

THEOCRITUS' SEVENTH IDYLL, PHILETAS AND LONGUS

Few years pass without an attempt to interpret Theocritus, *Idyll* 7. The poem's narrative and descriptive skill, dramatic subtlety and felicity of language are mercifully more than adequate to survive these scholarly onslaughts, so I have less hesitation in offering my own interpretation.¹

The poem's chief problems seem to me to arise from uncertainty as to:

- (a) Who is the narrator, and why are we kept waiting until line 21 before we are told that he is called Simichidas?
- (b) Who, or what sort of man, is the goatherd Lycidas, whom he encounters on his way from town to the harvest festival?

Answers to these questions fundamentally affect our interpretation of their exchange of songs, which occupies almost half the idyll, and of Lycidas' gift of his stick to Simichidas; and these interpretations will go far towards interpreting the poem as a whole.

(a) *The narrator*

The opening lines (1–2) are presented as the reminiscence of an unnamed narrator (ἑγών) of a journey he once made into the country on Cos with two named friends, Eucritus and Amyntas.² Ancient readers were familiar with poems where the first person was used at the start of the poem but, as later became clear, did not refer to the poet: e.g. Archilochus 19 West, where it emerges only later in the *iambos* that the moralising speaker is not Archilochus but Charon the carpenter;³ or Theocritus' own third *Idyll*, where the singer serenading Amaryllis is rapidly manifested as an *ingénu* goatherd and not a sophisticated poet, and where the setting is dramatised present rather than recollection of the past.⁴ In *Idyll* 7 it is different. Reminiscence anyway carries a greater implication that the first person will be that of the poet (cf. Theognis 783 ff.; presumably Archilochus 196a West; Hipponax *passim*).⁵ As the narration proceeds, pieces of evidence accumulate which suggest to a reader that the first person might indeed be the poet Theocritus, rather, say, than a simple rustic. He has links with town as well as country (1–2). His friends number ἑσθλοί, who claim

¹ Earlier forms of this paper were delivered to audiences at Queen's University, Belfast (1977); the Edinburgh Branch of the Classical Association (1980); Stanford University (1981); and the Oxford Philological Society (1981): I am grateful to many scholars who contributed to the discussion on these occasions, and to Professor R. G. M. Nisbet, Dr R. S. Padel, Ms P. K. M. Kinchin and Mr Robert Wells for helpful criticisms of a written draft.

² Unless the names of these men or of their prospective hosts were meaningful to an ancient reader, his first hint that the setting was in Cos would be the toponym Ἀλεντα at the end of the first line (cf. n. 45 below), then the references to Clytia and Chalcon in 5 and the description of Burina in 6–9. Further confirmation comes from the tomb of Brasilas (10–11), perhaps from the reference to Philetas without an ethnic (40), and from Lycidas' departure for Pyxa (130–1).

³ Cf. Arist. *Rhet.* 3. 1418b23 ff.

⁴ Note also *Idyll* 20, not by Theocritus but by another author of uncertain date (cf. A. S. F. Gow, *Theocritus* 2nd edn, Cambridge, 1952, ii. 364 ff.)

⁵ Reference of the first person to the poet in early iambus has of course been questioned, e.g. by M. L. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin, 1974), 28 ff.

descent from the founding family of Cos⁶ and enjoy the fruits of a rich country estate (2–6; 143–57). He is himself a singer or poet (*ἀοιδός*); not simply a singing shepherd, but one who can envisage himself in time competing with Sicelidas and Philetas, even if he has not yet reached their standard (37–41). Few contemporary readers of Theocritus would be unaware that the epigrammatist Asclepiades also used the name Sicelidas,⁷ or unfamiliar with the poetry of Philetas of Cos. The narrator's claim that his own poetry's reputation has reached the throne of Zeus (93) can plausibly be taken as a testimony to Ptolemy II Philadelphus' interest in Theocritus' work.⁸ Finally the Aratus of the narrator's song (98) can and perhaps should be identified with the addressee of *Idyll* 6.⁹

All this suggests that *ἐγών* in line 1 is to be taken as referring to Theocritus. But this impression is undermined at line 21, where Lycidas addresses the narrator as Simichidas, and specific references, as well as his very acquaintance with Lycidas, seem to cast him as in some way a herdsman (36, 92).¹⁰ It appears, then, that Simichidas both is and is not Theocritus, and that his name Simichidas has been deliberately held back to allow the presumption to develop that the narrator is Theocritus himself. When he is identified as Simichidas this must be intended to cause surprise or puzzlement in the reader, for nowhere else does Theocritus use this name, and it is rare if not unattested elsewhere.¹¹ It has, however, the same form as that of his interlocutor, Lycidas, so its choice or invention may in part be influenced by that name. To it I now turn.

(b) *Who is Lycidas?*

A full review of the identifications offered for Lycidas would be a substantial *Forschungsbericht* in itself. I shall here notice only those possibilities which are listed by Dover in his commentary¹² and another which has been proposed since. The former are (I quote):

- (i) He was a real Koan goatherd with a genius for poetry.
- (ii) He was a real poet who amused himself (or 'dropped out' of urban life) by dressing and behaving as a goatherd.
- (iii) He represents a real poet whom Theokritos has chosen to portray as a goatherd.
- (iv) He is a wholly imaginary character.

One other possibility, proposed by F. Williams in 1971, is that

- (v) He is Apollo, as the reader should see, but the obtuse narrator Simichidas does not.¹³

In assigning Lycidas one of these five identities (or any other) it seems to me that the following criteria must be satisfied:

⁶ See Gow (n. 4) ii. 133–4 and scholia *ad loc.*

⁷ Ibid. 141 (on 40).

⁸ Ibid. 155 (on 93).

⁹ Ibid. 118–20.

¹⁰ *βουκολιασδώμεσθα* (36) can perhaps be explained away as a 'bucolic metaphor' where any poet can be seen as a *βουκόλος* or *αἰπόλος* (cf. B. van Groningen, 'Quelques problèmes de la poésie bucolique grecque', *Mnem.* 11 (1958), 293–317, at 310 ff.). *ἀν' ὥρεα βουκολέοντα* (92) is less susceptible of such treatment.

¹¹ See Gow (n. 4) ii. 127–9. I am more reluctant than Gow to credit the scholiast's Simichidas of Orchomenos. I also doubt that the name Simichidas was as familiar to Theocritus' contemporaries as the name Sicelidas, and do not see how this is demonstrated by the way it is introduced at line 21 (ibid. 129).

¹² K. J. Dover, *Theocritus. Select Poems* (Basingstoke, London, 1971), 148–50.

¹³ F. Williams, 'A Theophany in Theocritus', *CQ* 21 (1971), 137–45.

- (1) A Hellenistic reader should be able to identify Lycidas.
- (2) Such an identification should be assisted by the proper name, ethnic and description offered by Theocritus at lines 12–19.
- (3) It should be intelligible that Simichidas not only recognises Lycidas without difficulty but knows details about him (such as name and ethnic) over and above what is immediately obvious from his appearance.
- (4) The identity of Lycidas should be compatible with those features of his meeting with Simichidas which suggest a divine epiphany.
- (5) The identity of Lycidas should be compatible also with the way he and Simichidas behave to each other in the rest of the poem, and in particular with the apparently significant gift of the staff.
- (6) The category of being into which Lycidas falls should be intelligible within the practice of ancient poetry.

Since criteria (1) and (2) are not met by Dover's possibility (i),¹⁴ and since criterion (2) (and in particular the phrase ἦς δ' αἰπόλος) is not met by his possibilities (ii) and (iii), I would agree with him in rejecting all these. Even less, however, can be said for the version which, following Kühn, he offers of possibility (iv), that 'Lycidas is a symbol of the bucolic world from which Theocritus derived the fundamental ideas for a truly original genre of poetry'.¹⁵ It does not, in my view, meet criteria (1), (2) or (3). Nor does it meet criterion (6): the Greeks had well-established symbols for inspiration, and had Theocritus wanted to symbolise bucolic inspiration he would either have introduced the Muses or Apollo or, if even Hesiod's encounter with the Muses did not make them rural enough,¹⁶ have wheeled on some established deity with more pastoral associations like Hermes or Pan.¹⁷

Williams' proposal, that Lycidas is Apollo, clearly meets criteria (4) and (6). Since on Williams' development of Giangrande's interpretation,¹⁸ however, Simichidas fails to identify Lycidas as Apollo, problems arise under criteria (2) and (3). Either Simichidas knows a number of personal details about the figure he meets which are clear clues to his identity – but how he can know these is mysterious, and that he fails to draw the obvious conclusions about the identity argues such obtuseness that nothing in his report (including the vital clues) could be taken as reliable –, or Simichidas offers the reader biographic details about the figure which are his own invention, and should likewise be untrustworthy guides to his real identity. But since Williams does maintain that the details offered by Simichidas are (unlike his perception of the figure's identity) significant clues, which would meet my criteria (1) and (2), I feel that I must show in what respect they do not. For convenience I retain his order in discussing these 'clues'.

(i) The name Λυκίδας. In Williams' view 'Λυκίδας does not merely recall Apollo's title Λύκιος, but is also formally equivalent to it'.¹⁹ Unfortunately the phenomenon to which Debrunner, quoted by Williams, draws attention is simply that patronymics in -ιος are of identical meaning with, and were ultimately replaced by, patronymics in -ίδης, -(ι)άδης. Not all names in -ιος are patronymics, and nobody has suggested

¹⁴ In particular, no Cydonia has yet been identified on Cos in a literary or epigraphic text.

¹⁵ 150, citing J.-H. Kühn, 'Die Thalysien Theokrits', *Hermes* 86 (1958), 40–79.

¹⁶ The Muses' gift to Hesiod at *Theog.* 29 ff. is certainly recalled by Lycidas' gift to Simichidas and emphasised by the thematic echo at line 44 of *Theog.* 27–8. See below and n. 51.

¹⁷ Hence there are attractions in the suggestion of E. L. Brown, 'The Lycidas of Theocritus' *Idyll 7*, *HSICP* 86 (1981), 59–100, that Lycidas is Pan. But this identification, like that of Williams, fails to meet criteria (1) and (3).

¹⁸ G. Giangrande, 'Theocrite, Simichidas et les Thalysies', *Ant. Class.* 37 (1968), 491–533.

¹⁹ Williams (n. 13) 138.

that Apollo's widespread cult-title Lykios (or Lykeios) denotes paternity of one Lykos. It therefore seems unlikely that Theocritus would expect his readers to reason from Lykidas to Lykios despite the prevalent use of patronymics by Alexandrian poets and his readers' knowledge of many patronymic pairs of the form *-ιδης*, *-(ι)άδης/-ιος*.

Indeed the name Lycidas seems to me one very good reason why, despite many hints of a theophany, Theocritus' readers will have been deterred from thinking Lycidas was a god, whether Apollo or any other. For Lycidas is a mortal's name:²⁰ like most languages Greek had different sets of names for gods, for men and for animals, and it would be extraordinary to find the boundaries crossed. Of course there are links that cross the boundaries. Apollo, Dionysus, Athena have their human eponyms in Apollonius, Dionysius and Athenaeus or Apollodorus, Dionysodorus and Athenodorus. But the mortal name Lycidas shows no sign of being related to Apollo Lykeios, nor does it ever appear as one of the range of cult-titles on the divine side of the line – Lykios, Lykeios, Lykoktonos and Lykegenes. In choosing the name Lycidas the poet means us to see him as mortal. He may also, of course, intend the name to suggest that this mortal has Apollonian connections, such as an interest in poetry and song, but identity with the god is excluded.

(ii) *Κυδωνικός ἀνὴρ* also, in Williams' view, leads to Apollo. Cydonia in Crete was once called Apollonia and, like Crete as a whole, has many Apollonian associations.²¹ Suggestive as these associations may be if we already see Lycidas as a god, this interpretation of the phrase discounts that half of it which describes him as a man, *ἀνὴρ*, and so does not meet criterion (1).²²

(iii) *τὰν ἐπὶ Πύξας | εἶρφ' ὁδόν* (130–1)

The village of Pyxa is asserted by the scholia to have been the location of a shrine of Apollo, hence called Pyxios, and this seems to have been confirmed by the discovery of a sacred calendar attesting a cult of *Ἀπόλλων Ὀρομέδων*. When Lycidas goes off to Pyxa he is departing, on Williams' hypothesis, to his own shrine, like Athena after a similar encounter with a mortal at *Odyssey* 7.78 ff. This gives special point to Lycidas'

²⁰ E.g. Herodotus 9.5; Demosthenes 20.131; Ditt. *Syll.*³ 84.5; *IG* vii 1178 (Tanagra).

