The Pastoral Hierarchy in Theocritus and its Reception in post-Theocritean Bucolic Poetry

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Abstract

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Title: ThePastoralHierarchyinTheocritusanditsRecept   ioninpost-TheocriteanBucolicPoetry

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Thisthesisisabouttherepresentationofherdsmen   inbucolicpoetry,mainlyinTheocritus, with particular reference to the ways in which thei   r roles in the poems and their different characteristicsareaffectedbythe'pastoralhiera   rchy',thatistherankingororderingofsometype   s ofherdsmenaboveothers,placingcowherdsonthet   op,shepherdsinthemiddleandgoatherdsat thebottom.

Thehierarchyiscertainlypresentinthecharacter   isationoftheherdsmeninTheocritus.Itis normally goatherds who exhibit most explicitly the   typical motifs of the new genre of bucolic poetry: the behaviour of lower-class people and the   ir rusticity. They serve primarily for urban readers' derisive laughter. On the other hand, cowh   erds tend to function as retaining more traditionalvaluesinliterature,tobedepictedas   moreheroicornoble.Theshepherds'characteris set in some ways in the mid-point between those of   the cowherds and goatherds: they can be elevated and associated with the nobility of the co   wherds, or dragged down to a lowly characterisationsimilartothatofthegoatherds.

However,Theocritusoccasionallychangesthewayth   eruleofthehierarchyisappliedtohis characters,sothathischaracters,especiallythe   goatherds,havefascinatinglydiversefeatures,suc   h asLycidasin *Idyll7*,whoholdsadualcharacter,asadown-to-earth   goatherdaswellasthesymbol ofbucolicpoetryitself.

Thedifferentcharacteristicsofherdsmenconveydi   fferentaspectsofthe *Idylls*,suchasthe differentlevelsofseriousnessorplayfulnessint   hedifferentpoems.Furthermorethegoatherds' rusticityworkstopresentpastoralasaradically   newgenre,clarifyingitsdifferencefromtradition   al epic,whereasthecowherds'nobilityfunctionstop   lacethepastoralinthewidercurrentofepic. Theocriteanpastoralpoeticsaresystematicallymad   eofthesetwosides, *aepolic*and *bucolic*.

AfterTheocritus,thedistinctionbetweentheherds   man-characters(cowherd,shepherdor goatherd) is often blurred and the hierarchy-based   characterisation sometimes becomes less important.Thepost-Theocriteanwriters'variousus   esofthehierarchyanditsoccasionalabsence tellusofthedevelopmentofthepastoralgenrein   todiversity.Also,wefindstrongTheocritean influence in some significant descriptions of the g   oatherds as bucolic icons and rustics to be sympathisedwith.

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Introduction: Herdsmen in the Theocritean corpus

ἄρχετε βουκολικᾶς, Μοῖσαι φίλαι, ἄρχετ' ἀοιδᾶς
ἦνθον τοὶ βοῦται, τοὶ ποιμένες, ὡπόλοι ἦνθον·

(*Id.*1.79-80)

This thesis is about the representation of herdsmen in bucolic poetry, with particular reference to the ways in which their roles in the poems and their different characteristics are affected by the 'pastoral hierarchy', that is the ranking or ordering of some types of herdsmen above others.[1] My focus is principally on those bucolic poems normally now regarded as genuinely Theocritean, that are composed by the historical Theocritus of Syracuse in the third century BC (i.e. *Idylls* 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 11),[2] but I also examine those bucolic poems in the Theocritean corpus which are probably not by Theocritus (i.e. *Idylls* 8, 9, 20 and 27), and later bucolic works in both Greek (Moschus, Bion and Longus) and Latin (Vergil and Calpurnius Siculus) to determine the developments and changes in the use and presence of the pastoral hierarchy in post-Theocritean bucolic.

I begin with a brief survey of the herdsmen in the genuine Theocritean *Idylls*. In *Idyll* 1, there appear two herdsmen, Thyrsis the shepherd and an unnamed goatherd. Thyrsis, after being asked to do so by the goatherd, sings of the suffering and death of Daphnis the legendary cowherd. *Idyll* 3 is a first-person narrative, where an unnamed goatherd serenades a girl, Amaryllis. The goatherd talks to a person called Tityrus, presumably a fellow goatherd. *Idyll* 4 presents a dialogue between two herdsmen: Battus the goatherd and Corydon the cowherd. They talk about another cowherd, Aegon, who is now absent, and about a man, ὁ γέρων, who is probably Aegon's father.[3] *Idyll* 5 narrates the argument and singing-match between two herdsmen, Comatas the goatherd and Lacon the shepherd. In their dialogue, there also appears several other names of herdsmen or of those who may

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[1] See below for a fuller definition of the hierarchy.

[2] The Theocritean corpus also contains a number of non-bucolic poems which do not feature herdsmen as central characters (e.g. *Idylls* 2 and 15). I omit those poems from this thesis.

[3] See Gow 1952:77.

be herdsmen, such as Corydon (v. 6). At the end, Comatas talks about a Homeric goatherd, Melanthius of the *Odyssey* (v.150). Daphnis the legendary cowherd is also referred to in line 20 by Lacon and in line 90 by Comatas. In *Idyll* 6, the poet addresses his friend, Aratus, and tells a story of two cowherds, Daphnis and Damoetas. There the two cowherds sing about Polyphemus the Cyclops and shepherd, whom Daphnis teases and talks to, and in whose guise Damoetas responds to Daphnis. *Idyll* 7 has a first-person narrator called Simichidas and describes his journey to a harvest-festival on the island of Cos and his encounter with a mysterious goatherd called Lycidas on the way. Lycidas in his song describes two unnamed shepherds or herdsmen (v.71) and another named Tityrus, who may be a goatherd. Lycidas also sings about the two legendary herdsmen, Daphnis the cowherd and Comatas the goatherd. In addition, Simichidas later tells us that he himself was once a cowherd (v. 91-2). *Idyll* 11 is a story of Polyphemus, where the narrator (Theocritus himself) tells to his friend Nicias how the Cyclops loved Galatea and his song saved him from his unrequited love. Polyphemus, as a herdsman, is again a shepherd.

As we have seen above, Theocritus specifies each of his herdsmen clearly as cowherd (βουκόλος or βούτας), shepherd (ποιμήν) or goatherd (αἰπόλος), while the swineherd (συβώτης), such as Eumaeus in the *Odyssey*, does not appear. Each type of herdsman seems to present some distinctive characteristics. For example, cowherds are described as noble, or at least nobler than other types of herdsmen who accompany them (e.g. tragic and heroic Daphnis in *Idyll* 1 and calm and logical Corydon in *Idyll* 4). This seems true of their behaviour and speech, as well as their social status in their community. On the other hand, the goatherds tend to be pictured as more rustic and unsophisticated. They often serve as a target of readers' laughter (e.g. the dramatic and emotional goatherds in *Idylls* 3 and 4). The shepherds can be either a serious character partly like a cowherd (Thyrsis in *Idyll* 1), or a simple and uncultured one (e.g. Polyphemus in *Idyll* 11).

The relationships between the herdsmen are also very interesting to note. They vary from a harmonious and affectionate one between cowherds as in *Idyll* 6 to a bitter, competitive and adversarial one between a goatherd and a shepherd in *Idyll* 5. Those relationships, as well as their behaviour and speech, seem to reflect the herdsmen's different status and nature: for a given goatherd, the fact that he is a goatherd is one of the best reasons for the way in which he acts, and for his relationship to others around him.

The different characters of particular types of herdsmen, and the ways in which they interact, points us towards the concept of the so-called 'pastoral hierarchy', in which there are differences in social status between types of herdsmen according to which animal they herd. This hierarchy brings social context to Theocritus' *locus amoenus*.[4] We find that the pastoral world is not entirely free from a social order or class distinctions. The herdsmen are not all of precisely the same lowly status, but have higher and lower categories among themselves. Interestingly, Theocritus does not always straightforwardly link a herdsman's character and ability with his status in the ranking. We will examine how Theocritus uses the concept of the hierarchy, discuss both typical and exceptional features of each kind of herdsmen and therefore demonstrate the complexity of Theocritus' characterisation of his herdsmen.

I shall now explain the ancient concept of the pastoral hierarchy by looking at some examples of it in literary texts, as a precursor to investigating its presence in Theocritean and post-Theocritean bucolic, and its forerunners in earlier Greek literature.

Aelius Donatus in the fourth century AD describes the pastoral hierarchy as follows in *Vita Vergiliana*:[5]

tria genera pastorum sunt, qui dignitatem in bucolicis habent, quorum minimi sunt qui αἰπόλοι dicuntur a Graecis, a nobis caprarii; paulo honoratiores qui μηλονόμοι ποιμένες id est opiliones dicuntur; honoratissimi et maximi qui βουκόλοι, quos bubulcos dicimus.

Here, the social ranking places cowherds on the top, shepherds in the middle and goatherds at the bottom. Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, although it is later in date than Theocritus' *Idylls*, affords us some more ideas about the hierarchy.[6] It seems safe to admit that the concept of the hierarchy exists for certain in Longus from the following points.[7] In lines 1.16.1.1-4, Dorcon the cowherd teases Daphnis the goatherd that Dorcon is higher in his status than Daphnis and that the gap

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[4] *Locus amoenus*: cf. Rosenmeyer 1969:179-203, Hunter 1999:12-17.
[5] Wendel 1920:17.21-8. See also the description by Philargyrius in Wendel 1920:19.14-8.
[6] I return to Longus at the end of chapter 3 in a section devoted to the pastoral hierarchy in *Daphnis and Chloe*. See pages 105-110.
[7] See also Van Groningen 1958.

betweenthemisaslargeasthegapbetweentheval ueofacowandofagoat: [8]

Ἐγώ, παρθένε, μείζων εἰμὶ Δάφνιδος, καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν βουκόλος, ὁ δ' αἰπόλος τοσοῦτον ἐγὼ κρείττων ὅσον αἰγῶν βόες· καὶ λευκός εἰμι ὡς γάλα, καὶ πυρρὸς ὡς θέρος μέλλον ἀμᾶσθαι, καὶ ἔθρεψε μήτηρ, οὐ θηρίον. (2.) Οὗτος δέ ἐστι μικρὸς καὶ ἀγένειος ὡς γυνή, καὶ μέλας ὡς λύκος· νέμει δὲ τράγους, ὀδω<δὼς ἀπ' αὐτῶν> δεινόν, καὶ ἔστι πένης ὡς μηδὲ κύνα τρέφειν. Εἰ δέ, ὡς λέγουσι, καὶ αἲξ αὐτῷ γάλα δέδωκεν, οὐδὲν ἐρίφων διαφέρει.» (3.) Ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα ὁ Δόρκων καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Δάφνις· Ἐμὲ αἲξ ἀνέθρεψεν ὥσπερ τὸν Δία· νέμω δὲ τράγους τῶν τούτου βοῶν μείζονας· ὄζω δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ὅτι μηδὲ ὁ Πάν, καίτοι γε ὢν τὸ πλέον τράγος. (4.) Ἀρκεῖ δέ μοι ὁ τυρὸς καὶ ἄρτος ὀβελίας καὶ οἶνος λευκός, ὅσα ἀγροίκων πλουσίων κτήματα. Ἀγένειός εἰμι, καὶ γὰρ ὁ Διόνυσος· μέλας, καὶ γὰρ ὁ ὑάκινθος· ἀλλὰ κρείττων καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος Σατύρων καὶ ὁ ὑάκινθος κρίνων.

(Longus1.16.1-4)

Theselinestellusthereasonsfortheherdsmen's ranking.Initially,asDorconimplies,the herdsman'sstatusinthehierarchyisprobablyinde xedtothevalueoftheanimalheherds.Not contradictoryisthefactthatDaphnis'foster-pare nts,whoareinchargeoftakingcareofgoats,are describedasthepoorestamongthenamedcharacters throughoutthistextandtheyaretheonly characterswhoareclearlyslaveswhotheirmaster' sflock(3.31.3). [9]

Theothercauseisthenegativeimageandnaturea goathasasananimal.Intheirfight, Dorcon points out Daphnis' similarities to a goat t o try to show how insignificant and lowly Daphnisis,comparedtohimself.Itisinteresting, however,thatevenDaphnis,beingagoatherd, alsoassimilatesDorcon'sbeardwiththatofagoat ininsultingDorcon.Furthermore,Daphnis likenshimselftoDionysusandDorcontoasatyr,g ivingcredittohimselfbycomparinghimselfto thegodsZeus,PanandDionysusthroughthisexchan ge.Thismayimplyhishigherbirth,although Daphnishimselfisnotawareofitatthispoint. [10]

Also, one interesting point about Dorcon's speech i s the different skin colours between

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[8] AccordingtoLonsdale1979,cowscouldbeespeciall yasignofwealthintheancientGreece,as takingcareofcowswascostlycomparedtosmaller animalslikesheepandgoats.

[9] Morgan2004:221.

[10] Forthestructureofthespeech inLongus,seeMorgan2004:165.

himselfandDaphnis.Hementionshimselfas λευκός ὡς γάλα andDaphnisas μέλας ὡς λύκος.[11] Whitecomplexionsmaybeattributedtocowherds,as wecanseeinanepigramofTheocritus:

Δάφνις ὁ λευκόχρως, ὁ καλᾷ σύριγγι μελίσδων
   βουκολικοὺς ὕμνους, ἄνθετο Πανὶ τάδε,

(Theocr.*Epigr*.2.1-2)

Althoughitisoddtofindcowherdsdescribedaswhite,becausetheyshouldbestillexposedtothe sun,thismaybetoenhancethenobleimageofcowherds,comparedwithothertypesofherdsmen. Atanyrateitgivesafurtherindicationofthetypeofsubtledifferentiationbetweenthestatusand characterofdifferentherdsmenwecanfindinGreekbucolicliterature.

Beforebucolicpoetrydevelopedasaparticulargenre,aherdsmaninearlierGreekliterature wasalwayssomeoneontheperipheryofthestoryline,ratherthanbeingitsmainfocus,regardless ofwhethertheywereacowherdorashepherd.[12] But,nonetheless,goatsandgoatherdsmayhave hadasenseofbeingparticularlyalien.Thereason thatgoatherdsareatthebottomofthepastoral hierarchyweshouldprobablyconsiderasrelatedto thegoat'slowvaluecomparedtootheranimals and also the negative and wild image and nature a goat has, such as a strong smell, violent aggressivenessandgoatishsexuality(whicharepartlytakenintotheimagesofPanandsatyrsin Greek culture). In addition, a scholiast tells that there was a notion in ancient Greece that a

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[11] We note two descriptions of dark complexion in Theocritean pastoral, in minor female characters,presumablywithnegativesense,indicatingthemaslowclass(Id.3.33-5and10.24-28). However,thedescriptioninIdyll10isslightlycomplex.BucaeuslovesBombuca,awomanwho works for Polybotus. Then Milon makes fun of Bucaeus, probably because Bucaeus' lover is skinnyanddark.Bucaeussingstodefendher,asfollows,inthesimilarwayDaphnisdefends himself.PerhapsLongushadtheselinesinmindfor hislines1.16.4:

Βομβύκα χαρίεσσα, Σύραν καλέοντί τυ πάντες,

ἰσχνάν, ἁλιόκαυστον, ἐγὼ δὲ μόνος μελίχλωρον.

καὶ τὸ ἴον μέλαν ἐστί, καὶ ἁ γραπτὰ ὑάκινθος·
(*Id.*10.26-28)

[12] SeeGutzwiller1991:23and2006:1-2inFantuzzi-Papanghelis(ed.)2006.

herdsman's disposition is affected by the kind of animal he herds.[13] In this way, goatherds were expected to behave, to some extent, in a 'goatish' manner in their literary representations.

When we have established how and where the hierarchy operates in Theocritus (chapter 2) we will examine its presence in bucolic 'after Theocritus' (chapter 3). We will examine later bucolic poetry in Greek and Latin to clarify what is similar to Theocritus' picture and what has changed. But we will begin not by looking to the reception of Theocritean bucolic but at its roots, by examing the traces of the pastoral hierarchy in earlier Greek literature. The different characteristics associated with oxherds, goatherds and shepherds in Theocritus points to the existence of the hierarchy there, but to what extent can we trace this idea in earlier Greek literature? This is the focus of chapter 1.

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[13] Wendel:1920:60-61. For details, see page 32-3 for the discussion on *Id.* 1.87.

Chapter 1

ThePastoralHierarchybeforeTheocritus

1.1 *HerdsmeninArchaicandClassicalLiterature*

Inthissection,weexplorethevariousdescription sofherdsmenbeforeTheocritusinArchaic andClassicalGreekpoetry.HereIgathersomeexam plesofherdsmen-imageswhichseemtohave influencedTheocritusindevelopingthecharactero fhisherdsmen.

GutzwillersuggeststhattheherdsmanbeforeTheocr ituswasoftenafigureof'analogy'and oneofthemostimportantaspectsofherdsman/herdi ngworldinliteratureisitsassociationwith peaceandorder. [14] The *Iliad* containsmanyherdsmen.SomeTrojannoblemenappea rasherding in peacetime, although they are not always herdsmen in a strict sense. They include Aeneas, herdingcattle(*Il.*20.188),andsomeminorcharacterssuchasPriam's sons,IsusandAntiphuswho aredescribedashavingdrivensheep(*Il.*11.101-6).Gutzwilleralsonotesthattheherdingc haracters often symbolise the Trojans' defending status as wa rriors, since they are associated with the defensivenatureoftheherdingpractice,protectin gtheherds. [15] Also,theuseofherdsmen'simages inepithetsshowsthatherdsmenstandfor'aleader 'andthesocialorder. [16] Theword'shepherd' frequentlyappearsincertaincharacters'epithets: ποιμὴν λαῶν,'theshepherdofpeople'isused oftentodescribeAgamemnon(e.g. *Il.*2.254)andsomeothercharactersinaleadingposit ionofthe society(e.g. *Il.*1.263).Thus,weseethat,althoughtheexistenceo fherdsmenortheirwayoflifeis notthemainthemeofthisepic,herdingbearssign ificantmetaphoricalmeanings.

Besidesthosecharacters,wefindagoodnumberof herdsmen'simagesinsimiles: [17]

Τοὺς δ' ὥς τ' αἰπόλια πλατέ' αἰγῶν αἰπόλοι ἄνδρες
ῥεῖα διακρίνωσιν ἐπεί κε νομῷ μιγέωσιν,
ὣς τοὺς ἡγεμόνες διεκόσμεον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα
ὑσμίνην δ' ἰέναι, μετὰ δὲ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων

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[14] Gutzwiller2006:2-10.
[15] Gutzwiller1991:27.
[16] Gutzwiller1991:27-28.
[17] Otherexamplesinclude *Il.*3.10-14and4.275-78.

ὄμματα καὶ κεφαλὴν ἴκελος Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ,

Ἄρεϊ δὲ ζώνην, στέρνον δὲ Ποσειδάωνι.

<div align="center">(Il.2.474-9)</div>

In similes such as this, one image is very neatly applied to the situation being described. Here an image of goats and goatherds is used, probably because goats can be more independent and widely scattered around (αἰπόλια πλατέ᾽ αἰγῶν, v.474) than, for instance, clustering sheep, so that the simile best describes the high ability as leaders of the Achaean commanders. [18]

What is most prominent in herdsman-images in the *Iliad* is their anti-heroic nature. There is a tendency for Homer to describe in similes herdsmen in a situation where they are either inefficient in protecting their herds or in danger of losing their life themselves. They are vulnerable, ordinary, unarmed humans, who occasionally become victims of wild beasts, or even other humans (e.g. *Il.* 16.352-5, 18.161-62).

Outside the similes, there is a notable vulnerable herdsmen's image on the shield of Achilles.[19] It appears as a typical scene in the field and tells us not only how herding culture was familiar to the ancient Greeks, but also that people had already shaped some ideas about the 'peaceful countryside' to be placed in contraposition to discord or the harsh reality of war:

οἳ δὲ τάχα προγένοντο, δύω δ᾽ ἅμ᾽ ἕποντο νομῆες

τερπόμενοι σύριγξι· δόλον δ᾽ οὔ τι προνόησαν.

οἳ μὲν τὰ προϊδόντες ἐπέδραμον, ὦκα δ᾽ ἔπειτα

τάμνοντ᾽ ἀμφὶ βοῶν ἀγέλας καὶ πώεα καλὰ

ἀργεννέων οἰῶν, κτεῖνον δ᾽ ἐπὶ μηλοβοτῆρας.

<div align="center">(Il.18.525-9)</div>

In this pleasant portrait of two herdsmen, although disturbed seriously afterwards by being involved in battle, we already find the close connection of music to herdsmen, long before Theocritus. Here we see not only their practice of music, but also their naivety and devotion to music (so that they do

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[18] Kirk 1985:65.
[19] Edwards 1991 in Kirk 1991:208-233.

<div align="center">13</div>

not notice the ambush). The stunning contrast is between the herdsmen's innocent working-day moment, their subsequent fate and the calamity brought by the armed forces that turn the herding place into a bloody battlefield. This relief on the shield and the herding Trojans tell us that the Iliadic shining, war-like world has the innocent, down-to-earth ancient life of ordinary herdsmen behind it, and its destruction as its price.

Another point which presents herdsman as anti-heroic is their eroticism. It is seen in some Trojan characters, since some of them got their sons by goddess/nymphs and the birth of the children is introduced clearly as the result of their fathers' herding (e.g. In Anchises' case, ἥ μιν ὑπ' Ἀγχίσῃ τέκε βουκολέοντι 5.313. For Bucolion, son of Laomedon, ποιμαίνων δ' ἐπ' ὄεσσι μίγη φιλότητι καὶ εὐνῇ, 6.25). This erotic dimension to herdsmen leads to the characterisation of Paris, for example, who was once herding, as particularly anti-heroic, although Homer does not tell in detail the herding life of the prince (ὃς νείκεσσε θεὰς ὅτε οἱ μέσσαυλον ἵκοντο, / τὴν δ' ᾔνησ' ἥ οἱ πόρε μαχλοσύνην ἀλεγεινήν. 24.29-30).

In the *Odyssey*, although a herding life is not yet a central theme of epic, some slave herdsmen appear as well-developed characters: Eumaeus the swineherd, Philoetius the cowherd and Melanthius the goatherd, with several anonymous younger herdsmen under their direction (e.g. *Od*.17.214). These herdsmen are, however, not closely associated with music or pastoral ease, but are given more practical roles. In the ancient world, livestock made up a highly important part of people's assets [20] and therefore, these herdsmen are supposed to work as good trustees. They also, of course, take on important roles in Odysseus' conflict with the Suitors:

"ὦ φίλοι, ἤδη μέν κεν ἐγὼν εἴποιμι καὶ ἄμμι
μνηστήρων ἐς ὅμιλον ἀκοντίσαι, οἳ μεμάασιν
ἡμέας ἐξεναρίξαι ἐπὶ προτέροισι κακοῖσιν."
ὣς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκόντισαν ὀξέα δοῦρα
ἄντα τιτυσκόμενοι· Δημοπτόλεμον μὲν Ὀδυσσεύς,
Εὐρυάδην δ' ἄρα Τηλέμαχος, Ἔλατον δὲ συβώτης,

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[20] cf. *Od*.14.100-8. Eumaeus mentions the number of livestock Odysseus holds to speak for how wealthy his master is.

Πείσανδρον δ' ἄρ' ἔπεφνε βοῶν ἐπιβουκόλος ἀνήρ.

(*Od*.22.262-268)

They function mainly in the context of their relationship with their master and are judged in the poem from the point of their being dutiful or not: the unfaithful one takes the side of the Suitors, helps them consume the master's flock (*Od*.22.178-199) and as a result, is killed in agony (*Od*.22.474-477). Gutzwiller rightly suggests that the herdsman here is associated with peace and order and the swineherd Eumaeus' role as the last remaining wall against the Suitors is related to the defensive nature of herding practice.[21] The faithful herdsmen wait for the master's return and help him to execute the Suitors, and as a result, join the happy ending (*Od*.21.203-230). The swineherd and the cowherd serve to hold the order of Odysseus' realm from collapsing during his absence (e.g.17.374-391, 589-597, 20.210-225), whereas the goatherd reveals the mean side of slaves' nature, disloyalty.

The Cyclops, Polyphemus, can be counted as another important herdsman. Odysseus and his comrades enter Polyphemus' cave when the dweller is away herding and consequently lose some of their men to this gobbling single-eyed monster. Although he does not obey Zeus' rule of ξενία,[22] and is marked as a savage, brutal character who maltreats his human guests, as a herdsman, on the contrary, he is efficient and takes good care of his sheep and goats (*Od*. 9.216-230). This contrasting treatment to human and animal implies his affinity for the animal, rather than for human. He is not close to humanity, but belongs to the wild, uncivilised world.[23] This is partly related to a metaphorical meaning of lowly herdsmen: although herding is a purely human activity, the closeness of herdsman to animal places him somehow between civilised, human life and that of the animal, and the Cyclops is a monstrous version of the herdsman.

However, apart from these characters, another rather different kind of herdsman-image we find in the *Odyssey* is Athena disguised as a shepherd. When Odysseus landed finally on his home Ithaca, the goddess approaches him in the shape of a noble-looking, elegant young shepherd (*Od*.13.221-4). We wonder where this noble shepherd's image comes from. As is seen in the

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[21] Gutzwiller 1991:26.
[22] Heubeck in Heubeck and Hoekstra 1989:28.
[23] However, his affection to his ram may be understood as 'human warmth'. See Gutzwiller 1991: 113.

Trojans of the *Iliad*, there might be a real practice at that time, in which owners of large flock or noblemen let their own children tend their flock, instead of hired men or slaves. But there exists no relevant supporting historical evidence.[24] We would rather understand this as a poetic creation, yet Athena's intention by being dressed regally is not quite clear. It might be to imply that the shepherd is not in actual fact a shepherd.

The *Works and Days* provides us some practical information about herding animals. For example, lines 405-6 reflect the fact that in many regions, oxen were mainly used for ploughing and kept in small number in each household, except by a few breeders in some places with good pasture, which may indicate that cowherds could be fewer in number than the other types of herdsmen:[25]

Οἶκον μὲν πρώτιστα γυναῖκά τε βοῦν τ' ἀροτῆρα,
κτητήν, οὐ γαμετήν, ἥτις καὶ βουσὶν ἕποιτο,

(*Op*.405-6)

The more remarkable thing in Hesiod is, however, the beginning of the herdsman-poet tradition, which is passed onto poets including Theocritus, Vergil and to much later generations.[26] According to the *Theogony*, Hesiod describes himself as a shepherd, when he encountered the Muses and received initiation to poetry.

As we have seen in the *Iliad*, music was already associated with a herding life. In the *Theogony*, when a herdsman meets the divine, a poet is born in the countryside. In the most famous passage, the Muses appear and address Hesiod with mockery:

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[24] See Hoekstra in Heubeck and Hoekstra 1989:178.
[25] Burford 1993:149. For discussion on the authenticity of line 406, see West 1978: 260.
[26] e.g. Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queen* 1590:
Lo I the man, whose Muse whilome did maske,
As time her taught, in lowly Shepheards weeds,
Am now enforst a far vnfitter taske,
For trumpets sterne to chaunge mine Oaten reeds,
And sing of Knights and Ladies gentle deeds;
                                    (Book 1, Canto 1, 1-5)

ποιμένες ἄγραυλοι, κάκ’ ἐλέγχεα, γαστέρες οἶον,

ἴδμεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα,

ἴδμεν δ’ εὖτ’ ἐθέλωμεν ἀληθέα γηρύσασθαι.

(*Th.*26-8)

The goddesses stress the lowliness of the shepherds or herdsmen in general. [27] And, very interestingly, on this coarse shepherd, whom they describe as γαστέρες οἶον, 'mere bellies', they bestow poetic ability and encourage him to sing about the gods and grand themes of the earliest days of the world. γαστέρες οἶον implies the herdsmen's lowly nature of easily yielding to pleasure.[28] This striking combination of lowliness and high art of poetry creates the tradition of herdsmen-poets in literature.

A lowly shepherd may represent all humankind, their intermediate of gods and beasts, but yet so remote from the divinity in the eyes of the supernal goddesses. [29] Still, the ancient Greeks visualised several occasions where herdsmen in particular and the immortals met in fields and on mountains. It is perhaps no wonder that ancient herdsmen could feel close to the gods, when they were remote from the rest of the human society and surrounded by nature. Buxton discusses Greek mountain (*oros*) as 'a place for reversals', where unusual encounters occur. [30] For Hesiod, the consequence was his poetic ability and inspiration.

