fails to learn the obvious lesson from his own song.

65. See Murley 1940; Gutzwiller 1991, 73–79; Hunter 1999, 14, 145–46.

scholarly disagreements about Theocritus' intention in his herding poetry, whether—to state the more polarized versions—he intentionally begins the tradition of pastoral engagement with the pleasures of peaceful leisure, or seeks instead to present an ironized view of simple rural life.⁶⁶ I prefer to believe that Theocritus' herding poetry reflects the full and complex implications of its bucolic vocabulary, so that the reader is invited to embrace the beguilement of the song while remaining conscious that its spell is illusory. In later Greek bucolic this metapoetic quality seems less evident, replaced by the metaphor of the poet as cowherd: since bucolic poets like Moschus and Bion enter into the fiction of the genre by identifying themselves with its primary objects of representation, they can scarcely view its characters and modes of behavior from any kind of distance, whether sentimental or ironized. But the connection of cowherding with both soothing calm and deceptive hope continued in the cultural awareness so that, for instance, Meleager, in playing the bucolic role of the lover soothed by the music of tuneful insects, calls the grasshopper's song not only "encouragement (παραμύθιον) of sleep" but also "deception (ἀπάτημα) of my longings" (*Anth. Pal.* 7.195.1 = 12.1 Gow-Page, *HE*). The success of the Vergilian revival has much to do with the recovery of this double focus on bucolic experience, evident in key poems in his collection—as, for example, in Gallus' failed attempt to escape his longing for Lycoris through entrance into pastoral Arcadia in *Eclogue* 10. His failure to find release from erotic pain in pastoral song (*omnia vincit amor*, *Ecl.* 10.69) is often read as a statement about generic boundaries, as a correction for the intrusion of the elegiac into the bucolic. But I would argue that it can also be read as a recovery and restatement of bucolic poetry's inherent metapoeticity, its self-assertion as art, as illusion.

My reading of the tenth *Eclogue* brings us back one final time to the first *Idyll* as the foundational poem for the bucolic genre, since the song about the dying Daphnis provided Vergil his model for Gallus' Arcadian monologue. Here I suggest that this poem that so much defines the character of bucolic also shows the limits of illusion, of sweet but vain hope, through Daphnis' failure to construct relief for his own erotic pain. Daphnis, the cowherd par excellence, who elsewhere is famed for the quality of his music, has ceased to perform as he now dies of a love that he cannot or will not fulfill. The presence of the animals who mourn him, both wild and tame (71–75), and the terms of his farewell to them (115–21) indicate the power of his song to enthrall others, but the cowherd suggests his inability to direct his music inwardly when he calls upon Pan to take away his honey-scented syrinx. As Priapus points out, Daphnis calls himself a cowherd (βούτας, 86) but is like a goatherd—δύσερως, "hopelessly in love," and ἀμήχανος, "without

66. Rosenmeyer (1969) is the prime example of a scholar who reads Theocritus as the first pastoral poet, the originator of the later pastoral emphasis on leisure and pleasure. Major supporters of the ironizing interpretation of the *Idylls* are Horstmann (1976) and, especially, Effe (1977) and Effe and Binder (2001, 11–48), who argue that Theocritus' goal was to present an ironic-realistic representation of humble people, which was misunderstood by the later Greek bucolic tradition. For discussion of the ironic model of interpretation, see Stanzel 1995, 5–12, 104–15; and Bernsdorff 2001, 15–18.

resource" (85). He is unable to employ the sweetness of his song against "bitter love" (πικρὸν ἔρωτα, 93), in contrast to Thyrsis, whose bucolic song creates a sweet and restful atmosphere in which even "bitter" (πικρός, 17) Pan sleeps. In at least one latter passage (Paulus Silentiarius *Descriptio Ambonis* 228, ἄλγεα βουκολέοντες ἀλκμήτοιο μερίμνης), ἄλγεα is the specific term used for the pain against which metaphorical cowherding is employed. But Daphnis is unable to soothe or alleviate the pain of his own longing.⁶⁷ The title of the song, τὰ Δάφνιδος ἄλγεα (19; cf. *Id.* 5.20), is, then, a kind of oxymoron: while Daphnis is *the* cowherd (ὁ βουκόλος, 116), the one who gives the genre its name, whose sweet song enchants the animals of the mountains as no other, he is unable to "cowherd" himself and so perishes from his love. This *Idyll* which fosters expansive and overdetermined definitions of bucolic—as the type of song that a cowherd would sing, particularly the mythical cowherd Daphnis, as song that guards memory of the past, as song that soothes and enchants, that opposes its sweetness to life's bitterness—yet contains within itself a foundational story about its own inadequacy. Bucolic song is a salve for pain, a system of management, the sweetness of illusion; as a form of art, it may bring pleasure, relief from care, but even in doing so it reveals the limits of its sweetness.

University of Cincinnati

67. The word is replayed for emphasis: Aphrodite points out that he is thrown by "painful" Eros (ἀργαλέω, 98), and he in turn boasts that he will continue as a "pain" (ἄλγος, 103) for Eros even in Hades.