²¹ Williams (n. 13) 139 with nn. 5–7. For some problems in linking Cretan Cydonia with Apollo cf. Brown (n. 17) 71 (the father of the Cydon who founded it is in fact stated by the scholion on Ap. Rhod. 4.1492 to have been Hermes, not Apollo, as in the possibly confused entry of Stephanus of Byzantium, our only witness alleging that Cydonia in Crete was once called Apollonia). Brown's own hypothesis, that the ethnic *Κυδωνικόν* leads us, *inter alia*, to the god Pan, is open to the objections to a divine identification for Lycidas offered in the text. Nor am I persuaded by his suggestions that *Κυδωνικόν* might suggest *κύων* and hence *φύλαξ* (as Pan is called by Pindar, fr. 95.2); nor that it might suggest a quince and hence a carved quincewood figure of Pan (84–5, but apparently abandoned by 87): on my reading of Brown's proposals we are to understand Lycidas throughout as a carved wayside figure, so it is mysterious how he can walk off at 130 ff. (Proponents of Cretan Cydonia seem incidentally to have missed the possible support of a mountain there called Tityros, Strabo 10.12 (479C).)

²² Brown (n. 17) 86–7 takes *ἄνδρα* as bringing out 'that the god is a good "man" with the Nymphs (Muses), a ladies' man'. But the 'Theocritean' usage of 8 (not usually ascribed to Theocritus) which he offers as a parallel *ὦ τράγε, τὰν λευκὰν αἰγῶν ἄνερ* (8.49) is different because the genitive *αἰγῶν* dependent on *ἄνερ* points the reader to this meaning: I do not see how the Greek *ἑσθλὸν σὺν Μοῖσαισι Κυδωνικὸν εὐρομές ἄνδρα* could be taken as 'a good man with the Muses' in a sexual sense. Brown (99) also notes that 7.86 *αἴθ' ἐπ' ἐμεῦ ζωῖς ἐναρίθμιος ὠφέλες ἦμεν* might be taken as evidence that the singer, Lycidas, is not immortal (since a god would have been a contemporary of Comatas as well as of Simichidas). This point seems to me to have some weight, and I am not convinced by his suggestion that 83–9 are all intended to be part of Tityrus' song: that seems to be excluded by the way in which the line closing Lycidas' (and on Brown's view Tityrus' inset) song is immediately followed by (90) *χῶ μὲν τόσσ' εἰπὼν ἀπεπαύσατο*. This clearly refers to Lycidas.

earlier criticism of a builder who tries to build his house as high as the summit of Mount Oromedon (45 f.).²³

This nexus of associations would certainly be evocative for a reader who came to this part of the poem believing that Lycidas was indeed Apollo. But the reference to Pyxa is too late in the narrative to be a primary clue: it could only have corroborative force. For a reader who has decided that Lycidas is a man, but a man who has special affinity with the Muses, a further link with Apollo also has considerable point: it sets the seal of Apollo's as well as the Muses' approval on Lycidas' handing of his baton to Simichidas. I would argue, therefore, that Lycidas' departure for Pyxa tells the reader only that he has Apollonian connections, not that he *is* Apollo.

(iv) ἦς δ' αἰπόλος (13)

Williams draws attention to Apollo's cult titles *Νόμιος* and *Γαλάξιος*, the former traced by Callimachus in his *Hymn to Apollo* to the god's serfdom to Admetus. Unlike Ovid, however, whom Williams also cites,²⁴ Callimachus does not go so far as to depict Apollo in the absurdity of pastoral attire, and cannot easily be used to show that Theocritus would have done. Indeed at no point does Callimachus or Ovid say that Apollo herded goats:²⁵ Callimachus has him herd the horses of Admetus (*h. Apollo* 47–9), Ovid *boves* (*Met.* 2.685). Apollo's link with goats is limited to his protection of them (*h. Apollo* 50 ff.). The expression ἦς δ' αἰπόλος, therefore, precludes and does not contribute to Williams' identification of Lycidas as Apollo meeting criteria (1) and (2).

If neither Williams' proposal nor any one of Dover's four possibilities meets all my criteria, I must look elsewhere. I suggest that Lycidas belongs to a category which Dover's classification overlooked, though it is perhaps nearest to his (iv). Lycidas is indeed a fictitious character, but not the creation of Theocritus: rather he is a character already created by a writer known to Theocritus and his intended readership.

Part of the evidence for this hypothesis comes from another pastoral work where the characters are also fictitious, the prose novel *Daphnis and Chloe*. Early in the teenage couple's discovery of love Longus introduces a figure who bears an uncanny resemblance to Lycidas:

Τερπομένοις δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐφίσταται πρεσβύτης σισύραν ἐνδεδυμένος, καρβατίνας ὑποδεδεμένος, πήραν ἐξηρτημένος καὶ τὴν πήραν παλαιάν. οὗτος πλησίον καθίσας αὐτῶν ὧδε εἶπε...

While they thus delight themselves, there comes up to them an old man, clad in his rug and a mantle of skins, his carbatins or clouted shoes, his scrip hanging at his back, and that indeed a very old one. When he was sate down by them, thus he spoke and told his story... (transl. George Thornley).

²³ Williams (n. 13) 140, 142–3. Brown (n. 17) 74–5 notes that only the scholiast so far attests an Ἀπόλλων Πύξιος, and that the stone's epithet Φύξιος is not certainly limited to Apollo. Brown's own proposal that ἐπὶ Πύξας should be understood as 'to the tune or accompaniment of boxwoods' requires Theocritus to have coined a form πύξη alongside the regular ἡ πύξος; to have expected his readers to see that 'boxwoods' meant 'Pan-pipes' (Latin *buxus* often means 'flute', cf. *OLD* s.v., but neither it nor πύξος seems ever to mean 'Pan-pipes', and πύξος nowhere else means even 'flute' or *aulos*); and to have further confused his readers by the use of τὰν (sc. ὁδόν?). But τὰν ἐπὶ Πύξας εἶρφ' ὁδόν can mean only 'he went on the road to Pyxa'. The matter would be unambiguous (if it is not so already) were Theocritus to have written Φύξας; and perhaps he did – the form Φύξιος appears in the scholion on 130/131 c (p. 109 Wendel). It might, of course, stem from ancient scholarship and not from the text of 7, but there is some chance that Theocritus wrote Φύξας. On the location of Pyxa cf. n. 45.

²⁴ Williams (n. 13) 141; Ovid, *Met.* 2.680–2. Tibullus 2.3.11 ff. also elaborates a picture of a dishevelled Apollo tending Admetus' cattle, but mentions neither goats nor pastoral garb.

²⁵ I owe this point to Prof. R. G. M. Nisbet.

The old man introduces himself as one who has often sung to the Nymphs whom Daphnis and Chloe worship, often played the syrinx to Pan, often led his herd of cattle by music alone. His skill on the syrinx and in song likens him to Theocritus' Lycidas (cf. 28); his herding activities are another link, but that his animals are cattle will have to be explained (cf. below n. 38); his *σισύρα*, a shaggy coat of skins, recalls Lycidas' goatskin garb (15–16); and he is not wearing proper boots, an inference that has been made about Lycidas from his reference to Simichidas' *ἀρβυλίδες* (26).²⁶ One point of clear difference is that Longus' character is old: Lycidas, albeit senior to Simichidas in bearing, is not marked out as old but rather seems ageless, although his tunic is described as old, *γέρων*, in a way which might be intended to convey age in its wearer too (17).

These features might not be so striking, and could, perhaps be dismissed as the accoutrements of any pastoral male, were it not for his name, the theme of his discourse and the location of his encounter with Daphnis and Chloe. He introduces himself as Philetas. This is not a common name, and for any educated reader in the late second century A.D. it must at once have recalled the Hellenistic poet and scholar respected by Callimachus and by Theocritus' Simichidas (40).²⁷ Many scholars have seen this as an allusion to the Hellenistic poet, and this interpretation is supported by the role Philetas assumes and the story he tells.²⁸ The role is that of *praeceptor amoris*, familiar to us especially from Propertius, whose debt to Philetas is explicit in 3.1.1 'Callimachi Manes et Coi sacra Philitae...' and can be argued for elsewhere.²⁹ The old man's story is also, naturally, about love: he tells how once in his luxuriant garden, at the witching hour of noon, he had a divine encounter – with a boy who turns out to be Eros himself, who in fleeing and rejecting the old man reminds him how he gave him Amaryllis in his youth, and bids him rejoice that he alone among mortals has in his old age seen the boy Eros.³⁰

It is improbable that Longus has simply picked on the name Philetas for his old man at random and has clumsily hit on that of a poet who sang, among other things, of love. *Daphnis and Chloe* has a small cast list, many of the names are chosen for their pastoral associations, and so important a figure as the old man should have been named with care.³¹ Why, we must ask, did Longus not choose a name already familiar

²⁶ Gow (n. 4) ii. 139.

²⁷ The MSS of Longus offer the spelling and accentuation *Φιλητάς*. The MSS of Theocritus 7.40, of Stobaeus and of most other Greek writers likewise write *Φιλητάς* or *Φιλήτας*. The spelling *Φιλίτας*, which appears in MS A of Athenaeus and in some other writers, is preferred by modern scholars, doubtless correctly, for the Coan scholar-poet, because it is that of a Coan text of c. 200 B.C. (Paton and Hicks, *The Inscriptions of Cos*, Oxford, 1891, 10 b 37 and 54); note also *Φίλιτις* ibid. 47 15 and *Ann. scuol. arch. At.* n.s. 25–6 (1963), 169 no. ixa 56 (c. 200 B.C.). It seems quite likely that the etacistic form *Φιλητάς* (on the analogy of Philemon?) had become established by the second century A.D., since it seems to be that known to Augustan poets: it is also that of an inscription of the Roman imperial period, Paton and Hicks 310. If so, Longus could have written *Φιλητάς* and thought this to be the correct form of the Coan poet's name. It is also possible that he wrote *Φιλίτας* and that his MS tradition altered that form in the same way as *Φιλίτας* is assumed to have been corrupted in the paradosis of Theocritus and other authors.

²⁸ The identification was made at least as early as Reitzenstein, *Epigramm und Skolion* (Giessen, 1893), 260 n. 1. For other material cf. F. Cairns, *Tibullus* (Cambridge, 1979), 25 ff. and nn. 110 and 112.

²⁹ R. L. Hunter, *A Study of Daphnis and Chloe* (Cambridge, 1983), 77 compares Tibullus 1.8.

³⁰ Longus 2.4–6. For his picture of Eros here Longus also draws on Bion, fr. 13; cf. Hunter (n. 29) 77.

³¹ Longus 2.32. I owe the point about Longus' small cast to M. D. Reeve.

in the poets' pastoral prosopography, like that of the old man's flame in his youth, Amaryllis, or of his son, whom we shortly discover to be Tityrus?³² Why not, indeed, if there is some relationship to Theocritus' Lycidas, the name Lycidas? And if the name Philetas is intended to recall the poet, with what purpose? And why is he found not on his native Cos but on a pastoral Lesbos?

One further datum which will contribute to answering these questions is Longus' location of his story. It is still disputed just where on Lesbos the action is set. My own view, for which I argue in Appendix I, is that Daphnis' and Chloe's farms are envisaged by Longus as being on the east coast of the island north of Mytilene, between the modern villages of Pamphyla and Néés Kydoniès. Neither village name is ancient, but we know from Pliny that an island off Lesbos was called Cydonia, and it is clear that the island lay off this coastline (see Appendix II).³³ Ancient use of the name Cydonia for a village or area on Lesbos itself is not at present attested but seems to me probable (again see Appendix II).

