

Daphnis and Prometheus

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The place of honor in Vergil's central *Eclogue*¹ is held by a personage who unites in himself all qualities of the ideal shepherd-poet. The name *Daphnis* was not an invention of the poet, nor was it chosen at random from among the various traditional *nomina bucolica* at hand in Greek literature. From Theocritus and Callimachus through the epigrammatists and Meleager, the name of Daphnis arises again and again to typify the essence of the bucolic hero. For the Greeks, as for Vergil, Daphnis was the pastoral poet and lover *par excellence*.²

The Daphnis of *Eclogue* 5 not only assimilates the characteristics of his Greek forebear; he surpasses and transcends them as well. The novelty of Vergil's conception of Daphnis lies in the harvesting of so many ideas from earlier literary, religious, and mythological traditions into a harmonious whole, the incorporation of several disparate elements into a single symbol which embodies all that is significant in the Vergilian bucolic world.³ An understanding of

¹ The fifth has long been accepted by the vast majority of scholars as the "center-piece" or "central panel" among the *Eclogues*: cf. E. Krause, *Quibus temporibus quoque ordine Vergilius eclogas scripserit* (Berlin 1884) 6-7; E. Adelaide Hahn, *TAPA* 75 (1944) 196-241; P. Maury, *Lettres d'Humanité* 3 (1944) 71-147; G. E. Duckworth, *Structural Patterns and Proportions in Vergil's Aeneid* (Ann Arbor 1962) 3-4; and Brooks Otis, *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry* (Oxford 1963) 128-43.

² Marie Desport, *L'incantation virgilienne* (Bordeaux 1952) 111-118. Cf. Callimachus, *Epigram* 22 Pfeiffer; Theocritus, *Id.* 1.19, 64-142; 5.20 (*algea Daphnidos*); 6.1-5, 44 (Daphnis as poet); 7.73-77 (Daphnis as lover); 8 (poet); Theocritus, *Epigrams* 2, 3, 4.14, 5 (Daphnis' music); Zonas, *AP* 9.556 (beauty); Glaucus, *AP* 9.341; Meleager, *AP* 7.535 and 12.128. For the pre-Theocritean origins of the Daphnis-figure, cf. the testimonia and related controversies reported in Desport, 108-11. The *Sikelika* of Timaeus (cited by Parthenius, *Peri erôtikôn pathêmatôn* 29) represented Daphnis simply as a beautiful Sicilian shepherd-musician. This was undoubtedly the form in which he was known and developed by the Alexandrian poets, and by Vergil through his association with Parthenius.

³ Karl Büchner, *P. Vergilius Maro, der Dichter der Römer* (Stuttgart 1961) 197: "Daphnis als die Verkörperung der Schönheit, des Sinnes der Hirtenwelt, die das Wilde gezähmt hatte, lässt bei seinem Scheiden die Welt entgöttert, unfruchtbar und hässlich zurück. Ein grosses Symbol, das seinen Sinn in sich trägt und im Tode die Grenze sieht, über die nur die Erinnerung hinwegträgt."

this symbol requires an investigation of its most important characteristics. Such an investigation will lead, I believe, to the discovery of the one figure in Vergil's literary tradition who was in the fullest sense a forerunner of Daphnis.

As a beautiful and beloved shepherd-poet, Vergil's hero not only incorporates in himself his forebear Daphnis of the Hellenic tradition, but also culminates a series of mythological shepherds⁴ whose model is to be traced back to Apollo Nomius, that divine shepherd and musician to whom the bucolic genre is consecrated:⁵ for under the spell of Phoebus' lyre, lynxes mingled peacefully with the flocks of Admetus, lions presented no danger, and the deer moved in delighted rhythm to the music of the god (Euripides, *Alcestis* 568–85).⁶

Like Daphnis and other shepherds and loved ones of the pastoral-epigrammatic tradition, the Vergilian shepherd is given the opportunity to die, to be mourned, and to find commemoration in nature;⁷ his immortality is assured by Menalcas (*Ecl.* 5.51–52: *Daphnimque tuum tollemus ad astra; Daphnim ad astra feremus*), just as immortality for a poet, a loved one, or a ruler is invoked in song in the Greek Anthology.⁸ Menalcas, however,

⁴ One of the earliest types of the beautiful human shepherd-singer in Greek literature is, strangely enough, the Trojan hero Paris. It became proverbial to say that a shepherd had the looks of a Priamid (*ὥς Πριαμίδαισιν ἐμπερὴς ὁ βουκόλος*: cited from Attic tragedy in Diogenes Laertius 7.67 and in Sextus Empiricus, p. 302). An idyllic picture of Paris whiling his time away in Idaean pastures and playing the flute is presented in Euripides, *Iph. Aul.* 573–80. This hero figures in Vergil (*Ecl.* 2.60–61) in the pastoral context in which he appeared in the Greek Anthology: cf. Anon. *AP* 16.166 and Hermodorus, *AP* 16.170. For the non-heroic shepherd-poet, the prototype is of course Hesiod.