For other herdsmen who met divinity in the mountains, there was the possibility of an erotic encounter. As we have seen, the *Iliad* tells some short stories of minor characters whose fathers were herdsmen and mothers were nymphs or gods. [31] The most famous story of this kind is Anchises', which is precisely told in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*. Anchises is a beautiful cowherd with divine blood, playing the *kithara* at his encounter with the dreadful goddess:

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[27] Stoddard 2004: 74 suggests ἄγραυλος is almost always used for cattle, not for human, in the *Iliad*. κάκ’ ἐλέγχεα may be summing up the words of ἄγραυλος and γαστήρ.
[28] Gutzwiller 2006: 12.
[29] Stoddard 2004: 77.
[30] Buxton 1992: 9.
[31] e.g. *Il.*6.21-8 and 14.442-5. Anchises is also clearly shown as having driven oxen when he met Aphrodite: *Il.*5.313, ἥ μιν ὑπ’ Ἀγχίσῃ τέκε βουκολέοντι.

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αὐτὴ δ’ ἐς κλισίας εὐποιήτους ἀφίκανε·
τὸν δ’ εὗρε σταθμοῖσι λελειμμένον οἶον ἀπ’ ἄλλων
Ἀγχίσην ἥρωα θεῶν ἄπο κάλλος ἔχοντα.
οἱ δ’ ἅμα βουσὶν ἔποντο νομοὺς κάτα ποιήεντας
πάντες, ὁ δὲ σταθμοῖσι λελειμμένος οἶος ἀπ’ ἄλλων
πωλεῖτ’ ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα διαπρύσιον κιθαρίζων.

(*h.Ven*.75-80)

In the *Homeric Hymns*, there is another unique herdsman-figure, Hermes, the patron of herdsmen. Soon after his birth, Hermes invents lyre, and set off to steal Apollo’s cattle. Tricks and lies have become his attributes:

ἀλλ’ ὅτε δὴ μεγάλοιο Διὸς νόος ἐξετελεῖτο,
τῇ δ’ ἤδη δέκατος μεὶς οὐρανῷ ἐστήρικτο,
εἴς τε φόως ἄγαγεν, ἀρίσημά τε ἔργα τέτυκτο·
καὶ τότ’ ἐγείνατο παῖδα πολύτροπον, αἱμυλομήτην,
ληϊστῆρ’, ἐλατῆρα βοῶν, ἡγήτορ’ ὀνείρων,
νυκτὸς ὀπωπητῆρα, πυληδόκον, ὃς τάχ’ ἔμελλεν
ἀμφανέειν κλυτὰ ἔργα μετ’ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν.

(*h.Merc*.10-16)

Cattle-raiding reveals a down-to-earth side of herdsmen. Gutzwiller has examined some cattle-raiding characters in Greek myth and early literature, and also pointed out, particularly with regard to Hermes, that his animal theft is an intellectual activity, whose purpose is not only gaining the flock itself, but also, or rather, showing his cleverness to the others. [32]

In fifth-century tragedy, herdsmen often appear as heralds or messengers. One of the most notable is the shepherd in Sophocles’ *Oedipus Tyrannus*, who plays a crucial role in baby Oedipus’ survival and later the doomed king’s discovery of his crimes. Other examples are *Iphigenia in Tauris* and *Bacchae*. Gutzwiller has analysed these two plays and argues that ‘both present classic

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[32] Gutzwiller 1991:41-42.

characterizations of herdsmen as fearful, quarrelsome, susceptible to superstition, and easily persuaded.'[33] The general view towards herdsman-characters at that time seems to associate the herdsmen with the lack of sophistication or intelligence.

In one class of stories, in which some noble children are abandoned and discovered later, herdsmen often function as the low-class or slave first-finder/foster-parents of the children, for example, in *Antiope*, a lost play by Euripides. Antiope gave birth to two sons, Amphion and Zethus and left them to be raised by a herdsman. Later, the two sons gain recognition by the mother and they rescue her. The same type of plot is found among (partly) extant plays in *Epitrepontes* by Menander. These herdsmen in the dramas are more or less minor characters and shown as 'others'. In these foundling stories, we often see their contemporary concerns about the main character's (abandoned child's) 'being a citizen or not'. Herdsmen are placed on 'the other side' from which the children of higher births should be discovered and restored back to 'our (audience's) side'. [34]

Euripides' *Cyclops*, the only completely extant satyr-play, reflects largely the monster's picture in the *Odyssey*.[35] The romance between Polyphemus and Galatea, which became very popular in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (cf. Theocritus' *Idylls* 6 and 11), is not described here. However, the pastoral picture presented with satyrs as herdsmen seems, too our eyes, to be reflected in some comical pastoral pieces featuring goatherds by Theocritus.

So far we have examined several literary works to see what the herdsman means or what kind of notion he is accosiated with: peace and vulnerable human in the *Iliad*, peace, order and justice in the *Odyssey*, intermediary between beasts and gods as well as between human and nature, rusticity and poetic inspiration in the *Theogony*, eroticism (anti-heroism) and cunningness in the *Homeric Hymns* and wildness and existence as 'others' in some tragedies. Now we shall examine in the next section if we can see the hierarchy between those herdsmen, concerning in particular those notions we have observed they are associated with, in some works especially where more than one herdsman-character appears.

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[33] Gutzwiller 1991:48.
[34] For an interesting analysis of Amphion as a herdsman and natural philosopher in *Antiope*, see Gutzwiller 1991:56-9.
[35] Gutzwiller suggests Euripides developed Polyphemus' story of the *Odyssey* to reflect the contempotary debate of nature and culture. See Gutzwiller 1991:61.

1.2 *The Pastoral Hierarchy before Theocritus*

It is highly probable that the concept of the pastoral hierarchy can be traced back to early Greek epic, although Homer does not describe it as Longus does. Nevertheless, in Homer the hierarchy is almost certainly at the back of the characterisation of the major herdsmen. As we look into their social status, the poet seems to form the characters of each herdsman, reflecting his own idea of the pastoral hierarchy. Melanthius is particularly important to examine, as Theocritus' goatherd mentions his name at the end of *Idyll* 5.

As we have discussed earlier, the descriptions of herdsmen in the *Odyssey* are associated with the idea of 'peace and order', and we shall now examine how each of the different kinds of herdsmen is related to it. Melanthius is a slave goatherd and his role in the *Odyssey* is totally opposite to that of Eumaeus. Eumaeus expects his master to return and longs for the day he will meet Odysseus, whereas Melanthius and his sister, Melantho, betray Odysseus by taking the side of the Suitors. [36] Moreover, this goatherd is not productive in his herding, as he helps the Suitors consume Odysseus' flock, in other words, his lord's fortune, and Eumaeus criticises Melanthius' apathetic attitude towards his task, pointing out that he is always in town (*Od.*17.245-6). The lines below present a prayer by Eumaeus to the gods when he faced Melanthius:

"Νύμφαι κρηναῖαι, κοῦραι Διός, εἴ ποτ' Ὀδυσσεὺς

ὔμμ' ἐπὶ μηρί' ἔκηε, καλύψας πίονι δημῷ,

ἀρνῶν ἠδ' ἐρίφων, τόδε μοι κρηήνατ' ἐέλδωρ,

ὡς ἔλθοι μὲν κεῖνος ἀνήρ, ἀγάγοι δέ ἑ δαίμων.

τῷ κέ τοι ἀγλαΐας γε διασκεδάσειεν ἁπάσας,

τὰς νῦν ὑβρίζων φορέεις, ἀλαλήμενος αἰεὶ

ἄστυ κάτ'· αὐτὰρ μῆλα κακοὶ φθείρουσι νομῆες."

(*Od.*17.240-6)

The poorly maintained cattle shows metaphorically Odysseus' household in danger and an obvious

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[36] For Melanthius and the possibility of creation of this character by later poet(s), see Fernandez-Galiano 1992:166, in Russo, Fernandez-Galiano and Heubeck 1992.

difference between Melanthius and Eumaeus, the latter of whom shows a deep devotion to taking care of his master's swine even during the night ('peace and order', Melanthius is worthless and even a harmful herdsman. (Od.14.523-33). Thus, from the viewpoint of a harmful herdsman.

Melanthius is a slave by birth, as his father, Dorius, serves Laertes.[37] It is interesting that Melanthius and Melantho, the two main disloyal slaves, are described as having been born into slavery. Their father Dorius himself is devoted to his master and he also has several other children who serve Laertes with loyalty. But the other children remain anonymous (Od.24.228).

In this early epic, the affinities in the characteristics between a herdsman and a type of the animal he herds are not given prominence as much as in Theocritus. For example, Theocritean goatherds are usually associated with passionate love, whereas Melanthius' sexuality is not emphasised very much. Still, when we think about his sister's sexual misbehaviour with the Suitors and that the severe and insulting punishment on him by Odysseus was castration (Od.22.474-7), depriving him of his sex, we find that Melanthius' sexuality is marked as rather negative. Homer may have been already aware of the strong connection between goatherds and coarseness in sexuality and expressed it as one aspect of the disloyalty of Melanthius. The other aspect of Melanthius, his aggressive attitude, may have to be understood as consistent with his being a goatherd, as long as there was already the ancient notion that a herdsman's nature would follow that of the animal he herds.[38]

Eumaeus the swineherd and Philoetius the cowherd are the main male faithful slaves. These two ideal herdsmen, especially Eumaeus, function as true-hearted slaves, protectors of livestock as their masters' property and also as strong defence against the Suitors.[39] Therefore, they are positive herdmen in terms of 'peace and order' and Homer describes them as noble people in their minds. Eumaeus can be interpreted not only as a slave but also as a major character representing Zeus' Justice in this epic:

δμῶες δ', εὖτ' ἂν μηκέτ' ἐπικρατέωσιν ἄνακτες,
οὐκέτ' ἔπειτ' ἐθέλουσιν ἐναίσιμα ἐργάζεσθαι·

[37] See Thalman 1998:67-70. Dorius, whose name seems to be derived from δοῦλος is depicted as, and could represent, a 'slave' itself, who can potentially be good or bad.
[38] See pages 32-3 for the discussion on Id.1.87.
[39] See Gutzwiller 1991:26.

ἥμισυ γάρ τ’ ἀρετῆς ἀποαίνυται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς

ἀνέρος, εὖτ’ ἄν μιν κατὰ δούλιον ἦμαρ ἕλησιν.

(*Od.*17.320-3)

Here, Eumaeus talks about slaves and ἀρετή, suggesting that those who have fallen into slavery are likely to perform less virtuously, since their servile status would harm those people’s excellence.

Nevertheless, despite his servile status without his master’s presence, Eumaeus’ allegiance is consistent throughout. However, this does not necessarily mean the poet intentionally depicts ‘slaves’ themselves as virtuous. First, we have to consider the fact that Eumaeus is not a slave by birth, but a ‘blue-blooded slave’, who was born as a king’s child but kidnapped by pirates and sold as a slave when he was a child (*Od.*15.389-484). Now it is worth considering where in the hierarchy a swineherd fits and whether a swineherd or a goatherd is higher in the herdsmen’s ranking. We can assume swineherds are not considered very high, [40] because, in the *Odyssey*, at the first encounter of Eumaeus and Odysseus in disguise with Melanthius, Melanthius insults Eumaeus by calling him a pig, perhaps bearing in mind Eumaeus’ low status among herdsmen (*Od.*17.204-32). He associates Eumaeus with his mean animal, the pig. This may have the same kind of meaning as Daphnis and Dorcon’s comparisons of each other to a goat or to something goatish in their fight in order to insult each other in Longus. Then, the setting of Eumaeus as a swineherd is to bring the dramatic contrast between his noble birth and his present status. This gains the same effect as intended by Longus when Daphnis is raised by a slave goatherd, not a cowherd or shepherd.

Now we turn to Philoetius’ case. As nothing is told clearly about Philoetius’ background, the only thing we know about him is that he became Odysseus’ cowherd in his childhood (*Od.*20.197-25) and that Philoetius’ epithet is ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν, a leader of the people (e.g. 20.185), which is rather high-sounding for a herdsman. This is also applied to Eumaeus (e.g. 17.184), and

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[40] In *Theaetetus,* three types of herdsmen are named as swineherd, shepherd and cowherd (179D), instead of Theocritus’ version of the three, ‘cowherds, shepherds and goatherds’ (*Id.*1.80). We are not sure if Plato intended to introduce these herdsmen in the hierarchical order in these lines. See also Kossaifi 1997:234. Herodotus tells of swineherds as a disdained type of herdsmen in Egypt and the Egyptian social order with cowherds more highly regarded than swineherds. (Hdt.2.47.4, 2.164.) On the other hand, in some places in Egypt, the worship of goats as sacred resulted in the high status of goatherds (Hdt.2.46)

this epithet may only refer to their good personali ties and loyalty,[41] or also to their social status or birth. Philoetius might be a slave by birth. The po int is, however, that Melanthius is clearly defined as a slave by birth, whereas Philoetius is not. It seems that Melanthius' negative personality is connected to his being a goatherd as well as being a slave by birth.

We also note that this cowherd serves just as a sub ordinate helpmate to noble Eumaeus, simply because on their own Odysseus and Eumaeus ar e not sufficient in number to wreak full vengeance on the multitude of the Suitors.[42] Strict limitations are put on his character, as Ho mer does not spare many lines to describe him, but stil l efficiently provides this cowherd with minimum features as a good servant with his unchanging loya lty to his master and as a productive slave herdsman who increases the number of the master's c ows (*Od.*20.198-25). However, this very brief description of the cowherd may tell that Home r did not need to devote as much attention to him, because as a cowherd he is already associated with nobility and higher status, which might allow readers to easily assume that he will be good and loyal.

Additionally, it is significant that the two faithf ul herdsmen are not closely linked with poverty, owing to their favourable relationship wit h Odysseus. Eumaeus does not suffer from poverty because he is taken good care of by his mas ter (*Od.*15.488-91) and Philoetius is put in charge of cows, which could represent his master's wealth. Later, these loyal slaves are liberated and given houses and wives (*Od.*21.203-220), so that they would gain a social statu s suitable for their deeds. In Odysseus' struggle to live a life, Homer expresses that there is some value even in the life of the lowest class such as θής when Achilles talks to Odysseus in Hades and expresses his longing for life: better to live as θής than be great but dead (*Od.*11.488-491). However, the way the poet portrays his named characters seems to reflect his strong concern for the social hierarchy. In most cases, a character's noble status in society c orresponds with his noble personality and that of a poor status, with his poor personality. Even though there are some characters like the Suitors, who are aristocrats in the society and poor in their de eds, or someone like the Phoenician slave from a rich family who carried off little Eumaeus to be so ld as a slave (*Od.*15.415-29), it is difficult to find any named slave with a well-developed character, wh o is low-ranked in the hierarchy but shows excellence in his personality. It seems that the go od slaves are either noble by birth, blurred as

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[41] See Fernandez-Galiano 1992:117 in Russo, Fernandez-Gal iano and Heubeck 1992.
[42] Philoetius by name is defined as an aid towards the favourable ending. See the note above.

anonymousorcharacterizedwithlimitations. [43] Beingaslavegoatherddoesnotgiveapersonany excellence here.Asfarastheherdsmenareconcerned,inthe *Odyssey*,wefindthecharacterisation ofthemcorrespondingtotheorderinthehierarchy andespeciallythelowlinessofthegoatherd, bothinhissocialstatusandpersonality.

Therankinginthehierarchymatcheswellwithsome otherArchaicdepictionsofherdsmen. Itcanexplainthatthedivineherdsmen,Hermesand Apolloarethoughttohavebeencowherding (e.g. inthe *HomericHymntoHermes*).Italsogivesgoodreasonsforthenoblepicture ofgod-like beautifulcowherdAnchisesin the *HomericHymntoAphrodite* (e.g.line45)andhissonAeneas, who is a cowherd and an excellent warrior, as is Pr iam's nephew, god-like Melanippus (*Il*.15.547-59). On the other hand, some of the Trojan m inor characters, like Laomedon's illegitimate son Bucolion (*Il*.6.21-6)[44] and Priam's two sons described together as killed by Agamemnonatthesametime,IsusandAntiphus,the formerofwhomisillegitimate(*Il*.11.101-6), wereshepherds.Theirbeingshepherds,notcowherds ,mightimplyeithertheirstatusasbastards (exceptAntiphus),simplytheirminorrolesinthe storyortheiryouthandimmaturity,comparedto theirfellowcowherdheroes.

EspeciallyinIsusandAntiphus'case,theirimmatu rityisimpliedalsoinatypicalcourseof lifeanddeathforsomeyoungTrojans:capturedby AchillesonMt.Ida,releasedforransom,butin the end, killed by Achilles or other great Greek wa rriors.[45] As we have seen earlier, Iliadic herdsmenoftenstandsforpeaceandanti-heroism.I fthedifferenceintheherdinganimalsisrelated totheTrojan'snatureintermsofmaturity,thelo wlierherdsmancouldmarkalessheroicbeing.

WhenweturntotheAttictragedies,wefindsomem orecompatibleexamples.Usually,the herdsman-messenger characters are either cowherds o r shepherds (e.g. *Oedipus Tyrannus, Bacchae)*.Itisbecauseoftheircredibility:beinghigherr ankedherdsmenseemstogivethemtheir rolesoffairlytrustworthymessengers. [46] Aswefindintheexamplesinthe *Theogony* andsome

[43] ForEurycleia,herpatronymicandkinshiptoOdysse us'familysimilartoEumaeus',see Thalman1998:74-6.
[44] Kirk1990:158.
[45] SeealsoLycaon'scasein *Il*.11.35-155.
[46] Berman2005:236.

tragedies, the Greek herdsman tends to be portlayed as less intelligent and the lowlier herdsman could especially be so.

To sum up, we see those herdsmen's different aspects/images (which are more or less related to the central theme of the story) are featured in each literary text, and when there is more than one herdsman in one story, we can see how differently each of the different kinds of herdsmen is depicted, concerning the image he is associated with, or more simply how positively or negatively they appear. For example, in the *Odyssey*, the herdsman is supposed to work for the peace and order of Odysseus' household and the swineherd and the cowherd are effective in this regard, whereas the goatherd is not.

On the whole, it seems cowherds are depicted as relatively positive, whereas we do not find positively marked goatherds. Shepherds are more complicated, being almost neutral, as Berman suggests, and they can be described both as positive and negative. [47] They can be described as being as good as cowherds. But at the same time, they can represent uncivilised villains such as Polyphemus the Cyclops, who keeps sheep and goats in the *Odyssey*.

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[47] Berman 2005:232.

Chapter2

ThePastoralHierarchyandTheocriteanHerdsmen

2.1 *ThePastoralHierarchyinTheocritus*

Nowwewouldliketoconsideriftherethisconcept ofhierarchyinTheocritusvisibleinhis ownpoetry,althoughitisalreadyeasytoassumet hathehasinheritedtheideaofthehierarchy fromhisliterarypredecessors.Whenweturnbackt otheTheocriteantext, *Idyll*1line80,where three types of herdsmen appear at Daphnis' death, w e find the same order from cowherd to goatherd,ifthatisthepoet'sintention(ἦνθον τοὶ βοῦται, τοὶ ποιμένες, ᾠπόλοι ἦνθον).[48] Ithas beendebatedwhetherthisconceptofthehierarchy actuallyexistsinTheocriteanpoetry.Schmidt denieditandhis ideahasbeensupportedbysomereaders. [49] However,VanGroningen,andmore recently,Bermanhaveraisedenoughevidenceforth isconceptinTheocritus,suchasthedifferent levelsofspeechbetweencowherdsandgoatherds:co wherdsspeakinamoresophisticatedmatter andgoatherdsinamorerusticone. [50]

Moreapparentevidenceisthatinsome'realistic', ornon-idealiseddescriptionsofgoatherds, in *Idylls* 4and7,theyseemtobelesswealthythantheacco mpanyingcowherds,especiallyintheir clothing.[51] In *Idyll* 4.56-7, the goatherd Battus is barefoot (νήλιπος 56), whereashiscowherd friend,Corydon,seemstowearsandalsorshoes.Th e cowherd insults, or gives advice to the barefootgoatherd,whohassteppedonathorninth emountain.Also,theothercowherd,Aegon, whoappearsintheirconversation,seemsevenbette roff.In *Idyll* 7.10-20,thereisafamousprecise depictionofthehumbleguiseofLycidasthegoathe rd,whereevenhissmellisdescribed.Rustic smellisperhapsanattributeofgoatherds,asame ntionofthesmellofagoatherdandhisgoatskin isalsofoundin *Idyll*5(50-2).Thegoatskinitselfmaybeaclearsign ofagoatherd'shumble

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[48] Halperinsuggeststhepossibilitythattheorderly useofwords, *bucolic*(τᾶς βουκολικᾶς 20), *poemenic*(ὁ ποιμενικὸς23)and *aepolic* (αἰπολικὸν56)inthegoatherd'sspeechin *Idyll* 1also impliesthehierarchy.SeeHalperin1983:182.
[49] Schmidt1969,Segal1977(reprinted1981),Zanker1 987:165.
[50] VanGroningen1959:314,Berman2005:230-231.Howe ver,whatissuggestedtherebrieflyis anoverallimpressionofdifferentlevelsofspeech byherdsmen.
[51] Kossaifi1997:234-239.

status:[52]

ἐκ μὲν γὰρ λασίοιο δασύτριχος εἶχε τράγοιο
κνακὸν δέρμ' ὤμοισι νέας ταμίσοιο ποτόσδον.

(*Id.*7.15-16)

Also, we assume some connection between barefoot Battus and Lycidas, the latter of whom seems also to be barefoot, when he makes fun of the sound caused by the shoes of Simichidas (7.26), a town poet as well as a former 'cowherd' according to his own words (7.92).

We can find further evidence in the herdsmen's relationships to each other. When the goatherd and the shepherd start the singing match in *Idyll* 5, the shepherd first talks about calling Lycopus, the cowherd, to be their judge (62). This perhaps implies that the cowherd's higher status would add to the credibility of his judgement.

Indeed, *Idyll* 5 is the very piece which invites us to consider closely the issue of the herdsmen's status difference behind the pastoral scenes. Further support for the hierarchy there is that the two herdsmen in *Idyll* 5 are the only characters through the *Idylls* who are undeniably slaves (5.5-10), whereas, for example, Aegon the cowherd in *Idyll* 4 cannot be a slave, because he is an Olympian athlete (4.6) and also the old man, who seems to be Aegon's father, is an owner of cows (4.1-4). Comatas of *Idyll* 5 calls Lacon δῶλε Σιβύρτα (5.5), 'Sybaritas' slave', and Lacon, in return, calls Comatas ὠλεύθερε (5.8), 'a freeman', which is interpreted as ironic, based on Lacon's knowledge of Comatas' being a slave to Eumaras (5.10).[53]

In addition, we may try to ascertain that Theocritus was aware of the two aspects of the hierarchy we have seen in Longus: the difference in value of animals and as far as goatherds are concerned, the negative aspect of the animal and its herding. Firstly, in *Idyll* 5, Comatas and Lacon

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[52] In the earlier literature, a goatskin occasionally might have signified servile status of the wearers. e.g. *Od.*14.530 and especially Eur. *Cyc.*76-80:
ἐγὼ δ' ὁ σὸς πρόπολος
Κύκλωπι θητεύω
τῶι μονοδέρκται δοῦλος ἀλαίνων
σὺν τᾶιδε τράγου χλαίναι μελέαι
σᾶς χωρὶς φιλίας.

[53] See Gow 1952:97.

argueoverthefairstakesofthesingingmatch,re   vealingonlyamaturehe-goat(ratherthanakid)

tobeofthesamevalueasalamb: [54]

ΚΟ. ὗς ποτ' Ἀθαναίαν ἔριν ἤρισεν. ἠνίδε κεῖται

    ὥριφος· ἀλλ' ἄγε καὶ τύ τιν' εὔβοτον ἀμνὸν ἔρειδε.

ΛΑ. καὶ πῶς, ὦ κίναδος τύ, τάδ' ἔσσεται ἐξ ἴσω ἄμμιν;

    τίς τρίχας ἀντ' ἐρίων ἐποκίξατο; τίς δὲ παρεύσας

    αἰγὸς πρατοτόκοιο κακὰν κύνα δῆλετ' ἀμέλγειν;

ΚΟ. ὅστις νικασεῖν τὸν πλατίον ὡς τὺ πεποίθεις,

    σφὰξ βομβέων τέττιγος ἐναντίον. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔτι

    ὥριφος ἰσοπαλής τοι, ἴδ' ὁ τράγος οὗτος· ἔρισδε.

                                               (*Id.*5.23-30)

Secondly,thenotoriouslyranksmellofgoatsandg   oatherdsmaywellbeoneofthereasons

forthedisadvantageofgoatherds,alsohereinThe   ocritus(5.52and7.16):   [55]

αἴ κ' ἔνθῃς, ὕπνω μαλακώτερα· ταὶ δὲ τραγεῖαι

ταὶ παρὰ τὶν ὄσδοντι κακώτερον ἢ τύ περ ὄσδεις.

                                           (*Id.*5.51-2)

Furthermore,wemaydeduceadifferenceinsocialp   ositionbetweenLaconandComatas,intended

alsofromthefollowingpoint.Lines14-16,whereL   acontheshepherdnameshimselfbyrevealing

hismother'sname,whichisoneofthepiecesofev   idencethatLaconisshownasaslave,makeus

suspectthatthisshepherdenjoyshighersocialsta   tusthanthegoatherd,asithasbeenpointedout

thathereLaconmaybedescribedasan   οἰκογενής,ahome-bornslave: [56]

ΛΑ. οὐ μαὐτὸν τὸν Πᾶνα τὸν ἄκτιον, οὐ τέ γε Λάκων

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[54] Inthe *Idylls*,goatsmaynotfullybeagenericsymbolofrichne   ssorgoodlifeontheirown,as,for
example,inausageofplentifulcowsandsheepin   apeacefulandexpansivesocietyin   *Id.*16.90-97.
[55] AlthoughLycidas'smellisfromrennetandmaynot   bethesameasComatas'smell,themotifof
smellisusedtoenhancethecharacter'srusticima   ge.Seepages26-7.
[56] SeeGow1952:97-8   andZanker1987.However,Crane1981isnotconvinc   edbythisargument.

τὰν βαίταν ἀπέδυσ᾽ ὁ Καλαιθίδος· ἢ κατὰ τήνας

τᾶς πέτρας, ὤνθρωπε, μανεὶς εἰς Κρᾶθιν ἁλοίμαν.

(*Id.*5.14-16)

Although we do not have any further evidence to strengthen this possibility, if Lacon is an οἰκογενής and Comatas is not, it may well explain why Lacon dares to say his mother's name in making an oath. As we can see in these herdsmen's later encounter with Morson the woodcutter, Lacon is reluctant to show his servile status to a stranger (5.74-5). Even though the two herdsmen know that they are both slaves, Lacon would not speak of his mother's name during their fight, unless it gives a sense of his own superiority to Comatas. The difference in their social positions seems to be meant and the lines 118-19 can be interpreted as a further support for this. Lacon mocks Comatas for his having been beaten by his master, which discloses to readers the harsh treatment Comatas received.

Beyond *Idyll* 5, goatherds' being negative cultural models certainly exists elsewhere. Twice it is shown that being called a goatherd brings insults to the other types of herdsmen (*Id.*1.87 and 6.7). Also in the ending of *Idyll* 4, where Battus and Corydon compare Aegon's father's goatishness with that of Pans and satyrs (4.62-3),[57] mythical goatish creatures, their intention is mockery of this middle-aged owner of cows.

Here we have seen the basic concept of the pastoral hierarchy and collected some examples of the sense of the hierarchy in Theocritus. Although there is the case of the anonymous goatherd in *Idyll* 1, whose identity is blurred, it is highly reasonable to think that Theocritus deliberately describes goatherds as particularly humble and intends to convey the sense of earthiness in them. The cowherds and the shepherds are, basically, portrayed as higher in status than the goatherds. Thus, we assume practically that Theocritus introduced the idea of the hierarchy as one of the rules governing his pastoral world.

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[57] Not only satyrs, but also Pan appears in plural. It seems to refer to Pan-like rustic divines or spirits. See Gow 1952:91, Hunter 1991:144.

2.2 Goatherds: Vulgarity and Rusticity

In the following sections of this chapter, we discuss some characteristics of each of the different kinds of herdsmen, starting with the goatherds. Although their low rank in the pastoral hierarchy (one of the 'social rules' of pastoral) seems to be expressed largely in the goatherds' 'lowly' nature, we will also note that the poet changes the way the rule is applied to his characters, which results in the complex and rich characterisation of the goatherds. We start from how their low status is indicated and how their status is related to their behaviour and roles. Then we will discuss non-lowly aspects of some of the goatherds and the new literary meanings they came to acquire in the *Idylls*, compared with earlier Greek literary goatherds.