If my reasoning is correct, then Longus introduces his character Philetas, reminiscent of Lycidas the *Κυδωνικός ἀνὴρ*, in a location where we know of a place Cydonia. This increases further the probability that Longus indeed has Lycidas in mind, and prompts consideration of the geographical links of Theocritus' Lycidas. Is a Lesbian connection for him improbable? Far from it. Lycidas' song in *Idyll* 7 (52–89) celebrates his love for Ageanax and prays for a safe voyage for Ageanax to Mytilene (52).³⁴ Theocritus does not tell us where Ageanax comes from. In theory he might be from any Doric or Aeolic area of the Greek world. But it is most probable that we are expected to think of him as either from Cos (where Lycidas sings his song) or from Lesbos (whither he is bound). The frequency of names in -anax or -anaktidas on Lesbos, and particularly in Mytilene,³⁵ might indicate that he is meant to hail from

³² On the names Amaryllis and Tityrus see further below Section (ii).

³³ Some scholars, e.g. Gow (n. 4) ii. 135 on 7.12, had noticed this Cydonia but dismissed it.

³⁴ It is usually assumed that Lycidas' celebratory party takes place wherever Lycidas imagines himself as being (Cos?) and without the presence of Ageanax. There are singular oddities in this scenario. Lycidas celebrates either the departure of Ageanax (which by the normal conventions of *eros* we might expect to make him miserable or anxious) or his safe arrival at Mytilene – but how he is to know that Ageanax has completed a voyage of 150 or more miles is left obscure. *τῆνο κατ' ἄμαρ* (63) seems to refer to his safe arrival, hardly the same day as his departure, and difficult to refer also to the day on which Ageanax might be implied to have granted Lycidas long-withheld favours, and hence little support for the view that Lycidas is rejoicing 'as much for Ageanax's complaisance as for his safety' (Gow (n. 4) ii. 145 on 52–9, cf. *ibid.* 148 on 62). I assume that Gow's 50 miles' (*ibid.* 148 on 63) for the length of Ageanax's voyage is a printing error for 150, though even that would be simply the distance as the crow flies, and a boat would have to travel much further). Matters would be slightly eased if we are intended to imagine the location of Lycidas' song as his native Cydonia, on the above view near enough to Mytilene for the voyage to be completed in a day. But the other oddities remain disturbing. I am tempted to wonder whether the answer lies in the meaning of *μεινναμένος* (69): the cognate verb *μνάομαι* is used both in the sense 'remember' (cf. *LSJ* s.v. I) and 'woo' (*ibid.* II, citing *Od.* 1.39; 11.287; 16.77; 19.529). It would not be untypical of Hellenistic *Gelehrsamkeit* to argue that *μεινναμένος* should also have this range of meaning and for a learned poet to incorporate an illustrative use in his work. If this speculation is correct, then Ageanax is present and being wooed at the party, and it is a party that takes place after he has arrived and at his destination, i.e. Mytilene.

³⁵ Gow notes names of the form Ageanax/Archeanax from Cos, Smyrna, Miletus and the Troad. For Lesbos cf. Archeanaktidai in Alcaeus (112.24 L–P) and Damoanaktidas (*ibid.* 296(b); cf. below n. 74); Kleanaktidai in Alcaeus (112.3 L–P) and Sappho (98 L–P) – all these presumably Mytilenean; and Polyanaktidai in Sappho (99 L–P). Later at least two Mytileneans bore the name Lesbonax, the philosopher of the first century B.C. (cf. *PIR*² L 160) and a sophist of the second(?) century A.D. cf. *Kleine Pauly* iii. 584–5 s.n. Lesbonax 2).

there. If that is so, the context in which Lycidas fell in love with Ageanax is as likely to be Mytilenean as Coan territory. We must therefore consider seriously the possibility that by *Κυδωνικός ἀνὴρ* Theocritus meant a man from Lesbian Cydonia.

Another question now arises. Why did Longus set his pastoral fiction in Lesbos at all? There is, indeed, some chance that it was his own place of birth or residence,³⁶ and that this influenced him to introduce a pastoral tale to an island that had no previous place in literary pastoral. But the kinds of details he uses suggest rather an outsider who knew the island largely from literary sources, and perhaps from the sort of tourist visit his preface asserts.³⁷ If that is so, then his choice of Lesbos must have been influenced by some other consideration. The most obvious reason will have been that the Mytilenean *χώρα* has already been given a pastoral colour by some earlier writer in the bucolic tradition. Theocritus' Cydonian Lycidas with his apparently Mytilenean boyfriend Ageanax leads us in the same direction, and requires that such Lesbian pastoral antedate Theocritus.

One hypothesis explains all these phenomena. There was indeed before Theocritus some poetry in which fictional shepherds or goatherds sang and loved. Its setting was the countryside, north of Mytilene. Its characters included, most prominently, a goatherd called Lycidas; also his boyfriend, Ageanax, a shepherd Tityrus, and a cowherd, Daphnis (*Idyll* 7.72–3).³⁸ It was well enough known in Theocritus' time for him to introduce one of its characters by name, trade and ethnic in the sure knowledge that he would be recognised and the allusion appreciated. Its writer's name is supplied by Longus when he transforms the *dramatis personae* in his own pastoral: Philetas.

It has often been conjectured that Philetas wrote bucolic poetry.³⁹ A text from Antigonos of Carystus has been adduced, inconclusively, and a hexameter papyrus fragment with some pastoral features has been attributed to him, but conjecturally

³⁶ Cf. C. Cichorius, *Römische Studien* (Berlin, Leipzig, 1922), 321–3, noting the Mytileneans Cn. Pompeius Longus (*IG* xii.2.88, late first century B.C.?) and A. Pompeius Longus Dionysodorus (*IG* xii.2.249, first century A.D.?). But Longus is not a rare name (21 Longi are noted by L. Petersen in *PIR*² v. 1 (Berlin, 1970), 92); we still lack evidence of the name Longus persisting in Lesbos down to the latter part of the second century A.D.; and there is no Longus in the group associated with a Dionysiac cult in Rome whose Lesbian connections are indicated by Pompeia Agrippinilla, cf. A. Vogliano and F. Cumont, *AJA* 37 (1933), 215–70; R. Merkelbach, *Roman und Mysterium in der Antike* (München, 1962), 193. That Dionysodorus is an *ἀρχιερεύς* does little to strengthen links with a novel in which Dionysus has a significant role, since the office was a mark of social eminence rather than religious devotion, and was concerned with the cult of the emperor in particular.

³⁷ ἐν Λέσβῳ θηρῶν ἐν ἄλσει Νυμφῶν θέαμα εἶδον κάλλιστον ὧν εἶδον· εἰκόνα γραπτὴν, ἱστορίαν ἔρωτος... (pref. 1)... καὶ ἀναζητησάμενος ἐξηγητὴν τῆς εἰκόνης τέτταρας βίβλους ἐξεπονησάμην... (pref. 3). It is more likely that a writer who says 'When hunting in Lesbos...' means the reader to think of him as a visitor: a native might be expected to explain that it was his place of birth or residence. It is also more likely that a visitor should require instruction about a picture and local legend than a resident. But it is only a matter of likelihood, and it is always possible to argue that the *topoi* of the preface have more to do with putting the author in a comparable position to his expected audience than with reporting biographic fact. For details which seem to come from literary sources cf. A. M. Scarcella, *La Lesbo di Longo Sofista* (Roma, 1968). One possible motive for a visit to Lesbos would be to receive or give rhetorical instruction as a sophist: we know from Philostratus, *V.S.* 1.22 (526) that Dionysius of Miletus taught there early in his career (presumably in the first quarter of the second century A.D.).

³⁸ That Longus requires the Philetan cowherd Daphnis to tend goats (balancing Chloe's tending of sheep) explains why his 'Philetas' must, unlike the Philetan Lycidas, be a cowherd.

³⁹ E.g. Cairns (n. 28) 25. A significant role for Philetas in the development of bucolic poetry has been argued for by M. Puelma, 'Die Dichterbegegnung in Theokrits "Thalysien"', *Mus. Helv.* 17 (1960), 144–64, at 150. Against e.g. G. Lohse, 'Die Kunstauffassung im VII Idyll Theokrits und das Programm des Kallimachos', *Hermes* 94 (1966), 413–25, at 420.

and without general acceptance.⁴⁰ But we still know very little of the range of the first great Hellenistic poet, doubtless because he was eclipsed by the luminaries of the second generation, and fragments 673–5 in the *Supplementum Hellenisticum* do not substantially augment the miserable harvest of 26 short fragments in Powell's *Collectanea Alexandrina* of 1925 (to which Kuchenmüller's *Philetas Coi Reliquiae*, Berlin, 1928, had added 4 single-word fragments, *Supplementum Hellenisticum* 675a–d). We can be sure that love featured in Philetas' poetry, and Hermesianax's vignette of him commemorated by a statue beneath a plane tree singing of swift-footed Bittis⁴¹ may allude to a scene or scenes in which songs of love were sung ὑπὸ πλατάνῳ. Such a scene may have been the context of fr. 14. θρήσασθαι πλατάνῳ γραίῃ ὕπο; but although plane-trees are more probably rural than urban, they do not allow us to insist on a rural, far less pastoral setting. A little more emerges from four lines describing an alder tree destined to be a poet's staff (fr. 10):

Οὐ μέ τις ἐξ ὀρέων ἀποφώλιος ἀγροιώτης
αἰρήσει κλήθρην, αἰρόμενος μακέλην·
ἀλλ' ἐπέων εἰδὼς κόσμον καὶ πολλὰ μογήσας
μύθων παντοίων οἶμον ἐπιστάμενος.

This does resemble the staff variously called κορύνα and λαγωβόλον by Theocritus (43, 128), and it could be that Theocritus is alluding to it. But if this is a complete poem from the *Παίγνια* it does not offer anything approaching bucolic. It is possible that it is an extract rather than a complete poem and that the context from which it was taken was bucolic, but that can only be guesswork. Another point of resemblance with *Idyll* 7 is offered by fr. 17, where an unidentifiable individual is described as wearing a 'wretched, dirt-stained tunic and his (or her?) slim waist girt about with a fastening of plaited black rushes':⁴²

Λευγάλεος δὲ χίτων πεπινωμένος, ἀμφὶ δ' ἀραιή
ἰξὺς εἴλνται ῥάμμα μελαγκράνινον.

This bears some resemblance to Lycidas, but not enough to be useful (this character shows no sign of wearing skins, and Lycidas wears a decent belt, not rushes, to gird a *peplos*, not a *chiton*).

Surviving fragments, then, do little if anything to support the inference from Longus and (on my argument) from Theocritus that Philetas wrote some sort of bucolic poetry. Equally they do nothing to refute it. Nor, it must be insisted, does the prominence

⁴⁰ Antigonos, *Hist. Mirab.* 19 (23) Keller (= Philetas, fr. 22 Powell) has been taken as evidence for Philetas' treatment of the Aristaeus legend, but this can only be conjectural. *Supplementum Hellenisticum* Euphorion, fr. 429 was argued by G. Scheibner in F. Zucker (ed.), *Menanders Dyskolos als Zeugnis seiner Epoche* (Berlin, 1965), 103 ff. to be by Philetas, and goats and sheep appear in vv. 25–6. But R. J. D. Carden, *BICS* 16 (1969), 29 ff. showed that Euphorion, fr. 130 Powell almost certainly fits 48 and that Euphorion is most probably the author. It seems to me that Philetas could still be the author (v. 6 Ὀρομέδου[το]ς, whether the mountain or an alternative name for the giant Eurymedon, would be easier to explain) but in any case mythological material seems to predominate and we are very far from bucolic.

⁴¹ Hermesianax 7.75–8.

Οἶσθα δὲ καὶ τὸν αἰδόν, ὃν Εὐρυπύλου πολιῆται
Κῶοι χάλκειον στήσαν ὑπὸ πλατάνῳ
Βιττίδα μολπάζοντα θοήν, περὶ πάντα Φιλίταν
ῥήματα καὶ πᾶσαν τρυφόμενον λαλήν.

⁴² I owe this observation to Mr A. S. Hollis.

given by the later tradition to Theocritus' contribution to pastoral. This is entirely consonant with the fact that a major part of Theocritus' poetry is pastoral, and very good pastoral, and with the hypothesis that Philetas, among his many different sorts of poetry, wrote some poems with bucolic settings and *dramatis personae*.⁴³

Of course a connection has been made between Theocritus' Lycidas and Philetas before,⁴⁴ but in forms which have the poet Philetas actually portrayed as Lycidas (Dover's possibility (iii) above). The objections to this view do not hold against the hypothesis I am advancing, that Lycidas was a character in Philetan pastoral. This will emerge, I hope, from the following application of the hypothesis to the poem, as will understanding of a number of hitherto puzzling features of the *Idyll*.