⁵ Servius, *Prooemium ad Bucolica*, Thilo & Hagen p. 1. 12–13: *Alii . . . Apollini Nomio consecratum carmen hoc volunt, quo tempore Admeti regis pavit armenta*. Cf. also Servius' comment to *Ecl.* 5.35: *Apollinem Nomium dicit, id est pastoralem: nam Admeto regi pavit armenta*.

⁶ The power to invoke such symptoms of the "Golden Age" is actually attributed to Daphnis, *Ecl.* 5.60–61. In this passage, as in others (e.g. *Ecl.* 8.1–3), Vergil is surely looking back to the Euripidean characterization of Apollo Nomius; the origins of the Vergilian poets' "incantatory" powers need not be sought in a hypothetical Orpheus-mystique expounded by Vergil in the *Bucolics*, as Desport (above, note 2) would have it.

⁷ Pointed out by J. Hubaux, *Le réalisme dans les Bucoliques de Virgile* (Bibliothèque de la faculté de philosophie et de lettres de l'Université de Liège, 1927) 106–7, with special reference to Meleager, *AP* 7.535. Apart from Daphnis in Theocritus and other poets, Orpheus is mourned in *AP* 7.8–10, etc.; Adonis in Bion 1; Bion in the *Epitaphios Bionos* ([Moschus] 3). Others: Plato, *AP* 7.670; Antiphanes, *AP* 9.84.6.

⁸ Meleager effects the apotheosis of his beloved, *AP* 12.68.5 (*ὁ παῖς ἀνίων ἐς Ὀλυμπον*). Empedocles immortalizes himself, *AP* 9.569 = Diels-Kranz, *Vors.* 1.354–55

exceeds conventional literary bounds; the song which "extols Daphnis to the stars" goes on to assign him the attributes and cult of a genuine rustic god. The shepherds who had met tragic deaths, but survived in various Greek cults, such as Adonis and Linus, offered a background for Daphnis as receiver of worship from the rural population.⁹

Vergil's Daphnis, not unlike many shepherd-poets of the Greek tradition, is also a type of Orpheus, as is apparent in the pre-eminence of his song (*Ecl.* 5.48-49), in his effect upon nature (24-28, 58-64), and in his tragic death.¹⁰ The hero of the fifth *Eclogue*, moreover, as preceptor of Dionysiac worship, displays more Orphic traits than did his Hellenic forebears. Surely Vergil had the following verses of Damagetus in praise of Orpheus (*AP* 7.9.5-6) before his eyes when he composed *Ecl.* 5.29-31:¹¹

ὅς ποτε καὶ τελετὰς μυστηρίδας εὔρετο Βάκχου
καὶ στίχον ἡρώω λευκτὸν ἔτευξε ποδί.

As a being who dies and finds new life, Daphnis reflects the dying and rising divinities popular among the Greeks, like Adonis,

(B112.1-6); compare the "apotheosis" of Epicurus in Lucretius 5.8-9, the formal source for *Ecl.* 5.64. Ptolemy's deification: Antipater of Sidon, *AP* 7.241. A shepherd becomes immortal through song in Callimachus, *Epigram* 22 Pfeiffer. Bion sings his way to resurrection in the *Epitaphios Bionos* 119-26. Cf. further Euripides, *Phoenissae* 1728-31 (Oedipus' immortality through the Muse). *Tollemus ad astra* is reminiscent of Cicero, *Pro Archia poeta* 22: *In caelum huius proavus Cato tollitur*, i.e. through the poetry of Ennius. Cicero goes on to suggest (30) that celebration in poetry constitutes the finest sort of immortality.

⁹ Evidence for Linus' cult presented in Desport (above, note 2) 202-206. For Adonis, cf. Bion 1; Theocritus, *Id.* 15.112-21; Lucian, *De dea Syria* 6; Nilsson, *GGR* 1.727-28; and E. Pfeiffer, *Virgils Bukolika* (Stuttgart 1933) 56-57.