LITERATURE CITED

- Allen, T. W., W. R. Halliday, and E. E. Sikes, eds. 1936. *The Homeric Hymns*. Oxford.
- Alpers, P. 1979. *The Singer of the "Eclogues": A Study of Virgilian Pastoral*. Berkeley and Los Angeles.
- Arland, W. 1937. *Nachtheokritische Bukolik bis an die Schwelle der lateinischen Bukolik*. Leipzig.
- Asmis, E. 1995. Philodemus on Censorship, Moral Utility, and Formalism in Poetry. In *Philodemus and Poetry*, ed. D. Obbink, 148–77. Oxford.
- Barrett, W. S., ed. 1964. *Euripides: "Hippolytos."* Oxford.
- Bernsdorff, H. 1994. Polyphem und Daphnis: Zu Theokrits sechstem Idyll. *Philologus* 138:38–51.
- . 2001. *Hirten in der nicht-bukolischen Dichtung des Hellenismus*. Palingenesia, 72. Stuttgart.
- Bowie, E. 1996. Frame and Framed in Theocritus Poems 6 and 7. In *Theocritus*, ed. M. A. Harder, R. F. Regtuit, and G. C. Wakker, 91–99. Hellenistica Groningana, 2. Groningen.
- Brashear, W., ed. 1980. *Ptolemäische Urkunden aus Mumienkartonage*. Berlin.
- Campbell, J. K. 1964. *Honour, Family, and Patronage: A Study of Institutions and Moral Values in a Greek Mountain Community*. Oxford.
- Cozzoli, A.-T. 1994. Dalla catarsi mimetica aristotelica all'auto-catarsi dei poeti ellenistici. *QUCC* 48:95–110.
- . 1999. Theocr. XI 80. *RCCM* 41:43–48.
- Dover, K. J., ed. 1971. *Theocritus: Select Poems*. Basingstoke, England.
- Edquist, H. 1975. Aspects of Theocritean *Otium*. *Ramus* 4:101–14.
- Effe, B. 1977. *Die Genese einer literarischen Gattung: Die Bukolik*. Konstanz.
- Effe, B., and G. Binder. 2001. *Antike Hirtendichtung: Eine Einführung*². Düsseldorf.

- Elliger, W. 1975. *Die Darstellung der Landschaft in der griechischen Dichtung*. Berlin.
- Erbse, H. 1965. Dichtkunst und Medizin in Theokrits 11. Idyll. *MusHelv* 22:232–36.
- Fantuzzi, M. 1980–82. Bion, fr. 10 Gow. *MCr* 15–17:159–60.
- _____. 1998. Textual Misadventures of Daphnis: The Pseudo-Theocritean *Id.* 8 and the Origins of the Bucolic “Manner.” In *Genre in Hellenistic Poetry*, ed. M. A. Harder, R. F. Regtuit, and G. C. Wakker, 61–79. Hellenistica Groningana, 3. Groningen.
- Fantuzzi, M., and R. Hunter. 2004. *Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Poetry*. Cambridge. Revised and expanded translation of *Muse e modelli: La poesia ellenistica da Alessandro Magno ad Augusto* (Rome, 2002).
- Farr, J. 1991. Theocritus: *Idyll* 11. *Hermes* 119:477–84.
- Fraenkel, E., ed. 1950. *Aeschylus: “Agamemnon.”* 3 vols. Oxford.
- Frangeskou, V. 1996. Theocritus’ *Idyll* 1: An Unusual Bucolic Agon. *Hermathena* 161:23–39.
- Frisk, H. 1960. *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg.
- Gerber, D. E., ed. and trans. 1999. *Greek Iambic Poetry from the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC*. Cambridge, Mass.
- Goldhill, S. 1991. *The Poet’s Voice: Essays on Poetics and Greek Literature*. Cambridge.
- Gomme, A. W., and F. H. Sandbach. 1973. *Menander: A Commentary*. Oxford.
- Gow, A. S. F., ed. 1952a. *Bucolici Graeci*. Oxford.
- _____. 1952b. *Theocritus*². 2 vols. Cambridge.
- Gow, A. S. F., and D. L. Page, eds. 1965. *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams*. 2 vols. Cambridge.
- _____. 1968. *The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip*. 2 vols. Cambridge.
- Groningen, B. A. van. 1958. Quelques problèmes de la poésie bucolique grecque. *Mnemosyne* 11:293–317.
- Gutzwiller, K. 1991. *Theocritus’ Pastoral Analogies: The Formation of a Genre*. Madison, Wis.
- _____. 1996a. The Evidence for Theocritean Poetry Books. In *Theocritus*, ed. M. A. Harder, R. F. Regtuit, and G. C. Wakker, 119–38. Hellenistica Groningana, 2. Groningen.
- _____. 1996b. Vergil and the Date of the Theocritean Epigram Book. *Philologus* 140:92–99.
- Halperin, D. 1983. *Before Pastoral: Theocritus and the Ancient Tradition of Bucolic Poetry*. New Haven, Conn.
- Haubold, J. 2000. *Homer’s People: Epic Poetry and Social Formation*. Cambridge.
- Hausrath, A., and H. Hunger, eds. 1959–70. *Corpus fabularum Aesopiarum*. 2 vols. Leipzig.
- Herzfeld, M. 1985. *The Poetics of Manhood: Contest and Identity in a Cretan Mountain Village*. Princeton, N.J.
- Holtsmark, E. B. 1966. Poetry as Self-Enlightenment: Theocritus 11. *TAPA* 97:253–59.
- Horstmann, A. 1976. *Ironie und Humor bei Theokrit*. Meisenheim am Glan.
- Hubbard, T. 1998. *The Pipes of Pan: Intertextuality and Literary Filiation in the Pastoral Tradition from Theocritus to Milton*. Ann Arbor, Mich.
- Hunter, R., ed. 1999. *Theocritus: A Selection*. Cambridge.
- Hutchinson, G. O. 1988. *Hellenistic Poetry*. Oxford.
- Janko, R., ed. 2000. *Philodemus: “On Poems,” Book 1*. Oxford.
- Kambylis, A. 1965. *Die Dichterweihe und ihre Symbolik: Untersuchungen zu Hesiodos, Kallimachos, Properz und Ennius*. Heidelberg.
- Kannicht, R., ed. 2004. *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. Vol. 5, *Euripides*. Göttingen.
- Lane, E. N. 1989. *Corpus Cultus Iovis Sabazii, III*. Leiden.
- MacDowell, D., ed. 1971. *Aristophanes: “Wasps.”* Oxford.
- Matelli, E. 2000. Gli *Aesopica* di Demetro Falereo. In *Demetrius of Phalerum*, ed. W. Fortenbaugh and E. Schütrumpf, 413–47. New Brunswick, N.J.
- Merkelbach, R. 1988. *Die Hirten des Dionysos: Die Dionysos-Mysterien der römischen Kaiserzeit und der bukolische Roman des Longus*. Stuttgart.
- Murley, C. 1940. Plato’s *Phaedrus* and Theocritean Pastoral. *TAPA* 71:281–95.