That the journey recalled by the narrator takes place on Cos becomes clear to the reader (unless he spots the τὸν Ἀλεντα of l. 1 as a Coan deme)⁴⁵ with the reference to Clytia and Chalcon at 4–5. Why, he may wonder, is the narrator on Cos, an island which does not feature unambiguously in any other of Theocritus' pastoral poems?⁴⁶

⁴³ Dover (n. 2) was deterred from accepting his possibility (iii) (which would involve Theocritus 'acknowledging his debt to a particular older poet who developed the idea of bucolic poetry') (a) by the apparent lack of pre-Theocritean bucolic poetry (a dangerous argument from silence – all we can say is that we have no surviving poetry clearly datable before Theocritus that bears the marks of the genre as practised by him) and (b) by the fact that 'the Roman period, which possessed what we do not possess, regarded Theokritos as the inventor of bucolic poetry'. It is not obvious that the Roman period *did* so regard Theocritus. The life and scholia have no such explicit statement, but simply term Theocritus ὁ τῶν βουκολικῶν ποιητῆς or ὁ τῶν τὰ βουκολικὰ συγγραψάντων ἀριστος (*Scholia in Theocritum vetera*, ed. C. Wendel, Leipzig, 1914, p. 1 (*Prolegomena*) 4; p. 9.6–7). That the writer of the εὔρεσις τῶν βουκολικῶν (ibid. p. 2.4 ff.) 'looks not to poets earlier than Theokritos but exclusively to cult' (Dover, p. lix) does not seem to me to count for or against the possibility that a poet or poets earlier than Theocritus did write something like bucolic poetry: the writer is trying to offer an *aition* of where bucolic poetry began, not where Theocritus (specifically) looked for his models. (For a brief survey of known pre-Theocritean approaches to bucolic poetry see Dover lx–lxv; I only saw D. Halperin, *Pastoral before Theocritus* (New Haven, 1983) after this article had been drafted.) That Virgil chose Theocritus as his model confirms that he was judged the best bucolic poet, but does not show that he was regarded as the 'inventor': indeed we shall see that there are some details in the *Eclogues* which imply the existence of more Hellenistic bucolic poetry than we have.

⁴⁴ Cf. Gow (n. 4) i. 130 n. 7.

⁴⁵ Gow (n. 4) ii. 31 thinks that the use of the article indicates that Theocritus does not intend τὸν Ἀλεντα to refer to the deme Haleis but to a place or river from which the deme took its name. That Haleis in 5.123 is the name of a river in S. Italy and is otherwise attested as a river name is not a good reason for conjecturing that it is a river name in Cos, and it would be odd that the goal of the journey should be stated as a river which plays no later part in the poem. If the article does preclude reading τὸν Ἀλεντα as the name of the deme, then most probably it is the name of the village which gave the deme its name. Although the main centre of population in the deme Haleis has not yet been identified, it is likely to have been in the area of Pyli; cf. S. M. Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos* (Hypomnemata 51, Göttingen, 1978), 59. If Theocritus expects any knowledge of Coan geography in his readers, he can rely on them knowing that Haleis is a deme whose territory is reached about 10 km from Cos town, and on placing Phrasidamus' farm near the deme centre, some 3 to 4 km into the deme territory and on the foothills of Oromedon (rather than in the flat plain). They may also know that the only deme between that of Cos itself and Haleis is the deme Phyxa, whose centre seems to be near Asphendiou, even further up the slopes of Oromedon; they will therefore appreciate that someone bound for Phyxa would have to part from travellers to Haleis by turning left before the territory of the deme Haleis is reached (cf. Sherwin-White 59 and her map, p. 10; for a map with conjectural deme boundaries, A. N. Modona, 'L'isola di Coe nell' Antichità classica', *Mem. ist. storico-arch. di Rodi* 1 [1933]). Lycidas' departure at 130–1 will therefore make good sense, and his making for Pyxa will corroborate the other indications (e.g. ἐν ὄρει 51) that his natural habitat is hill country.

⁴⁶ Cf. Gow (1952) i. xx. A reference to a ferry to (?) Calymnos at 1.57 may attest Coan knowledge for the goatherd of 1, as may the reference to the runner Philinus at 2.115 for the lover of 2 (and, less convincingly, the 'Coan oath' of 2.160). But neither poem seems to be

One possible answer is immediately hinted at with the description of the spring Burina. It had been described by the Coan poet Philetas (fr. 24 Powell *νάσσατο δ' ἐν προχοῇσι μελαμπέτροιο Βυρίνης*) and I would suggest that Theocritus' Coan setting and the digressive description of Burina are intended to turn the reader's mind to that poet.⁴⁷

A reader thus prepared will have no difficulty in recognising the goatherd Lycidas of Cydonia as the character of that name and origin known to him from a poem, or poems, by Philetas. He may be surprised to find him on Cos, but will take his transplanting to Cos as part of the compliment to Philetas that Theocritus is paying in setting his whole idyll there. The problematic lines 13–14 now cease to be a difficulty:

ἦς δ' αἰπόλος οὐδέ κέ τις νιν
ἡγνοίησεν ἰδὼν, ἐπεὶ αἰπόλῳ ἔξοχ' ἔώκει.

Lycidas *was* a goatherd – within the world of Philetan and (now) Theocritean poetry. That this fictitious world strikingly reflects reality is then said with the phrase ἐπεὶ αἰπόλῳ ἔξοχ' ἔώκει. In most circumstances, of course, we only find ourselves saying 'he was very like a goatherd' or 'he was the spitting image of a goatherd' when the person of whom this is predicated is *not* a goatherd. Hence, on most interpretations, the problem of reconciling this with ἦς δ' αἰπόλος, 'he *was* a goatherd'. But if Theocritus, as his readers know, is commenting on a created character, the phrase ἐπεὶ αἰπόλῳ ἔξοχ' ἔώκει becomes, like the careful detail of his own description, a compliment to the verisimilitude of the creation and to the skill of the creator.⁴⁸

When Lycidas speaks he addresses the narrator as Simichidas. The reader who has already recognised Lycidas as a created character will easily conceive an explanation for this. Theocritus himself could hardly, on a walk in the countryside, encounter a fictitious character. He *could* create another fictitious character who was, like himself and Lycidas, a poet, and send him into the country to encounter Philetas' creation. This created character is clearly linked to Theocritus by the ambiguous first-person narrative presentation, but is also linked to the fictional world of Lycidas by interests shared, acquaintance presumed and, perhaps, the form of his name in -idas. The

intended to be set in Cos, and if the setting of 1 *is* specific, the West is a stronger candidate. 5 seems clearly set near Sybaris, so if the Haleis of 5.123 is Coan it must be taken as a deliberate fusion of South Italian and Coan background, but it need not be (cf. Gow *ad loc.*). I see no good reason for understanding the *στομάλιμον* of 4.23 as a reference to the Coan *κώμη* (attested by Strabo 14.657, but again cf. Gow *ad loc.*). (Of course, as Robert Wells pointed out to me, Cos is twice mentioned by name in the encomium of Ptolemy, 17.58 and 64.)

⁴⁷ I am persuaded by G. Zanker, 'Simichidas' walk and the locality of Bourina', *CQ* 30 (1980), 373–7, that ancient Burina is correctly identified with the spring which now bears that name, quite high on the slopes of Oromedon 5 km south-west of the city of Cos and above the Asclepieion, and that it cannot therefore be the same as the spring by which the harvest festival takes place at 131 ff. (as argued by M. Puelma, *op. cit.* (n. 38) and by W. G. Arnott, 'The Mound of Brasilas in Theocritus' Seventh *Idyll*', *QUCC* n.s. 3 (1979), 99 ff.). Puelma's argument that if Burina is not on Phrasidamus' farm its mention at 6 ff. lacks point (partly met by Zanker n. 17) is of course fully countered by its role as an allusion to Philetas on my hypothesis. But it may also be relevant that the hillside above the Asclepieion where Burina nestles is clearly visible to travellers to Haleis for the first part of their journey. The repetition of *αὔγειροι πετέλαι τε* (8 and 136) can also be allowed a function in the poem – to remind the reader of Burina when the harvest festival begins – without insisting that the springs are identical. As indicated in n. 45 I doubt the location of the harvest festival on the plain near Linopóti, as suggested by Paton and adopted by (e.g.) Zanker (see his map p. 377) and Arnott.

⁴⁸ Professor Nisbet reminds me of the Hellenistic admiration for ultra-realism in art, of which Theoc. 1.27 ff. offers an example: note especially (41) *ὁ πρέσβυς, κάμνοντι τὸ κάρτερον ἀνδρὶ ἔοικώς* with the following remark that 'you would say he was fishing with all his strength'. Brown's hypothesis that Lycidas is a cult-statue of Pan would also meet this point, though he does not so exploit it.

encounter with Lycidas may embody a further Philetan allusion, viz. to that encounter between Philetas (or a Philetan character) and Eros which has been argued to lie behind the story told by Longus' Philetas.⁴⁹

The way the encounter is developed makes it clear what some of its purposes are. Simichidas opens with straight praise of Lycidas, which can be read as commendation and admiration of Philetas by Theocritus (27–9). He then suggests that he himself is good enough to show Lycidas some tricks (36 τὰχ' ὥτερος ἄλλον ὄνασεῖ): Theocritus both wishes to set his own bucolic creations in the tradition begun by Philetas and to suggest that his own contribution is as worthy of respect. Simichidas does not yet, however, claim to rival Sicelidas or Philetas: by an ironic twist (such as that claimed by Williams for Lycidas' references to Apollo) Simichidas is made to mention Philetas, Lycidas' creator, as in a different class. So, of course, he is – but a different class of reality, not quality. Although this reference could, I must concede, be seen as an obstacle to my hypothesis, it seems to me easily explicable on these lines and precisely the sort of allusive puzzle that Alexandrian readers would expect.

The reference to Sicelidas/Asclepiades may also be intended to create certain expectations in the reader. First, that the songs to be exchanged will be of love, as Asclepiades' surviving epigrams mostly are. Such an expectation might not be created so securely by the mention of Philetas alone, given that poet's wide range, though I would regard it as probable that Philetas presented love in bucolic settings, and that Lycidas' name would itself have turned the reader's mind to the bucolic-erotic parts of Philetas' *oeuvre*. Secondly, if the ascription of *Anth. Pal.* 9.64 to Asclepiades is accepted,⁵⁰ then in alluding to a poet who composed an epigram on Hesiod's encounter with the Muses, an epigram which added the detail that this took place in the middle of the day, Theocritus is citing another authority for midday divine encounters and reminding readers that Simichidas' meeting with Lycidas recalls that of Hesiod with the Muses.

That prepares the way for Lycidas' reply to Simichidas. He offers him his staff, κορύνᾳ, a clear allusion, as many have seen, to Hesiod's gift from the Muses of σκήπτρον... δάφνης ἐριθηλέος ὄζον, a gift which came simultaneously with that of αὐδὴν... θέσπιν.⁵¹ It may also, as I suggest above, be an allusion to Philetas, fr. 10. But the Hesiodic element in the allusion is driven home by the following line (44):

πάν ἐπ' ἀλαθείᾳ πεπλασμένον ἐκ Διὸς ἔρνος.

The combination of πεπλασμένα, things fictitious, and the truth, is precisely that set out by the Muses at *Theogony* 27–8:

ἴδμεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα
ἴδμεν δ' εὖτ' ἐθέλωμεν ἀληθέα γηρύσασθαι.

Here, of course, truth and fiction are treated as alternatives. So they usually are. But we have already in *Idyll* 7 seen one case where that which *is* within the fictional world has been commended as plausible fiction (13–14). I think the same paradox is being

⁴⁹ Cf. Cairns (n. 28) 25–6 and n. 112.

⁵⁰ Gow and Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* (Cambridge, 1965), ii. 149 reject the ascription, apparently because the alternative MS ascriptions are to authors not included in Meleager's garland. Dover (149) seems to accept the attribution to Asclepiades. Stadtmüller, endorsed by Beckby, accepted the alternative ascription to Archias.

Apart from this there are no obvious allusions to Asclepiades in Theoc. 7, but in the absence of all but some of Asclepiades' epigrams there may well be allusions to his poetry that we cannot identify.