¹⁰ Cf. Desport (above, note 2) 144 and Georg Rohde, "De Vergili eclogarum forma et indole," *Klassisch-Philologische Studien* 5 (1925) 48-50, who points to the mourning of Orpheus' mother in Antipater of Sidon, *AP* 7.8.5-6 as a parallel to *Ecl.* 5.23. Actually, the mourning of a mother seems to have become a sort of *topos* in the Greek tradition, especially in Hellenistic funerary epigrams (inspired, no doubt, by Euripidean treatment of such figures as Hecuba and Andromache; compare above all the mourning of the Muse in *Rhesus* 890-949 for a son, the kin of Orpheus, who had been raised by Nymphs). The irony of the situation was a challenge to the poet's skill, offering him the chance to express such sentiments as "What profit in bringing children from the womb (with emphasis on the birth-pangs) only to commit them to the grave?" etc. *AP* 7.261 (Diotimus) is a fine example. But see below, pages 15-16.

¹¹ The first of these two verses was seen as a possible source for *Daphnis thiasos inducere Bacchi* by Rohde (above, note 10) 50, who did not, however, notice the "yoking" theme which the second verse of Damagetus and *Ecl.* 5.29-30 (*Daphnis et Armenias curru subiungere tigris | instituit*) have in common.

the Thracian Dionysus, and Osiris, not to mention such heroes as Heracles, the Dioscuri, and Romulus, who found their way after death to the company of the gods.¹² Finally, as a benefactor of agriculture, Daphnis carries on the tradition not only of Apollo Nomius, but also of such seasonal deities as Dionysus and Demeter, with all of whom he is actually associated in cult (*Ecl.* 5.65–66, 79–80).¹³ As a bringer of peace to the countryside (60–61) he shares considerable kinship with the tutelary gods of garden and pasture like Pan, Priapus, and Hermes, who speak so often from Hellenistic epigrams.¹⁴

Vergil's genius has managed to combine the aforementioned elements from older traditions, both literary and religious, into one great shepherd-poet who presides over the bucolic world in its entirety. This world and its hero exceed in majesty and significance all that had been envisioned by pastoral poets before Vergil: the deified Daphnis possesses all the simple magnificence of an archaic Moschophoros-statue. The source of this magnificence is, I believe, to be sought in Daphnis' love.

Menalcas designates Daphnis' relationship to his successors in poetic endeavor with the words *amavit nos quoque Daphnis* (*Ecl.* 5.52). Through this pronouncement, the traditional erotic associations with the figure of Daphnis acquire a more exalted coloring and are blended with the love connected with the art of poetry: the reciprocal love between Muse and poet, the love that

¹² H. J. Rose, *The Eclogues of Vergil* (Berkeley 1942) 137, calls Daphnis "a recognizable literary type, the lamentation for the dying god followed by the rejoicing at his resurrection," and cites Adonis and Hippolytus (cf. Euripides, *Hippolytus* 1423–30 and Vergil, *Aen.* 7.761–82) as further examples. Dionysus: Farnell, *Cults* 5.171–83. Osiris: Plutarch, *De Is. et Osir.* 27–39; Pfeiffer (above, note 9) 56–57, draws attention to parallels between Daphnis and Osiris. Romulus: Livy 1.16.3; Pfeiffer 62–65. The "deified hero" category applies to Dionysus, the child of a mortal mother, equally as well.

Daphnis' kinship with deified heroes is reminiscent of the later classification of Augustus with Hercules, Castor and Pollux, Bacchus, and Romulus in Horace, e.g. *Carm.* 3.3.9–16 and *Epist.* 2.1.1–10. Vergil may have entertained similar thoughts about Augustus' predecessor, and may have been expressing them in the fifth *Eclogue*. See below, pages 20–23.

¹³ Euripides' characterization of the pacific qualities of Dionysus seems very close to the thought of *Ecl.* 5.58–73: "The *daimon*, the child of Zeus, rejoices in festivities and loves Peace, dispenser of blessings, a child-rearing goddess" (*Bacchae* 417–20); cf. *Ecl.* 5.61, *amat bonus otia Daphnis*. A. Cartault, *Étude sur les Bucoliques de Virgile* (Paris 1897) 156–57, and Pfeiffer (above, note 9) 61 see Daphnis as a type of Dionysus.