- Nauta, R. R. 1990. Gattungsgeschichte als Rezeptionsgeschichte am Beispiel der Entstehung der Bukolik. *A&A* 36:116–37.
- Nussbaum, M. 1994. *The Therapy of Desire: Theory and Practice in Hellenistic Ethics*. Princeton, N.J.
- Olson, S. D., ed. 1998. *Aristophanes: "Peace."* Oxford.
- Platnauer, M., ed. 1964. *Aristophanes: "Peace."* Oxford.
- Puelma, M. 1960. Die Dichterbegegnung in Theokrits "Thalysien." *MusHelv* 17:144–64.
- Reed, J. D., ed. 1997. *Bion of Smyrna: The Fragments and the "Adonis."* Cambridge.
- Rosenmeyer, T. 1969. *The Green Cabinet: Theocritus and the European Pastoral Lyric*. Berkeley and Los Angeles.
- Rossi, L. 2001. *The Epigrams Ascribed to Theocritus: A Method of Approach*. Hellenistica Groningana, 5. Leuven.
- Sansone, D. 1975. *Aeschylean Metaphors for Intellectual Activity*. Hermes Einzelschriften, 35. Wiesbaden.
- Schmidt, E. A. 1969. Hirtenhierarchie in der antiken Bukolik? *Philologus* 113:183–200.
- _____. 1987. *Bukolische Leidenschaft oder Über antike Hirtenpoesie*. Frankfurt am Main.
- Schröder, B.-J. 1999. *Titel und Text: Zur Entwicklung lateinischer Gedichtüberschriften*. Berlin.
- Schwyzer, E. 1968. *Griechische Grammatik*. 2 vols. Munich.
- Segal, C. 1981. *Poetry and Myth in Ancient Pastoral*. Princeton, N.J.
- Stanzel, K.-H. 1995. *Liebende Hirten: Theokrits Bukolik und die alexandrinische Poesie*. Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, 60. Stuttgart.
- Trovati, G. 2001. Gli ultimi sviluppi della poesia bucolica greca. *Acme* 54: 35–72.
- Turcan, R. 1989. *Les cultes orientaux dans le monde romain*. Paris.
- Van Sickle, J. 1975. Epic and Bucolic. *QUCC* 19:45–72.
- _____. 1976. Theocritus and the Development of the Concept of the Bucolic Genre. *Ramus* 5:18–44.
- Vetta, M., ed. 1989. *Aristofane: "Le Donne all'Assemblea."* Milan.
- Walker, S. 1980. *Theocritus*. Boston.
- Wendel, C., ed. 1966. *Scholia in Theocritum Vetera*. Stuttgart.
- Wigodsky, M. 1995. The Alleged Impossibility of Philosophical Poetry. In *Philodemus and Poetry*, ed. D. Obbink, 58–68. Oxford.
- Worthington, I. 1987. Aristophanes *Ecclesiazusae* 76–81 and Argus. *AJP* 108:161–64.