⁵¹ *Theog.* 30–3.

served up in 44: Simichidas is indeed fictional, *πεπλασμένον*, as a creation of Theocritus, but it is a fiction that (like Philetas' creation of Lycidas) strikes at reality (*ἐπ' ἀλαθείᾳ*). In having Lycidas commend Simichidas in comparable terms to those which he, as narrator, has used of Lycidas, Theocritus asserts that his own pastoral creations are as realistic as those of Philetas.

Lycidas' ensuing proclamation of what we think of as the Callimachean ideal of the short poem comes as no surprise in Theocritus. But it is given added point in the mouth of a Philetan character if, as seems likely, Philetas was an early exponent of that ideal.

I would expect the song that Lycidas sings (52–89) to evoke the form, tone and detail of some Philetan poetry, while of course adapting it in Theocritus' own manner to offer the reader provocative *imitatio*. In the absence of substantial fragments of Philetas this hypothesis cannot be tested. As it is, we can only assume that the introduction of Tityrus and Daphnis goes back to Philetas – hence their prominence in Longus – and wonder whether Philetas also told the story of the goatherd Comatas shut in a chest and fed by a honeycomb (cf. bees in fr. 22 Powell).⁵² We might suspect that the mysterious *πτελεατικόν οἶνον* of 65 has some connection with the *πτελέαι* that mark the springs at 8 and 136, the former, Burina, certainly mentioned by Philetas. It may also be significant that the phrase *ἔτος ὥριον* (85) finds its only parallel in Philetas, fr. 3 Powell, perhaps from his *Demeter*.⁵³

Simichidas' response to Lycidas' song tells us that he *too* has learned many songs from the Nymphs (*πολλὰ μὲν ἄλλα Νύμφαι κῆμ' ἐδίδαξαν*, 91–2). Lycidas himself gave no explicit credit to the Nymphs, but simply presented his song as a little number that he had worked up in the hills (51). We may be entitled to suppose that Philetas, like Longus, gave the Nymphs an important place as protective deities, and that this is again alluded to in their address at the end of the poem (154). Whether this can be inferred or not, it is important that Simichidas (94–5) offers his song as a *γέρας* to Lycidas: in the same way the whole idyll is a *γέρας* to Philetas.

Simichidas' song should not, of course, highlight Philetan features. And perhaps its complexity and its emphasis on the harsher and more unpleasant side of love are meant to remind the reader of the greater sophistication presumably brought by Theocritus to pastoral and the darker undertones he sometimes used in his pictures.⁵⁴

Lycidas' gift of his stick to Simichidas completes the investiture: the baton has passed from Philetas' creation to that of Theocritus, with full approval of the former. If the Hellenistic reader was expected to recognise Pyxa, Lycidas' destination, as an Apolline shrine, then Philetas was the most obvious source of this information.

The narrator now takes us immediately to the scene of the harvest festival on his host Phrasidamus' farm. The repetition of *αἰγυριοὶ πτελέαι τε* from line 8 associates the water flowing from the Nymphs' cave with that of Burina.⁵⁵ The lush description, apart from being melodious and evocative poetry, has been seen as carrying various

⁵² On Tityrus see further below, Section (i). Comatas, of course, is the name of a character in *Idyll* 5, cf. below, Section (ii).

⁵³ †*Τω ου μοι πολέων γαίης ὕπερ ἥδ' ἐθ' ἀλάσσης*
ἐκ Διὸς ὥραιων ἐρχομένων ἐτέων.
Οὐδ' ἀπὸ Μοῖρα κακῶν μελέω φέρει, ἀλλὰ μένουσιν
ἔμπεδ' αἶε, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλα προσαυξάνεται.

It may also be significant that the only appearance of an *αἰγυριος* and one of the two appearances of *πτελέαι* in Callimachus are in his *Demeter* hymn (6.26 and 37), where they (and a *πίτυς*, *ὄχραι* and *γλυκύμαλα*) are in the desecrated *ἄλσος*. Another Philetan echo?

⁵⁴ E.g. the threatened violence of *Idyll* 5.

⁵⁵ Cf. n. 47.

symbolic meanings.⁵⁶ What has not been asked is why a festival of the deity of arable farming should have been chosen by Theocritus for the culmination of a poem whose main characters are pastoral and whose principal theme is pastoral poetry. Most societies, and that of ancient Greece is no exception, are marked by substantial differences between the pastoral and arable-farming communities and ways of life. A god normally associated closely with the one could not easily be taken as a patron of the other. For a reader of Theocritus *Idyll* 7 who perceived that the poem was an elaborate compliment to Philetas there would be no puzzle: Philetas' most famous (and perhaps only) long poem in elegiacs was *Demeter*. I would suggest that the festival of Demeter is made so integral a part of Theocritus' poem because he wished to compliment this element in Philetas' *oeuvre* as well as the shorter poems of love in (as I am arguing) a bucolic setting.⁵⁷ It may be relevant that Callimachus too picked out Philetas' *Demeter* to compare in some way with his shorter poems.⁵⁸

If my explanation of Lycidas' role in *Idyll* 7 is correct, then some light is shed on one or two shadowy problems in Augustan poetry, and (inevitably) some further questions about Philetas are raised.

(i) *Amaryllis* in Virgil's *Eclogues*

Apart from *Idyll* 7, *Idyll* 3 is the only poem of Theocritus in which the first person is used *ab initio*, without any narrative introduction. It is also the only other poem in which Tityrus (cf. 7.72) figures: he is asked to tend the goats of the unnamed speaker (3–4: the name may be repeated to ensure that the reader recognises it, as well as for poetic effect). Amaryllis appears only in *Idyll* 3, as the girl whom the speaker serenades, and in *Idyll* 4, as a girl now dead but once beloved of Battus, the interlocutor of Corydon. Tityrus and Amaryllis appear twice together in Virgil's *Eclogues*. In *Eclogue* 1 Tityrus is said by Meliboeus to sing of Amaryllis (1–5); this could be a reworking of the *dramatis personae* of *Idyll* 3, but one point, shortly to be considered, counts against that. In *Eclogue* 9, however, Amaryllis appears as the beloved of Lycidas (22) and Tityrus as his subordinate, whether son or slave, who is asked to tend his goats in a song (23–5). This doubtless owes something to *Idyll* 3.3–4. But it could suggest that Virgil either identifies the speaker of *Idyll* 3 as Lycidas or knows bucolic poetry where Lycidas loves Amaryllis. The appearance in Longus of Philetas as the lover of Amaryllis and as a Lycidas-like figure with a son called Tityrus offers an explanation: Philetas' poetry included serenading of Amaryllis by Lycidas, perhaps in a poem

⁵⁶ E. g. F. Lasserre, 'Aux origines de l'Anthologie: II. Les Thalysies de Theocrite', *Rh.M.* 102 (1959), 307–30, at 325, followed by Puelma (n. 38), 156, G. Lawall, *Theocritus' Coan Pastorals* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 102 ff., and C. Segal, 'Theocritus' Seventh Idyll and Lycidas', *Wien. Stud.* 8 (1974), 20–76, reprinted in id., *Poetry and Myth in Ancient Pastoral* (Princeton, 1981), 110–166, at 148 ff.

⁵⁷ It may be significant that Theocritus makes no attempt to bridge the gap between arable and pastoral activity by introducing a sacrificial sheep, as does Adaeus, *Garland of Philip* II = *A.P.* 6.258, influenced by Theocritus 7.155 ff. In deciding to elaborate his festival of Demeter Theocritus may also be influenced by the popularity of her cult on Cos, and in particular by the existence of an important cult centre in the deme Haleis; cf. Sherwin-White (n. 45), 305–12. As she points out, 312, this sanctuary, belonging to the deme, cannot be the private cult of Phrasidamus' family; but it could of course be a reason for Theocritus seeing especial appropriateness in mentioning – or inventing? – that cult. It also seems unlikely that the Haleis cult of Demeter will not have been mentioned in Philetas' *Demeter*.

⁵⁸ *Aetia* fr. 1.9 ff. Do 155–7 indicate that Theocritus intends to turn his hand next to an epyllion like the *Demeter*? Callimachus' own *Hymn to Demeter*, arguably intended for recitation on Cos, should owe something to Philetas' *Demeter* too; cf. n. 53.

which, like *Idyll* 3, used first-person dramatic presentation. Theocritus recalls this in *Idyll* 3, Virgil in *Eclogue* 9. In *Eclogue* 1 the next generation, Lycidas' son Tityrus, has symbolically moved into Lycidas' shoes, and in his turn sings of an Amaryllis.

This sequence might seem rashly speculative were it not for one further fact. *Eclogue* 1.5

formosam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas

was seen long ago, by Leo, to be too close to Longus 2.7 to be explicable otherwise than by a direct connection.⁵⁹ The Greek of Philetas' speech runs: ἐπώνουν τὴν Ἡχώ τὸ Ἀμαρυλλίδος ὄνομα μετ' ἐμὲ καλοῦσαν. That Longus used Virgil is hard to credit.⁶⁰ Virgil did not use Longus, who wrote some two centuries later. A common source must be postulated. Philetas fits the bill.

(ii) *Corydon* and *Eclogue* 2

On the basis of correspondences between *Eclogue* 2.31–9 and *Daphnis and Chloe* 2.32–7 'so exact and so numerous that it is hard to believe that they are coincidental' DuQuesnay has recently argued that they must have a common source and suggested that this source was Philetas.⁶¹ The passage in Longus is that where Philetas the herdsman makes his second entrance, bringing offerings to Pan. Begged by the young people to display his vaunted skill on the syrinx, he sends his son Tityrus for it (Daphnis' own syrinx is too small); Lamon meanwhile tells the myth of Pan and Syrinx and the invention of the syrinx. Then Philetas actually plays; Daphnis and Chloe enact

⁵⁹ F. Leo, 'Virgils erste und neunte Eclogie', *Hermes* 38 (1903), 3 n. 1, repr. in *Ausg. Kl. Schriften* (Rome, 1960), ii. 13 n. 1: 'die Übereinstimmung in der Sache ist so auffallend dass man auf eine direkte Beziehung schliessen muss'. My attention was drawn to this observation by Dr R. G. Mayer.

The ancestry of *Eclogue* 1 and the influence of the model of Longus 2.3 ff. are of course more complicated than this brief account can set out. For connections with Theocritus, Callimachus and Gallus and the conclusion that the common model must be Philetas cf. I. M. LeM. DuQuesnay, 'Vergil's First Eclogue', *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 3, ed. F. Cairns (Liverpool, 1981), 29–182 at 38–51, esp. 39–40; and Hunter (n. 29), 79–81. As DuQuesnay and Hunter show (and as had already been drawn to my attention by Ms. P. K. M. Kinchin), there are also themes from this nexus in Propertius 1.18.19–32. Thus the echo-motif of Longus 2.7 and *Ecl.* 1. appears as 'sed qualiscumque es resonant mihi "Cynthia" silvae, nec deserta tuo nomine saxa vacent' (Prop. 1.18.31–2); Philetas, in love with Amaryllis, piped πρὸς ταῖς φηγαῖς, cf. 'sub tegmine fagi' (*Ecl.* 1.1) and 'vos eritis testes... fagus et Arcadio pinus amica deo' (Prop. 1.18.19–20); and the plights of Philetas in Longus and of Propertius in 1.18 are similar. Prop. 1.18 in turn exploits Callimachus' Acontius and Cydippe (cf. F. Cairns, 'Propertius 1.18 and Callimachus', *CR* 19 (1969), 131–4) and Hunter (81) suggests that Callimachus may there have drawn on Philetas.

I add here a further possible link between *Eclogue* 1 and Longus which should also go back to a common source: Longus 2.11.3 the progress of Daphnis and Chloe's experience of love might have continued εἰ μὴ θόρυβος τοιοῦτοδὲ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀγροικίαν ἐκείνην κατέλαβε. *Ecl.* 1.11–12: Tityrus' enjoyment of *otia* is astonishing, because 'undique *totis* | usque adeo *turbatur agris*'. If these two passages do have a common model we shall have to be cautious about treating confiscations and the plight of Meliboeus as an alien element brought into the pastoral by Virgil.

⁶⁰ For a brief review of the knowledge of Latin literature shown by Greek authors of the first two centuries A.D. see Hunter (n. 29), 76–7. G. W. Williams, *Change and Decline* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1978), 125–34 argues for some cases of anthology poets showing the influence of Latin writing. Elizabeth Fisher, 'Greek translations of Latin literature in the fourth century A.D.', *YCLS* 27 (1982), 173–215 (with bibliography of this question on p. 174 nn. 3 and 4) questions the general view that Greeks were indifferent to Latin language and literature, but only substantiates a different view for the later third and the fourth centuries.