¹⁴ E.g. *AP* 16.188–90. Compare the *Priapea* in the *Appendix Vergiliana*.

inspires the poet to write, and the love with which the reader is filled when he enjoys a beautiful poem.¹⁵ The idea of love which Daphnis here represents has its origins in the Hellenic notion of the poet's calling.¹⁶ Daphnis, as the singers' source of inspiration, stands in the fifth *Eclogue* in the Muse's stead. With his apotheosis, however, Daphnis' love for his poets is translated into a beneficent love for the entire bucolic world, whose increase and well-being become his concern (60–80). Nature rejoices and finds peace with herself, because "the good Daphnis loves peace" (61). In the song of Menalcas, Daphnis' love assumes proportions which encompass the cosmos.

The humanity and tragedy of a benefactor who holds his poets and their world in a love which is warmly returned has no parallel in the Greek models hitherto mentioned. Vergil had, I believe, reached far back into the Hellenic tradition for his inspiration, to the great symbol of philanthropy itself. I suggest that much of the fifth *Eclogue* owes its content to inspiration from the Aeschylean *Prometheus*-dramas.¹⁷

At the beginning of Mopsus' lament for Daphnis, trees and rivers are called to witness the mourning of the Nymphs and the complaint of his mother to gods and stars (*Ecl.* 5.21: *vos coryli testes et flumina Nymphis*). Prometheus, in the first and only extant drama of the Aeschylean trilogy, begins his lament in like manner: he calls upon sky, winds, rivers, waves, earth "the mother of all" (his own mother), and sun to witness¹⁸ his suffering at the hands of gods (*Prom. Vinc.* 88–92):

¹⁵ *Ecl.* 3.62: *et me Phoebus amat*; 3.84: *Pollio amat nostram, quamvis est rustica, Musam*; 3.90: *qui Baviū non odit, amet tua carmina, Maeui*; 7.21: *Nymphae, noster amor, Libethrides*; 9.56: *nostros in longum ducis amores*; and 6.9–10: *si quis captus amore leget*. This last finds a near parallel in an anonymous poem of the Greek Anthology on Lycophron's *Alexandra*, *AP* 9.191.5: *εἰ δέ σε φίλατο Καλλιόπη, λάβε μ' ἐς χέρας*.

¹⁶ The love of the Muse for the poet is a theme originating with Hesiod, *Theog.* 96–97, and expanded in the pastoral-epigrammatic tradition to imply special blessings deriving from this love (e.g. the recovery of youth in Callimachus, *Aitia* fr. 1.37–38 Pfeiffer) and to include a reciprocation of love on the part of the poet (e.g. Theocritus, *Id.* 9.31–36), sometimes with erotic undertones (e.g. Philodemus, *AP* 5.107).

¹⁷ That men of letters of Vergil's time were familiar with at least the trilogy cannot be questioned: cf. Cicero's translations from the *Prometheus Lyomenos* in *Tusculan Disputations* 2.10.23–25.

¹⁸ It should be noted that only in Vergil and in Aeschylus is nature invoked to witness the hero's tragedy. In Theocritus, *Id.* 1, Bion 1, and the *Epitaphios Bionos*, natural creatures are called upon to mourn the unfortunates, but not to witness mourning.

Bright light, swift-winged winds, springs of rivers,
 numberless
 laughter of the sea's waves, earth, mother of all, and
 the all-seeing
 circle of the sun: I call upon you to see what I, a
 God, suffer
 at the hands of Gods.¹⁹

His mother is once more called to behold his torment in 1091–93:

O Holy mother mine,
 O Sky that circling brings the light to all,
 you see me, how I suffer, how unjustly.

As the natural world and its poets mourn for the loss of the *decus* of Daphnis (*Ecl.* 5.24–44), so the whole earth (πρόπασα χώρα) grieves for the lost τιμή of Prometheus (*Prom. Vict.* 406–10), and its nations lament his suffering (411–24).

As Daphnis has his aretalogy (*Ecl.* 5.29–34, 43–44), so Prometheus lists the benefits he has bestowed on man (436–506).²⁰ As Daphnis taught the yoking of Armenian tigers, so Prometheus had taught the yoking of pack animals and horses (462–66):

It was I who first yoked beasts for them in the yokes and made of those beasts the slaves of trace chain and pack saddle that they might be man's substitute in the hardest tasks; and I harnessed to

¹⁹ Passages of *Prometheus Bound* quoted from David Grene's translation.