Status as slaves and unkempt appearance

As we discussed in the previous chapter, Comatas in *Idyll* 5 is a slave and probably meant to appear as one of the lowliest in status throughout the pastoral *Idylls*. He and Lacon gibe each other that even their owners are not wealthy (5-10). In addition, Lacon goes further to tell us the harsh treatment Comatas received from his master in order to mock him (118-19). Comatas in *Idyll* 7, a goatherd of the same name, has a master as well and is tortured by him (78-82), although, to be exact, this Comatas might not be a slave. His story seems to be based on a folk tale about a herdsman serving a king. [58] Likewise, we do not have clear evidence for the other goatherds in the *Idylls* being slaves. Still, their humble and rustic guise often indicates their relatively lower status. We find the most elaborate example in *Idyll* 7:

ἐσθλὸν σὺν Μοίσαισι Κυδωνικὸν εὕρομες ἄνδρα,
οὔνομα μὲν Λυκίδαν, ἦς δ’ αἰπόλος, οὐδέ κέ τίς νιν
ἠγνοίησεν ἰδών, ἐπεὶ αἰπόλῳ ἔξοχ’ ἐῴκει.

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[58] Gow 1952:152. According to Lucus of Rhegium, a herdsman was giving sacrifices to the Muses from his master's flock, was then punished by the master, but had his life saved by the Muses, being nurtured by honey for two months. See Wendel 1920:99-100.

ἐκ μὲν γὰρ λασίοιο δασύτριχος εἶχε τράγοιο

κνακὸν δέρμ’ ὤμοισι νέας ταμίσοιο ποτόσδον,

ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ στήθεσσι γέρων ἐσφίγγετο πέπλος

ζωστῆρι πλακερῷ, ῥοικὰν δ’ ἔχεν ἀγριελαίω

δεξιτερᾷ κορύναν. καί μ’ ἀτρέμας εἶπε σεσαρὼς

ὄμματι μειδιόωντι, γέλως δέ οἱ εἴχετο χείλευς·

<div align="right">(Id.7.12-20)</div>

Simichidas depicts Lycidas carefully, from what he wears to what he smells of, and focuses on the rustic, humble, very goatherd-like appearance of Lycidas (οὐδέ κέ τίς νιν / ἠγνοίησεν ἰδών, ἐπεὶ αἰπόλῳ ἔξοχ’ ἐῴκει.13-14). From his smell of ταμίσοιο, ‘rennet’ (16), he seems to engage in some of the typical work of a herdsman: Lycidas seems to have made cheese and wiped his hands with his goatskin.[59] Lycidas’ status as a down-to-earth goatherd is clear from his appearance, even though his herd of goats does not appear.[60]

We have discussed in the earlier chapter the goatherds’ smell, bare feet and goatskin as the visible indicators of their lowly status. But beyond *Idylls* 4, 5 and 7, the goatherd-like rustic appearance is not only found in their clothes and bare feet. In *Idyll* 3, the unnamed protagonist is described as having just such a typical appearance of a goatherd, although what he wears is not stated. He starts to describe his own physical features, wondering if those are the reason why his beloved Amaryllis is indifferent to him now:

Ὦ χαρίεσσ’ Ἀμαρυλλί, τί μ’ οὐκέτι τοῦτο κατ’ ἄντρον

παρκύπτοισα καλεῖς, τὸν ἐρωτύλον; ἦ ῥά με μισεῖς;

ἦ ῥά γέ τοι σιμὸς καταφαίνομαι ἐγγύθεν ἦμεν,

νύμφα, καὶ προγένειος; ἀπάγξασθαί με ποησεῖς.

<div align="right">(Id.3.6-9)</div>

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[59] Gow1952:136.
[60] Hunter1999:147.

Here we see some links between the goatherd and a half-goat and half-human creature, a satyr. First, he says that he has a flat nose (σιμός 8). This characteristic is what the ancient Greeks thought ugly and satyrs were often described as having this type of nose.[61] As in the pseudo-Theocritean *Idyll* 8, σιμός is applied to kids (8.50), there might be a close association between a goatherd's rustic feature and the nature of his animal. The second feature is προγένειος (9). Some interpret this word as 'long-chinned', while others as 'with full beard'.[62] We can, again, speculate about the goatherd-goat association, since we come to an ancient usage of προγένειος as 'with full beard' observed in Longus, when Daphnis calls Dorcon's beard goat-like to insult this cowherd (προγένειος ὡς τράγος 1.16.5).

We may interpret this very goatherd in *Idyll* 3, as well as Amaryllis and his friend Tityrus as a kind of mythical character: the two goatherds as satyrs and especially Amaryllis as a sea-nymph, who lives in a cave.[63] Interestingly, however, the goatherd is not free from a sense of 'social class'. Three other minor characters in the goatherd's narrative lend 'realism' to the poem: Olpis the fisherman (26), Agroeo the augur (31-3) and a dark-complexioned hired girl of Mermnon (ἁ Μέρμνωνος ἐριθακὶς ἁ μελανόχρως 35).[64] Another fisherman in the *Idylls* is in a goatherd's description of his κισσύβιον (wooden drinking-cup) in *Idyll* 1.39-44: Theocritus uses the fisherman's image as part of typical rustic scenery by the sea.[65] The rare name of Agroeo, Ἀγροιώ, may be intended to show her as a typical ἄγροικος, as in the *Idylls*, characters' names are often strongly related to what they really are (i.e. Tityrus, the Doric form of satyr, used as the name of a goatherd in *Idyll* 3 and perhaps also in *Idyll* 7). As far as the tanned girl is concerned, we understand tanned skin is a typical feature of labourers, which hint this *Idyll* mark Mermnon's girl as lowly and less attractive to the goatherd.[66]

Theocritus has put these 'realistic' characters into associate the goatherd with a 'realistic' working class. 'Realistic' here does not necessarily mean this *Idyll* describes actual herdsmen at that time or based on some facts from the real world. Rather, it merely means 'not idealised', that is

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[61] Dover 1971:113, Hunter 1999:113.
[62] Gow 1952:66-67, Hunter 1999:113.
[63] Gutzwiller 1991:118-120. For a debate whether Tityrus is a human figure or a goat, see Gow 1952:65.
[64] On the fictionality of the character-setting and 'the copresence of theatrical performance and unromantic agricultural labor' see Payne 2007:63.
[65] For the fisherman's image in the Hellenistic trend of visual art, see Hunter 1999:77.
[66] Hunter 1999:120-121.

whaturbanreadersmightexpecttofindintherural people incountryside.

Lowly characteristics, rustic lack of sophistication

We have observed the goatherds' low status and rustic guise. Now we wonder how their lowliness affects their inner character, if Theocritus links the character's low social status and behaviour. Perhaps one of the most obvious examples is seen in Comatas in *Idyll* 5. One of the themes in the 'realistic' *Idyll*, the conflict between herdsmen, seems to come largely as a result of their being lowly in their status as slaves.[67] The two herdsmen start off their exchange by accusing each other of theft:

ΚΟ. Αἶγες ἐμαί, τῆνον τὸν ποιμένα, τὸν Συβαρίταν,
　　φεύγετε, τὸν Λάκωνα· τό μευ νάκος ἐχθὲς ἔκλεψεν.
ΛΑ. οὐκ ἀπὸ τᾶς κράνας; σίττ', ἀμνίδες· οὐκ ἐσορῆτε
　　τόν μευ τὰν σύριγγα πρόαν κλέψαντα Κομάταν;

<div align="center">(<i>Id</i>.5.1-4)</div>

Comatas claims that Lacon stole his goatskin, then Lacon retorts by asserting that Comatas carried off his syrinx. This argument ends without winner, so that they proceed to a singing match (διαείσομαι 22). Yet, they have another quarrel over the stakes (14-30), the place to sing at (30-61), the judge (62-66) and the way they introduce themselves to the judge (67-79), before they finally start to sing. The disagreements and inharmonious attitude continue through both dialogues and songs.

Other goatherds appear without harsh hostility. For example, Battus the goatherd and Corydon, who pastures cows, in *Idyll* 4 appear as friends, although there are some agonistic exchanges in their conversation (16-43),[68] Battus has emulation towards the absent cowherd and

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[67] VanGroningen1958:148, Halperin1983:183.
[68] Hunter1999:129-130.

<div align="center">33</div>

tries to make fun of him [69] and is also contrasted with Corydon in his character and style of speech. In the opening of the *Idyll*, Battus asks Corydon whose cattle he is pasturing and Corydon tells the name of the owner, Aegon, who is absent now. [70] Then Battus asks if Corydon is going to milk the cows secretly and take the milk:

ΒΑ. Εἰπέ μοι, ὦ Κορύδων, τίνος αἱ βόες; ἦ ῥα Φιλώνδα;
ΚΟ. οὔκ, ἀλλ' Αἴγωνος· βόσκειν δέ μοι αὐτὰς ἔδωκεν.
ΒΑ. ἦ πά ψε κρύβδαν τὰ ποθέσπερα πάσας ἀμέλγες;
ΚΟ. ἀλλ' ὁ γέρων ὑφίητι τὰ μοσχία κἠμὲ φυλάσσει.

(*Id*.4.1-4)

In reply, Corydon declines, because Aegon's father (ὁ γέρων) is watching over him. The motif of 'theft' emerges again here. As for *Idyll* 5, the theft theme is to present both of those herdsmen as lowly and somehow mean figures, although we are not sure if the thefts have in fact taken place. [71] In *Idyll* 4, in turn, the goatherd's base, cunning idea of stealing milk is shown, but not explicitly as Corydon the cowherd's, as Corydon closes this topic by saying simply he is not able to conduct the theft.

In *Idyll* 4, we read the further rusticity of goatherd contrasting with the cowherd's more sophisticated manner. After the discussion of stealing milk, Battus and Corydon continue to talk about the absent cowherd and his poor cows left (δείλαιαί γ' αὖται, 13). It is often suggested by readers that the speeches by the two herdsmen are contrasting in quality: [72]

ΒΑ. δείλαιαί γ' αὖται, τὸν βουκόλον ὡς κακὸν εὖρον.
ΚΟ. ἦ μὰν δείλαιαί γε, καὶ οὐκέτι λῶντι νέμεσθαι.
ΒΑ. τήνας μὲν δή τοι τᾶς πόρτιος αὐτὰ λέλειπται

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[69] See page 57.
[70] In this mimetic *Idyll*, the character setting is not well explained to readers. Interestingly, Battus has not caught up with latest local gossip. Perhaps he is back in this region after a while, see Gow 1952:76. Some suggest he might not be as local as Corydon-cf. Hunter 1999:129.
[71] Gutzwiller 1991:137 suggests Lacon's countercharge instead of a claim of his innocent does not necessarily show he is guilty.
[72] Segal 1972 in Segal 1981:89-90.'Battus is emotional, sentimental, inclined to exaggeration and despair. Corydon is more even-tempered, calmer, quietly efficient.'

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τὠστία. μὴ πρώκας σιτίζεται ὥσπερ ὁ τέττιξ;

ΚΟ. οὐ Δᾶν, ἀλλ' ὅκα μέν νιν ἐπ' Αἰσάροιο νομεύω

καὶ μαλακῶ χόρτοιο καλὰν κώμυθα δίδωμι,

ἄλλοκα δὲ σκαίρει τὸ βαθύσκιον ἀμφὶ Λάτυμνον.

(*Id*.4.13-19)

Here, they talk about the pitiful cows, dwindling, missing their master. Battus' speech sounds more tragic and exaggerated, whereas Corydon's is modest and fact-based. Battus says that the skinny cow must be living on dews like a cicada, ὁ τέττιξ,[73] though Corydon replies, listing what he does to nurture the cattle. Battus is actually jesting with Corydon, but Corydon takes Battus' comment literally and tries to give some correct information. Even after this, Battus' speech brings a negative and despairing mood, whereas Corydon brings forward positive and promising comments based on the facts he assembles. [74]

We should note that the character of this goatherd itself is not tragic. Rather, he is a loud, comic and rustic figure. He has a dramatic tendency, not only in his speech but also in his behaviour. His speech inclines both to very positive remarks and negative ones from time to time. Once he tells audaciously he is better than Polydeuces, as his mother told him so (9). Later, the talk comes to be about a girl, called Amaryllis, who has passed away but was the beloved of Battus:

ΒΑ. ὦ χαρίεσσ' Ἀμαρυλλί, μόνας σέθεν οὐδὲ θανοίσας

λασεύμεσθ'· ὅσον αἶγες ἐμὶν φίλαι, ὅσσον ἀπέσβης.

αἰαῖ τῶ σκληρῶ μάλα δαίμονος ὅς με λελόγχει.

ΚΟ. θαρσεῖν χρή, φίλε Βάττε· τάχ' αὔριον ἔσσετ' ἄμεινον.

ἐλπίδες ἐν ζωοῖσιν, ἀνέλπιστοι δὲ θανόντες,

χὠ Ζεὺς ἄλλοκα μὲν πέλει αἴθριος, ἄλλοκα δ' ὕει.

(*Id*.4.38-43)

Battus wails over how ill-fated he is, having lost her (αἰαῖ τῶ σκληρῶ μάλα δαίμονος ὅς με

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[73] A cicada is referred here because of its lacking of physical strength. See Hunter 1999:135.

[74] Corydon is a 'conversational literalist', see Hunter 1999:129.

λελόγχει 40). Then, Corydon tries to hearten his friend (θαρσεῖν χρή, φίλε Βάττε· 41). Again, Battus is emotional and pessimistic, [75] in contrast to Corydon with his rather optimistic and undisturbed attitude. Additionally, after these lines, Battus gets a thorn in his barefoot and Corydon extracts it for his friend (50-51). [76] The loud and emotional goatherd's speech and acts followed up by the self-controlled and realistic cowherd's one continues.

SexualDesire

One of the conspicuous characteristics of the goatherds is their sexuality, the basic idea of which we find in *Idyll* 1:

βούτας μὲν ἐλέγευ, νῦν δ᾽ αἰπόλῳ ἀνδρὶ ἔοικας.
ὡπόλος, ὅκκ᾽ ἐσορῇ τὰς μηκάδας οἶα βατεῦνται,
τάκεται ὀφθαλμὼς ὅτι οὐ τράγος αὐτὸς ἔγεντο.

(*Id.*1.86-88)

Here, Priapus faces dying Daphnis and mocks him for his struggle for love, his 'being like a goatherd' (νῦν δ᾽ αἰπόλῳ ἀνδρὶ ἔοικας. 86). Daphnis' attitude is, according to Priapus, δύσερως and ἀμήχανος (85). δύσερως, 'feeling love-sick', or 'cursed in love' seems to refer to Daphnis' complicated attitude towards love: he is in love but not yielding himself to an easy satisfaction. ἀμήχανος in the same line, 'at a loss', reveals therefore that there is no way out of it for Daphnis. [77] The *Idylls* feature herdsmen's *eros* often largely because of their somehow intermediate position between human and animal, although of course, the herdsmen are human. This erotic side of the herdsmen is what we have observed also in the earlier literature occasionally. They possess animal-like natural passion and human-like emotional complexity. The goatherd is thought to be influenced by animal mating, to envy he-goats for their mounting of she-goats and fulfilling their

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[75] Hunter 1999: 138 suggests we may not take Battus' comment as a serious sentiment.
[76] The thorn in the foot is another popular Hellenistic motif in visual art, See Hunter 1999: 141-142.
[77] For more detailed analysis of Daphnis' love, see pages 52-3.

sexual desire and to pity himself with tears in his eyes for his own frustration. The scholia comment on line 86 as follows: [78]

Βουκόλος ὤν, φησίν, οὐ κατὰ βουκόλους ἐρᾷς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ βουκόλοι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀφροδισίων μῖξην ἐγκρατεῖς, τοὐναντίον δὲ λεγνότατοι οἱ αἰπόλοι καὶ ἡ αἰτία, ὅτι κατωφερέστεραι οὖσαι αἱ αἶγες δελεάζουσι τοὺς αἰπόλους.

παροιμία τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῶν ἡσύχων μὲν πρῶτον καὶ ἥμερων, ἔπειτα δὲ ἀγρίων. οἱ γὰρ βόες ἥμεροί εἰσιν· ἀπὸ γοῦν τῶν βοσκομένων καὶ οἳ βόσκοντες αὐτοὺς τοιοῦτοι λέγονται. αἱ δέ αἶγες ἄγριαι, παρόσον καὶ εἰς τὰ ὑψηλὰ τῶν ὁρῶν καὶ εἰς κρημνώδεις τόπους νέμονται ἀπὸ τούτων δὲ καὶ οἱ αἰπόλοι τοιοῦτοι λέγονται.

In the former one, the reader interprets that Daphnis seems to have lost self-control over his desire, which is normally a characteristic of a goatherd. The second comment implies that the goatherds' disposition is wilder than that of cowherds, which is determined by goats' wilder life than that of oxen. In the context of Daphnis' love, this ancient reader seems to imply here that a goatherd's passion is wilder than that of a cowherd. Indeed, the idea that connects goatherds and strong, uncontrollable love seems to exist throughout Theocritean pastoral. Besides, Gow suggests the reason why the goatherd is δύσερως is that goatherds are 'proverbially embarrassed in their relations with women', which leads them (and also shepherds) to other types of sexual indulgence.[79] The goatherd's desire appears repeatedly, though is seen in different ways in each of the *Idylls*.

In Comatas' case in *Idyll* 5, his love is mainly manifested as his sexual vigour. He reveals that Lacon and he used to have a physical relationship sometime in the past (41-2, 116-17), presumably with Lacon being young and Comatas taking the active role. This took place since Comatas was senior to Lacon and now Comatas talks about it to insult Lacon, for Lacon's past status of being penetrated by the elder (ἀνίκ' ἐπύγιζόν τυ, τὺ δ' ἄλγεες 41). Lacon now has grown older and tries

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[78] Wendel 1920:60-61.
[79] Gow 1952:20.

to emulate Comatas as their relationship became bitter (35-38). In his song, Comatas tells about his present love, bringing the motif of heterosexual love, which makes a contrast to homosexual one by Lacon.[80] Comatas' coarse sexuality is vividly highlightened, particularly when he compares his own past sexual behaviour with that of his animal, the he-goat:

ΚΟ. ἁνίκ᾽ ἐπύγιζόν τυ, τὺ δ᾽ ἄλγεες· αἱ δὲ χίμαιραι

αἵδε κατεβληχῶντο, καὶ ὁ τράγος αὐτὰς ἐτρύπη.

(*Id*.5.41-2)

In the end, again, the victorious image of Comatas over the shepherd is partly represented in his own description of his sexually vigorous, uncastrated he-goat, which repeatedly mounts the she-goats (147-150).

Comatas also sings about unsuccessful experience of love for a girl (5.133-4). And outside *Idyll* 5, this unsuccessful aspect of the goatherds' love, or their frustration, is typical. In fact, love in the pastoral *Idylls,* especially heterosexual love (including Comatas' case in *Id*.5.132-133), is almost always a frustration. *Eros* is shown as destroying ἀσυχία (*Id*.7.126), a desired state of mind without disturbance[81] and often it is well expressed through the goatherds. In *Idyll* 3, when the anonymous goatherds serenades Amaryllis, his love-interest does not reply to him. However, the whole tone of this *Idyll* is comical, and as Hunter suggests, we may assume this frustrated goatherd as having an erect penis, in a satyric fashion.[82] Another similarly frustrated goatherd is Battus in *Idyll* 4, if the two goatherds are different characters. Here the girl is dead and the tone is less funny than in *Idyll* 3, although still the *Idyll* does not fall into his tragedy and keeps a fairly comical, peaceful mood.

Although we have not got decisive evidence to identify the anonymous goatherd in *Idyll* 3 with Battus, or the Amaryllis there with that of *Idyll* 4, let us take a close look at *Idyll* 3 as an example of a goatherd's unrequited love motif under a comical light. This *Idyll* presents a unique κῶμος, which often takes place at night, following a symposium or another similar occasion, but here is replaced by a pastoral setting under daylight.[83] This is a dramatic poem: through his speech,

[80] See page 40.
[81] Hunter 1999:190.
[82] Hunter 1999:114.
[83] The word κῶμος refers to various types of activities. Cf. Pind. *Pyth*.522. However, the type of

the goatherd sometimes talks to himself (or unconsciously to readers) and provides readers with some information about the stage-setting or each of his actions, without being asked to, which is similar to a common feature in comedies, where characters, consciously or unconsciously, talk to the audience (e.g. Menander's *Dyscolus* 179-188, where Sostratus talks to himself).

In the opening, the innocent goatherd first addresses Tityrus, asking him to take care of his goats. The goatherd warns Tityrus against an uncastrated (ἐνόρχαν 4) Libyan he-goat, before he turns to talk about himself and his unrequited love:

Τίτυρ', ἐμὶν τὸ καλὸν πεφιλημένε, βόσκε τὰς αἶγας,
καὶ ποτὶ τὰν κράναν ἄγε, Τίτυρε· καὶ τὸν ἐνόρχαν,
τὸν Λιβυκὸν κνάκωνα, φυλάσσεο μή τυ κορύψῃ.

(*Id*.3.3-5)

As we have seen, in *Idyll* 5, a he-goat's passion represents that of the goatherd (5.41-2). In *Idyll* 3, however, the opening brings the contrast, more than close similarity, between the sexually active he-goat and his herdsman, who is now unable to gratify his passion. [84] The usage of contrasting situation of a he-goat and his herdsman is analogous to the one in *Idyll* 1.88. Those verses stress the goatherds' cleaving to sexual pleasure and its unsuccessful result. Generally, we interpret *Idyll* 3 as a hilarious comedy. A rustic, flat-nosed, ugly 'representative of goatherd' (thus he does not bear a specific name) gives trials for love in vain and despairs. He is superstitious, seeking an augury (27-33, 37) and has sincere and simple attitude leading to turgid suffering, all which are designed for our laughter, rather than anxious compassion.

Interestingly, he takes the theme of his serenade from some traditional, high, mythical loves:

Ἱππομένης, ὅκα δὴ τὰν παρθένον ἤθελε γᾶμαι,
μᾶλ' ἐν χερσὶν ἑλὼν δρόμον ἄνυεν· ἁ δ' Ἀταλάντα
ὡς ἴδεν, ὣς ἐμάνη, ὣς ἐς βαθὺν ἅλατ' ἔρωτα.

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urban κῶμος parodied in *Idyll* 3 may be similar to the one in *Idyll* 2.118-122, where Delphis says he would have come with friends to visit Simaetha for courtship. See also Hunter 1999:107-110.
[84] Hunter 1999:112.

τὰν ἀγέλαν χὠ μάντις ἀπ᾽ Ὄθρυος ἆγε Μελάμπους
ἐς Πύλον· ἁ δὲ Βίαντος ἐν ἀγκοίναισιν ἐκλίνθη
μάτηρ ἁ χαρίεσσα περίφρονος Ἀλφεσιβοίας.
τὰν δὲ καλὰν Κυθέρειαν ἐν ὤρεσι μῆλα νομεύων
οὐχ οὕτως Ὤδωνις ἐπὶ πλέον ἄγαγε λύσσας,
ὥστ᾽ οὐδὲ φθίμενόν νιν ἄτερ μαζοῖο τίθητι;
ζαλωτὸς μὲν ἐμὶν ὁ τὸν ἄτροπον ὕπνον ἰαύων
Ἐνδυμίων· ζαλῶ δέ, φίλα γύναι, Ἰασίωνα,
ὃς τόσσων ἐκύρησεν, ὅσ᾽ οὐ πευσεῖσθε, βέβαλοι.

<div align="right">(Id.3.40-51)</div>

Here, Theocritus aims at an artificial combination of cultural objects: a rustic goatherd and mythical and heroic love themes, much as he does with the whole of the poem with a countryman and a κῶμος. This works as amusing, especially because the goatherd is not quite capable of handling the high themes he brought into his serenade. He lists five men of the mythical past who received love from goddesses or their beloved women. Those examples are, however, as readers would know, without simple happy endings (e.g. Adonis loved by Aphrodite, 46-47).[85] Moreover, the huge gaps and contrasts between the mythical characters and the rustic, deluded goatherd are implied occasionally:[86] the magical apple which caught Atalanta's heart (40-43) echoes the goatherd's gift of ten apples and some more to come tomorrow (10-11), to no avail. Endymion sleeps inside the cave of the goddess (49), whereas the goatherd is to lie down outside his lover's cave (52-54). Towards the ending, when he says he is going to be eaten by wolves, we do not take it as a serious scene of his death, but still imagine him lying on the ground desperately, exactly as he said he would. In this way, the dewy-eyed goatherd's intense passion and the pain it brings, when unrequited, lend the Theocritean goatherd a comical tone.

[85] Hunter 1999:123.
[86] Halperin 1983:223-224.

How their lowliness works in the poems

Goatherds' lowliness is certainly a vigorous driving force of the Theocritean pastoral world. It makes readers laugh, and characterises the pastoral as 'realistic' and 'lowly', a unique herdsmen's world.

Firstly, the goatherds' erotic frustration presents them as non-heroic, mundane characters. This reflects a traditional view of herdsmen in general as romantic and sometimes even anti-heroic beings as we have seen in Paris in the *Iliad*. The further point is, however, the goatherds' lowly manners and the sexual nature of their love is often stressed, so that even the pain of love is understood as comical (cf. 3.10-14).

We would suggest that the goatish passion in particular is a chief Idyllic element and can be interpreted as Theocritus' favourite motif to mark the opening or the ending of the *Idylls*. For example, *Idyll* 3 opens with the goatherd's warning to his fellow goatherd against an aggressive uncastrated he-goat, implying the whole *Idyll* has the theme of the rusticity and passion. Also in *Idyll* 1, where an anonymous goatherd warns his she-goats not to jump up, (otherwise his he-goat would mount them), the goatish ending is a clear indicator of the rusticity:

ὦ δ' ἴθι, Κισσαίθα· τὺ δ' ἄμελγέ νιν. αἱ δὲ χίμαιραι,
οὐ μὴ σκιρτασῆτε, μὴ ὁ τράγος ὕμμιν ἀναστῇ.

(*Id*.1.151-152)

It functions primarily to represent the rustic setting: the pastoral version of *ecphrasis* by the goatherd[87] and Thyrsis' elaborate song of Daphnis somehow elevate the atmosphere to sophistication, but the goatish ending draws this down back to the 'realistic' setting in the countryside.[88] The same sort of ending is set also in *Idyll* 5. Theocritus' intention in those goatish endings and opening is to show the rustic passion to laugh at as something very coarse and to admire at the same time, for its simple, natural energy.

Other rustic features of the goatherds also play a considerable part of the *Idylls*. In *Idyll* 4, for

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[87] For the *ecphrasis* and the goatherd, see page 65.
[88] See Gow 1952:32.

instance, Battus' loud character brings in rustic incidents from one after another to this εἰδύλλιον 'small picture'[89] of the countryside: a cunning idea of the theft of trivial material (cow's milk), his innocent, cheeky attitude when he says he would match the legendary boxer Polydeuces (9), an exaggerated description of the suffering of driver-less cows, his own suffering of love-loss, a fussing of his interest in gossiping (including an erotic topic in 58-9). The rapid changes of topics may tell us of Battus' attempts to hold the initiative in conversation against the cowherd. At the same time, it functions for fuller picture of 'countryside' in the dramatic frame of the poem. It is very important to note that the goatherds' rusticity for readers' amusement characterise some of the *Idylls* as 'realistic', which partly contributes to their ironical atmosphere of the Theocritean *Idylls,* in contrast, as Halperin suggests, to Vergil's more sentimental world of the *Eclogues*,[90] for example, *Eclogue* 1 with the poet's deep sympathy with the goatherd Meliboeus.

The bucolic world is, in many cases, in its full meanings, or defined clearly, by oppositions with the pre-existing patterns and motifs in literature[91] and the goatherds' rusticity often serves to highlight this opposition. Primarily, Theocritean 'countryside' exists to present some contrasts with the 'city' and Theocritus occasionally shows the gap explicitly. As we discussed previously, *Idyll* 3 gives a rustic *paraklausithyron*,[92] a parody of an urban practice. When the goatherd sings, we do not think that a real goatherd at that age would have done the same thing to court his woman: making use of the style of an urban form, Theocritus turns it into a comedy by adding a rustic setting. Readers enjoy the unusual combination of rusticity against urbanity, or rather, are amused by a rustic goatherd, who unconsciously and awkwardly is put in to a role of an urban lover, sings a *komos*-like serenade without success and ends up in a comical misfortune. By doing so, the goatherd highlights his own rusticity and innocence, which readers expect to see in the countryside as typically 'bucolic'.