⁶¹ DuQuesnay (n. 59) 60 with nn. 192–200. Cf. Cairns (n. 28) 27 with n. 118, comparing also Tibullus 2.5.31–2.

the myth in a ballet; and finally Daphnis plays so well that Philetas presents him with his syrinx. In *Eclogue* 2 Corydon imagines that in the woods Alexis might join him in imitating Pan *canendo*, refers to Pan's invention of the syrinx, and then mentions a syrinx presented to him by Damoetas on his death. The certainty of dependence on Philetas has been questioned by Hunter. As DuQuesnay had already noted, there may be a better parallel for *Ecl.* 2.37–8 in the Longan scene where the dying Dorcon hands over his syrinx to Chloe (1.29.2–3); and both Virgil and Longus, Hunter suggests, owe the motif to Theocritus 6. 42–3:

τόσσ' εἰπὼν τὸν Δάφνιν ὁ Δαμοίτας ἐφίλησε
 χαῖ μὲν τῷ σύριγγ', ὁ δὲ τὸν καλὸν αὐλὸν ἔδωκεν

and to Theocritus 1.128–30, where the dying Daphnis gives his pipes to Pan.⁶²

At *Eclogue* 2 Virgil certainly alludes to both these passages of Theocritus. But neither Theocritean passage tells the origin of the syrinx, and Longus 2.32–7 suggests that all three writers knew a passage in Philetas which involved both the syrinx's origin and its gift from one player to another. Further support for this may be found from Propertius (see below (iv)). But the following points about *Eclogue* 2 may also be relevant.

The protagonist of *Eclogue* 2, Corydon, is also one of the two principles of *Eclogue* 7 (his only other appearance is at 5.86, a back-reference to 2.1). What are his origins? In Theocritus he figures in *Idylls* 4 and 5. In 4 his interlocutor is Battus, whom we have already met as a lover of Amaryllis, and the location seems to be near to Croton. In 5 Corydon is not a speaking character but a friend of one of these, Lacon. The other speaking character's name is Comatas; the location near Sybaris might suggest that there is some connection between this and the Comatas of Lycidas' song, whose legend the scholia declare to have been located near Thurii.⁶³ It is surprising, therefore, to find that in *Eclogue* 7 Corydon is Arcadian. It is also disturbing that Virgil's line describing the shepherds of *Eclogue* 7, Corydon and Thyrsis (3)

ambo florentes aetatibus, Arcades ambo,

is so close to an epigram of Erucius which opens

Γλαύκων καὶ Κορύδων, οἱ ἐν οὐρεσι βουκολέοντες,
 Ἄρκαδες ἀμφοτέρου...

Use by Virgil of Erucius or by Erucius of Virgil is possible, but neither seems to me probable. Rather, as Reitzenstein suggested, we should suppose a common model.⁶⁴ Given the reappearance of Corydon in *Eclogue* 2 (where, like Battus in *Idyll* 4, he recalls a past affair with Amaryllis, 2.14 and 52) and the independent pointers to

⁶² Hunter (n. 29) 81–2 (comparing also Bion's *Lament for Adonis* 7–11).

⁶³ Σ on 78/9, p. 99 Wendel, apparently attributing the story to Lycus of Rhegium (though Λύκος is a conjecture: MSS have Λύκιος). Cf. Gow (n. 4) ii. 152 on 7.78.

⁶⁴ Erucius, *Garland of Philip I* = A.P. 6.96. Gow and Page allow that Virgil may have known the epigram of Erucius (whom they date tentatively to 50–25 B.C.); but this seems to entail the view that Virgil's relocation of Corydon and the pastoral in Arcadia depended on a *jeu d'esprit* by Erucius. Wilamowitz, *Textgeschichte der griechischen Bukoliker* (Berlin, 1906), 111 n. i judged Erucius to be dependent on Virgil; so too G. W. Williams (n. 60) 126. Hunter (n. 29) 76–7 thinks this 'not improbable', but he recognises that Greek knowledge of Latin literature at this period is exiguous (cf. above n. 72). For Reitzenstein's view that similarity indicates a common model, see Reitzenstein (n. 28) 131 n. 2 (on p. 132).

Philetan material in that Eclogue, I conjecture that Philetas is the source of the name Corydon and perhaps even of his Arcadian setting. Theocritus will have resettled him in South Italy perhaps in order to bring him into association with Comatas.⁶⁵ On this supposition *Eclogue* 2 draws on Philetas for a Corydon who receives from another singer a syrinx, a gift which prompts the tale of Syrinx and (Arcadian) Pan. The use of the gift-motif by Philetas will be another reason for its exploitation by Theocritus in *Idyll* 7.⁶⁶

(iii) *Lycinna*

Propertius in Book 3 (whose opening poem begins *Callimachi Manes et Coi sacra Philitae, in vestrum, quaeso, me sinite ire nemus*) builds a poem (15) around his girlfriend's jealousy for a lady who instructed him in love during his innocent youth. She was strongly attracted to him, for she sought no reward

illa rudis animos per noctes conscia primas
imbuit, heu nullis capta Lycinna datis! (5–6)

Lycinna's role is exactly that of the older woman who seduces Daphnis in Longus' novel and offers him the practical instruction that complements Philetas' *logos*.⁶⁷ That woman is called *Λυκαίνιον*, a diminutive of *Λύκη*, as is Lycinna. Lyke appears as the name of a *hetaira*, as does Lykaina.⁶⁸ It could be that both Propertius and Longus hit independently on a suitable name for an experienced woman. But the closeness of situation and of name rather suggests a common source: conjecturally, Philetas.

(iv) *Propertius* 3.3

In the third poem of a programmatic group at the beginning of Book 3 Propertius recalls a dream or vision in which he has a divine encounter with Apollo and the Muses.

⁶⁵ I would also take the mysterious appearance of Comatas in *Idyll* 7 within Lycidas' song (78–89) as a *prima facie* indication that Comatas figured in Philetas – presumably, in view of *Idyll* 5 and the scholion on 7.78/9 (cf. n. 63), in a South Italian setting. If this, and my other speculative suggestions, were correct, then Philetas' pastoral poetry would be associated with three areas of the Greek world (Lesbos, Arcadia and South Italy), but given the range of geographical interest shown by other Hellenistic poets this is no objection. That Philetas should depict a peaceful pastoral landscape in South Italy c. 290 B.C. is less surprising than Theocritus' location of *Idylls* 4 and 5 in an area that had been devastated by war since Rome's confrontation with Tarentum in 282 B.C. and the consequent invasion of Pyrrhus. I would see the precedent of South Italian pastoral by Philetas as making Theocritus' choice of setting more intelligible. For an additional reason which may have led Philetas to Comatas and South Italy see below n. 75.

⁶⁶ If the above is correct, it follows that Virgil's influential choice of Arcadia as a chief constituent of his pastoral landscape, apparent first in *Ecl.* 7 and further elaborated in *Ecl.* 10, was prompted not merely by Arcadia's associations with Pan and the primitive life but by its pedigree as a pastoral landscape in earlier poetry, that of Philetas. The location would thus be less innovative than on most accounts (e.g. T. G. Rosenmeyer, *The Green Cabinet* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1969), 232–46; R. G. G. Coleman, *Virgil, Eclogues* (Cambridge, 1977), 22 and on *Ecl.* 7.4). A case has also been made for Gallus' part in the location of pastoral in Arcadia by D. F. Kennedy in a paper read to the Gallus colloquium at Liverpool on 23rd April 1983. That Gallus may have so exploited Arcadia counts neither for nor against my suggestion that Philetas did.

⁶⁷ Longus 3.15.1 ff.

⁶⁸ Lyca as the name of a *hetaera*, Athenaeus 13.567e–f (citing the comedians Timocles and Amphis); Lycaena, Lucian, *dial. mer.* 12.1. Lycinna is elusive as a real name in the Greek world: it does not appear in Fisk or Pape-Benseler, nor in the indices of *CIL* vi.

The scene is both Helicon and Castalia, involving a confusion which need not concern us here. Apollo warns him off epic themes, and shows him an untrodden path to a cave whose accoutrements include *calami*, *Pan Tegeaeae*, *tui* (30); there too are the nine Muses, one of whom, Calliope, repeats Apollo's advice and directs Propertius to love poetry and the role of *praeceptor amoris* (49–50). The poem concludes:

talia Calliope, lymphisque a fonte petitis
ora Philitea nostra rigavit aqua. (51–2)

The debt of this poem to Hesiod's interview with the Muses on Helicon and Callimachus' admonitions from Apollo is clear enough. But the last couplet reminds us that there are as important debts to Philetas. On the evidence of *Idyll* 7 and Longus I would conjecture them to be as follows:

(a) A divine encounter, perhaps with Apollo (evoked by Simichidas' encounter with Lycidas, and by that of Longus' Philetas with Eros).

(b) The message 'small is beautiful'; cf. *Idyll* 7.45–8.

(c) Whereas (a) and (b) could be derived from Callimachus alone, but need not be, the *spelunca* of 3.3.27 cannot. The prominence of a cave of the Nymphs in Longus, a cave that is the source of a stream, and the importance of the spring Burina in *Idyll* 7 make Philetas a likely source. In Longus' cave, where ἐκ πηγῆς ἀναβλύζον ὕδωρ ῥεῖθρον ἐποίει χεόμενον, there are dedications of αὐλοὶ πλάγιοι καὶ σύριγγες καὶ κάλαμοι (1.4.3).⁶⁹ In Theocritus likewise ἱερὸν ὕδωρ Νυμφῶν ἐξ ἄντροιο κατειβόμενον κελάρυζε (7.136–7). That Theocritus presently seems to name these nymphs as Castalian has long been a problem⁷⁰ (7.148); one explanation is the possible introduction of Castalian nymphs by Philetas – these would then be one reason for Propertius' fusion of Helicon and Castalia in 3.3.

Longus' cave is set in a luxuriant grove dedicated to the Nymphs.⁷¹ Theocritus' spring is also in a grove (135 ff.), and so is Propertius', to judge from 3.3.13, *ex arbore* and 26 *muscoso*; related too is 3.1.2. *in vestrum, quaeso, me sinite ire nemus*.

(d) The alternative to epic is the poetry of love: tales of lovers pernoctating on doorsteps (3.3.47; cf. *Idyll* 7.122), advice to other would-be-lovers (3.3.49–50; cf. the role of Philetas in Longus and the stance of Simichidas *vis-à-vis* Aratus in *Idyll* 7.122 ff.). Such love may have a rural context, indicated by the presence at the cave of Pan's pipes as well as Venus' doves (3.3.30–2).⁷²

⁶⁹ The pan-pipes are a common element to the divine-encounter nexus (associated with a cave of the Nymphs and precepts about poetry) and the symbolic-gift nexus argued for in (ii) above: on my hypothesis, two Philetan scenes and not just one. It is of course possible that only one Philetan scene is involved, and that I am wrong in tracing to Philetas some of the constituents which require us to suppose two. Note that Propertius 3.3.1 (*visus eram molli recubans Heliconis in umbra*) has been suggested (by DuQuesnay (n. 59) 40) to belong with *Eclogue* 1.4 (*lentus in umbra*) and Propertius 1.18.21 (*sub umbras*) in alluding to Gallus and Philetas (cf. above n. 59). Another possible verbal link (but perhaps too trivial to be significant) is *Eclogue* 1.23 *sic parvis componere magna solebam*; cf. Propertius 3.3.5 *parvaeque tam magnis admoram fontibus ora*; Longus 2.33.2 (a Philetan context, cf. (ii) above) ἡ δὲ [sc. σύριγξ] ἦν μικρὰ πρὸς μεγάλην τέχνην οἷα ἐν στόματι παιδὸς ἐμπνεομένη.

⁷⁰ See Gow (n. 4) ii on 7.148.

⁷¹ Pref. 1: ...ἐν ἄλσει Νυμφῶν...καλὸν μὲν καὶ τὸ ἄλσος, πολὺδένδρον, ἀνθηρόν, κατάρρυτον· μία πηγὴ πάντα ἔτρεφε, καὶ τὰ ἄνθη καὶ τὰ δένδρα...