²⁰ Instructive is a comparison of the accomplishments of Daphnis with those of Bion in the *Epitaphios Bionos*, [Moschus] 3.76–84, which must surely have been Vergil's inspiration for a Daphnis-aretalogy. Bion's aretalogy consists in singing of Pan, herding cattle, inventing new pipes, milking cows, teaching how to kiss boys, raising Eros in his lap, and (consequently?) infuriating Aphrodite. The banality of this list cannot be compared with the enumeration of Daphnis' achievements in Vergil. Nevertheless, the *Epitaphios Bionos* has long been overlooked as one source for the form of the fifth *Eclogue*. H. J. Rose, to be sure, has suggested that the *Epitaphios*, which merited the imitation of Milton in the *Lycidas*, "tells a great deal about literary conventions which influenced the *Eclogues*" in general: *op. cit.* (above, note 12) 12–13. The mourning of Apollo, Nymphs, and rustic gods, as well as desolation in nature, are indicated as themes common to *Ecl.* 5 and the *Epitaphios* by Cartault (above, note 13) 172. A more careful examination of the *Epitaphios* reveals, however, several additional motifs not otherwise found in the Greek poets. As in *Ecl.* 5, for example, trees and flowers wither (31–43) and all beauty leaves the world (64–69); there is even a promise of resurrection for Bion (119–26). The author of the *Epitaphios* inherits Bion's talent (97; cf. *Ecl.* 5.49 *tu nunc eris alter ab illo*). He is an Italian (94) and, as Bion's successor, will probably have lived into the first century before Christ. He may have been the first to use the full scope of images afforded him by the pastoral genre to compose a dirge for a bucolic poet, thereby setting an important precedent for *Ecl.* 5 (and 10 as well).

the carriage, so that they loved the rein, horses, the crowning pride of the rich man's luxury.

And like Daphnis (*Ecl.* 5.30–31), Prometheus had instructed men in the cult of the gods (493–98):

Also I taught of the smoothness of the vitals and what color they should have to pleasure the Gods and the dappled beauty of the gall and lobe. It was I who burned thighs wrapped in fat and the long shank bone and set mortals on the road to this murky craft.

Tu decus omne tuis, proclaims Mopsus of the dead Daphnis (*Ecl.* 5.34); and Prometheus claims of himself, *πᾶσαι τέχνηαι βροτοῖσιν ἐκ Προμηθέως* (506).

We know almost nothing of a cult of Prometheus in antiquity; it has been doubted that he was worshipped at all by the Greeks.²¹ That he at least shared an altar with Hephaestus in the Akademeia at Athens, and that this altar was the starting-point for torch-races, seems certain enough from the report of the scholion to Sophocles, *Oedipus Coloneus* 56, and from Pausanias 1.30.2. Prometheus' reconciliation with Hephaestus, as well as a reference to the altar shared by both at Athens, is likely to have been included in either the *Lyomenos* or the *Pyrphoros*. The fact that Daphnis is made to share altars of worship with Apollo (*Ecl.* 5.65–66) may reflect this joint cult of Prometheus and Hephaestus; at any rate, such inspiration for *Ecl.* 5.65–66 seems more likely than the Theocritean source proposed by Gebauer and Cartault.²²

The Satyr-play involving Prometheus reveals through further parallels just how much Aeschylus' conception of Prometheus is an integral part of the Vergilian bucolic hero. The papyrus-fragment in question is surely to be assigned to an Aeschylean Prometheus-drama;²³ whether it belongs to the third part of the

²¹ Farnell, *Cults* 5.381. Nilsson, *GGR* 1.751, note 7: "Ich bin nicht ganz sicher, dass Prometheus unter die Götter rangiert; er war ein Held der Mythologie."

²² G. A. Gebauer, *De poetarum Graecorum Bucolicorum imprimis Theocriti carminibus in Eclogis a Vergilio adumbratis* (Leipzig 1856) 39; Cartault (above, note 13) 175. The Theocritean passage (*Id.* 26.5–6) deals with the erection of twelve altars, three to Semele and nine to Dionysus, on the mountain by Ino, Agave, and Autonoe:

ἐν καθαρῷ λειμῶνι κάμον δυοκαίδεκα βωμῶς,
τὼς τρεῖς τῇ Σεμέλῃ, τὼς ἑννέα τῷ Διονύσῳ.