By describing some goatherds, the bucolic realm presents a very different world, not only from the 'city', but also from 'the heroic past' in literature including the traditional hexameter epic.

[89] For the term εἰδύλλιον, see Gutzwiller 1996:129-133.
[90] Halperin 1983:1-23. See also Hubbard 2006 in Fantuzzi-Papanghelis 2006:499-513. See also pages 92-6.
[91] Halperin 1983:249.
[92] *Paraklausithyron*: 'lament at the door' by a *komast* rejected by his lover. cf. Plut. *Mor.* 753b.

When Battus the goatherd and Corydon chatter away about people around them, mainly about the absent cowherd and his highly-sexed father, we are amazed to realise how wide a range of themes hexameter poetry has come to cover. Theocritus brings some motifs which look on their surface traditionally heroic or tragic to these herdsmen's daily chatting. But, after all, those motifs highlight the non-heroic, non-tragic aspect of the *Idyll*. The same sort of gap between the rustic goatherd and the legendary past in his failed song is what we observe in *Idyll* 3.

Relationship to the earlier goatherd

Theocritus, in the creation of his own goatherds, makes a playful challenge to our view of an earlier literary goatherd. When we read *Idyll* 5, we ask ourselves why the goatherd wins over the shepherd in the singing match. This question, seeming simple on its surface, holds a clue to Theocritus' intention in his making of the new goatherd, especially in the final lines of the *Idyll*, where Comatas declares his victory, which contains a significant Homeric allusion (5.150).

As I stated above, Comatas is very goatish and coarse, as stressed in his bad smell and his mentions of sexual desire and his display of aggressiveness. Many interpretations have been introduced so far, concerning how Comatas wins, or Lacon loses the match, with regard to the Theocritean rules of amoebaean singing-contests, singer's skills and techniques. [93] The contents of

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[93] From Comatas' speech in the lines 76-7, some interpreters have suggested that 'speaking truth' is the unmentioned rule of this singing match and this is the point Lacon misses in his final lines 134-5, when he tells that he gave a syrinx to Eumedes, cf. Serrao 1975:86.

KO. βέντισθ' οὗτος, ἐγὼ μὲν ἀλαθέα πάντ' ἀγορεύω
  κοὐδὲν καυχέομαι· τύγα μὰν φιλοκέρτομος ἐσσί.

(*Id.*5.76-7)

Then, some scholars suggested that in lines 134-5, in his last singing, Lacon dishonestly mentions the name of the second lover, or having given the syrinx which he says was stolen by Comatas in lines 3-4, actually to his own lover. Cf. Schmidt 1976 suggests the syrinx of lines 3-4 is different from the one in lines 134-5, but still Lacon tells a lie because a syrinx is too expensive for a slave to possess two of them, although Crane 1988 does not think this type of syrinx is expensive. However, some other interpreters do not support 'truthfulness' as a rule in the singing match, because Comatas also speaks implausibly of his having a bowl of 'Praxiteles' in line 105. From these lines, Gutzwiller 1991 does not believe this singing match contributes to the poetics of bucolic singing and suggests this is merely an agon of persuading and deceiving the others, which is derived from the herdsmen's tradition of cattle-theft.

eachcoupletareasfollows.Forexample,inthefi   rstcouplet,Comatassingsthatheislovedbythe

Muses,followedbyLaconsingingthatheislovedb   yApollo.Thecontentsofeachpieceofsong

makeacontrast,basedonthesamethemes.

	Comatas	Lacon
80-3(1)	· Comatas,belovedoftheMuses · animaloffered(2goat-kids)	· Lacon,belovedofApollo · animaltobeoffered(1lamb)
84-7(2)	· Self-praiseofwealth(twinkids)& ofhavingbeingtalkedtobyagirl	· Self-praiseofwealth(richincheese)& ofsuccessfullovewithaboy
88-91(3)	· Self-praiseofhavingreceivedasweetvoicefroma girl (Clearista)	· Self-praiseofhavinghadavisitfromabeautiful boy (Cratidas)
92-5(4)	· Rosemorebeautifulthananemoneanddog-rose (allusiontoheterosexuallove?)	· Applessweaterthanacorn (allusiontohomosexual love?)
96-9(5)	· Agifttoagirl(ApigeontoClearista?)	· Agifttoaboy(FleecetoCratidus)
100-3(6)	· Addressedtogoats	· Addressedtosheep
104-7(7)	· Self-praiseforrichgiftstothegirl(abucketan dabowl byPraxiteles)	· Self-praiseforarichgifttotheboy(agood shepherd-dog)
108-11(8)	· Abraketovermin(grasshoppers)	· LacondrivingComatasjustlikecicadasdriveareape rs
112-5(9)	· Damagecausedbyvermin(foxes)	· Damagecausedbyvermin(beetles)
116-9(10)	· Recallingtheirpastsexualintercourse(mocking Lacon)	· RecallingapunishmentonComatasbyhismaster (mockingComatas)
120-3(11)	· AddresstoMorson(mockingLacon)	· AddresstoMorson(mockingComatas)
124-7(12)	· WishingtheGoldenAgetocome(abundantmilk, wineandnuts)	· WishingtheGoldenAgetocome(abundanthoneyto beladledbytheboy)
128-31(13)	· Goodpastureforgoats · Idealherdingplace	· Goodpastureforsheep · Idealherdingplace
132-5(14)	· Agifttoanothergirlinthepast(apigeontoAlc ippa) · Akissshefailedtoreceive	· Agifttoanotherboyinthepast(asyrinxtoEume des) · Akisssuccessfullyreceived
136-7(15)	· CriticismofLacon(theendofthematch)	

Some readers focus on the crucial lines, where the   singing match ends with Comatas' lines,

pointingoutLacon'slowerability.Köhnkensuggest   sthatLaconlostbecausehecouldnotperform

hisnextlineafterComatas'promptly.   [94] Thatistosay,Laconcouldnotpreparehislines,   then

stoppedandlost.Thisideaconcernslines20-23,w   hereLaconsayshewillsinguntilComatas

'givesup'(διαείσομαι ἔστε κ' ἀπείπῃς).Sofar,thisideatoproveLacon'slesserabilit   yinsinging

seemspersuasive.

        InthissectionwewillpayattentiontohowwellL   acon'slinesrespondtoComatas',inorder

todemonstrateLacon'sfaultinhistooboastfulat   titude.MostofComatas'phrasesareveryclosely

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[94] SeeKöhnken1980.   SeealsoGow1952:93andGutzwiller1991:139.Rad   t1971andPagliaro 1974findfaultwithLacon'slastlines,whereher   epeatsthesamewordsfromComatas'lines.

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followed by Lacon's in their contents, except the two below.

(a) Lines 108-111 (8th couplet)

ΚΟ. ἀκρίδες, αἳ τὸν φραγμὸν ὑπερπαδῆτε τὸν ἁμόν,
    μή μευ λωβάσησθε τὰς ἀμπέλος· ἐντὶ γὰρ αὖαι.
ΛΑ. τοὶ τέττιγες, ὁρῆτε τὸν αἰπόλον ὡς ἐρεθίζω·
    οὕτω κὔμμες θην ἐρεθίζετε τὼς καλαμευτάς.

Here, both of them refer to insects' influence on people. However, Lacon mentions the goatherd, trying to agitate Comatas and showing off his own anticipated victory. [95] It is not clear in which sense Lacon thinks his late comments are provoking Comatas (τὸν αἰπόλον ὡς ἐρεθίζω 110). Probably, he is referring to his ability so far in catching up with Comatas' rendering new topics, and Comatas may soon run out of meaningful couplets.

(b) Lines 132-5 (14th couplet)

ΚΟ. οὐκ ἔραμ' Ἀλκίππας, ὅτι με πρᾶν οὐκ ἐφίλησε
    τῶν ὤτων καθελοῖσ', ὅκα οἱ τὰν φάσσαν ἔδωκα.
ΛΑ. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ Εὐμήδευς ἔραμαι μέγα· καὶ γὰρ ὅκ' αὐτῷ
    τὰν σύριγγ' ὤρεξα, καλόν τί με κάρτ' ἐφίλησεν.

As far as this couplet Lacon's rustic self-praise had followed those by Comatas. Here, however, Comatas speaks of his unrequited love, whereas Lacon still shows off his own success in his love-affair. Respecting this point, some scholars assume there must have been an unmentioned rule of the amoebaean singing match that the second singer should follow the first singer's lines very closely, that is to say, in this couplet, Lacon also should have sung about unrequited gift to a lover[96].

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[95] According to Gutzwiller, Lacon is leading at this point, because Comatas' 'grasshopper' couplet 'seems to lack relevance to the context'. See Gutzwiller 1991:140.
[96] Cf. Ott 1969:33.

In addition, we note the characteristics of Lacon seen in lines (a) 108-111 and (b) 132-5, which seem to be criticised in the following lines by Comatas.

ΚΟ. ὅστις νικασεῖν τὸν πλατίον ὡς τὺ πεποίθεις,
  σφὰξ βομβέων τέττιγος ἐναντίον. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔτι
  ὤριφος ἰσοπαλής τοι, ἴδ’ ὁ τράγος οὗτος· ἔρισδε.

(*Id.*5.28-30)

ΚΟ. οὐ θεμιτόν, Λάκων, ποτ’ ἀηδόνα κίσσας ἐρίσδειν,
  οὐδ’ ἔποπας κύκνοισι· τὺ δ’, ὦ τάλαν, ἐσσὶ φιλεχθής.

(*Id.*5.136-7)

Here, Comatas seems to be convinced of his own victory, taking Lacon to be a lesser singer than himself. Still, Lacon tried to show his higher capability in love-affairs and even singing, in vain. There, we might even suppose younger Lacon's bravado is brought forth by his pride in his higher status than that of Comatas.

Now let us go on to a question from a slightly different point of view: why the winner is a goatherd, not a shepherd. We may suppose many justifications are combined. Lawall understands Comatas as one of Theocritus' favourite figures, 'the passionate desirous lover', just like Simaetha in *Idyll* 2.[97] This idea is simple, but well identifies the goatish passion as a highlighted Idyllic element. Kossaifi suggests that Comatas, being a goatherd, has a close relationship to Pan the pastoral god and this is the reason for his victory.[98]

It seems almost certain that Theocritus sees this goatish character in a positive light, especially for his goatishness. Besides, according to what we have concluded about the hierarchy, perhaps Theocritus was aiming at a playful inversion of the characters' singing ability as against their status. When we reach the end of the poem, the Homeric allusion, we notice Theocritus'

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[97] Lawall 1967:64-5
[98] Kossaifi 2002 argues that Comatas is in favour of Pan, whereas Lacon is dear to Apollo, and as Pan is the central god in the bucolic world, Comatas is the supposed winner, even before the singing-match.

intention to show his goatherd as victorious, in clear contrast with the Homeric goatherd, which may show even Theocritus' challenge to the characterisation based on the pastoral hierarchy:

ΚΟ. πεμψῶ, ναὶ τὸν Πᾶνα. φριμάσσεο, πᾶσα τραγίσκων

    νῦν ἀγέλα· κἠγὼν γὰρ ἴδ’ ὡς μέγα τοῦτο καχαξῶ

    καττῶ Λάκωνος τῶ ποιμένος, ὅττι ποκ’ ἤδη

    ἀνυσάμαν τὰν ἀμνόν· ἐς ὠρανὸν ὕμμιν ἀλεῦμαι.

    αἶγες ἐμαί, θαρσεῖτε, κερουχίδες· αὔριον ὕμμε

    πάσας ἐγὼ λουσῶ Συβαρίτιδος ἔνδοθι λίμνας.

    οὗτος ὁ λευκίτας ὁ κορυπτίλος, εἴ τιν’ ὀχευσεῖς

    τᾶν αἰγῶν, φλασσῶ τυ, πρὶν ἢ ἐμὲ καλλιερῆσαι

    ταῖς Νύμφαις τὰν ἀμνόν. ὃ δ’ αὖ πάλιν. ἀλλὰ γενοίμαν,

    αἰ μή τυ φλάσσαιμι, Μελάνθιος ἀντὶ Κομάτα.

<div align="center">(Id.5.141-150)</div>

Comatas promises Morson that he will send a share of the sheep meat to Morson. Then, he boasts of his own triumph over the shepherd (ἴδ’ ὡς μέγα τοῦτο καχαξῶ καττῶ Λάκωνος τῶ ποιμένος). Comatas encourages his she-goats to leap, (φριμάσσεο) with joy. Also, he tells them to take courage (θαρσεῖτε). Beside the delighted goatherd and his goats, a lamb, the stake in the singing-match, is waiting to be sacrificed. As the goatherd won the match, the life of a he-goat is saved, as the stake proposed from Comatas was a he-goat (ἴδ’ ὁ τράγος οὗτος 30). Certainly, the goats and the goatherd are the protagonists and presented in a positive light.

    Towards the end, Comatas addresses his he-goat. According to critics, the term φλασσῶ, 'break' implies 'castrate' in this context.[99] Comatas warns the he-goat not to mount on she-goats and cries out that if he does not castrate the he-goat which still keeps on mounting, he 'would be Melanthius (Comatas himself would be castrated)'.[100] Here Theocritus reminds his readers of the

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[99] Gow 1952:117.

[100] If we take Comatas' threat literally, we need to think about why Comatas has to be castrated unless he castrates his goat. So far, one explanation is given to a question why the he-goat cannot mount a she-goat, from a religious perspective. Dover points out that, in ancient Greece, humans had to avoid sexual intercourse in sanctuaries or before religious acts like sacrifice, and here Comatas applies this rule even to his he-goat with humour. See Dover 1971:140. From these lines,

<div align="center">47</div>

end of Melanthius, who was castrated and put to death by Odysseus and his comrades. Why castration if the he-goat mounts? We read two points by the poet here: threatening castration as a joke which further highlights the goat's passion, and Melanthius, whose image was evoked through the sexual joke, to be contrasted with the successful goatherd. We do not necessarily have to believe Comatas is indeed cruelly eager to castrate his he-goat, but rather he is humorously showing off the goatish passion. Comatas' attitude towards she-goats is not hostile, as he and the he-goat are analogous in their sexuality, which we have seen in that he compares the image of his own past sexual intercourse with Lacon to that of a he-goat with a she-goat (*Id.*5.41-2). This, what we may call a goatish ending, is a celebration of the lowly sexuality and rustic liveliness embodied in Comatas and his goats: the coarse impression from Comatas' speech about castration reveals that Comatas' and goats' coarse sexuality still has a dismissive meaning designed for readers' laughter. At the same time, there is a sense of admiration of natural energy of sex and life, when Theocritus places Comatas and the he-goat among she-goats rejoicing with their master's victory over the shepherd.

Theocritus let Comatas talk of Melanthius, an epic character. The unique combination of rustic goatherds and 'high literature' motifs are what we have observed also in *Idyll* 3. However, the main difference between *Idylls* 3 and 5 is that while the anonymous goatherd's poor handling of the mythical themes in his song results chiefly in the increasing gap between the funny, naïve rustic and the mythical past, Comatas is in control of his own situation and eloquent enough to assert himself to be the protagonist of the new kind of hexameter poetry.

Zanker suggests that this confrontation of lowly Comatas (new epic) and Melanthius (old one) 'merely serves to underline how far down we have come in the epic world'[101] and he finds this phenomenon can be interpreted within the Hellenistic cultural trends, in which, for instance, lowly figures were described in highly stylised marble sculptures, nevertheless retaining their associations of disadvantage in order to highlight the wealthy owner's prominent social status. This

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Segal tries to seek striking differences between the anonymous goatherd in *Idyll* 1 and Comatas, taking the former as generous and harmoniously 'idyllic' not to kill animals but to offer milk instead of meat and the latter as threatening and realistic in his sacrifice of animals. See Segal 1981: 192. However, we may not emphasize the 'idyllic' aspect of *Id.*1 too much, as grotesqueness is always there juxtaposed with ideal and unrealistic harmony of the pastoral world also in *Id.*1. cf. *Id.*1.1-6. There, Thyrsis talks about the taste of goat-kid's meat. For Idyllic grotesqueness, see Hutchinson 1988: 148-150.

[101] Zanker 2004: 132

seems true, when the 'realistic' *Idylls* are designed for urban readers' laughter. However, at the same time, it also seems irrefutable that Theocritus let the lowly Comatas not only to avoid being Melanthius, but also to convey the radical poetic message of challenging the traditional value of favouring those who are in higher status. This makes us think that some post-Theocritean positive descriptions of rustic characters, which we will discuss later in chapter 3, (e.g. the rustic pride of the cowherd in *Idyll* 20, Longus' tributes to Theocritean goatherds and Vergil's symphathy towards Meliboeus, who had spent all his life in the countryside) may be rooted in Theocritus' way of favouring the goatherds, the embodied rusticity.

Non-lowly characteristics of goatherd

Theocritean goatherds are fascinatingly multidimensional. Now we focus on non-lowly aspect of the goatherd, the mysterious Lycidas in *Idyll* 7. He has a very goatherd-like appearance as we have seen before, but without a herd of goats. The unmentioned goats imply either that Lycidas is alone, temporarily away from his duty to his goats, that Simichidas sees goats but intends to emphasise a picture of the goatherd's humble appearance alone, or that Lycidas is not a simple goatherd. Here we do not find any address to goats by goatherds, which we find in some other *Idylls* emphasising the lowly, 'realistic' picture of goat herds (cf. *Id.*1.151-2, 5.1-2). Where has Lycidas come from? Simichidas plainly tells that they 'met' (εὕρομες 13) Lycidas on the way. Thus it is not clearly stated where Lycidas has come from, what he has been doing, when he meets Simichidas. He comes up suddenly and talks only to Simichidas. (19-21) Simichidas' two friends, Eucritus and Amyntas, rejoin the story line to Simichidas' narrative only after Lycidas has left them (131).

It has been pointed out that, in the setting of this encounter scene, there is an allusion to the *Odyssey* 17.204-232, where Odysseus in disguise and Eumaeus meet Melanthius. The goatherd is on the way to town and casts insulting words on Odysseus and Eumaeus. [102] Just before those lines, Homer describes a lovely fountain (κρήνην τυκτὴν καλλίροον 205-206) with legendary origin, surrounded with poplars (αἰγείρων ὑδατοτρεφέων 208) at which they found the goatherd and

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[102] Hunter 1999:146-148.

Theocritus traces over this to set a fountain (Βούριναν κράναν 6) with poplar trees (αἴγειροι 8) in the opening of the *Idyll* 7. The fountain is set there actually to introduce the noble family Simichidas is visiting at the time, as the ancestor of the family, Chalcon (6) is the mythical founder of the fountain. Concurrently, the fountain with a Homeric allusion supports the entry of a Theocritean goatherd. As well as in the ending of *Idyll* 5, here, the poet expects readers to compare Homeric goatherd with his own. After presenting Lycidas as a very goatherd-like figure, what we expect a goatherd to look like (13-14), Theocritus turns to hint at the nature of Lycidas. In contrast to Melanthius' aggressive attitude and abusive words, Lycidas' smile and pleasantry follow (καί μ' ἀτρέμας εἶπε σεσαρὼς ὄμματι μειδιόωντι, γέλως δέ οἱ εἴχετο χείλευς 19-20). The cool ἀτρέμας smile tells Lycidas' confidence in facing Simichidas. Theocritus seems to enjoy fashioning his own goatherd by reviewing the Archaic model carefully in *Idyll* 7 as well as in *Idyll* 5.

Besides, this encounter scene is designed to evoke Homeric encounters between humans and gods.[103] For example, in the *Odyssey* 13.217-235, Athena appears to aid Odysseus in disguise as a young shepherd. Odysseus meets her, failing to recognise her as the goddess and invents a false story of him to conceal his own identity. Then, the goddess smiles, reveals herself and tells Odysseus to stop the attempts to deceive each other. Although Athena sees everything from above and is never deceived, she also appreciates Odysseus' bold attitude as a tactician. Her divine smile conveys her superiority over Odysseus and her acknowledgement of his cleverness at the same time. This Homeric meeting of the two tacticians, one divine and one human, is particularly important for our reading of the Lycidas-Simichidas encounter.

With hints of epic goatherd/divine encounters with humans, Lycidas is introduced, not as a simple countryman, but as someone greater than Simichidas in their field, bucolic singing. Lycidas somehow holds a dual identity: lowly goatherd and divine figure. So even his smell of rennet comes to convey his mysterious air: often epiphany is accompanied with a sweet aroma from the god (e.g. *h.Dem.* 275-280), but Lycidas carries quite a different kind of odour.[104]

Lycidas is friendly, polite but sarcastic. There is always a sense of advantage in him. The following speech tells more about himself and Simichidas:

[103] See Puelma 1960 for discussion on *Idyll* 7 as Dichterweihe.
[104] Hunter 1999:157.

Σιμιχίδα, πᾷ δὴ τὺ μεσαμέριον πόδας ἕλκεις,

ἀνίκα δὴ καὶ σαῦρος ἐν αἱμασιαῖσι καθεύδει,

οὐδ' ἐπιτυμβίδιοι κορυδαλλίδες ἠλαίνοντι;

ἦ μετὰ δαῖτ' ἄκλητος ἐπείγεαι, ἤ τινος ἀστῶν

λανὸν ἔπι θρῴσκεις; ὥς τοι ποσὶ νισσομένοιο

πᾶσα λίθος πταίοισα ποτ' ἀρβυλίδεσσιν ἀείδει.

<div align="right">(Id.7.21-26)</div>

Lycidas asks about Simichidas' journey, noting it is now mid-day, time for rest, [105] just as the anonymous goatherd in *Idyll* 1 says the following:

οὐ θέμις, ὦ ποιμήν, τὸ μεσαμβρινὸν οὐ θέμις ἄμμιν

συρίσδεν. τὸν Πᾶνα δεδοίκαμες· ἦ γὰρ ἀπ' ἄγρας

τανίκα κεκμακὼς ἀμπαύεται· ἔστι δὲ πικρός,

καί οἱ ἀεὶ δριμεῖα χολὰ ποτὶ ῥινὶ κάθηται.

<div align="right">(Id.1.15-18)</div>

The anonymous goatherd respects Pan by not bothering this pastoral god at mid-day. It seems also in *Idyll* 7 that resting at mid-day is taken as a bucolic norm. At the same time, this may be another clue to Lycidas' identity: Simichidas' mid-day journey could have bothered a pastoral divinity, Lycidas, since the Greeks often told the stories of humans who encountered gods around noon, although, often for unfavourable results. [106]

Lycidas, whether a god or just a goatherd, lives according to θέμις, nature's law (1.15) in the bucolic world, having a rest at mid-day, whereas Simichidas does not and he seems as if he is urging on (ἐπείγεαι 24) or darting off (θρῴσκεις 25) to somewhere in a townsman's manner. Then he continues to make fun of the sound caused by the boots of Simichidas (26). Simichidas with boots is not as rustic or does not fit as naturally into the bucolic countryside as Lycidas does. Lycidas humorously describes a pebble striking against Simichidas' boots and singing (λίθος

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[105] For the similarity with Hermes' address to Priam in *Il.*24.362-363, see Hunter 1999:158.
[106] e.g. Teiresias in Call. *H.*5, Erysichthon in Call. *H.*6.

πταίοισα ποτ' ἀρβυλίδεσσιν ἀείδει 26) and derives a bucolic joy of music from the environment. Thus Simichidas notices that he has stepped into the bucolic realm (of his own imagination). Here, it seems that Lycidas is more than a mere goatherd. Rather, we may understand Lycidas represents 'the bucolic poetry' in Theocritus.

Unlike Athena in the *Odyssey* Book 13, who is disguised as a shepherd, though still with noble atmosphere (οἷοί τε ἀνάκτων παῖδες ἔασι 13.223) and fine garments, Lycidas is a rustic himself, as a character. The simple goatskin bound to his body (λασίοιο δασύτριχος εἶχε τράγοιο κνακὸν 15-16) symbolises what he is. He is closer to nature, looks like a more 'realistic' down-to-earth herdsman than the legendary noble cowherd Daphnis. Lycidas stands for rusticity, 'naturalness' and 'reality' of the bucolic world in Simichidas' imagination, although even 'naturalness' itself is a creation. Simichidas, an alter-ego of Theocritus, takes a trip to the Theocritean bucolic world, [107] where Theocritus has set norms, such as the *themis* of mid-day rest, one's attitude as a singer, and bucolic 'rusticity'. Lycidas is designed to meet the norms and therefore appear as a 'typical', 'natural' goatherd.

Lycidas, although he is a rustic in one side, is not as lowly or as comical as the other goatherds. As far as Lycidas' love is concerned, the goatish sexuality is quite absent. The unrequited love motif is seen in him as well as in the other goatherds, when he sings about Ageanax (7.52-62), although this does not quite exhibit Lycidas' romantic attitude as lowly. Although he describes his own love as fierce (τὸν Λυκίδαν ὀπτεύμενον ἐξ Ἀφροδίτας 55, θερμὸς γὰρ ἔρως αὐτῶ με καταίθει. 56), in his song he is already in the ideal state of mind to accept the ending of his love and is released from the pain:

χἀ στιβὰς ἐσσεῖται πεπυκασμένα ἔστ' ἐπὶ πᾶχυν
κνύζᾳ τ' ἀσφοδέλῳ τε πολυγνάμπτῳ τε σελίνῳ.
καὶ πίομαι μαλακῶς μεμναμένος Ἀγεάνακτος
αὐταῖς ἐν κυλίκεσσι καὶ ἐς τρύγα χεῖλος ἐρείδων.

(*Id.*7.67-70)

The main difference between Lycidas' and the other goatherds' love lies in the fact that Lycidas

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[107] Payne 2007:154.

handles well his own love as a theme in his song in which his stance regarding himself and his love is quite self-possessed, whereas the other goatherd's love songs reveal mainly their obsession with the love. The subject of the song shifts later to the bucolic heroes whom Lycidas' heart goes out to. These motifs, the acceptance of the love-loss and the adoration to the pastoral legends, make Lycidas' verses rich in peaceful sentiments.

In Lycidas' song, he dreams of himself drinking with his friends, while one of them, Tityrus, sings about Daphnis' love and Comatas' suffering and protection of Comatas by the Muses (72-89). Lycidas' song ends with an address to Comatas (83-89) and, interestingly, the two goatherds have some similarities, or Lycidas duplicates himself with Comatas. According to Segal, the same words are used to describe both goatherds in many lines: 'Both are associated with sweetness (20/21, 42; 82, 89); both "recline" (66 and 89); both have "toiled" (ἐξεπόνασα, 51; ἐξεπόνασας, 85).' [108] As a theme, having 'toiled' seems important. In his song, Lycidas imagines himself drinking peacefully, listening to the friend's music after being released from his serious love-sickness (63-70) and then, dreams of Comatas, who once suffered from his master's harsh treatment, now, if he still existed, sitting under a tree and singing while Lycidas tends Comatas' goats. A motif of peaceful moments with songs for goatherds after their suffering is repeated here.

ὦ μακαριστὲ Κομᾶτα, τύ θην τάδε τερπνὰ πεπόνθεις·
καὶ τὺ κατεκλάσθης ἐς λάρνακα, καὶ τὺ μελισσᾶν
κηρία φερβόμενος ἔτος ὥριον ἐξεπόνασας.
αἴθ' ἐπ' ἐμεῦ ζωοῖς ἐναρίθμιος ὤφελες ἦμεν,
ὥς τοι ἐγὼν ἐνόμευον ἀν' ὤρεα τὰς καλὰς αἶγας
φωνᾶς εἰσαΐων, τὺ δ' ὑπὸ δρυσὶν ἢ ὑπὸ πεύκαις
ἁδὺ μελισδόμενος κατεκέκλισο, θεῖε Κομᾶτα.'

(*Id.*7.83-89)

Although Lycidas' status in the society is blurred (either he is a freeman or slave), his existence as a goatherd is used to describe one distinctive type of bucolic singer. Comatas' suffering caused from his low social status contrasts with and even highlights his poetic talent, a gift from the Muses

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[108] Segal 1974:125.

(οὕνεκά οἱ γλυκὺ Μοῖσα κατὰ στόματος χέε νέκταρ.82), which saves him from death and later leads him to receive such an honour as to be sung by another herdsman. This combination of humbleness and poetic brilliance is precisely what Lycidas manifests in his outward appearance (13-14) and smile (19-20).