⁷² J. Hubaux, 'Le dieu Amor chez Properce et chez Longus', *Acad. Roy. de Belgique (Bull. Cl. des lettres et des sc. mor. et pol.)* 5.39 (1953), 263–70 has also argued that similarities between Prop. 3.16.11–20 and Longus 3.5.4 point to a common source in Philetas. I am persuaded by Hunter (n. 2) that they are rather to be explained by use of *topoi* (more widely attested) than by a common ancestor.

Many of the correspondences adduced above are individually open to explanation by coincidence in an area where *topoi* are finite and often recur. Taken together they are less easy to explain away, and to me they seem to corroborate the hypothesis of Philetas' pastoral poetry where there were characters called Lycidas, Tityrus and Amaryllis, where declaration and narrative of love played a part, and where the poet or one of his characters met a protective deity and received advice, whether on love, poetry, or the relation between them. I shall pursue only one of the many questions about Philetas' contribution which may now be asked. Why, if my hypothesis is correct, did Philetas set at least some of his pastoral scenes on Lesbos?

The answer that I would conjecturally offer is that Philetas was influenced by Lesbos' reputation in the world of poetry. His native Cos had little or no poetic pedigree. Lesbos laid claim to the birthplace of Homer and the head of Orpheus; its poet Terpander was credited with a fundamental role in the development of Greek music; and, perhaps most significant of all, Sappho and Alcaeus were already being read and admired in Philetas' scholarly world. Sappho had done most of all these to associate Lesbian poetry with love, a central theme for Philetas; but she was not perhaps an obvious model for a male poet singing either *propria persona* or through the mouths of male characters. Alcaeus of Mytilene, by contrast, must have been known in the ancient world for love poetry to boys, of which we have only wretched traces.⁷³ One of these is in Horace, who makes Alcaeus sing of

Liberum et Musas Veneremque et illi
semper haerentem puerum canebat
et Lycum nigris oculis nigroque
crine decorum.

(Carm. 1.32.9–12)

We also have scraps of a poem by Alcaeus which seems to have been a propempticon, and whose treatment of the melting of winter into spring seems to have influenced another well-known ode of Horace, *Solvitur acris hiems* (Carm. 1.4).⁷⁴ That ode also uses the name Lycidas (*tenerum Lycidan*, 19) for an attractive boy, so that there is some possibility that in Alcaeus too a Lycidas figured as a *παῖς καλός*. I would suggest that either the boy Lycus, certainly attested for Alcaeus, or Lycidas, conceivably Alcaic, prompted Philetas to choose the name for his pastoral character.⁷⁵ Alcaeus'

⁷³ Cf. D. L. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Oxford, 1955), 294–9.

⁷⁴ 286 (a) Lobel and Page; cf. Page, op. cit. (n. 84) 289–90, and R. G. M. Nisbet and M. Hubbard, *Horace Odes Book 1* (Oxford, 1970), 58 on 1.4. The theme of spring's arrival seems also to have been treated in an erotic context by Alcaeus in 296(b) Lobel and Page, too scrappy to make it clear whether the Damoanaktidas addressed is an *ἐραστής* or *ἐρώμενος*. If the latter, then Alcaeus' Damoanaktidas may have some part in the ancestry of Lycidas' *ἐρώμενος* Ageanax. The reputation of Alcaeus as a poet of pederastic love in Theocritus' generation is demonstrated, as Robert Wells has pointed out to me, by Theoc. 29 and 30.

⁷⁵ In considering why Philetas chose Lycidas as the name of a pastoral character one further factor may have been relevant, viz. his debt to Lycus of Rhegium for the story of Comatas (if it is correctly argued above that Philetas told that story, and correctly asserted by the scholiast that it was to be found in Lycus; cf. above n. 63). We may note that this Comatas story was in some way associated with a cave of the nymphs (*Σ* Theocr. 7.78/9b) and that Lycus had an interest in unusual springs and rivers (cf. *FGrHist* 570, frs. 7–11, 14) which was not confined to the Western Mediterranean (fr. 14 cites one in India = Pliny, *N.H.* 13.17). It is possible that Pliny derived his notice about the spring in the island Cydonea that flowed only in spring (cf. Appendix II) from Lycus (though he is not cited among the sources for books 2 or 5).

If this were so, then it might also be that Philetas was indebted to Lycus for local colour about Lycidas' Cydonian haunts as well as for the Comatas story. To choose the name Lycidas would thus be a compliment to a contemporary currently influential in Alexandria (cf. W. Spoerri, *Kleine Pauly* 3 (1975), 818 s.n. Lykos n. 12) as well as an evocation of Alcaeus.

various contexts, some presumably in the city of Mytilene, others in the distant countryside where he lurked as an exile,⁷⁶ may have suggested the landscape north of Mytilene as a suitable setting. If there were echoes and allusions to Alcaeus in Philetas' poetry, he will have expected his readers to recognise them with as little difficulty as readers of Theocritus with a full text of Philetas might have recognised the goatherd Lycidas from Cydonia who loved Ageanax of Mytilene.

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APPENDIX

I. *Where does Longus set Daphnis and Chloe?*

Since Longus probably envisaged readers in the Greek East few of whom could be expected to have first-hand knowledge of Lesbos, and since many features of Greek novels are unreal, it is tempting to suppose that he formed only a vague conception of his work's setting, e.g. 'some distance from Mytilene in the direction of Methymna'. But right at its beginning he presents his readers with a precise figure for the distance from Mytilene of the farm on which Daphnis grows up:

ταύτης τῆς πόλεως τῆς Μυτιλήνης ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων εἴκοσιν ἀγρὸς ἦν ἀνδρὸς εὐδαίμονος,
κτῆμα κάλλιστον. (1.1.2)

εἴκοσιν V διακοσίω F⁷⁷

Later we have figures for the distance which separates Daphnis' farm from Chloe's (10 stades, 3.5.4); which Chloe is carried prisoner by the Methymnans (10 stades, 2.25.1); which separates Philetas' farm from that of Daphnis (10 stades, 2.33.2); which lies between Methymna and the point at which Methymnan forces meet those of Mytilene (100 stades, 3.2.2); and which lies between Methymna and the point to which the Mytilenean general finally advances (10 stades, 3.2.4). Although these figures must generate suspicion, since they are all 10 stades or multiples thereof, Longus' apparent familiarity with many details of the Lesbian landscape has encouraged scholars to exploit them in determining his setting. The possibilities are as follows:

(i) We may read *διακοσίω* at 1.1.2 with F. This allows two locations:

(a) Somewhere in the area of Mandamádhos and Aghios Stephanos, as argued for by H. J. Mason, 'Longus and the topography of Lesbos', *TAPA* 109 (1979), 149–63. The arguments against this location have been well set out by Peter Green, 'Longus, Antiphon and the topography of Lesbos', *JHS* 102 (1982), 210–14. The landscape does not fit that depicted by Longus, there is neither perennial river nor half-moon bay, and (crucially) the ancient boundary between Mytilene and Methymna (on the Mytilenean side of which both young persons' farms lie) seems to have run some distance south of this area, between it and Mytilene (see Fig. 1). Green's paper makes it clear that Mason's proposal must be rejected.

⁷⁶ Especially 130.17 ff. L–P. For the probable location of the sanctuary at which Alcaeus watched beauty contests cf. L. A. Stella, *Parola del Passato* 11 (1956), 322–3, followed by L. Robert, 'Recherches Epigraphiques', *Rev. des Ét. Anciennes* (1960), 300 ff., repr. in *Op. Min. Sel* (Amsterdam, 1969), ii. 816 ff. They place it at Messon/Mesa, some 5 km north of the site of Pyrrha at the N.E. end of the gulf of Kalloni. A further (but, I should guess, minor) factor drawing the attention of a Coan poet to Lesbos could have been the legend according to which Cos was colonised from Lesbos by Macareus' son Neandros after Deucalion's flood (Diodorus 5.81.8).

⁷⁷ For the MSS designated by F and V and their relationship see Longus, *Daphnis et Chloe*, ed. M. D. Reeve (Leipzig, 1982), v–xiv.

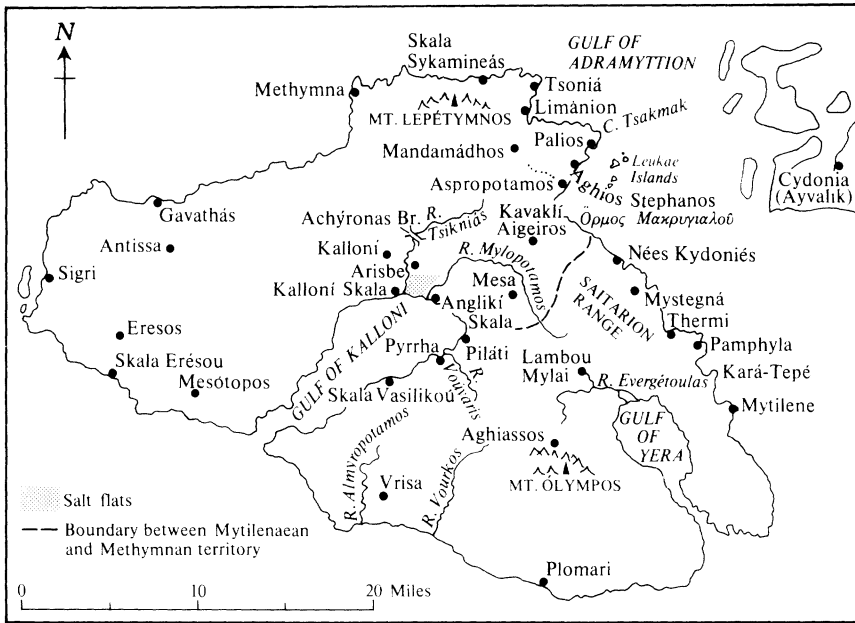


Fig. 1. Lesbos

(b) Peter Green's own suggestion (loc. cit. above) is that the scene is set in the gulf of Kalloni 'near the site of ancient Pyrha', at the modern village of Achladeri, which by existing routes is the requisite 37 km from Mytilene. To me this also seems to encounter insuperable objections:

(1) The general impression conveyed by Longus' narrative is that the 'sea' is open sea, not a gulf whose head is at most six kilometres from Daphnis and Chloe's playground and whose other shore is never more than eight from that on which they are located. This impression is, of course, subjective. But it is reinforced by an objective detail. At 3.21.1 a fishing vessel hurries past, its crew rowing because there is no wind, eager to bring fresh fish to the city for some rich man: *ἡπείγοντο γὰρ νεαεῖς ἰχθῦς εἰς τὴν πόλιν διασώσασθαι τῶν τινι πλουσίων*.

If the boat is going S.W. to N.E. up the gulf, then for fish to reach Methymna or (the more natural interpretation of *εἰς τὴν πόλιν*) Mytilene it will have to be unloaded and carried by land, either 19 km to Methymna or 37 km to Mytilene. If it is travelling N.E. to S.W., then it has a long coastal circumnavigation of over 150 km ahead of it. Neither of these prospects is suggested by, or indeed is easily compatible with, Longus' description of the boat's haste and purpose.

The same impression of a shore stretching from Methymna to Mytilene is given by the narrative of the Methymnan jeunesse dorée's boating holiday (2.12 ff.) and the military reprisals which their treatment by the *κωμήται* provoked (2.20.1 ff.). Longus tells how the Methymnan youths launched a boat and sailed along Mytilenean territory. He does not suggest that they had to travel 18 km from the city of Methymna to the gulf of Kalloni to do this, and the fullness with which he describes their various activities (2.12.2–5) suggests they had holidayed for several days before the unfortunate incident when a peasant stole their rope (2.13.1). This is not easily reconciled with a location of Daphnis' and Chloe's farms two or three kilometres from the Methymnan–

Mytilenean border; and when Longus then says that they ‘sailed along the coast for 30 stades’ (2.13.2) this distance reads most naturally as referring to their day’s journey after they had lost their rope, not (as Green 212 n. 22) to their whole journey since its outset – it would be hard to compress the varied activities of 2.12.3–5 into a coastal trip of 5.58 km! Likewise when the Methymnans have believed the fabrications of their upper-class louts and resolved that they must be avenged, their general orders a fleet of ten ships to be launched and the next day immediately (*εὐθύς*) puts to sea (2.19.3–20.1). Nothing here suggests that a journey by land of 18 km to a point very near the Mytilenean border is required before a naval squadron, based in the gulf of Kalloni, can be launched and manned.