²³ Lobel-Wegener-Roberts, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part 20 (1952) No. 2245, fr. 1. col. 2.

trilogy, the *Pyrphoros*, or to the Satyr-play, the *Pyrkaeus*, cannot be stated with certainty, though the majority of scholars are in favor of the latter: the ribald, playful tone of the fragment is a strong argument in their favor.²⁴

The fragment opens with a joyful dance before the "tireless glow of fire" and sport with a Naiad around the hearth (1–5). The chorus then announces the establishment of dances of Nymphs to honor the gift of Prometheus (6–8). After this three-verse *epithymnos*, the chorus expresses the hope that the dancers celebrate the benefactor Prometheus as the "bringer of life" and the "quick giver." There follows a fragmentary mention of dances "in the season of winter" and a repetition of the *epithymnos* (9–17). The papyrus breaks off with an exhortation to shepherds to join in a nocturnal dance (18–21).

The singers are probably Satyrs; their song is a hymn of joy and gratitude for the benefaction of Prometheus. The mood and the manner of its expression bear a great similarity to the celebration of the deified Daphnis in *Ecl.* 5.58–80. To the joy (*voluptas* 58, *laetitia* 62) of Pan, Dryads, mountains, rocks, and orchards in the *Eclogue* corresponds the joy (*εὐμενῆς χάρις* 1) of the Satyr-chorus. The words *et multo in primis hilarans convivia Baccho, | ante focum, si frigus erit* (*Ecl.* 5.69–70) seem to echo the thought in the *Pyrkaeus* of sporting *παρ' ἐστιοῦχον σέλας* (4–5) and of dancing before the fire in winter as expressed in the fragment: *χορεύσειν . . . ὦ[ρ]ίου χε[ί]ματ[ος]* (15–16).²⁵ Shepherds are called upon to join the festivities in the Satyr-drama (18–21); shepherds are, to be

²⁴ B. Snell, *Gnomon* 25 (1953) 435. A summary of scholarly opinion on the fragment is presented by M. F. Galiano, *Proceedings of the IX International Congress of Papyrology* (Oslo 1961) 111–113. Among the editors who persist in assigning the fragment to the *Pyrphoros* is H. J. Mette, *Die Fragmente der Tragödien des Aischylos* (Berlin 1959) 126–131; his arguments in *Aischylos' Prometheus* (Heidelberg 1953) 59–60. The *Pyrkaeus* belongs to the trilogy *Phineus-Persians-Glaucos Potnieus* and is therefore considerably earlier than the *Prometheia*: cf. A. Lesky, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*² (Bern/Munich 1963) 272–73 and 285. This does not imply, however, that it was not read by Vergil in conjunction with the *Prometheia* as an integral part of the Aeschylean treatment of Prometheus.

²⁵ Commentators have seen Theocritus, *Id.* 7.63–66 as the inspiration for *Ecl.* 5.67–71 (e.g. H. Holtorf, *P. Vergilius Maro: die grösseren Gedichte* [Freiburg/Munich 1959] 183 *ad loc.*). In fact, drinking wine by the fire is the only common motif. The hearth and the wintry season are missing in Theocritus, and his fire is not an accessory for ritual celebration, but for roasting beans (*Id.* 7.66). The situations in Theocritus and in Vergil are vastly different: the one celebrates the safe voyage of a friend, the other a heroic benefactor.

sure, summoned to honor Daphnis in *Ecl.* 5.40–42, but the Aeschylean enjoiner *expressis verbis* would have been superfluous in the *Eclogue*, since it is realized, in fact, in the songs of Mopsus and Menalcas, who are both shepherds.

As the Dryads play a rôle in the *Eclogue* (59), and the Nymphs are coupled with the worship of Daphnis (75), so the Naiads appear in the Aeschylus-fragment (4), and a dance of Nymphs is ordained to honor the gift of Prometheus (6–8 = 15–17):

νύμφας δέ τοι πέποιθ' ἐγὼ
στήσειν χορούς
Προμηθέως δῶρον ὡς σεβούσας.

As Menalcas orders song as well as dance for his ritual (*Ecl.* 5.72–73), so Aeschylus has the dancing Nymphs celebrate Prometheus in a *hymnos* (9–12):

καλ[ό]ν δ' ὕμνον ἀμφὶ τὸν δόντα μολ-
πάσειν [ἔ]ολ[π'] ἐγὼ λεγούσας τόδ' ὡς
Προμηθε[ὺς βρο]τοῖς
φερέσβιός [τε καὶ] σπενσίδωρ[ος].