Lycidas does not represent a real goatherd in the field of this time in his attitude or poetic knowledge. Lycidas as a character is much idealised, being humble in appearance and status, but has a divine smile, [109] by which he shows agreement and appreciation to Simichidas. His manner is sophisticated, mild and much less aggressive, compared, for instance, to the goatherd and shepherd in the *Idyll* 5. We do not necessarily have to assume Lycidas to be a particular god. [110] Rather, Lycidas is still a goatherd, just as he looks, idealised to be a symbol of the bucolic poetry.

We may be able to see in Lycidas how the Theocritean meaning of 'countryside' fluctuates. As we have observed before, the goatherds often embody the rusticity of the pastoral world: the countryside as rural and unsophisticated. However, through Lycidas, 'the country' is also idealised as 'inspiring the art of poetry'. Although the opposition of 'country' and 'city' is quite prominent in *Idyll* 7, the countryside and rusticity itself is much idealised here so that the character's rustic manner is not facetious, but even culturally or spiritually high, implying it to be somehow close to divine: Lycidas' dual existence as a rustic character and also as the embodiment of the bucolic poetry elevates the meaning of 'rusticity'.

[109] Hunter 1999:157.
[110] cf. William 1978 discusses Lycidas as Apollo. Some readers take Lycidas as actual poets e.g. Bowie 1985 interprets Lycidas as Philetas.

2.3 *Cowherds: Nobility and Tragedy*

Noble characteristics of Cowherds

The cowherds in the *Idylls* are, in many cases, contradistinctive to the goatherds. A noble and heroic aspect is often stressed in them, which Daphnis represents well. Also, he exhibits tragic features, which makes him the archetypal bucolic legend. In *Idyll* 1, Thyrsis the shepherd sings for a goatherd a song about a legendary cowherd, Daphnis' suffering and death. According to Diodorus Siculus 4.84, Daphnis was a Sicilian cowherd, born to Hermes and a nymph, nurtured by nymphs to be the inventor of the bucolic poem and song (ἐξευρεῖν τὸ βουκολικὸν ποίημα καὶ μέλος). Diodorus also tells of Daphnis' connection to Artemis and a famous romance that a nymph loved Daphnis and he was blinded for having slept with another woman. [111]

Thyrsis wonders where the Nymphs had gone to when Daphnis was dying and implies that they could have saved Daphnis' life if they had been there beside him.

Ἄρχετε βουκολικᾶς, Μοῖσαι φίλαι, ἄρχετ’ ἀοιδᾶς.
Θύρσις ὅδ’ ὡξ Αἴτνας, καὶ Θύρσιδος ἀδέα φωνά.
πᾷ ποκ’ ἄρ’ ἦσθ’, ὅκα Δάφνις ἐτάκετο, πᾷ ποκα, Νύμφαι;

(*Id.*1.64-6)

Indeed, Daphnis was close to the Nymphs and also to the Muses (τὸν Μοίσαις φίλον ἄνδρα, τὸν οὐ Νύμφαισιν ἀπεχθῆ 141). Thyrsis continues to tell who came to meet dying Daphnis: wild animals including lions (71-2), many oxen and cows (74-5), then Hermes (77), [112] the three kinds of herdsmen in the pastoral hierarchical order (80) and Priapus, who teases Daphnis.

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[111] According to Gow, Diodorus’ version is based on Timaeus’ account. For a summary of different versions of Daphnis’ legends, see Gow 1952: 1-2. For Daphnis and a hypothesis of a Sicilian origin of bucolic poetry, see Rosenmeyer 1969: 32-33. The idea of Daphnis as a hero-founder of bucolic poetry seems to date back at least to Stesichorus: Fanuzzi-Hunter 2004: 138.

[112] Hermes appears either because of his mythical parentage to Daphnis, or his being the pastoral god, the latter of which is implied in line 77, Hermes ‘from the mountain’ ἀπ’ ὤρεος. See Gow 1952: 19. Priapus may be a son of Hermes, which makes him Daphnis’ brother.

κἦφα 'Δάφνι τάλαν, τί τὺ τάκεαι; ἁ δέ τυ κώρα

πάσας ἀνὰ κράνας, πάντ' ἄλσεα ποσσὶ φορεῖται—

   ἄρχετε βουκολικᾶς, Μοῖσαι φίλαι, ἄρχετ' ἀοιδᾶς—

ζάτεισ'· ἆ δύσερώς τις ἄγαν καὶ ἀμήχανος ἐσσί.

βούτας μὲν ἐλέγευ, νῦν δ' αἰπόλῳ ἀνδρὶ ἔοικας.

                                        (*Id*.1.82-86)

We wonder where Daphnis' suffering, τὰ Δάφνιδος ἄλγε' (19), comes from, when Priapus tells the girl (ἁ κώρα 82) is indeed in search of Daphnis. Daphnis' love sickness is not as straightforward as loving somebody and not being loved back, if we assume that the girl is the one he actually loves. For the reason of his untypical frustration, we may try to grasp the background story by turning to some folktales related to him.[113] However, none of those extant gives clear answer to why he does not want to gratify his passion for the girl. Rather, it seems a Hippolytus-like sense of chastity dominates Daphnis and the link to Hippolytus is even stressed when he stands in opposition to Aphrodite (100-103).[114] He felt strong love for a girl, but does not allow himself to indulge in it, even when the pain of unfulfilled passion is driving him to death.

Priapus continues to give a metaphorical comparison of Daphnis with a goatherd. It is meant as mockery of Daphnis, in a way that Priapus assimilates Daphnis to the lowlier herdsman. This indicates Daphnis' passion as very strong (even to the extent that it is similar to that of a goatherd). However, there still seem a difference between goatherd's wish and Daphnis'.

ὡπόλος, ὅκκ' ἐσορῇ τὰς μηκάδας οἷα βατεῦνται,

τάκεται ὀφθαλμὼς ὅτι οὐ τράγος αὐτὸς ἔγεντο.

   ἄρχετε βουκολικᾶς, Μοῖσαι φίλαι, ἄρχετ' ἀοιδᾶς.

καὶ τὺ δ' ἐπεί κ' ἐσορῇς τὰς παρθένος οἷα γελᾶντι,

τάκεαι ὀφθαλμὼς ὅτι οὐ μετὰ ταῖσι χορεύεις.

                                        (*Id*.1.87-91)

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[113] Gow 1952:1-2. Gutzwiller 1991:95.
[114] Gow 1952:2.

The goatherd cries (τάκεται ὀφθαλμὼς 88), envying he-goats for their sexual indulgence, and Daphnis cries because he is unable to join dancing maidens. If the point Priapus makes in the analogy is that neither of the goatherd or Daphnis can transform into he-goats or dancing maidens, both of whom are free from erotic frustration, [115] the goatherd's *eros* seems designed wilder and simpler: he wishes to fulfil his sexual passions simply as he-goats do. Daphnis, on the other hand, wishes rather to be literally free from the passion, or not even feel it.

Daphnis' heroic aspect is reinforced when he faces Aphrodite. He does not give up his struggle against Eros:

τὰν δ' ἄρα χὠ Δάφνις ποταμείβετο· Κύπρι βαρεῖα,
Κύπρι νεμεσσατά, Κύπρι θνατοῖσιν ἀπεχθής,
ἤδη γὰρ φράσδη πάνθ' ἄλιον ἄμμι δεδύκειν;
Δάφνις κἠν Ἀίδα κακὸν ἔσσεται ἄλγος Ἔρωτι.

(*Id.*1.100-103)

The proverbial phrase about sun-setting (102) actually indicates his pertinacity. [116] Then, τὰ Δάφνιδος ἄλγεα (19) by Eros finally leads to κακὸν ἄλγος Ἔρωτι (103), as Daphnis remains as one human who didn't yield to the powerful god and chose his own fate of death. Of course, Daphnis' heroism or heroic death is certainly of different kind from those of the Iliadic heroes. He is a pastoral hero, not a war-hero. However, the struggle, the tragic choice of his fate and the dealing with divinities show Daphnis somehow fitted to some aspects of the traditional value of heroism in the epic. Though wasting away, he repeats his own name, knowing he will be remembered as the hero (103, 116, 120-121 and 135):

Δάφνις ἐγὼν ὅδε τῆνος ὁ τὰς βόας ὧδε νομεύων,
Δάφνις ὁ τὼς ταύρως καὶ πόρτιας ὧδε ποτίσδων.

(*Id.*1.120-121)

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[115] Hunter 1999:92-93.
[116] Gow 1952:22-23. Hunter 1999:95-96.

As far as his divine connection is concerned, we may wonder why the Nymphs were not there beside him to save him. There might be there as on as Daphnis had not requited one of them for her love to him. [117] Or, perhaps, unintentionally, the Nymphs were some where else at that time.[118] This question seems to be harder to answer, when w enote the fact that immortals came and even wild animals mourned Daphnis, which indica tes that Daphnis lived in accord with the nature and his death does not imply his lack of the 'unity with nature', a bucolic ideal quality. He ends his words with his farewell to Pan and the pas toral nature to descend to Hades (115-138).

Now we turn to non-tragic, noble cowherds. Another cowherd's love we find is in *Idyll* 6, where Daphnis and Damoetas sing together. Theocritu s describes them in a harmonious affectionate relationship, which stands as the oppo site of the lowly herdsmen's discordant relationship pictured in *Idyll* 5.

In *Idyll* 5 , the way the herdsmen, who met accidentally, singi n the match is highly aggressive, as the purpose is to out-sing each other by intense exchanges of short verses, just until one of them 'gives up' (διαείσομαι ἔστε κ' ἀπείπῃς 5.23). In *Idyll* 6, on the other hand, the two cowherds tend their cattle in the same place and have a singing m atch as they take a rest. Although Daphnis 'challenged first' πρᾶτος ἔρισδεν (5), the purpose of the singing seems to be also to composeone complete piece of song together. Daphnis sings firs t by inventing a theme of Polyphemus and demanding Damoetas a quality second half of the son g. The match ends in a complete harmony, where the two cowherds acknowledge each other's tal ent and show both of themselves unconquerable (ἀνήσσατοι 46).

Τόσσ' εἰπὼν τὸν Δάφνιν ὁ Δαμοίτας ἐφίλησε·
χὠ μὲν τῷ σύριγγ', ὃ δὲ τῷ καλὸν αὐλὸν ἔδωκεν.
αὔλει Δαμοίτας, σύρισδε δὲ Δάφνις ὁ βούτας·
ὠρχεῦντ' ἐν μαλακᾷ ταὶ πόρτιες αὐτίκα ποίᾳ.
νίκη μὲν οὐδάλλος, ἀνήσσατοι δ' ἐγένοντο.

(*Id*.6.42-6)

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[117] See Wendel 1920:56-57. See also Gutzwiller 1991: 96.
[118] See Hunter 1999:87 for some possible reasons.

The kiss (ἐφίλησε 42) from Damoetas to Daphnis after singing makes us wonder if the relationship between the two is sexual or simply friendly. There is an age difference between them, but minor (3). Hunter suggests that kissing in Theocritus is usually erotic (including some homosexual cases like *Id.*5.135) and according to the subject the cowherds have just sung together, the kiss afterwards may be interpreted more naturally as erotic: [119] they sang about love with tactics by Galatea and Polyphemus, which, they confirm by kissing, is not needed in their own peaceful love. So, if the cowherds may exhibit homosexuality as much as the other types of herdsmen, there still seems a point setting the cowherds apart: the pederastic element is expressed mildly, compared with what we find in the goatherd and the shepherd of *Idyll* 5 (e.g. sexual intercourse is clearly meant in between the goatherd and shepherd, and the shepherd and another boy in 5.41-2, 86-87, told by the herdsmen here largely to show off their social power). [120]

Here we do not find any frustrated lover. They exchange gifts and their playful calves jump up to the cowherds' piping to mark the joyful moment and consonance. Just as in the ending of *Idyll* 5 with goats jumping up, the scene is about celebration of natural energy. However, there is no goatish comical element, but a softer, elegant expression of pleasure by the noble cows and cowherds.

How Nobility works in the poems

We now proceed to discuss how these noble elements of the cowherds work in each of the *Idylls*. In the earlier literature, we have observed several contacts between herdsmen and divinities, normally in inhabited places, for either romantic consequences or for a poetic one in Hesiod's case. In the *Idylls*, although herdsmen feel pastoral divinities close to their own lives (e.g. *Id.*1.3-4) and occasionally pray and give offerings to gods (e.g. *Id*.1.143-145), there is no explicit epic theophany in their herding life. [121] Those days when humans interacted with deities are gone and Daphnis is

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[119] Hunter 1999:260. See also Gutzwiller 1991:125.

[120] Van Groningen does not interpret the cowherds' relationship as sexual. Van Groningen 1958: 314. 'le bouvier se distinguent même en ce qu'il n'est jamais pédéraste, à l'encontre du bergeret, surtout du chevrier.' See also Halperin 1983:183.

[121] A possible exception is Simichidas' claim that 'the Nymphs also taught' him (Id.7.92).

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one of those who lived in the ideal mythical past. The noble elements often work as a link to the past, as this is partly observed even in Aegon, as somewhat comical cowherd in *Idyll* 4, whom we will discuss later.

The goatherds often showed us how new and non-heroic the world hexameter poetry came to cover in Theocritus. Still, the bucolic world needs its own heroes to place their poetic world in the wider current of epic tradition. Cowherds serve this purpose well. They are, of course, a different kind of hero from those in the traditional epic. Daphnis in Thyrsis' song is the mythical founder of bucolic song and the tradition of these songs is supposed to have started as the herdsmen sang of Daphnis when he died and became their legend, which *Idyll* 1 actually manifests.[122] The myth of the creation of 'bucolic poetry' was perhaps noted earlier than in Theocritus.[123] In *Idyll* 1, Daphnis' status as a bucolic hero seems already to have been certified, and viewed by the herdsmen as the heroic past of their realm. Daphnis is in love, but with his determination and stubborn attitude, he never yields himself to the sweetness of love, or stands down from his struggle against love, which leads him to tragic death, to be a legend, sung by later herdsmen. In other words, the heroic Daphnis is remembered, but has departed from the present pastoral world of the *Idylls*.

Non-noble Cowherd

In the earlier section on the goatherds, we explored the contrasting qualities of Battus the goatherd and Corydon the cowherd in *Idyll* 4. However, it is interesting that Battus is, throughout the poem, in some ways critical of Aegon, another cowherd, and seems to foster rivalry towards him:

ΚΟ. φαντί νιν Ἡρακλῆι βίην καὶ κάρτος ἐρίσδειν.
ΒΑ. κἤμ' ἔφαθ' ἁ μάτηρ Πολυδεύκεος ἦμεν ἀμείνω.

(*Id.*4.8-9)

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[122] Hunter 1999:60.

[123] See Theocritus' contemporary, Callimachus' *Epigr.*22 Pf, where a deceased goatherd is commemorated after Daphnis.

These lines show that Corydon associates Aegon with Heracles. Battus tries to emulate and bring Polydeuces, another figure among the Argonauts, to compare himself with. This is an amusing line, a lowly goatherd associating himself with a divine boxer, for the purpose of emulating a wealthy cowherd, Aegon. Battus' sense of rivalry towards Aegon perhaps comes from Aegon's past approach to Amaryllis (35-37). [124]

Cowherds in Theocritus, as we have observed, are normally sketched as noble, sometimes as heroic, in the case of the legendary cowherd Daphnis. However, Aegon's character is problematic. Being an Olympian athlete (6) is considered to be a nolder, traditionally heroic quality, as is seen in, for example, Pindar's *Olympian Ode* 3, where Heracles is told to be the founder of the Olympic games on his ascent to Olympus (τοῖς γὰρ ἐπέτραπεν Οὐλυμπόνδ' ἰὼν θαητὸν ἀγῶνα νέμειν / ἀνδρῶν τ' ἀρετᾶς πέρι καὶ ῥιμφαρμάτου / διφρηλασίας. 36-8). Besides the heroic depiction of Aegon, he has a kind of comic aspect as well, prominently, when he is shown as a glutton, in lines 10 and 35 and also for his unusual physical strength (35-37). In addition to Corydon's comment above, these comical features make us consider Aegon in some ways more analogous to Heracles, for example, Heracles in Euripides' *Alcestis* (Heracles, not being informed of Alcestis' death, gets drunk and starts to annoy Admetus' servant with his optimistic view of mortal life in 773-802, he wrestles to rescue Alcestis from Θάνατος in 840-849).

Aegon is, from his name, problematic. It seems Theocritus took Aegon's name from Croton's heroic figure. [125] At the same time, the word Aegon itself comes from αἴξ, a goat. His comic aspect which is unseemly for a cowherd, the goatherd's sense of rivalry towards him and his name as 'Mr. Goat' makes the athlete Aegon an engaging figure. Interestingly, his father is more immediately linked to goatishness, which is indicated in the final lines of the *Idyll*, lines 58-63, where Battus asks Corydon about this Aegon's father's relationship with his lover:

ΒΑ. εἴπ' ἄγε μ', ὦ Κορύδων, τὸ γερόντιον ἦ ῥ' ἔτι μύλλει
    τήναν τὰν κυάνοφρυν ἐρωτίδα τᾶς ποκ' ἐκνίσθη;
ΚΟ. ἀκμάν γ', ὦ δείλαιε· πρόαν γε μὲν αὐτὸς ἐπενθὼν
    καὶ ποτὶ τᾷ μάνδρᾳ κατελάμβανον ἆμος ἐνήργει.

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[124] Hutchinson 1988:168.
[125] Hunter 1999:131.

ΒΑ. εὖ γ’, ὤνθρωπε φιλοῖφα. τό τοι γένος ἢ Σατυρίσκοις
    ἐγγύθεν ἢ Πάνεσσι κακοκνάμοισιν ἐρίσδει.

(*Id.*4.58-63)

Corydon tells that he actually witnessed Aegon’s father having a sexual intercourse with his lover the other day. Then, Battus compares Aegon’s father with mythological goatish figures, Pans (Pan-like rustic divinities) and satyrs. The goatish sexuality motif in an ending appears again here. In *Idyll* 4, there’s no depiction of Battus’ flock of goats and the goatherd’s sexuality is not very stressed (except Battus’ lament about Amaryllis), either. Instead there appears Aegon’s father, a wealthy owner of cattle, not a cowherd himself in a strict sense, with a goatish attitude towards sex.

Perhaps we can interpret Aegon as having two sides: an exceptionally comical cowherd but still holding the link to the mythical past as the other noble cowherds. Here, Heracles is an important figure for the background, as the *Idyll* is set in Croton, southern Italy, and Hercules is thought to be the mythical founder of the city. Again, the rural scene in *Idyll* 4 featuring two countrymen rises in opposition to heroic grandeur or the mythical past. Aegon the athlete, who is assimilated to Heracles, acts as a small comical Heracles, whose existence retains a part of ‘the heroic past’ in literature. However, not only Heracles but even Aegon is ‘gone’ (αὐτὸς δ’ ἐς τίν’ ἄφαντος ὁ βουκόλος ᾤχετο χώραν; 5; κᾤχετ’ ἔχων σκαπάναν τε καὶ εἴκατι τουτόθε μῆλα, 10), and only the cowherd and the goatherd are left on stage in the pasture,[126] leaving the place non-heroic.

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[126] Hunter 1999: 130-131.

2.4 *Shepherds in Theocritean Bucolic*

Theocritean shepherds are not numerous: there are two of probably Theocritus' own creation, Thyrsis in *Idyll* 1 and Lacon in *Idyll* 5, and a more mythical one, Polyphemus, in *Idylls* 6 and 11. Lawall describes Lacon, for instance, as having 'lambish playfulness' for his witty verses, contrasting with Comatas' 'goatish belligerence'.[127] Indeed, literary shepherds may have common features stemming from their tending the same animal, sheep. However, when we turn to Thyrsis and Polyphemus, we find it almost impossible to identify any characteristics to tie up all the shepherds. Also, when it comes to herdsmen's relationships in each *Idyll*, simply enough, the two shepherd-goatherd combinations in *Idylls* 1 and 5 present quite different pictures of herdsmen's relationships: *Idyll* 1 features Thyrsis as a bucolic singer and the nameless goatherd takes a sort of supportive role in the harmonious *locus amoenus*. In *Idyll* 5, the goatherd and the shepherd are contending against each other, which makes a lowly, 'realistic' picture of countryside.

Thyrsis sings to accommodate a goatherd's request in *Idyll* 1. When they praise each other and talk about the prize each other deserves, there is the sense of hierarchy behind the scene. Thyrsis is a great singer, second only to the Muses in singing and would deserve a lamb, while the goatherd is a great piper after Pan and would receive a kid. Theocritus seems to distinguish 'piping' and 'singing' separately and may place 'piping' as a more rustic, humbler activity.[128]

ΘΥ Ἁδύ τι τὸ ψιθύρισμα καὶ ἁ πίτυς, αἰπόλε, τήνα,
   ἁ ποτὶ ταῖς παγαῖσι, μελίσδεται, ἁδὺ δὲ καὶ τύ
   συρίσδες μετὰ Πᾶνα τὸ δεύτερον ἆθλον ἀποισῇ.
   αἴ κα τῆνος ἕλῃ κεραὸν τράγον, αἶγα τὺ λαψῇ·
   αἴ κα δ' αἶγα λάβῃ τῆνος γέρας, ἐς τὲ καταρρεῖ
   ἁ χίμαρος· χιμάρω δὲ καλὸν κρέας, ἔστε κ' ἀμέλξῃς.

(*Id.*1.1-6)

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[127] Lawall 1967:60.
[128] cf. Hunter 1996:20-22, Serrao 1971:21-28. See page 68.

Still, there is a mutual respect between the two figures. The modest goatherd declines to play a pipe and pass on the spotlight to Thyrsis.[129] This stands in contrast to Lacon, when he challenges Comatas in singing (5.20-23) and loses.

Thyrsis is a master bucolic singer (τᾶς βουκολικᾶς ἐπὶ τὸ πλέον ἵκεο μοίσας, 20). Unlike the exchanges of short impromptu verses in *Idyll* 5, Thyrsis' song about Daphnis' death is a complete song, which the goatherd has heard before (23-5), and has a high, tragic theme. The goatherd continuously praises Thyrsis, later saying that sweet foods are suited to the sweet-voiced singer. This praiseful association of a great singer with sweet foods appears also in the honey-nurtured Comatas in *Idyll* 7.84:

ΑΙ. πλῆρές τοι μέλιτος τὸ καλὸν στόμα, Θύρσι, γένοιτο,
    πλῆρες δὲ σχαδόνων, καὶ ἀπ' Αἰγίλω ἰσχάδα τρώγοις
    ἁδεῖαν, τέττιγος ἐπεὶ τύγα φέρτερον ᾄδεις.

(*Id.*1.146-9)

The non-human shepherd Cyclops in Theocritus is, surprisingly, romantic and human. Polyphemus in the *Odyssey* keeps sheep and goats together (*Od.*9.219-220) and other Cyclopes also seem to tend sheep and goats, not oxen (Cf. *Od.*9.166-7). The Theocritean Polyphemus, however, seems to tend sheep only, as a goat is never mentioned as part of his flock, whereas sheep repeatedly appear in lines (cf. *Id.*6.6, 11.12). What amuses us the most in Theocritus' characterisation of his Polyphemus is that both *Idylls* describe this Cyclops at his young age, before his days in the *Odyssey*, his encounter with Odysseus, and, although his fate of being blinded by Odysseus is alluded to (cf.6.21-5, 11.50-3) and perhaps the huge number of sheep he keeps for milk and cheese (33) still reveals his horrendous appetite,[130] there are some differences in character: the Theocritean Polyphemus is a young naïve lad, suffering from love, whereas Homer features the uncivilised, savage aspect of the monstrous Cyclops. Theocritus illustrates the love-sickness and recovery from it of Polyphemus, much in the way anybody can experience in our

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[129] Berman 2005:231 suggests Thyrsis as 'consistently employing a more civilised level of discourse than the goatherd.'
[130] Gutzwiller 1991:111.

life, the pain of love can drive us to think about one thing after another, until the sad feeling is digested and accepted to rest in our heart. The *Idyll* raises 'song' (ταὶ Πιερίδες) as the only 'medicine' (φάρμακον) to cure love (1-3) with the example of Polyphemus. His love was an outright madness (ὀρθαῖς μανίαις, 11) and Polyphemus found the medicine (16). However, the medicine does not eliminate love. Through the song, he learned to 'tame the love' (ἐποίμαινεν τὸν ἔρωτα, 80) and live along with it. [131]

This unique picture of the epic monster makes us intrigued to know how Theocritus locates himself in the tradition of the Greek epic. We find Theocritus' intention elaborated in *Idyll* 11.60-1, which is another allusion to Polyphemus' future harm by Odysseus. There, Polyphemus, who wails over his inability to swim and go down to the bottom of the sea to see his beloved Galatea, reveals his wish to learn swimming, when a ξένος, 'a stranger', sails to his home. The Homeric Polyphemus, of course, is notorious for his violation of the social rules of ξενία. But Theocritus' Cyclops would not seem to behave in the same manner to strangers as the Homeric one had done. Young Polyphemus later would grow up to the brutal Homeric character, but we are enticed to think the two Polyphemus' characters somehow incompatible. Acknowledging occasionally in lines the future incident of Polyphemus and Odysseus as a strong literary fact, Theocritus still does not feel restricted to shaping his version of the mythical character according to the way his predecessor has done.

In *Idyll* 6, the gap between Homeric Polyphemus and Theocritean one seems to be even greater. He is becoming more like a herdsman of Theocritus' own creation. [132] As far as the pastoral hierarchy is concerned, Polyphemus is a mythical creature who does not necessarily fit into the social hierarchy of the other human herdsmen, although we assume that his tending sheep and goats, not cows in the *Odyssey* helps to define him as lowlier than cowherds. Still, *Idyll* 6 gives a thought-evoking picture concerning the hierarchy: a song of Polyphemus, a one-eyed monster but otherwise quite similar to the other Idyllic humans, presumably defined as a shepherd by his

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[131] There has been a long debate over how the φάρμακον works. See Hunter 1999:20-21. Good song may help to destruct him from the pain, or from devastating force of love. Goldhill 1991: 254-261 suggested the dual side of φάρμακον: both a cure and hindrance to a complete cure. See also Faraone 2006, in Fantuzzi-Papanghelis 2006:75-90.
[132] Hunter 1999:247.

occupation, narrated by two cowherds, and called in one of their songs a 'goatherd' (6.7). In Daphnis' part of the song, there is a slightly mocking, teasing tone to the monstrous shepherd:

βάλλει τοι, Πολύφαμε, τὸ ποίμνιον ἀ Γαλάτεια
μάλοισιν, δυσέρωτα καὶ αἰπόλον ἄνδρα καλεῦσα·
καὶ τύ νιν οὐ ποθόρησθα, τάλαν τάλαν, ἀλλὰ κάθησαι
ἀδέα συρίσδων. πάλιν ἅδ', ἴδε, τὰν κύνα βάλλει,

(*Id*.6.6-9)

Firstly, Galatea in Daphnis' song-part calls Polyphemus a 'goatherd', which we generally interpret as the same type of insult Priapus casts on Daphnis in *Idyll* 1.85. The word δύσερως, 'laggard in love', refers to his hesitant reaction, as Polyphemus is not responding to Galatea straightforwardly in a supposed lover's manner. Next, Daphnis continues to tease the Cyclops and tells that Polyphemus' eye fails to catch flirting Galatea (καὶ τύ νιν οὐ ποθόρησθα, τάλαν τάλαν), as if he is not seeing keenly, which is an allusion to his being blinded in the future. [133]

In Damoetas' response to Daphnis' song, however, 'Polyphemus' tries to reverse the previous mocking tone. He now is one of the Idyllic herdsmen, having come out of mythical himself as 'the other', which he was indeed especially in the *Odyssey*, where he and humans did not enjoy mutual understanding. He says he does not ice Galatea and it is his tactic to tease and draw Galatea nearer to him. It is difficult for us to deduce what would happen to their relationship after this, as we do not know if Galatea is really in love with Polyphemus or just playing with him. Still, Polyphemus here confidently shows himself holding the situation he is in now and even knowing Telemus' prophecy that he would be blinded and denying its possibility. This may have a similar meaning as the allusion in *Idyll* 5.150, where Comatas asserts himself as a new type of literary goatherd. This amuses us and makes us wonder if Theocritus intended this to be another story of Polyphemus, independent from the Homeric one.[134] If, on the contrary, this is the point that the audience, or Daphnis and Damoetas, know better than Polyphemus himself (that he will still inevitably be blinded), the tone of the whole *Idyll* becomes quite cynical, with the two

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[133] Hunter 1999:245.
[134] cf. Hunter 1999:247. '… *Idyll* 6 reasserts the power of the present over the tradition.'

cowherds mocking the monstrous shepherd being trapped with his ignorance.