(2) The location near ancient Pyrrha raises serious problems. Longus offers little explicit indication of *when* the events of the story should be envisaged as taking place, and we are doubtless meant to imagine the timeless universe of folk-tale. But the fact that Methymna and Mytilene are independent to the extent of possessing and deploying military forces points to the classical period, a period to which so much of the literature of the second-century Greek world harked back, and in which at least one other novel, Chariton’s, was unambiguously set. If a reader did form the impression that the setting was in the classical period, then he would also be likely to know that in the fifth and fourth centuries Pyrrha was independent, and that the immediate environment of Pyrrha could not have been within even the outlying estates of a Mytilenean aristocrat. That Longus does envisage an independent Pyrrha is made clear by 1.28.2, where the pirates who kill Dorcon and kidnap Daphnis are described as either *Τύριοι* (V) or *Πύριοι* (F). Since they are then described as wishing to *seem* to be barbarians, *Τύριοι* can hardly be right, and M. D. Reeve is surely correct to read *Πυρραῖοι*: as with the Methymnan incident, Longus is careful to draw his instruments of action from within the carefully insulated world of Lesbos.

Even if we do not read *Πυρραῖοι* at 1.28.2 and assume that Longus envisages a post-classical Lesbos in which Pyrrha is no longer an independent city, we should note that in Strabo’s time (the nadir of Aegean fortunes) the suburbs of Pyrrha were still inhabited: *ἡ δὲ Πύρρα κατέστραπται, τὸ δὲ προάστειον οἰκεῖται καὶ ἔχει λιμένα* (Strabo 13.2.4 (618C)). It is unlikely that the density of population fell sharply between the beginning of the first and the end of the second century A.D., so a writer with a good knowledge of the island and an intention of providing accurate detail would be unlikely to pick the site of Pyrrha for a rural paradise.⁷⁸

Accordingly it seems that neither of the two locations which could be supposed if we read *διακοσίων* is suitable.

(ii) We may read *εἴκοσι* at 1.1.2 with V. This also allows two possibilities, a site on the gulf of Yera or one on the east-facing coast north of Mytilene. The former is open to the sorts of objection brought above against a site on the gulf of Kalloni. Therefore I have earlier taken the view that the area 20 stades north from Mytilene on the island’s East coast is what Longus envisaged. But there are problems with this

⁷⁸ For a recent account of Pyrrha see M. Paraskevaidis, *RE* 24 (1963), 1403–20. Paraskevaidis thinks the city’s *acme* to have been in the Hellenistic period, arguing from the nearby temple at Messa/Messon, and notes that a basilica at Achladeri and the fact that Pyrrha had one of Lesbos’ five bishoprics point to its being a place of some importance in the early Christian period (loc. cit. 1411). J. K. Kondis, *Λέσβος καὶ ἡ Μικρασιατικὴ τῆς Περιοχῆ* (Athens, Athens Center of Ekistics, 1978), 344–6, gives greater weight to the notices of Strabo and Pliny (*N.H.* 5.139 *ex his Pyrrha hausta est mari*), and concludes that Pyrrhan territory was administered by Mytilene (346).

too. The proximity to Mytilene is hard to reconcile with two data offered by Longus. First, when the Methymnans raid the countryside around Daphnis' and Chloe's farms, there is no 'immediate military response' (Mason 160), and only when people coming in from the countryside report what has happened is action taken (3.3.1; cf. Green 212 n. 17). Of course it does not suit Longus' narrative to have Mytilenean action at this point – he wishes to follow up the miraculous rescue of Chloe –, but if we lay stress on this factor we begin to undermine the assumption that Longus is conscientiously realistic in matters of topography. It might, indeed, be insisted that the headland of Kará-Tepè obscures the view of much of the bay that runs between 20 and 40 stades (3.7 and 7.4 km) from Mytilene, just south of Pamphyla (see Fig. 1). But although it must have prevented people in the main population area of Mytilene seeing anything of events in that bay, they *could* have been seen from the acropolis, and it seems to me now that this incident makes it hard to believe that Longus envisages a location so close to the city. The second point is perhaps conclusive. When towards the end of the story Daphnis and Chloe leave the country for the city (4.33.2), they set off at dawn, travel in a horse-drawn carriage, yet arrive at a time when they can slip into the city unnoticed in darkness. Even allowing for elaborate leave-taking (4.33.2), frequent stops *en route* and deliberate delay to ensure nocturnal arrival, it is hard to see how the distance could have been a mere 20 or 30 stades (3.7 or 5.5 km).

If precise application neither of 200 stades nor of 20 stades gives us a location compatible with other data in the work, there remain two courses open to us: either the figures in the MSS are both corrupt, or Longus is using them to give an appearance of precision which is not matched by any careful consideration of where precisely these figures take one. Either explanation is possible, but a number of factors suggest the second. First, Longus' regular recourse to round numbers that are multiples of ten. Secondly, his readiness in non-topographical matters to offer circumstantial rationalisation that is sheer invention (e.g. 1.12.5, Daphnis has to think of an explanation – attack by a wolf – in case somebody notices the absence of the goat which is to be sacrificed; 1.20.2, we are told how Dorcon came by a wolf-pelt; he is not simply presented to us as having access to one). Thirdly, the difficulty in reconciling *all* Longus' topographical data whatever the figure at 1.1.2 was supposed to be. Thus, if we choose a site on the gulfs of Yera or Kalloni on the ground that only into these do rivers flow which would have enough water for Daphnis to swim in during summer months (i.e. the Evergetoulas and the Vouvaris; cf. Green 212–3 nn. 22–3), then we run into the sorts of difficulty set out at (i) (b) (1) above. Conversely, if we seek a site at any point on the east coast, our choice must ignore the implication of Longus having Daphnis swim in 'rivers'. But the very fact that 'rivers' (1.23.2; 2.24.2) are described in the plural should perhaps be a warning to us that Longus' brand of realism is not one which involves topographical precision: no plain in Lesbos is watered by more than one perennial stream.

It follows that we must not seek precision in the distances offered by the MSS or in every detail of the landscape.⁷⁹ We may still, however, take the view that Longus has some first-hand knowledge of the landscape of Lesbos, and that he has a rough, but not precise, notion of where his novel is set. The pointers towards where this is

⁷⁹ Cf. E. L. Bowie, 'The novels and the real world', *Erotica Antiqua* (Acta of the International Conference on the Ancient Novel 1976) (Bangor, 1977), 4. It is perhaps worth noting that mistakes over the most basic details can be made even by modern novelists who appear to take great pains over a realistic setting. From a novelist educated at Oxford, Rachel Billington, I note: 'Gordon and I were walking back from dinner at the Mitre... we walked down the Broad. Just as we reached Queen's College...' (*A Woman's Age*, Penguin edition, 1981, 135).

are to my mind clear. It is between Mytilene and Methymna (not therefore on the east coast south of Mytilene). It is a fair distance from the city of Mytilene (see (ii) above), though it is also some way south of the Methymna–Mytilene border (see (i) (b) (1) above). Pasture, hunting country, and arable land – including vineyards and orchards – are to be found close together. There is a stretch of coast, along which boats pass towards Mytilene (see (i) (b) (1)), and it contains at least one half-moon bay (2.25.2); but there is likely to be more than one, since in describing the fishing boat's passage Longus draws attention to the echo of the rowers' song perceived by Daphnis and Chloe when the singers passed a half-moon bay,⁸⁰ and gives no hint that Daphnis and Chloe are at that moment off their normal playground and ten to twenty stades further along the coast (which is the location of the bay of 2.25.2; cf. 2.25.1).

If the above features of Longus' landscape are accepted as being significant, then the coast between Pamphyla and Néēs Kydoniēs must be where Longus sets his story: not too near to Pamphyla, given the implications of 3.3.1 and 4.33.2 (see (ii) above), nor yet right on the border (see (i) (b) (1) above). Of the only two bays that have a pronounced half-moon shape, one, below the village of Mystegnà, is quite large (about 1000 metres from promontory to promontory) the other, about 3.5 km (20 stades) further north, below Néēs Kydoniēs, is much smaller (about 300 metres from promontory to promontory). If we believe that Longus had some picture of the east coast of Lesbos in his mind, then we must conclude that he envisaged the main setting of the action (and the echo sequence of 3.21.3) in the half-moon bay of Mystegnà; Chloe's farm a bit further north (he gives the round number of ten stades, 3.5.4); and the halting place of the Methymnan raiding squadron as the bay of Néēs Kydoniēs (again the round number of ten stades further north, 2.25.1). The distance between Mystegnà and Mytilene is *c.* 17 km. If we accept either twenty or two hundred stades as the distance offered by Longus, then the latter is more easily intelligible as a careless guess for a substantial distance from town. For those who find this to be incompatible with the many elements of realism in Longus' descriptions, and who accept my interpretation of the other topographical indications, there remains the easy course of taking both MS readings as corruptions of 100, ἑκατον.

II. *Where is Cydonia?*

The name Kydona is currently attached to a small island off the northern promontory bounding the bay below the village of Néēs Kydoniēs. However, neither that toponym nor the village name seems to be antique. Pliny, *N.H.* 2.232 tells of a hot spring 'in Cydonea insula ante Lesbum fons calidus vere tantum fluit' and at 5.140 (his notice on Lesbos) says 'insulae adpositae Sandalium, Leucæ V. ex iis Cydonea cum fonte calido'. This makes it clear that Cydonia was one of the five islands whose nearest point on Lesbos is a promontory two thirds of the way from Aghios Stephanos to Palios, though they are clearly visible from as far down the coast as the promontory north of the bay below Mystegnà. The assignation of a hot spring also excludes the small island at present called Kydona, since that is flat and (as far as I could determine in a visit early in April 1984) waterless; indeed at present it is so small that it seems unlikely ever to have been inhabited.⁸¹

⁸⁰ 3.21.3 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄκρα τινὶ ὑποδραμόντες εἰς κόλπον μηνιοειδῆ καὶ κοῖλον εἰσήλασαν, μείζων μὲν ἠκούετο βοή, σαφὴ δὲ ἐξέπιπτεν εἰς τὴν γῆν τὰ τῶν κελευστῶν ἄσματα.

⁸¹ Kondis (n. 78) marks Kydona island/Cydonea as the site of a mineral bath from *c.* 480 B.C. to the fourth century A.D., (figs. 22–8), but I can find no evidence for this in his text nor have I discovered any elsewhere. I am tempted to wonder whether this classification is based on Pliny's notice about the hot spring and nothing more.

I know of no evidence which determines which of the five islands was anciently called Cydonia. I would guess it to be the present *Nesos Panagias*, but I have not yet been able to visit the islands to investigate whether the Panagia is associated with an intermittent hot spring. Although it seems certain that the present settlement of Néés Kydoniès is recent, it is possible that a village or area on the coastline of Lesbos was associated with the island in antiquity and bore the same name. If only the island bore the name in antiquity, then at least we can be sure from its citation in Pliny that its spring had attracted attention, and that it was known to local tourists and to some genres of literature. This would be sufficient for a learned poet to locate a shepherd Lycidas on the island, doubtless not neglecting its miraculous spring,⁸² and to bring him into association with Mytilenean territory and persons.

The reasons for suggesting that in antiquity a village or area on this coastline of Lesbos bore the name Cydonia are these. The present Néés Kydoniès is (I presume) a settlement of Greeks expelled from Asia Minor in the exchange of populations in 1923. Their mainland settlement was Kydonia, now Ayvalık (simply a Turkish translation, 'Quincy'); its history as a city goes back only to 1773, though the Greek settlements from which it developed seem to have been founded in the seventeenth century.⁸³ Why was the name Kydonia given to the new city? It is possible that the identity of its name and that of the island is coincidental. It is also possible, and perhaps more probable, that it took its name from the island. But since the island can never have sustained a large population (whether it is one of the 5 Leucæ as argued above or, even more, that currently called Kydona), it is most likely that the name Kydonia was brought by the settlers from Lesbos (as too in the ancient Lesbian settlement of the Peraea names were carried, e.g. Pyrrha). One would therefore expect it to have been associated with an area of the coastline facing the Peraea. If that is so, then there is also a high probability of a causal connection between the attachment of the name Cydonia to this area and to the island. Which came first would involve even more guesswork than I have already indulged in.

⁸² Cf. above n. 75.

⁸³ See Kondis (n. 78) 73.