The expressions πέποιθ' ἐγὼ (6, 15) and ἔολπ' ἐγὼ (10) are reflected, I believe, in the word *mihi* of Menalcas' celebration (72–73):

cantabunt mihi Damoetas et Lyctius Aegon;
saltantis Satyros imitabitur Alpheisiboeus.

From a strictly *formal* point of view, the above verses of the fifth *Eclogue* are modelled on Theocritus, *Id.* 7.71–73:

ἀλλήσευντι δέ μοι δύο ποιμένες, εἷς μὲν Ἀχαρνεύς,
εἷς δὲ Λυκωπίτας. ὁ δὲ Τίτυρος ἐγγυθεν ἄσει
ὡς ποκα τᾶς Ξενέας ἠράσσατο Δάφνις ὁ βούτας.

The content, however, and the situations in Vergil and Theocritus are worlds apart. Theocritus' shepherd celebrates the safe voyage of his friend Ageanax to Mytilene, while Vergil, like Aeschylus, is honoring a heroic benefactor. The two shepherds of Theocritus merely play the flute; a third is added to sing the "Loves of Daphnis." In Vergil, as in Aeschylus, there is singing and dancing without mention of the flute. The words *saltantis Satyros*, finally, have no parallel in Theocritus, as Rohde has

pointed out;²⁶ they testify eloquently to the fact that one of the works which Vergil had before his eyes in composing the fifth *Eclogue* was a Satyr-play.

Those who hesitate to accept Aeschylean inspiration for any part of the Vergilian *Bucolics* will find considerably less objection to such an hypothesis if it be shown that the inspiration was derived not only from tragedy, but from a Satyr-drama as well: the latter genre, with its light, naive mood and rustic color, has an essential kinship of tone with the pastoral genre. It might be suggested, in fact, that Vergil's attention had been attracted first by the Satyr-play, and that he was led through further consideration of its hero to a study of Aeschylus' more serious works on the same theme.

The conception of Daphnis as a devoted *benefactor* of the bucolic world is a reflection, in my opinion, of the Aeschylean view of Prometheus as bringer of civilization. A comparison of the fifth and central *Eclogue* with Aeschylus' presentation of Prometheus shows how much Vergil had drawn upon the Athenian tragedian in order to construct the figure and to formulate the praises of his bucolic hero. Particularly appropriate in this instance are the words of Bruno Snell on Vergil's sources of inspiration: "He admired and acknowledged the work of Theocritus, he dwelt lovingly on his scenes; but because he read them with the eyes of the new classicistic age, he slowly came back to the classical Greek poetry, with its earnestness, its deep feeling, its drama."²⁷

EXCURSUS ON DAPHNIS AND CAESAR

In this article, which deals primarily with literary sources of inspiration for the *Eclogue*, I have not taken sides in the Daphnis-Julius Caesar controversy. The poem, as a vision of the ideal shepherd and his world, possesses significance enough of its own to stand alone as a great work of art without the added support of political allusions. Nevertheless, if it be granted that Vergil conceived his hero principally as a deified *benefactor*, it will be difficult to imagine a Caesarian hearing the poem without thinking of the much-lamented passing and subsequent deification (and perhaps

²⁶ *Op. cit.* (above, note 10) 55.

²⁷ "Arcadia: the Discovery of a Spiritual Landscape," in *The Discovery of the Mind* (New York 1960) 290.

reincarnation in his successor?) of one whom he considered a benefactor in the real world.

The obstacles to seeing an exact analogy between the beautiful shepherd-singer Daphnis and the Dictator Caesar are insurmountable:²⁸ Caesar was no *puer*, did not introduce Dionysiac worship, and was hardly a *magister* of poetry. Many who recognize the impossibility of identifying Daphnis with Caesar, but feel that the poet was somehow reflecting upon the death and deification of the Dictator as he composed the fifth *Eclogue*, will prefer to take the middle course of interpretation first suggested by E. Pfeiffer.²⁹ The aged Tityrus of *Ecl.* 1, asserts Pfeiffer, cannot be identified with Vergil on the basis of an exact analogy. At the same time, however, Tityrus is the medium through which Vergil expresses his feelings of gratitude toward Octavian. Similarly, Daphnis of *Ecl.* 5 is not Julius Caesar, but an *instrument* used to convey Vergil's sentiments as he pondered the assassination and subsequent deification of Caesar.