As seen above, the shepherds' characters seem to vary with each example. As far as the hierarchy is concerned, as Berman suggests, it is highly possible that their character is set somehow in the mid-point between those of the cowherds and goatherds.[135] It is basically neutral, which can be elevated and associated with the nobility of the cowherds, as in the case of Thyrsis, who sings on an elaborate heroic theme and is a bucolic singer as a 'descendant' of Daphnis,[136] or can be dragged down to the lowly manner similar to that of the goatherd in *Idyll* 5.

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[135] Berman 2005:236-238.
[136] Hunter 1999:99-100.

2.5 *Bucolic and Aepolic*

In his discussion of Lycidas as a goatherd, Puelma suggests that a goatherd is the lowliest, therefore, very typical as a herdsman [137] and can represent the herdsman in general. According to our study so far, a goatherd and a cowherd would have different roles and many of them are indispensable and irreplaceable with other types of herdsmen in each *Idyll*. Certainly, however, the lowlier goatherds seem to represent rustic 'bucolicism' more radically than others. Although we call all bucolic poetry featuring herdsmen 'bucolic', regardless of which type of herdsman it features, our study of the *Idylls* so far makes us wonder if there was any idea of *aepolic*, as an independent notion from 'bucolic'. A scholiast writes as follows:[138]

Τὰ δὲ β ο υ κ ο λ ι κ ὰ ἔχει ‹κατὰ› διαφορὰν τὴν τῶν ποιημάτων ἐπιγραφήν· καὶ γὰρ αἰπολικά ἐστι καὶ ποιμενικὰ καὶ μικτά. τὴν μέντοι ἀπὸ τῶν βοῶν εἴληφεν ἐπιγραφὴν ‹ὡς› κρατιστεύοντος τοῦ ζῴου· διὸ καὶ βουκολικὰ λέγονται πάντα. εἴρηται δὲ βουκόλος παρὰ τὸ τὰς βόας ‹κέλλειν καὶ› ἐλαύνειν ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ τὰς βόας κολούειν ἀτιμαγελώσας ἢ τῶν βοῶν κομεῖν καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τροπῇ τοῦ ἀμεταβόλου εἰς ἀμετάβολον.

Here we should consider once again the roles of the goatherds in Theocritus in the matter of bucolic poetics, since Theocritean use of the hierarchy seem to influence not only the characters and the tones of the poems (serious or funny), but also the crucial, systematic way of Theocritus' presentation of his own poetics, as we have seen partly in Comatas' Homeric allusion. This time, we take an example from *each of Idyll* 1 and 7, concerning the bucolic *ecphrasis* and also several pairs of 'one cowherd and one goatherd' characters.

Although Thyrsis' song of Daphnis the bucolic hero makes the predominant theme of *Idyll* 1, we consider the description of κισσύβιον (the ivy-cup) by the unnamed goatherd, as a sort of counter-attraction of this poem, which develops the dramatic aspect of the herdsmen's conversation.[139] Furthermore, if the poet intends to use the *ecphrasis* to convey the poetics and

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[137] Puelma 1960:119.
[138] Wendel 1920:3-4.
[139] Halperin 1983:162. See vv.176-182 for the meanings of the *ecphrasis* in relation to the Archaic models.

subjects he would deal with in his whole pastoral works, we note it is remarkably achieved through a goatherd's mouth:

τῆνος ὁ ποιμενικὸς καὶ ταὶ δρύες. αἰ δέ κ' ἀείσῃς
ὡς ὅκα τὸν Λιβύαθε ποτὶ Χρόμιν ᾆσας ἐρίσδων,
αἶγά τέ τοι δωσῶ διδυματόκον ἐς τρὶς ἀμέλξαι,
ἃ δύ' ἔχοισ' ἐρίφως ποταμέλγεται ἐς δύο πέλλας,
καὶ βαθὺ κισσύβιον κεκλυσμένον ἁδέι κηρῷ,
ἀμφῶες, νεοτευχές, ἔτι γλυφάνοιο ποτόσδον.

(*Id.*1.23-28)

The wooden ivy-cup as a motif of *ecphrasis* is in the position of Achilles' shield, a symbol of Achilles' heroism in the *Iliad* (*Il.*18.478-617). The cup is to be given together with goat's milk to Thyrsis by the goatherd, for the shepherd's singing. It is new and there carved are two male rivals arguing over a woman standing beside them (31-38), an old but physically strong fisherman casting a net (39-44), and a boy who is in duty of guarding a vineyard but absorbed in weaving (45-54), with two foxes escaping his notice to steal grapes and food. Each of the three scenes represents one of the three periods of human life: adulthood, old age and childhood. At the same time, it describes Theocritean bucolic world: *eros*, lowly people's life and absorption in art (poetry).[140]

The cup is 'a marvel at goatherd's eyes' αἰπολικὸν θάημα (56). A scholiast writes that the goatherd here also means a shepherd or cowherd (διὰ τῶν αἰπόλων δηλοῖ καὶ τοὺς ποιμένας καὶ τοὺς βουκόλους.), indicating the goatherd could represent the herdsman in general. [141] There have been suggestions, however, that Theocritus' choice of 'goatherd' here is meaningful: the goatherd is the lowliest of herdsmen, therefore he has keen eye reyes to every trivial pastoral pleasure. [142] Then, it seems that even the fact that the goatherd is not given a name comes to be consequential: the goatherd, the lowliest of all in the pasture and who does not even bear a specific name to be called,

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[140] Hunter1999:76-77.
[141] Wendel1920:52
[142] VanGroningen1958:316, Halperin1983:184.

can stand as the symbol of the newly created bucolic world, in a clear contrast with the protagonist of the Homeric epic.

There seems something in the goatherds that makes them spokesmen of Theocritean poetics. We may raise their attitude towards arts as one of the reasons. Although Lycidas hardly holds similarities with the comical goatherds, apart from his rustic appearance, one affinity we can raise between Lycidas and the unnamed goatherd in *Idyll* 1 is their strong adoration for higher arts. The unnamed goatherd would give away perhaps the best of his possessions just to listen to Thyrsis singing of the legendary Daphnis, while Lycidas dreams of Daphnis and the goatherd-hero Comatas.

The fact that these two bucolic legends, Daphnis and Comatas, are one cowherd and one goatherd in *Idyll* 7 also seems suggestive. We shall now consider the meanings of the pair of 'one cowherd and one goatherd' characters. We notice that Theocritus often employs this pair to describe his pastoral world and poetics. In *Idyll* 1 they are Thyrsis and the goatherd. Thyrsis, a shepherd as he is, is a bucolic ἀοιδός, a successor of Daphnis, since he evokes the Muses repeatedly (e.g. 1.64), as he tells a story of the hero 'dear to the Muses' (1.141). In the *Idylls*, the Muses' role is almost exclusively confined to the stories of the bucolic heroes in the mythical past and to the expression of bucolic poetics.[143] The goatherd, being a piper, represents the more rustic side of the *Idylls*, so that Thyrsis and the goatherd co-exist in one place to present both of the noble and humble sides, the more traditionally epic as well as the newer, lowlier sides of the pastoral.

In *Idyll* 7, we find this pair of characters twice, in the legendary Daphnis and Comatas and also in Lycidas and Simichidas (narrator and the alter-ego of Theocritus). The legendary Daphnis and Comatas represent the bucolic ideal connection to both nature and art to be elevated singers. Thus, they have a lot in common, especially as far as the Muses' favour to the singers is concerned (cf. 7.82). Here as well as in the *Idyll* 1, the presence of the Muses helps to place the bucolic as a new literary genre within the wider current of hexameter poetry, the whole of which the Muses are

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[143] In *Idylls* 3, 4, 5, 6 and 11, the Muses are almost absent from the herdsmen's life. Even in the rare case of *Idyll* 5.80-81, where Comatas' pompous boast as his first verse that is favoured by the Muses even more than Daphnis is, followed by a similar boast by Lacon about Apollo, the Muses are recalled in relationship to Daphnis. Both of the gods mentioned here are patrons of music and appear as very high-sounding gods for the lowly herdsmen. Indeed, Comatas' sacrifice of a lamb is in the end dedicated to the Nymphs instead of the Muses (138-140). In another case of *Idyll* 11, the Muses are mentioned to indicate Nicias' poetic ability.

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responsible for. The depiction of the heroes, especially Daphnis the cowherd, gives the pastoral a noble aspect as a genre of 'high poetry'. For instance, when this legendary Daphnis' name appears in Comatas' boast about himself in *Idyll* 5, Comatas refers to Daphnis as τὸν ἀοιδόν Δάφνιν (80-81). Theocritus seems to engage consciously with the idea of Homer and the traditional epic genre when he uses the word ἀοιδός, which often refers to poets of heroic themes: normally, the herdsmen in the *Idylls* are not called ἀοιδός, except the legendary cowherd, the related bucolic singer (Thyrsis) [144] and Simichidas, whose existence goes beyond the smaller, lowlier world of the bucolic world and helps to locate the bucolic poetry in the greater genre of epic.

The legendary Comatas may, to some extent, function in the same way since he also is closely associated with the Muses' art. However, he is not specifically called an ἀοιδός. The two bucolic heroes seem to symbolise slightly different aspects of Theocritus' poetics, just as their realistic counter-parts, Daphnis in *Idyll* 6 and Comatas in *Idyll* 5 are different. [145] In the first place, we are intrigued to know how Daphnis in *Idyll* 6 and Comatas in *Idyll* 5 are related to those mythical counter-parts of the same names. The 'realistic' Daphnis and Comatas seem to act as life-sized versions of the mythical counter-parts. Daphnis retains a part of the predecessor's pastoral ideal of harmony and singing talent. The legendary Comatas can be the later-day of the realistic Comatas, or at least close to the realistic counter-part in his singing ability. Although we do not necessarily take those of the same name as identical, we assume their names give these 'realistic' herdsmen a sort of excellence in singing at least, and this probably suggests, in reverse, slightly different roles for each of the legends, the noble and epic hero of divine origin Daphnis and the humbler and lowlier hero Comatas.

The similarities and differences between Daphnis and Comatas, the two beloved of the Muses, are perhaps similar to those we find between Simichidas and Lycidas, two other 'dear to the Muses'. Again, Theocritus uses a pair of one cowherd and one goatherd to make the *Idyll* convey his poetics more fully. We shall examine closely how each of the cowherd and the goatherd' entity

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[144] Thyrsis is not reffered to specifilcally as ἀοιδός, but seems undeniably associated with this type of poet, as here repeats the bucolic is edepic refrain calling the Muses (Ἄρχετε βουκολικᾶς Μοῖσαι φίλαι ἄρχετ᾽ ἀοιδᾶς.) and his song is called ἀοιδά. Throughout the *Idylls* only twice are the herdsmen's songs called ἀοιδά, one of which is that of Thyris (1.62) and the other is in the Lycidas-Simichidas' conversation (7.49).
[145] See Segal 1981:135-136. Hunter 1999:245. For an interpretation that the two Comatas are very different in quality, see Gutzwiller 1999:134-147.

reflects Theocritean poetics.

As we have discussed earlier in this chapter, Lycidas is a personification of 'bucolic poetry' in the large frame of *Idyll* 7. At the same time, he is, as a character in Simichidas' journey-story, a rustic goatherd. In other words, he is a bucolic character (rustic goatherd), who embodies the intense 'bucolicism' in the *Idyll*, while Simichidas is a poet, but, as a bucolic character (former cowherd), someone yet to reach the bucolicism, the intensely rustic side of pastoral.

From the opening, besides Lycidas' lowly appearance as a goatherd, Simichidas notes the link between Lycidas and the Muses constantly to show he is not simply a funny rustic of the kind we find in the other *Idylls*. Firstly, he calls Lycidas ἐσθλὸν Κυδωνικὸν ἄνδρα (11) and this encounter is 'thanks to the Muses' (σὺν Μοίσαισι 12). Later he calls Lycidas as 'dear to the Muses' (φίλος Μοίσαις 94), after listening to the goatherd's song.

Although both of them are beloved of the Muses, we note that Lycidas and Simichidas clearly belong to different worlds. Simichidas says Lycidas is the best piper (συρικτὰν μέγ᾽ ὑπείροχον 28) among herdsmen and reapers, whereas he gives himself out as called the best singer (ἀοιδὸν ἄριστον 38). Piping and singing are closely related and may mean the same activity occasionally, because piping is often involved in singing to give a rhythm for songs.[146] However, in *Idyll* 1, it seems that the shepherd and the goatherd are distinguished as a singer and a piper, with a sense of hierarchy: singing is a higher-level activity than piping. In *Idyll* 7, it is more difficult to distinguish, because Lycidas' song and Simichidas' do not seem too different in style or in means of presentation and both are sung through the two dear to the Muses. Some critics even suggest that Simichidas' song is inferior to Lycidas'.[147] Perhaps, here the difference between piping and singing exhibits where the two belong: Lycidas as a bucolic character lives in the fictional bucolic countryside and plays a pipe among other rustics. Simichidas is, on the other hand, a poet from town, who sees the bucolic world from outside and sings about it as a subject. This explains why Simichidas clearly states what he is by comparing himself with notable poets in reality, Sicelidas of Samos (indicating Asclepiades) and Philetas (40-41),[148] speaking of himself not as good as them

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[146] Hunter 1999: 160.
[147] Van Groningen 1959: 36.
[148] Gow 1952: 141.

and reveals his ambitious outlook that his reputation would reach to 'Zeus' throne' (93), which we assume makes a link with the Ptolemaic court, [149] whereas Lycidas' social position in the real world is blurred.

Still, Lycidas' one side as a rustic character here is intimately intertwined with another side as the personification of the bucolic poetry. In agreeing with Simichidas on poetics, he makes a comment of criticism to those contemporary poets who try to emulate the great poet with long poems, as follows:

πᾶν ἐπ' ἀλαθείᾳ πεπλασμένον ἐκ Διὸς ἔρνος.
ὥς μοι καὶ τέκτων μέγ' ἀπέχθεται ὅστις ἐρευνῇ
ἶσον ὄρευς κορυφᾷ τελέσαι δόμον Ὠρομέδοντος,
καὶ Μοισᾶν ὄρνιχες ὅσοι ποτὶ Χῖον ἀοιδόν
ἀντία κοκκύζοντες ἐτώσια μοχθίζοντι.

(*Id.*7.44-48)

Lycidas (as the embodiment of the bucolic poetry) even knows about trends in contemporary literature (45-7) and clarifies his own attitude to it and even seems to understand what Simichidas is claiming about himself with his mention of two notable poets (40-41). However, he (as a bucolic character) does not talk about his own status as a poet in a society wider than the countryside or his esteem. He stays as one of the herdsmen in Theocritus' *locus amoenus*.

Lycidas the goatherd's limited existence within the fictional pastoral realm corresponds with Simichidas' comparing Lycidas with anonymous herdsmen, not with named poets, which indicates that rustic Lycidas' poetic activity is evaluated only at a bucolic level. So, when Simichidas asserts he himself would do as well as Lycidas and is still inferior to Sicelidas and Philetas, he might be comparing his piping ability with that of Lycidas and his singing ability with those two 'real' poets. He never implies Lycidas is inferior to these two poets. The world of Simichidas with the two poets as his predecessors and that of Lycidas are separate. Not Asclepiades or Philetas, but rather the bucolic legendary predecessors, Daphnis and Comatas, arouse the thoughts of rustic Lycidas in his song.

149 See Hunter 1999:179.

Interestingly, as he outlines Theocritus' poetics, Lycidas mentions Homer (Χῖον ἀοιδόν 47). Although Homer is not a Theocritean bucolic figure, this epic poet's existence seems to have been naturalised into this bucolic level of discourse by this goatherd. We have seen that Comatas' Homeric allusion in the end of *Idyll* 5 is integrated to this rustic herdsman's speech by Theocritean humour. Likewise, Lycidas does not break out of the *locus amoenus* simply by mentioning Homer. Thus, therein *Idylls* 5 and 7, the two goatherds act as Theocritus' messengers, conveying the poet's attitude towards Homer.

We find another sign of his dual identity in that Lycidas performs 'a little song' he made in the mountain (ἐν ὄρει τὸ μελύδριον 51). Here, Lycidas shows himself as again a humble herdsman-character, who perhaps takes goats into mountain to pasture and meanwhile composes a humble bucolic song alone. At the same time, 'a little song' can stand for a small piece of poem, reflecting Callimachean poetics, which favour short poems with elaborate details (cf. ἀοιδέ, τὸ μὲν θύος ὅττι πάχιστον / θρέψαι, τὴν Μοῦσαν δ'ὡγαθὲ λεπταλέην· *Aetia fr.* 1.23-4).

After the exchange of songs, Lycidas laughs merrily again and gives Simichidas the staff, crooked, made with wild-olive (ῥοικὰν δ' ἔχεν ἀγριελαίω δεξιτερᾷ κορύναν 18). Lycidas, being asked for an exchange of songs, promises to offer his staff to Simichidas, even before the singing (45), which makes this singing different from the singing competition seen in *Idyll* 5.[150] This is another sign of Lycidas' poetic superiority over Simichidas:[151]

ὁ δ' αἰπόλος ἀδὺ γελάσσας,
'τάν τοι', ἔφα, 'κορύναν δωρύττομαι, οὔνεκεν ἐσσί
πᾶν ἐπ' ἀλαθείᾳ πεπλασμένον ἐκ Διὸς ἔρνος.

(*Id.*7.35-37)

The rusticity of the staff is emphasised here, and this simple stick stands for the friendship blessed by the Muses (ἐκ Μοισᾶν ξεινήιον 129) or Zeus' truth (πᾶν ἐπ' ἀλαθείᾳ πεπλασμένον ἐκ Διὸς

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[150] In *Idyll* 5.20-30, the two herdsmen argue over the equally valuable stakes each should offer.
[151] Related to 'truth' and fiction, Hunter suggests the possibility that crookedness of the staff is a sign of 'untruthfulness'. However, I would take the crookedness stands for rusticity of Lycidas and his poetry and this goatherd's link to Pan. See Hunter 1999:157, 164.

ἔρνος43). [152] Here Theocritus traces the Hesiodic initiation to poetry by the Muses:

ὣς ἔφασαν κοῦραι μεγάλου Διὸς ἀρτιέπειαι,
καί μοι σκῆπτρον ἔδον δάφνης ἐριθηλέος ὄζον
δρέψασαι, θηητόν· ἐνέπνευσαν δέ μοι αὐδὴν
θέσπιν, ἵνα κλείοιμι τά τ’ ἐσσόμενα πρό τ’ ἐόντα,
καί μ’ ἐκέλονθ’ ὑμνεῖν μακάρων γένος αἰὲν ἐόντων,
σφᾶς δ’ αὐτὰς πρῶτόν τε καὶ ὕστατον αἰὲν ἀείδειν.

(*Theog.*29-34)

Here, in Lycidas’ case, even lowliness and rusticity are idealised and come to acquire double meanings: not only simplicity, but also divinity, a firm connection to nature. In *Idyll* 3, rusticity of the goatherd’s life is more to laugh at, as something simpler and lowlier than what the readers enjoy in their own lives. However, in *Idyll* 7, rusticity is more about simple beauty or closeness to divinity, as represented with the wild-olive staff for the smelly goatherd himself yet with divine smile.

Simichidas and Lycidas share the same attitude to poetry, and can take the same route to enjoy themselves (ξυνὰ γὰρ ὁδὸς ξυνὰ δὲ καὶ ἀώς 35), profiting from each other, although they have different destinations. Lycidas appears from nowhere and disappears to somewhere else, when he takes the road leading to Pyxa, which is not necessarily to be understood as his destination (130). As for Simichidas, he continues the journey. In the opening of the poem, Simichidas starts by telling about the legendary ancestor of a high family in Cos, which he is visiting now, and after leaving Lycidas, he closes the account with a laudation for the beautifully arranged, delightful, rich harvest-home of the nobles (131-157). Lycidas broke into the journey (or, Simichidas did into Lycidas’ realm) temporarily and they left each other for different destinations.

When we think about Simichidas’ development, a question arises. As we have seen above, Simichidas’ encounter with Lycidas echoes the Hesiodic one with the Muses on Mt. Helicon,

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Here Lycidas may either take Simichidas’ saying as simply true (that Simichidas is inferior to the two poets he praised earlier), or, as some scholars have suggested, he meant ἐπ’ ἀλαθείᾳ πεπλασμένον as ‘invented for truth’ or ‘truthfulness’. See Segal 1981:170, Gutzwiller 1991:166. This seems one of the signs of the fictional status of Simichidas, as a creation of Theocritus, and is further pointing us to the inventedness of Lycidas, too.

where the Muses address to Hesiod, give him a staff and initiate him into poetry. However, Simichidas, on meeting of Lycidas, already takes pride in himself as a singer and even tries to emulate Lycidas, placing himself as a qualified bucolic poet. Simichidas tells that he also received initiation from the Nymphs when he was herding, in the same way that Hesiod did when he was tending his sheep on Mt. Helicon (*Theog.*22):[153]

Χὠ μὲν τόσσ' εἰπὼν ἀπεπαύσατο· τὸν δὲ μέτ' αὖθις
κἠγὼν τοῖ' ἐφάμαν· 'Λυκίδα φίλε, πολλὰ μὲν ἄλλα
Νύμφαι κἠμὲ δίδαξαν ἀν' ὤρεα βουκολέοντα
ἐσθλά, τά που καὶ Ζηνὸς ἐπὶ θρόνον ἄγαγε φάμα·

(*Id.*7.89-92)

Simichidas claims to have been herding once (βουκολέοντα 91). We take Simichidas claiming himself as a cowherd, as the verb βουκολέω is used in Theocritus and Pseudo-Theocritean *Idylls*, exclusively for 'tending cows'.[154] If Simichidas' claim is true,[155] it must give him the traditional authenticity as a bucolic singer, before his meeting with Lycidas. Perhaps his 'life as a cowherd' is, true or not, a means of presenting himself as a bucolic character in front of Lycidas, in order to fit into the bucolic world and enjoy the short journey with the goatherd (ἀλλ' ἄγε δή, ξυνὰ γὰρ ὁδὸς ξυνὰ δὲ καὶ ἀώς, βουκολιασδώμεσθα, 35-6).[156]

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[153] The Nymphs often function as pastoral version of the Muses. Although the Muses' grace is repeatedly recalled in *Idyll* 7, there is a preference for the Nymphs as pastoral deities when Simichidas says he has received initiation (to bucolic songs) from the Nymphs when herding (7.91-2), contrasted with the Hesiodic one.

[154] *Id.*8.1,20.38,25.129 are all referring to cow-herding.

[155] Hunter interestingly suggests 'He does not expect Lycidas (or us) to believe that he is a cowherd, but he regards the mere form of words as necessary; perhaps in his (over-)sophistication, he regards *Theogony* 23 as also just a metaphor.' Hunter 1999:179.

[156] *Idylls* reveal, in places, the self-awareness of the artificiality of the bucolic worlds in them. By specifying their own deeds as 'bucolic', it is even amusing that the herdsmen talk as if they engage in their singing in a way they are supposed to, just because they are herdsmen by occupation. They are, interestingly, aware of their role sometimes and do play it for us. Here we may smell the artificiality of the bucolic poetry. Or, by stating clearly, the herdsmen may simply want to nail our eyes on their 'bucolic' singing which they are already proudly famous for. As far as the each character is concerned, the level of self-awareness varies. For the goatherd in *Idyll 3*, for example, is utterly a part of the fictional world and does not see himself beyond the frame of the bucolic picture, due to his naïveté and 'rustic ignorance' to the eyes of urban readers.

He enters the bucolic realm as a 'poet'. If Simichidas' song is inferior to that by Lycidas, it may mean that Simichidas cannot be as close to the bucolic 'nature' as Lycidas is. Still, when he could step into the bucolic world, thanks to the Muses (σὺν Μοίσαισι εὕρομες 12), he met Lycidas for his further development as a singer. Simichidas is an ambitious young apprentice, symbolised with ἔρνος (43), who has much to go from now, but at the same time, is gifted with clear-sounding voice of the Muses (Μοισᾶν καπυρὸν στόμα 37) and holds the possibility to be a better bucolic singer.

As for Simichidas' (or Theocritus') choice of cowherding over others as Simichidas' bucolic experience in the past, we may consider the idea of 'the bucolic metaphor'. Van Groningen suggests that, with *le métaphore bucolique*, when Hellenistic poets present metaphorical identification of themselves or others in their poems, they adopted those images mainly from cowherds.[157] It seems related to the myth of Daphnis the cowherd as the first bucolic singer. Also, perhaps as one aim of the bucolic poetry is to illustrate rusticity often well represented in goatherds, when the poet places himself in the bucolic field of his own creation, he takes the form of a cowherd, in order to present his awareness of himself being distant from the earthiness he seeks from his goatherd. In this regard, we see that Simichidas as a character in the *Idyll* and Simichidas as the narrator have different views. Simichidas as a character intrudes into the imaginary bucolic world, choosing a role of a poet (himself) who was once a cowherd, and showing off his innocent boldness, not knowing for certain the identity of Lycidas. The narrator, fully understanding the meaning of Lycidas' smile, casts self-ironic eyes a thimself as not reaching the very bucolic poetry (which he himself creates), as not gaining the sens eofearthiness as much as his created goatherd. The pair of one 'cowherd' and one goatherd works to let the pastoral genre hold both nobility as high poetry and earthiness as a new type of poetry, that is, to clarify Theocritus' position in hexameter poetry, what his works have inherited from the traditional epic and what is new about his own creation.

When he sings an elaborate short song, we do not find his usage of the mythical motifs successful, which adds more comedy to the poem. On the other hand, when Comatas in *Idyll* 5 draws Melanthius to his own declaration of victory, the Homeric motif seems making a good sense and turning Comatas an effective agent of the bucolic poetics.

[157] Van Groningen 1958:306-310. See also Gutzwiller 1991:158. 'to the extent that the reader is induced to understand Simichidas as a pseudonym for Theocritus himself, the metaphorical identification of poet with cowherd—a generic marker in later Greek bucolic—is already present here'.

InterimConclusion

In the previous sections which dealt with each type of herdsmen, we learned that Theocritus applies different roles to each of different kind of herdsmen. The goatherds often represent the intensely rustic side of the *Idylls*, by their status, appearance, sexual desire and unsophisticated manners. The cowherds normally undertake a noble aspect of the *Idylls*, with a heroic feature and divine connection (in case of Daphnis). The shepherds seem to take the mid-point, from which they can be elevated to a sophisticated manner of cowherds, or dragged down to the lowliness of goatherds. Thus, we conclude that Theocritus irrefutably uses the concept of the pastoral hierarchy, according to which he characterises his herdsmen as lowly or noble.