If Vergil was in fact a Caesarian when he wrote *Ecl.* 5, it is not unlikely that the figure of Caesar and the figure of Daphnis both exemplified for him the type of heroic benefactor who achieves divinity through suffering—a type which was, after all, the poet's preoccupation throughout his creative life. If he *was* commemorating the late Dictator in *Ecl.* 5, however, it must be admitted that he submerged the personality of the real Caesar completely in the trappings of the bucolic world, so that all that shone through from the world of reality were Vergil's sentiments of grief, hope, admiration, and devotion. As for the figure of Daphnis himself, it is not Caesarian: Vergil set out to portray the life, death, and deification of a beautiful young shepherd, a preceptor of religion and poetry, the loving benefactor of a pastoral world and the object of its devotion (43–44):

Daphnis ego in silvis, hinc usque ad sidera notus,
formosi pecoris custos, formosior ipse.

H. J. Rose remarks that Vergil, in calling Octavian a god in *Ecl.* 1, is “merely saying that he is a very remarkable man indeed, and especially that he is a *benefactor* of mankind on a large scale”

²⁸ They are presented in full in Rose (above, note 12) 130–34.

²⁹ *Op. cit.* (above, note 9) 65.

(the italics are mine).³⁰ This brings to mind the suggestion of F. Klingner that *Eclogues* 1 and 5 are two metamorphoses of one and the same conception.³¹ In both poems, salvation and desolation (*Heil und Unheil*), flourishing and decay are made to depend upon one deified dispenser of peace, increase, and *otium*. In both cases, a cult is assigned to the god-man; the formula *damnabis tu quoque votis* (*Ecl.* 5.80) is echoed in *Aen.* 1.290 (*vocabitur hic quoque votis*, where it refers to the accomplishments and apotheosis of Caesar). In reality, however, the two poems represent different stages, in Klingner's view, of the poet's outlook. The ideas of 5 are represented in isolation, while those of 1 are applied to a real historical figure, Octavian. In other words, Daphnis is not Caesar, though his qualities are *later* assigned to a member of the *gens Iulia*.

The turning-point in the thought-process whereby Roman reality penetrated, finally and meaningfully, into the Vergilian bucolic world is represented, according to Klingner,³² in *Ecl.* 9, where the star of Caesar (and, by implication, of Octavian) works an effect upon the landscape of 9.47–49 which is virtually identical with the effect of Daphnis' presence in the bucolic world (cf. in particular 5.32–34). The real political benefactor appears with an abruptness in 9 which is absent in 1; with the composition of the first *Eclogue*, Vergil has managed to incorporate a hero from the world of contemporary Roman reality fully and naturally into the pastoral milieu.

Klingner's view of the ninth as a bridge between the *Ideenwelten* of the fifth and the first *Eclogues* answers, I believe, the question as to the "identity" of Daphnis in *Ecl.* 5. Furthermore, the verses on the star of Caesar in *Ecl.* 9 offer in themselves a piece of evidence not noted by Klingner. The poet speaks to his creature Daphnis in 46–47:

Daphni, quid antiquos signorum suspicis ortus?
ecce Dionaei processit Caesaris astrum.

The position of the name and the abruptness of its appearance would seem to indicate that Vergil means the shepherd of *Ecl.* 5,

³⁰ *Op. cit.* (above, note 12) 67.

³¹ "Virgils erste Ekloge," *Hermes* 62 (1927) 146–48, reprinted in F. Klingner, *Studien zur griechischen und römischen Literatur* (Zürich 1964) 239–42.

³² *Hermes* 62 (1927) 149–50 = *Studien* 242–43.

a poem which has already been cited elsewhere in 9 (19–20). Daphnis, who has had his gaze fixed on “the risings of ancient constellations,” is commanded to behold the new star of Caesar. This, I believe, is Vergil’s way of saying that his bucolic hero, hitherto a product of older ideas contemplated in isolation from, and perhaps in opposition to, contemporary reality, has found at last a counterpart in the real world.

Having formulated the attributes of an heroic benefactor in *Ecl.* 5 on the basis of earlier literary models, Vergil came subsequently to the realization that Julius Caesar and his successor were worthy of being assigned the same attributes. The years of chaos and civil war were inspiration enough for the fifth *Eclogue’s* vision of a world rescued from death by a hero who overcomes death; the archetypal patterns for such a benefactor were at hand, as I have attempted to show in the body of this article, in Greek literary and religious traditions. Had Julius Caesar never existed, the same traditions could have made the same impression upon Vergil, and could have produced the same poem.³³

³³ I am grateful to Professor G. E. Duckworth of Princeton University and to the anonymous referee of this paper for helping me to clarify my thoughts on this matter.