The goatherds' lowliness is, firstly, indicated in their social status and rustic guise. Comatas in *Idyll* 5 seems to be a slave, and the legendary Comatas in *Idyll* 7 also had a master to serve, although we do not know if the latter was a slave or a hired man. [158] The other goatherds' status is not clearly shown. Still, we occasionally find a goatherd-low status association, as the unnamed goatherd in *Idyll* 3, for example, deals with some 'realistic' working-class people, including a dark-complexioned hired girl (ἁ Μέρμνωνος ἐριθακὶς ἁ μελανόχρως 35).[159]

In many of the *Idylls*, the goatherds' humble and rustic guise often indicates their relatively lower status than the other types of herdsmen. The visible indicators of their lowly status are, for example, their smell, bare feet and goatskin as humble attributes. [160] Besides their possessions, we find some physical features to mark a goatherd. In *Idyll* 3, the unnamed protagonist describes himself as προγένειος (9) and with a flat nose (σιμός 8). The word προγένειος means either 'long-chinned' or 'with full beard', which the goatherd suspect can be the reason of his beloved's rejecting him, and the flat-nose presents him as an ugly, typical goatherd. [161]

The goatherds' lowliness certainly affects their inner character, speech and behaviour and many of the goatherds are shown as rustic and lowly in nature or lacking of sophistication. When Comatas argues with another slave, Lacon the shepherd and they accuse each other for theft, their

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[158] See page 26.
[159] See page 28.
[160] See pages 26-7.
[161] See pages 27-8.

agonistic nature and base ideas seem to have come from their low status.[162] This theft motif in a goatherd's speech appears also in *Idyll* 4, where the loud, comical goatherd is described in a clear contrast to a calm, self-controlled cowherd.[163]

A conspicuous characteristic of the goatherds is their sexuality. When Priapus mocks Daphnis for his struggle for love, He describes Daphnis as 'being like a goatherd' (νῦν δ' αἰπόλῳ ἀνδρὶ ἔοικας.86). Here, Daphnis' love is compared to a goatherd's passion, which is never to be satisfied.[164] The goatherds' passion appears in many ways, but it often well represents Theocritean motif of the unrequited heterosexual love. Comatas in *Idyll* 5 is a sexually vigorous character, whose coarse passion is described to duplicate that of a he-goat. He tells of his homosexual intercourse he used to have with Lacon, but also sings of his present unrequited heterosexual love.[165] Some other *Idylls* feature the goatherds' frustration in love affair more clearly. The goatherd in *Idyll* 3 serenades to Amaryllis in the style of comical *paraklausithyron*, while Battus of *Idyll* 4 wails over the death of his Amaryllis.[166]

In contrast to the goatherds, many of the cowherds appear as noble and sophisticated, although they are also 'rustics'. Daphnis in *Idyll* 1 is depicted as heroic and tragic. He is in love, but rejects to yield himself to the indulgence of love.[167] He chooses his own fate, struggling against powerful *Eros* and descending to Hades, knowing he will be remembered and mourned as the pastoral hero.[168]

There is a 'realistic' counterpart to this mythical Daphnis: Daphnis the cowherd in *Idyll* 6. This Daphnis is, in common with the rest of the cowherds, not tragic. The relationship between him and his fellow cowherd Damoetas is contradistinctive to the highly aggressive one between Comatas and Lacon in *Idyll* 5.[169] Daphnis and Damoetas pasture together and compose by exchanging half pieces of the song. They sing a tactical transaction between Polyphemus and Galatea, while they themselves enjoy peaceful romantic time with each other. The homosexuality

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[162] See page 29.
[163] See pages 29-32.
[164] See pages 32-3.
[165] See pages 33-4.
[166] See pages 34-6.
[167] See page 52.
[168] See page 53.
[169] See page 54.

hereisexpressedquitemildly. [170]

Theocritean shepherds seem to be in the mid-point i n nature between goatherds and cowherds, and can be described as similar to either of these two extremes. Thus, they may vary in nature, as we see Thyrsis and Lacon are quite diffe rent, the former of whom is a singer and successor to Daphnis, [171] and the latter argues with a goatherd and is defea ted in singing. [172]

How do these differences of characters work in the *Idylls*? Each of Theocritean bucolic poems amusingly varies in styles and tones, and the different kind of herdsmen act in order to convey different tones of seriousness. [173] The cowherds tend to function for more sophisticat ed, serious aspects of the bucolic world and are shown as holding more traditional sense of value in literature, thus help to locate the bucolic genre i n the wider current of hexameter poetry. [174] The vulgar and loud goatherds, who hardly came to liter ary prominence before Theocritus (except the case of the negatively depicted Melanthius), serve to characterise the bucolic life as new, show more explicitly than the other types of herdsmen th at the bucolic poetry covers new ground within hexameter poetry. [175] This is true, to some extent, even about some excep tional characters: the non-lowly goatherd Lycidas and the comical cowherd Aegon. Lycidas holds a dual character. He is, as he seems, a down-to-earth goatherd, and at the s ame time, a divine figure, who stands for the ideal bucolic poetry. [176] Aegon is a comical Heracles-like figure, but still his existence functions to remind us of the more traditional heroism, which is largely absent from the pasture where the two herdsmen chatter. [177]

What is interesting about the herdsmen is that, whi le Theocritus employs the hierarchy as a basic rule to his herdsmen's nature, there is often something beyond the simple application of the rule to characterise some herdsmen, and this is the very point where Theocritus exhibits his uniqueness and his playful challenge to the traditi on. When Comatas declares his victory over the shepherd, he speaks the name of Melanthius the Home ric goatherd, clarifying the difference between Melanthius and himself and asserting that h e, a goatherd, is the hero of the new epic

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[170] See page 54-5.
[171] See page 60 and note 144.
[172] See page 42.
[173] Halperin 1983: 183.
[174] See pages 55-6.
[175] See pages 36-8.
[176] See pages 45-50.
[177] See pages 56-8.

genre.[178] Similarly, Theocritus sees in Lycidas his poetics in the newly created bucolic world: the goatherd represents rusticity, an essence of bucolicism, which is no longer silly and funny, but rather elevated to be the essence of a new type of hexameter poetry. [179]

The goatish bucolicism, or the *aepolic* (as we shall call it) side of the pastoral, is manifested also in the *ecphrasis* in *Idyll* 1. The ivy-cup, a symbol of the Theocritean poetics, is described through an unnamed goatherd's mouth and is going to be given to a shepherd-ἀοιδός, Thyrsis, who sings of the bucolic version of epic-hero cowherd, Daphnis.[180] The pastoral world becomes full and complete when the two elements *aepolic* and *bucolic* are intertwined.

In *Idyll* 7, where *aepolic* and *bucolic* meet in a different manner, Theocritus (Simichidas), taking the role of a former cowherd and inheriting from Daphnis (the generic maker of pastoral) the role of an ἀοιδός of bucolic genre, sees and dreams in Lycidas of the very earthiness, which the poet has not yet acquired. [181]

We conclude that the hierarchy plays a considerable role in characterising herdsmen and also in building up Theocritus' unique world by presenting both of the *aepolic* and *bucolic* sides of the pastoral to convey Theocritus' poetics more fully.

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[178] See pages 43-5.
[179] See pages 49-50.
[180] See pages 64-6.
[181] See page 73.

Chapter 3

ThePastoralHierarchyafterTheocritus

Theocritus influenced many later poets and, from there, some new ideas were added to nurture the bucolic genre. In this chapter, we shall read some bucolic poets later than Theocritus to see the ways in which the genre developed and how it was influenced by Theocritus' presentation of the pastoral hierarchy. Our focus in each work and author will be on whether the hierarchy is present and how meaningful it is in understanding the characters or the author's idea about the pastoral genre, as well as how the goatherds, who were complete 'others' before Theocritus and became the new bucolic heroes in Theocritus, are marked in the post-Theocritean literature.

3.1 *TheHierarchyinthewiderTheocriteancorpus*

In pastoral after Theocritus, we often find cases where the distinction between kinds of herdsmen (cowherd, shepherd or goatherd) is blurred. For instance, both of the pseudo-Theocritean *Idylls* 8 and 9 present Daphnis as a cowherd and Menalcas as a shepherd who also keeps goats and kids (e.g. 8.49-50, 9.16-17). The less clear distinction might be derived from the reality in herding life, as we assume one could keep sheep and goats mixed together, since they have the same origin and similar nature:

ἔνθ' ὄις, ἔνθ' αἶγες διδυματόκοι, ἔνθα μέλισσαι
σμήνεα πληροῦσιν, καὶ δρύες ὑψίτεραι,

(*Id.*8.45-6)

Even though the difference between goats and sheep may small, this less pronounced distinction is

a clear sign of these *Idylls* not by Theocritus, [182] and indicates that the hierarchy has become less important in shaping characters distinctively. Still, despite the blurred distinction, each of those *Idylls* seems to hold the sense of the hierarchy behind the characterisation to some extent, although it is difficult to read the author's general view toward the hierarchy out of the sparing lines.

In *Idyll* 8, the narrator tells of a day when Menalcas the shepherd (μᾶλα νέμων 2) challenged Daphnis the cowherd (βουκολέοντι 1) on a mountain, and an anonymous goatherd judged their singing. The order in the hierarchy and the characterisation in the poem seem to be compatible from the following points: first, there may be a difference in their economic situation, where Menalcas is presented as a slightly more down-to-earth, 'realistic' herdsman, when he refuses to give a lamb for a stake, for fear of their parents, whereas Daphnis was willing to offer a calf (μόσχον ἐγὼ θησῶ 14):

οὐ θησῶ ποκα ἀμνόν, ἐπεὶ χαλεπὸς ὁ πατήρ μευ
χἁ μάτηρ, τὰ δὲ μᾶλα ποθέσπερα πάντ᾽ ἀριθμεῦντι.

(*Id.* 8.15-16)

Secondly, some of the Theocritean cowherds' characteristics are also found in this Daphnis and those of the shepherds and goatherds in Menalcas. That is, although both of Daphnis and Menalcas are pipers as well as singers (ἄμφω συρίσδεν δεδαημένω, ἄμφω ἀείδεν 4) and each agrees to choose a syrinx for a stake at the match, Menalcas is more often described as a rural piper, ὁ συριγκτὰς (9, 34), while Daphnis is an elegant (Δάφνιδι τῷ χαρίεντι 1) singer with sweet voice (αἵπερ ὁμοῖον / μουσίσδει Δάφνις ταῖσιν ἀηδονίσι, 37-8, 82-3), for which he was awarded victory by the goatherd and found the best of herdsmen (κἠκ τούτω πρᾶτος παρὰ ποιμέσι Δάφνις ἔγεντο, 92). This contrast is quite similar to what we saw in the ἀοιδός Thyrsis and the goatherd piper in *Idyll* 1 and also in the ἀοιδός Simichidas and the rustic Lycidas in *Idyll* 7. [183]

Another point which sets the two herdsmen in contrast is their eroticism, since Daphnis loves Nais, a nymph, female, to whom he will successfully be married, according to the narrator (93), while the shepherd sings his love to a boy, which may not be lucrative, partly due to his goatish

[182] Gow 1950:170 and 185.
[183] See page 68.

disadvantage of smell, and Menalcas' part is narrat   ed in a comical tone, with flat-nosed kids scufflingaround (ὦ σιμαὶ δεῦτ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ὕδωρ ἔριφοι·):

ΔΑ. παντᾷ ἔαρ, παντᾷ δὲ νομοί, παντᾷ δὲ γάλακτος
        οὔθατα πλήθουσιν, καὶ τὰ νέα τρέφεται,
        ἔνθ᾽ ἁ καλὰ παῖς ἐπινίσσεται· αἰ δ᾽ ἂν ἀφέρπῃ,
        χὡ τὰς βῶς βόσκων χαἰ βόες αὐότεραι.
ΜΕ. ὦ τράγε, τᾶν λευκᾶν αἰγῶν ἄνερ, ὦ βάθος ὕλας
        μυρίον, (ὦ σιμαὶ δεῦτ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ὕδωρ ἔριφοι·)
        ἐν τήνῳ γὰρ τῆνος· ἴθ᾽ ὦ κόλε καὶ λέγε· Μίλων,
        ὁ Πρωτεὺς φώκας καὶ θεὸς ὢν ἔνεμε.

                                        (*Id*.8.45-56)

This *Idyll*presentsthetwoherdsmenaschildren(παῖδες 29)ratherthanmatureyoungmen,   [184] and, unlikeinsomeoftheTheocritean   *Idylls*,thedifferencebetweenthetwoseemsnotsopromi   nentas toconveydifferentpoeticsoraspectsofthepasto   ralworld.Thehierarchyistheremainlytoshow thetwochildren'scharactersasslightlydifferent   ,onenobler,perhapssuperiorinsingingandthe othermorerustic.

     ThesamesortofcontrastbetweenDaphnisand   Menalcasisevenweaker,butstillintended alsoin *Idyll* 9,whenDaphnissingsofpastoraljoyofmusic,whe   reasMenalcasboastfullysingsofa ruralaffluence,thelatterofwhichoftenstresses   thelowlinessofitsspeakerinTheocritus'   *Idylls*to urbanreaders'ears(e.g.   *Id*.11.33-7).[185]

ΔΑ. Ἁδὺ μὲν ἁ μόσχος γαρύεται, ἁδὺ δὲ χἁ βοῦς,
        ἁδὺ δὲ χἁ σῦριγξ χὡ βουκόλος, ἁδὺ δὲ κἠγών.

                                        (*Id*.9.7-8)

ΜΕ. Αἴτνα μᾶτερ ἐμά, κἠγὼ καλὸν ἄντρον ἐνοικέω

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[184] SeeGow1950:170.
[185] Seealsopage36forthegiftofapplesfromthego   atherd.

κοίλαις ἐν πέτραισιν: ἔχω δέ τοι ὅσσ' ἐν ὀνείρῳ

φαίνονται, πολλὰς μὲν ὄις, πολλὰς δὲ χιμαίρας,

ὧν μοι πρὸς κεφαλᾷ καὶ πρὸς ποσὶ κώεα κεῖται.

<div align="right">(Id.9.15-18)</div>

These features, in terms of different roles for different kinds of herdsmen, are perhaps designed by the authors' awareness of the hierarchy, but can merely be the unintended results of the authors' taking over some of the Theocritean elements. We do not know further, if the authors intended the use of the pastoral hierarchy for the expression of his poetics, like in Theocritus.

When we observe the goatherd character in *Idyll* 8, the author's intention of the hierarchy is slightly clearer. Whereas Menalcas and Daphnis are loosely associated with sheep/goats and cows respectively, the goatherd is clearly defined as αἰπόλος repeatedly, though anonymous (e.g. Χοἰ μὲν παῖδες ἄυσαν, ὁ δ' αἰπόλος ἦνθ' ἐπακοῦσαι 28) and he comes as a judge. In *Idyll* 5, we took it that the two herdsmen, the goatherd and the shepherd, talk about calling a cowherd for their judge as a sign of the hierarchy, in that the higher status of the cowherd would give him an authority in judging over singing of lower-ranked herdsmen.[186] *Idyll* 8, then, seems to present a contrasting picture: a cowherd and a shepherd of sheep and goats appoint a goatherd as their judge. This may reveal that the author's occasional disregard of the hierarchy, or more likely, that goatherds' adoration for higher arts, which we occasionally found in Theocritus (e.g. *Id.*1.12-14, 7.83-9), and their intense bucolicism is inherited here and makes the judge a good listener:

Ὥς οἱ παῖδες ἄεισαν, ὁ δ' αἰπόλος ὧδ' ἀγόρευεν:

ἁδύ τι τὸ στόμα τευ καὶ ἐφίμερος ὦ Δάφνι φωνά.

κρέσσον μελπομένω τευ ἀκουέμεν ἢ μέλι λείχειν.

λάζεο τὰς σύριγγας: ἐνίκασας γὰρ ἀείδων.

αἰ δέ τι λῇς με καὶ αὐτὸν ἅμ' αἰπολέοντα διδάξαι,

τήναν τὰν μιτύλαν δωσῶ τὰ δίδακτρά τοι αἶγα,

ἅτις ὑπὲρ κεφαλᾶς αἰεὶ τὸν ἀμολγέα πληροῖ.

<div align="right">(Id.8.81-87)</div>

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[186] See page 23.

The goatherd praises Daphnis and asks the cowherd to teach him singing, while driving herds together, and then he would give Daphnis a she-goat. This strongly reminds us of the rustic gifts from the goatherd for Thyrsis' singing in *Idyll* 1 and also the Lycidas' dream of listening to the legendary Comatas singing in *Idyll* 7. [187]

The Cowherds and the Girls in *Idylls* 20 and 27

The spurious *Idylls*, to be sure, are not all the same in the way they feature herdsmen. *Idyll* 20 is a pastoral drama with a narrator, who narrates the event in the past (1-18) and is unique in that it manifests a collision between what is 'rural' and 'urban' as it portrays an unnamed cowherd (βουκόλος 3), who tried to kiss a city-girl called Eunica, was rejected and cursed her. [188]

The motif of unrequited love is very common in Theocritus and we assume many parts of the *Idyll* are modelled on Theocritean *Idylls* 3, 6 and 11. Some of the similar points are as follows: a male herdsman as a protagonist loves a girl and fails. The girl is indifferent or disdainful to the herdsman (3.6-7, 11.29 and 20.1-18). The herdsman tries to defend himself by listing his redeeming qualities (6.35-38, 11.33-49 and 20.19-29). He tells mythological love stories either in his trial to convince his beloved or to show that a female act of loving a herdsman could be justified (3.40-51 and 20.33-41). He also boasts of having female admirers for his own self-esteem (11.76-79 and 20.30-31).

However, when we think of the characters backed with the hierarchy, there is some apparent dissimilaritiy between *Idyll* 20 and the Theocritean *Idylls*. [189] Firstly, the Theocritean rejected herdsmen are described as particularly lowly or having disadvantageous features, even compared to the other Theocritean herdsmen: the goatherd has physical disadvantages, perhaps because of his being 'goatish' (cf. a flat nose, σιμός, *Id*.3.8), which he himself is aware of to some extent (3.6-9), and the Cyclops in *Idylls* 6 and 11 is a monstrous Cyclops, not a normal human-shaped beauty, whereas the cowherd in *Idyll* 20 is a cowherd, not specifically a herdsman with lowly associations

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[187] See page 66.
[188] For arguments on the authorship, see Gow 1952:364-365.
[189] For a close analysis, see Fantuzzi in Paschalis (ed.) 2007:13-38.

or a monster. Here I think it is appropriate to exclude the case of Daphnis' love in *Idyll* 1, since Theocritus describes Daphnis as somehow wilfully choosing his own fate of not indulging himself in love and heroically dying in the fight against Eros, which sets him far apart from the rejected lovers against their will in *Idylls* 3 and 11.[190] Thus, in the monstrous Cyclops' case, even his positive self-assessment does not convince readers much, which results in the further amusement of readers. On the contrary, when the cowherd asks for affirmation of his beauty by his fellow herdsmen (*Id.* 20.19-20), we may not deny his claim easily,[191] because the points he is making are not mentioned by Eunica for denial. Rather, Eunica lists the points she dislikes about the cowherd, which are mainly the result of his being just a countryman:

βουκόλος ὢν ἐθέλεις με κύσαι, τάλαν; οὐ μεμάθηκα
ἀγροίκως φιλέειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀστικὰ χείλεα θλίβειν.
μὴ τύγε μευ κύσσῃς τὸ καλὸν στόμα μηδ᾽ ἐν ὀνείροις.
οἷα βλέπεις, ὁπποῖα λαλεῖς, ὡς ἄγρια παίσδεις.

(*Id.* 20.3-6)

Secondly, the cowherd in *Id.* 20 appears as less 'funny' or ignorant than Theocritean comical rejected lovers. One of the amusing things in those Theocritean *Idylls* are that, in the course of trying to persuade their beloved or justifying themselves, the herdsmen (goatherd or shepherd) often exhibit further rusticity or lack of sophistication or knowledge. For example, when the goatherd in *Id.* 3 lists the mythological love stories between herdsmen and women/goddesses, he is unaware that his choice does not function properly to convince his beloved to love a herdsman and his poor use of mythological materials even widens the gap between the lowly goatherd and the mythical heroes being narrated.[192] On the other hand, the cowherd quite rightly employs some mythical love stories between cowherds and women:

οὐκ ἔγνω δ᾽, ὅτι Κύπρις ἐπ᾽ ἀνέρι μήνατο βούτᾳ

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[190] See pages 52-3.
[191] See Fantuzzi in Paschalis (ed.) 2007:30 for his rejection of the idea that he is ugly. See also Bernsdorf 2006:181.
[192] See page 36.

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καὶ Φρυγίοις ἐνόμευσεν ἐν ὤρεσι καὶ τὸν Ἄδωνιν

ἐν δρυμοῖσι φίλασε καὶ ἐν δρυμοῖσιν ἔκλαυσεν.

Ἐνδυμίων δὲ τίς ἦν; οὐ βουκόλος; ὅν γε Σελάνα

βουκολέοντα φίλασεν, ἀπ' Οὐλύμπω δὲ μολοῖσα

λάθριον ἀν νάπος ἦλθε καὶ εἰς ἕνα παιδὶ κάθευδε.

καὶ τὺ Ῥέα κλαίεις τὸν βουκόλον. οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ τὺ

ὦ Κρονίδα διὰ παῖδα βοηνόμον ὄρνις ἐπλάγχθης;

(*Id.*20.34-41)

The author's choice of 'cowherd' for the character works well here, since he fully explains why a cowherd should not be left unloved. The hierarchy seems to be present, since the character has to be a cowherd, who has a mythical and heroic link, not another type of herdsman with lowly associations. What is more, another amusing feature in the Theocritus' version, rustic gifts or boasts of affluence (e.g. cheese), which often marks the goatherd or shepherd as even rustic and laughable is absent in the cowherd in *Idyll* 20: he does not talk either of those rural objects. Rustic features of countryside are quite absent from his speech.

As we have observed, in some ways the *Idyll* 20 does not seem to easily fit into the category of 'Beauty and the Beast' poems like *Idylls* 3, 6 or 11.[193] Perhaps the reason is that, unlike Theocritean beloveds, Eunica is a city-dweller and specifically called *hetaira* (κακὰ ἑταίρα 18). Here the opposition is laid between the manners in the countryside and those in the city, in an erotic theme, not between 'realistic' herdsmen and idealised noble herdsmen. The idealised cowherd interestingly takes pride in his being countryman, and tries to refute Eunica, and calls her 'a bad *hetaira*'. According to Fantuzzi, the cowherd's assertiveness and self-pride may imply the 'the achieved autonomy of the bucolic genre'.[194]

To sum up, as far as the hierarchy is concerned, the proud, non-funny cowherd is not inconsistent with the noble cowherd-characters in Theocritus, but unique in that he becomes a rejected lover: in Theocritus, a rejected lover was not particularly a cowherd's quality, but a role for a disadvantaged herdsman, who belonged to a comical side of the rusticity or unsophisticatedness.

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[193] Gutzwiller 1991:105-133.
[194] Fantuzzi 2007 in Paschalis (ed.) 2007:35.

The cowherds were rather the remains of the noble pastor perhaps a narrow link to the educated city-dwellers' ideas. [195] Although that is partly true of the cowherd in *Idyll* 20 as well, the poem is intended to bestow on the cowherd a 'rusticity' which is modified to be less funny, so that he can represent the idealised 'countryside' strongly enough against 'city' in terms of sophistication and beauty. Here we see one case of development after Theocritus of the pastoral genre or pastoral poetics and the idea about the countryside.

Idyll 27 is also a very rare piece, in that it presents a happy heterosexual love. We may be able to raise this point to support the idea that the *Idyll* as well as *Idyll* 8 is not by Theocritus, since Theocritean heterosexual love is almost inevitably unhappy and causes the herdsmen's sufferings. [196] Here, an eloquent cowherd named Daphnis courts a shepherdess and successfully persuades her into erotic intimacy:

ΚΟ. ὠδίνειν τρομέω: χαλεπὸν βέλος Εἰλειθυίης.
ΔΑ. ἀλλὰ τεὴ βασίλεια μογοστόκος Ἄρτεμίς ἐστιν.
ΚΟ. ἀλλὰ τεκεῖν τρομέω, μὴ καὶ χρόα καλὸν ὀλέσσω.
ΔΑ. ἢν δὲ τέκῃς φίλα τέκνα, νέον φάος ὄψεαι υἷας.

(*Id.*27.29-32)

As far as their status is concerned, the girl remains anonymous, but her parents' names are given, which perhaps indicates that she is not a slave, as well as Daphnis (43). Daphnis appears as wealthy with some property (πᾶσαν τὰν ἀγέλαν, πάντ' ἄλσεα καὶ νομὸν ἕξεις, 34) [197] and of noble birth, according to the girl (ἐξ εὐηγενέων· 43). The cowherd image is idealised and elevated to nobility, because of his wealth and eloquency, or intelligence, rather than connected to a goatherd-like comical heartbreak.

As we look back to the pseudo-Theocritean corpus, *Idylls* 8, 9, 20 and 27, in its use of the hierarchy, we conclude that the different characterisation of the herdsmen based on the hierarchy is

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[195] See pages 55-6.
[196] See page 34.
[197] In line 47, Daphnis seems to have also some cultivated land (ἔργα). See Gow 1950:491.

more or less there in each of these poems, thus the goatherds tend to appear lowlier and the cowherds nobler. However, the subtle use of it (by the blurred distinctions), the weaker contrast brought between the different kinds of herdsmen and also the large absence of the *aepolic* side of the pastoral, that is, the much less emphasised earthness or comical rusticity mark these poems as non-Theocritean.[198] We may be able to say, through these features, that they occasionally show a more romanticised or idealised picture of the country, especially in *Idyll* 20.

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[198] See also Bernsdorf 2006: 180-3.

3.2 *The Hierarchy in Bion and Moschus*

Bion

Some of the bucolic poems of Moschus and Bion show similarities to some other post-Theocritean bucolic poems such as *Idyll* 20 which develop autonomous pastoral themes further for various expressions of emotions and personal experiences. In such poems the 'realism' employed in Theocritus for the amusement of urban readers is largely omitted and herdsman-characters often emerge as primarily erotic protagonists:

ἢν μὲν γὰρ βροτὸν ἄλλον ἢ ἀθανάτων τινὰ μέλπω,
βαμβαίνει μοι γλῶσσα καὶ ὡς πάρος οὐκέτ' ἀείδει·
ἢν δ'αὖτ ἐς τὸν Ἔρωτα καὶ ἐς Λυκίδαν τι μελίσδω,
καὶ τόκα μοι χαίροισα διὰ στόματος ῥέει αὐδά.

(Bion 9.8-11)[199]

The beloved is named after a Theocritean herdsman, Lycidas, but nothing else is told about him as a herdsman or revealed about the lover (narrator)'s literary self-presentation as any kind of herdsman. The name seems to be used for convention.[200] Likewise, even when the beloved is called a shepherd (χαῖρε φίλος, καί μοι ποτὶ ποιμένα κῶμον ἄγοντι, *Bion*.11.4), the type of herdsman referred does not seem very meaningful in understanding the character or the situation. In the first place, in Bion, although characters often bear bucolic names, they appear, in most cases, simply to represent a man who loves or is loved (perhaps passionately like bucolic characters in Theocritus) and sings of love, or sometimes of nature, according to the common bucolic association of the countryside and love. Fantuzzi discusses Greek minor bucolic poets like Bion as a bridge-builder between Theocritean love in opposition to pastoral peace and the happy bucolic

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[199] The numbering of the poems of Bion and Moschus is from Gow's 1952 OCT (*Bucolici Graeci*).
[200] See Reed 2006:217-8.

loveinLatinloveelegy,suchasPropertius2.[201]

In this type of bucolic erotic poetry, we note that the sense of the hierarchy is almost absent. So we deduce that, interestingly, there being no disadvantaged herdsman to suffer for unrequited love or the comical rusticity could result from there being no smell of funny goats or goatherds, or vice versa.

The disregard to the different kinds and roles of herdsmen holds true for the pastoral mimes with two herdsman-characters, suchasBion2, where Cleodamus and Myrson talk and the latter of them sings about the best season of the year. There, again, we hardly find their association with any specific animal to herd or herding life in general. One exception where the protagonist is specified as a cowherd and the hierarchy may exist is Bion10:

Ἁ μεγάλα μοι Κύπλις ἔθ᾽ ὑπνώντι παρέστα,
νηπίαχον τὸν Ἔρωτα καλᾶς ἐκ χειρὸς ἄγοισα
ἐς χθόνα νευστάζοντα, τόσον δέ μοι ἔφρασε μῦθον·
'μέλπειν μοι φίλε βοῦτα λαβὼν τὸν Ἔρωτα δίδασκε.'
ὥς λέγε· χἀ μὲν ἀπῆνθεν, ἐγὼ δ᾽ ὅσα βουκολίασδον,
νήπιος ὡς ἐθέλοντα μαθεῖν τὸν Ἔπωτα δίδασκον,
ὡς εὗρε πλαγίαυλον ὁ Πάν, ὡς αὐλὸν Ἀθάνα,
ὡς χέλυν Ἑρμάων, κίθαριν ὡς ἁδὺς Ἀπόλλων.
ταῦτά νιν ἐξεδίδασκον· ὅ δ᾽ οὐκ ἐμπάζετο μύθων,
ἀλλά μοι αὐτὸς ἄειδεν ἐρωτύλα, καί μ᾽ ἐδίδασκε
θνατῶν ἀθανάτων τε πόθως καὶ ματέρος ἔργα.
κἠγὼν ἐκλαθόμαν μὲν ὅσων τὸν Ἔρωτ᾽ ἐδίδασκον,
ὅσσα δ᾽ Ἔρως μ᾽ ἐδίδαξεν ἐρωτύλα πάντ᾽ ἐδιδάχθην.

The protagonist is a cowherd (βοῦτα 4), in whose dream Cypris appears. The goddess asks him to teach Eros to sing (μέλπειν 4). Then he tries but, in the end, forgets what he was teaching to Eros and acquires instead all the love songs (ἐρωτύλα πάντ᾽ 13) Eros taught him. This elegantly humorous poem reveals the poet's inclination toward s erotic poetry. The kind of poem he implies

[201] Fantuzzi2003.

he used to be engaged in before his encounter with Eros could be more heavily bucolic-themed one (ἐγὼ δ᾽ ὅσα βουκολίασδον, 5) or about divine deeds related to music (7-8). [202]

The choice of a cowherd for the protagonist may come from his nobility, the link to the mythical past, [203] or probably is related to the bucolic metaphor, with which the poet could have presented his pastoral avatar as a cowherd-poet, since cowherds are often more closely associated with epic than the other types of herdsmen are in Theocritus. [204]

Moschus and *Epitaph for Bion*

In the limited number of Moschus' poetic fragments, we hardly trace the existence of the hierarchy. The protagonists occasionally appear as mere rustics (ἄγροικοι), who makes us feel nostalgia for rural ease:

αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ γλυκὺς ὕπνος ὑπὸ πλατάνῳ βαθυφύλλῳ,
καὶ παγᾶς φιλέοιμι τὸν ἐγγύθεν ἆχον ἀκούειν,
ἃ τέρπει ψοφέοισα τὸν ἀγροικόν, οὐχὶ ταράσσει.

(Moschus 1.11-13)

The hierarchy is certainly important, however, in *Epitaph for Bion*, which also explores the greater sense of the autonomy of the bucolic genre. The poem is a monologue of the narrator/author, who seems to have been a pupil of Bion and sings of Bion's death. [205] It takes as its model Bion's *Lament for Adonis* and Thyrsis' song of Daphnis in *Idyll* 1 and builds up a bucolic motif of lament for a deceased herdsman-poet, which reveals an early stage of the tradition of later 'pastoral lament', in which a loved one is mourned and commemorated in a pastoral setting, such as Milton's *Lycidas*.

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[202] See Fantuzzi 2003:5.
[203] Also in Longus, Eros appears in a cowherd's dream. See page 106.
[204] See page 56.
[205] This poem was once ascribed to Moschus, but later considered as without certain authorship. See Bernsdorf 2006:171.

Here, Bion appears as a cowherd (βουκόλος 11) and as having lived a herdsman's daily life (80-84), which shows him to be a qualified bucolic singer. Thus, Bion has some similarities with Theocritean cowherds. First, the author calls Bion καλὸς μελικτάς (7). μελικτάς (player or musician) seems quite close in meaning to συρικτάς (syrinx-player), but the former is used only once in Theocritus, where Corydon the cowherd calls himself so (*Id.*4.30), whereas συρικτάς is used once to refer to the goatherd Lycidas (7.28) and twice in the pseudo-Theocritean *Idyll* 8 (9 and 34), both of which referring to Menalcas the shepherd of sheep and goats in contrast to the accompanying cowherd Daphnis. Συρικτάς is clearly an indicator of the rusticity of the goatherd-characters in Theocritus. Compared to this, μελικτάς for cowherds may sound less rustic and we assume the two words are distinguished in use: herein *Epitaph for Bion*, the word μελικτάς is chosen, to promote Bion's association with the Theocritean noble cowherds. [206]

Secondly, which is more apparent and significant, Bion is described in a manner reminiscent of the image of Daphnis. In the same way as Daphnis was mourned, the author stresses the unity between Bion and the nature, which grieves Bion's death (1-2):

Αἴλινά μοι στοναχεῖτε νάπαι καὶ Δώριον ὕδωρ,
καὶ ποταμοὶ κλαίοιτε τὸν ἱμερόεντα Βίωνα.

The poem continues to list the natural objects (flowers and animals) mourning Bion. [207] The cowherd-Bion manifests the ideal bucolicism of noble and heroic Daphnis' kind in his harmony with nature and also in his divine favour, especially from the Muses (πάντα τοι ὦ βούτα συγκάτθανε δῶρα τὰ Μοισᾶν 65). When Daphnis or Bion symbolises the bucolic singing, it is no longer a rustic deed by a rustic piper. The bucolic song becomes a high, sophisticated, new form of art within the epic tradition. [208] Thus, the author's intention in describing Bion after Daphnis also lies in that he commemorates his 'bucolic' master as a new Homer and no less (78-84):

χὼ μὲν Τυνδαρέοιο καλὰν ἄεισε θύγατρα

[206] See pages 30-2.
[207] On the pathetic fallacy in *Epitaph for Bion*, see Bernsdorf 2006:196-7.
[208] See page 65.

καὶ Θέτιδος μέγαν υἷα καὶ Ἀτρεΐδαν Μενέλαον,

κεῖνος δ' οὐ πολέμους, οὐ δάκρυα, Πᾶνα δ' ἔμελπε

καὶ βούτας ἐλίγαινε καὶ ἀείδων ἐνόμευε

καὶ σύριγγας ἔτευχε καὶ ἀδέα πόρτιν ἄμελγε

καὶ παίδων ἐδίδασκε φιλήματα καὶ τὸν Ἔρωτα

ἔτρεφεν ἐν κόλποισι καὶ ἤρεθε τὰν Ἀφροδίταν.

The cowherd-figure functions properly to locate the bucolic poetry within the wider current of hexameter poetry, just as in Theocritean *Idyll* 7, where an ex-cowherd figure, Simichidas (the alter-ego of Theocritus) has a meaning going beyond the rustic frame of the pastoral world (of his own imagination) in the course of ensuring his own identity as an ἀοιδός.[209]

In conclusion, the elegant and intelligent presentations of the cowherds in Bion and Moschus do not differ greatly from Theocritus, although the different kind of characterisation or the gap between the noble cowherds and the rustic goatherds backed with the hierarchy became less important in marking the herdsmen. Moreover, the Theocritean 'realistic' comedy, the rustic smell and noise has faded away, which results in a less comical or ironical tone in these poems. This tendency was true also of the pseudo-Theocritean corpus, but becomes even more prominent in Bion and Moschus, since some of the poems treat the herdsmen all the same, regardless of their being cowherds or something else.

As far as the pastoral poetics are concerned, we are interested in how the various kinds of developments in the pastoral genre we observe in these poets are related to the use of the pastoral hierarchy. Some of them are achieved through the use of the hierarchy and its characterisation: in *Lament for Bion*, Bion's assimilation to the cowherd Daphnis helps the strong assertion of the presence of the pastoral genre, and to create a new tradition of commemorating loved ones in a beautiful, sentimental pastoral picture.

At the same time, the developments without the apparent use of the hierarchy, with the lack of Theocritean goatish comedy, irony or earthiness contribute to the more sophisticated and romantic presentation of the herdsman, as in Bion 9 and 10 and Moschus 1.

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[209] See pages 67-9.

3.3 *TheHierarchyinVergil'sEclogues*

InVergil's *Eclogues*,thespecificationoftheherdsmen(cowherd,sheph   erdorgoatherd)is oftenunclear.Someoftheherdingcharactersseem   todealwithmorethanonetypeofanimal,(e.g. Tityrusin *Ecl*.1keepscowsandsheep,Meliboeusin7seemstoke   epallthreekinds)andother herdsmenaredescribedwithoutanyassociationwith   aspecificanimal(e.g.Menalcasin5,unless heisnotthesameMenalcasastheonein3).

		bos vitula iuvencus	agnus agna ovis	capella caper capra haedus
1	Meliboeus			○12
	Tityrus	○9	○8	
2	Corydon		○21	○30
3	Menalcas	△86	○94	○34
	Damoetas	○29		△96
5	Menalcas			
	Mopsus			○12
6	Tityrus?		△5	
7	Meliboeus	○11	○15	○7
	Corydon	△39	○3	
	Thyrsis	△44		○3
8	Damon	△2		○33
	Alphesiboeus	△2		
	Lycidas			
9	Moeris	△31		○6
	Menalcas			○23
10	Narrator			○77

○:theanimalthecharacterseemstodrive

△:theanimalthecharactercalls,ormayaccompany

Thenumber:thelinesinthepoemwhichrefertopa   rticularanimals

Singing-matchinadraw

Because of there being several animals associated w   ith one herdsman, the distinction betweendifferentkindsofherdsmenmaynotbesoi   mportantinunderstandingthecharactersin

some *Eclogues* as in the *Idylls*. For example, although *Eclogue* 3 deals with emulation between herdsmen of perhaps different animals, we cannot see any clear sign of the hierarchy between them. This *Eclogue* is modelled after Theocritean *Idyll* 5 in that it begins with an abusive argument between two herdsmen and they proceed to a singing-match. Damoetas appears as herding mainly cows (29), but there is also his reference to goats (6). Likewise, although it is clear that Menalcas has goats (34) and sheep (94), he may also keep oxen (86).

Their status and characters are slightly different, but we do not know how much this is related to the hierarchy: Damoetas was willing to give a cow for a stake, while Menalcas, who seems younger than Damoetas (33), refuses to give even a kid (28-34). In addition, the former sings of heterosexual love (e.g. 64-5), whereas the latter, of homosexual one (e.g. 66-7). These facts may allow us to interpret that Damoetas as almost a cowherd-figure, richer or nobler, and Menalcas as almost a shepherd or goatherd, more down-to-earth and lowlier, as there seems to have been an association between goatherds or shepherds and homosexual love.[210] However, both of them are equally involved in the bickering over rustic matters (1-25) and the match ends in a draw. The distinction between the two in terms of characters and singing abilities is not meant to be too clear,[211] so that we may not be able to say for sure that the hierarchy functions significantly therein the characterisation within this *Eclogue*.

Eclogue 5 is also intriguing, especially as Menalcas tells in the end that he is the author of the *Eclogues* 2 and 3, which may reveal that he is Vergil himself in a pastoral guise.[212] At the beginning of the poem, he introduces himself as a singer and Mopsus as a piper (*tu calamos inflare leuis, ego dicere uersus* 2), which reminds us of the contrast between the cowherd-singer and goatherd-piper in Theocritus.[213] However, we do not know clearly what kind of herdsman Menalcas is in this *Eclogue*: in line 12 Menalcas tells Mopsus that Tityrus will look after kids (*haedos*) while Mopsus sings. From this I think it is safe to assume Mopsus is a goatherd, but Vergil does not tell us more about their animals or herding practice. Menalcas might be a goatherd as well, if *haedos* are the kids of Menalcas as well as of Mopsus, or if we take this Menalcas to be identical with the Menalcas in *Eclogue* 3. On the contrary, we could even take Menalcas as a

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[210] See page 33.
[211] Clausen 1994:91.
[212] Coleman 1977:173, Clausen 1994:154.
[213] See page 68.

cowherd, assuming Vergil would have had in his mind the Theocritean contrast between the cowherd-singer (=Menalcas) and goatherd-piper (=Mopsus).

In any case, the salient points are that Vergil here does not regard the hierarchy or the difference between the animals of herdsmen as a sim portant a norm as Theocritus did, and also that, even if he implied Menalcas to be a certain kind of herdsman, goatherd or cowherd, the meanings one kind of herdsman bears are perhaps different from those in Theocritus: Mopsus the goatherd sings of the death of Daphnis and Menalcas the deification of Daphnis. [214] In Theocritus, Thyris was a shepherd, so that he was more qualified than a goatherd to be a successor of Daphnis and to sing of Daphnis. [215] Here in the *Eclogue*, we do not quite see the disadvantage of a goatherd in singing the themes of Daphnis, although we may be able to see a weak contrast between the lowlier Mopsus, who sings of Daphnis as a human and the nobler Menalcas, who sings of Daphnis as a divine.

Land-confiscation and goatherds

Still, the choice of a particular animal for a given herdsman to herd is more meaningful in marking his role(s) in some of the poems. For example, there seems an intended contrast between cow and sheep herding Tityrus, who has kept the right to stay in the countryside, and the goatherd Meliboeus, who has lost his land and is leaving, in *Eclogue* 1.

Vergil's *Eclogues* brought a wide range of subjects related to social life in reality (e.g. politics, religion) into pastoral settings. *Eclogue* 1 features two herdsmen: Tityrus, who tends sheep and cows (8-9), and Meliboeus, a goatherd. The background of the poem is a historic event, the Battle of Philippi (42 B.C.), which resulted in land-confiscations throughout Italy in order to distribute land to the veterans. [216] The poem highlights the contrast between Meliboeus, who, having lost his land, is leaving his home country, and Tityrus, who met a *deus* (6) in the city of Rome and is allowed to continue his life in the countryside. Vergil seems to describe the unfortunate goatherd

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[214] Deification of Daphnis or other pastoral singer is not seen in either Theocritus' *Idyll* or *Epitaph for Bion*. See Coleman 1977: 172-3.

[215] See note 144.

[216] Clausen 1994: 30.

withdeepcompassion.

Tityrusseemstohavebeenoneofthosewhomarched toRometodemandafairtreatment, towhomthe *deus* or *iuvenis*(42),whichimpliesOctavian,responded:

hicmihiresponsumprimusdeditillepetenti:
'pasciteutanteboves,pueri,submittitetauros.'

<div align="right">(Ecl.1.44-45)</div>

Alongwiththelandconfiscations,the *Eclogue*bringsinanotherRomanrealisticmatter:slavery andemancipation(*libertas* 27).Tityruswasaslaveandwasallowedtostayin thesameplaceto pasturehisoxen,sothathecouldcollectenoughm oney(*peculi*32)finallytobuyhisfreedomfrom hismaster:

ME. EtquaetantafuitRomamtibicausavidendi?
TI.Libertas,quaeseratamenrespexitinertem,
   candidiorpostquamtondentibarbacadebat,
   respexittamenetlongoposttemporevenit,
   postquamnosAmaryllishabet,Galateareliquit.

<div align="right">(Ecl.1.26-30)</div>

Ontheotherhand,Meliboeusseemsafreeman,when hecallshisplace *patria* (*nospatriam fugimus* 4),andtalksaboutthecivil-war(*discordia*71)inthepositionofacitizen(*ciuis*71). [217] Although the *Eclogues* tend to present a more vague distinction between ki nds of herdsmen (cowherd,shepherdorgoatherd)thanthe *Idylls*,socialstatus(beingslaveorcitizen)tendstob e moreclearlyindicated(e.g.Menalcasin *Ecl*.9).MeliboeushasprobablynotbeentoRome. [218] He hasspenthislifeinthecountryside,buthisrura llifeathomehasnowcometoanend.Thatis,the goatherdseemstobemorefirmlyconnectedtorural itythanTityrus,whodreamilytellsofRome, and therefore the tragic fate of the goatherd's bei ng dissociated from the rural life becomes

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[217] Aslavedoesnothavea *patria*inasocio-legalsense.SeeColeman1977:72.
[218] Coleman1977:90.

ironically prominent. The opening of the *Eclogue*, featuring Tityrus' piping, echoes the opening of *Idyll* 1, but the misfortune of Meliboeus is told soon afterwards to make the contrast (1-5). [219] Meliboeus' hopeless status is symbolised in his goats' hardship: a she-goat gave birth to twins, but had to leave them dead, the twins which had been the hope for the flock (*spem gregis* 15).

Meliboeus is maturely calm, not casting any envious remark on Tityrus (*Non equidem invideo, miror magis;* 11). But once he starts to confess his sorrow and anger, it is directed at the civil war, which happened outside of his rural place, but terminated his life in the countryside. Here, the city is a threat to life in the countryside. Tityrus calls the city *ingrata urbs,* which does not allow herdsmen to bring much money home for the price of sheep or cheese (33-35). Now Meliboeus cries for his efforts not been paid:

impius haec tam culta novalia miles habebit,
barbarus has segetes: en quo discordia civis
produxit miseros; his nos consevimus agros!

(*Ecl.*1.70-72)

The herdsman's impotence against the turmoil the conflict brought is stressed here. Towards the ending, Meliboeus says farewell to his peaceful pastoral life and even to his song (*carmina nulla canam* 7). Then Tityrus offers a night of hospitality with food, which embodies the humble affluence of the countryside (79-83), all of which Meliboeus has to leave behind.

This role of a victim of the land-confiscation is given also to another goatherd, Moeris in *Eclogue* 6. This fact strengthens the possibility that Vergil sympathetically connected goatherd-characters with rusticity or innocent down-to-earth life more closely than other types of herdsmen, so that the tragedy of land-confiscation becomes most prominent. I think this is a rare case, as in *Idyll* 20 and the *Epitaph for Bion*, where we can almost certainly see the post-Theocritean authors' intentional use of the hierarchy for the purpose of the expression of their poetics, or what they try to convey by means of their own new bucolic poetry.

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[219] Nauta 2006:306-7. There, he also points out the similarity between Tityrus and the cowherd Bion in the *Epitaph for Bion*.

3.4 *The Hierarchy in Calpurnius Siculus*

In Calpurnius' *Eclogues*, the distinction between kinds of herdsmen (cowherd, shepherd or goatherd) is presented slightly more clearly than in Vergil's *Eclogues*, although still less so than in Theocritus. *Eclogue* 1 features two brothers, Corydon and Ornytus, who have inherited cows (*uaccae* 4) from their father (*pater* 4), and tells of their discovery of a prophetic inscription on a beech tree by Faunus, which celebrates the coming of the Golden Age under a new emperor (*deus* 46). *Ecl.* 2 presents a singing-match between a shepherd (*laniger dominus gregis* 2) and a farmer (*dominus...Astacus horti* 2), which ends in a draw. In *Ecl.* 3 cowherd (1-2) tries to regain his girlfriend's love, which seems to have gone to a goatherd. *Ecl.* 4 features two brothers Corydon and Amyntas, who tend sheep and goats, singing an amoebaean song dedicated to the emperor in front of their patron Meliboeus. *Ecl.* 5 is a didactic monologue of a shepherd, who also keeps goats (5 and 15), toward his son about raising sheep and goats. *Eclogue* 6 presents two herdsmen's conflict, but which animal they herd is uncertain. Their argument starts with Lycidas' criticism of Astilus' judgement over a singing match between Alcon (goatherd?) and Nyctilus, after Astilus declared Nyctilus' win. They ask Mnasyllus to be a judge over their own match, but Mnasyllus declines and the poem ends there. *Ecl.* 7 tells of a cowherd (*tauri*, 3) having returned from his visit to the city while his friends (goatherds? 10) wait for him in the country and with excitement he tells his fellow herdsman about the amphitheatre he observed.

As we see above, some of the herding characters appear as herding cows. I think it is probable that different kinds of herdsmen bear different roles also in some poems of Calpurnius as we will see in *Eclogue* 3. However, the hierarchy as a norm is not consistent throughout the *Eclogues*, as we shall discuss later, largely because the herdsmen sometimes seem to be presented as more or less all the same.

The hierarchy seems to be vaguely there in Calpurnius, although it may not be as significant as in Theocritus in understanding the characters. First, we note that the conflict or contrast between different kinds of herdsmen, which we often observe in *Idylls*, is almost absent, thus we do not clearly see how the hierarchy works in the relationship between characters. *Eclogue* 3 is an exceptional piece which partly deals with the tension between two kinds of herdsmen and shows a

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traceofthehierarchicalorderbetweenherdsmen.T hispoemfeaturesIollasandLycidas,whoare cowherds(1-2)andongoodterms.Iollascomesins earchforhisheifer (*iuuencam*1),wonderingif shemingleswithLycidas'bulls (*tauris* 2).Theirfriendlyexchangesseemtoshowthesame kindof harmoniousrelationshipwesawinthecowherdsin *Idyll*6.

LycidasconfessesthathisgirlfriendPhyllisleft himtoloveanotherherdsmanMopsus(8-9). IollasentruststhesearchforthecowtoTityrus(perhapsasubordinatetoIollasorLycidas) [220] and listenstoLycidasabouthissufferinganditscaus e:

en,sibicumMopsocalamosintexerecera
incipitetpuerocomitatasubilicecantat.
haecegocumuidi,fateor,sicintimusarsi,
utnihilulteriustulerim.namprotinusambas
diduxitunicasetpectoranudacecidi.
Alcippeniratapetitdixitque:"relicto,
improbe,te,Lycida,MopsumtuaPhyllisamabit."

(*Ecl*.3.26-32)

LycidassawhisgirlfriendmakingapipewithMopsu sandbeather outofjealousy.AfterIollas' offertobeamessengertohisangrygirlfriend,he rehearsessomewordsofindulgencetoPhyllis (*indulgerepuellae* 37).Inthis *cantus*(45-95),hetellsofhiscompletesurrenderalong withhis advantagesagainstMopsus.

sumquoquediuitior:certaueritilletothaedos
pascerequotnostrinumeranturuesperetauri.
quidtibiquaenostireferam?scis,optimaPhylli,
quamnumerosameissicceturbuculamulctris
etquammultasuossuspendataduberanatos.

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[220] Hereaswellasin *Idyll* 3,thenameTityrusisgiventoapersonwhotends theprotagonist's flock. However, we do not necessarily assume a slav e-master relationship in this motif in Theocritus,sinceherdingofotherperson'sflockm aybeasignoffriendship(e.g. *Idyll*7.87-9)

sedmihinecgracilissinetefiscellasalicto

texituretnullotremuerecoagulalacte.

HeboastsofhimselfbeingricherthanMopsus,who tendskids (*haedos* 63).Thereseemsasense of the hierarchy between herdsmen according to the different values of animals. Then Lycidas continuestostressMopsus'disadvantagetocontras twithhisownsincerity,bydescribing *manus*:

quodsiduratimesetiamnuncuerbera,Phylli,

tradimuseccemanus:licetillaeuiminetorto,

silibet,etlentaposttergumuitedomentur,

utmalanocturnireligauitbracchiaMopsi

Tityrusetfuremmediosuspendituili.

accipe,nedubites,meruitmanusutraquepoenas.

histamen,hicisdemmanibustibisaepepalumbes,

saepeetiamleporemdeceptamatrepauentem

misimusingremium;permetibililiaprima

contigeruntprimaequerosae:uixdumbeneflorem

degustaratapis,tucingebarecoronis.

AlthoughitwasLycidas'hands, *manus*,thathavebenefittedPhyllismanytimes,theystil lshould beboundforhavingbeatenthegirl,inthesamewa yaswhenMopsus,thethief(74)hadhishands caughtbyTityrus.

Inspiteofthehierarchybehindthesetting,itis stillunclearhowthishierarchyinfluencesthis eroticfight.IssheeverinlovewithMopsus?Int hepreviousdescriptionbyLycidasaboutPhyllis withMopsus,wedonotfindinMopsusaTheocritean goatherd'stypicalapparentdisadvantage(in appearance,etc.)orcompletefailureinheterosexu allove,suchaswesawinthegoatherdof *Idyll*

3.[221] Yet, again, the goatherd would fail. When the poem ends with Iollas' setting out to see Phyllis as Lycidas' errand, on Tityrus' return with the missing heifer, we can expect Iollas' successful return with the girl. Then, Lycidas the cowherd's plea with a list of rustic gifts, which seems closely modelled after the helpless and desperate one by the Theocritean goatherd in *Idyll* 3 or Polyphemus in 11, would work well here to recover the girl's love away from a goatherd. Lycidas, then, would maintain his superiority over the goatherd, by never falling into the desperate goatherd's role of the Theocritean comedy of *Idyll* 3.

In some other poems, the distinction between different kinds of herdsmen is often almost absent, for example, in *Eclogues* 2 and 6, due to the herdsmen's general treatment as 'rustics'. This occasional disregard of the hierarchy is seen more significantly in the several representations of Corydon, a possible pastoral mask of Calpurnius: the Corydons of *Eclogues* 1 and 7 are cowherds, and the Corydon of *Eclogue* 4 is a shepherd of sheep and goats. Although we do not necessarily have to take these Corydons as identical, there is a common attitude in these characters, which is the 'divine' link, similar to what we occasionally saw in Theocritus' cowherds.[222] The divine link may tell of the existence of the hierarchy-based characterisation of the cowherds (except the case of *Eclogue* 4): the same sort of nobility and a slight distance from rusticity (compared to other kinds of herdsmen) as we found in Theocritean cowherds may apply to those in Calpurnius. Since the cowherds including Corydon in *Eclogue* 1 find a mythical or divine link (Faunus and the Golden Age) on a tree, we may suspect that the epiphany of any kind of divine being is hardly described in pastoral unless it is related to cowherds (e.g. Hermes' visit to Daphnis in *Idyll* 1, Tityrus' encounter with 'deus' in Vergil's *Eclogue* 1). Also, Corydon the cowherd's visit to Rome in Calpurnius' *Eclogue* 7 can be interpreted as a version after Vergil's Tityrus' to Rome or the Theocritean Aegon's heroic journey to Olympia. What we may call a divine link in the shepherd (of sheep and goats) Corydon is his wish that his song reach *deus*, the emperor. Corydon of *Eclogue* 4, humble as he is, hopes that his song will go beyond his rustic village and dreams of the imperial court (*forsitan augustas feret haec Meliboeus ad aures.* 1.94), as Corydon of *Ecl.* 1, who also wishes Meliboeus would help his song be heard by '*deus*' (94) does.

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[221] See pages 34-6.
[222] See page 53.

This reveals that Calpurnius does not always distinguish shepherd from cowherd as precisely as Theocritus does, as far as the divine favour is concerned. Since Calpurnius often brings the contrast between 'city' and 'country' to his poems, especially in his encomiastic poems (1, 4 and 7), he emphasises that a cowherd is still a rustic to city-dwellers' eyes:

outinam nobis non rustica vestis inesset;
vidissem propius mea numina!

<div align="right">(Ecl.7.79-80)</div>

Still, the author's particular choice of a shepherd of sheep and goats for the protagonist's occupation certainly has some meanings: a shepherd of sheep and goats, Corydon is associated with rusticity or humbleness of life. In comparison with Theocritus, a shepherd or goatherd character here may not be a comedy with so severe an irony, but more like a symbol of the humble life with which the poet sympathises. When a poet appears as a bucolic character in his own poetry, it is interesting to observe what kind of herdsman he chooses to assume, bearing the hierarchy in mind. In Theocritus' *Idyll* 7, as long as we take Simichidas as Theocritus himself, it was an ex-cowherd figure that the poet adopted, perhaps in order to show the distance between him and the very rusticity, which is often represented by goatherds, his poetry is yet to reach. [223] In Calpurnius' case, as I wrote briefly above, the role he took in *Eclogue* 4 seems to be a shepherd.

The *Eclogue* features three herdsmen: Corydon, his brother Amyntas and their patron Meliboeus. Although hardly anything is known for certain about Calpurnius' life, the readers have tried to trace his life from his poetic lines. In this attempt, many have agreed that Corydon, who tells a long auto-biographical story (29-63), is probably a bucolic mask of Calpurnius himself, and some also say that Meliboeus might be Seneca, thus making Calpurnius a Neronian poet. [224] The herdsmen Corydon and Amyntas seem to tend sheep (168) as well as goats (166), whereas there is no clear specification of what kind of animal Meliboeus herds. The choice of sheep and goats for the brothers' animal perhaps implies their rusticity (as bucolic poets) and current humble status. Rusticity, *rusticitas*, is also Corydon's character in poetry (*nunc mea rusticitas, si non valet arte*

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[223] See page 72-3.
[224] See Mayer 2006:458 and Magnelli 2006:469 in Fantuzzi-Papanghelis 2006.

polita/carminis, at certe valet pietate probari 14-15).[225]

We note Corydon's humble status when he speaks in praise of the new emperor, whose mercy saved him from giving up singing and leaving the country (*non eadem nobis sunt tempora, non deus idem* 30).

o mihi quae te ret id ecurrunt carmina uersu
tunc, Meliboee, sonent si quando montibus istis
dicar habere Larem, si quando nostra uidere
pascua contingat! uel lit nam saepius aurem
inuida paupertas et dicit: "ouili a cura!"
attu, si qua tamen non aspernanda putabis,
fer, Meliboee, deo mea carmina: nam tibi fas est
sacra Palatini penetralia uisere Phoebi.

(*Ecl*.4.152-159)

At the moment, Corydon, a hired worker without any farm of his own (44),[226] is often urged by poverty (*paupertas*) to direct all his attention to sheepfold (*ouilium*). Still he asks Meliboeus to mediate between Corydon and the emperor (*deus*), wishing the emperor will hear his song. The sheepfold in this poem seems to have a double meaning: the sheepfold in a literal sense, on which the survival of a shepherd's means of obtaining a living depends, and the sheepfold in poetics, which stands for the humble theme of bucolic poetry.

tu mmihi taliseris, qualis qui dulce sonantem
Tityron esiluis dominam deduxit in urbem
ostenditque deos et "spreto" dixit "ouili,
Tityre, rura prius, sed post cantabimus arma."

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[225] Magnelli 2006:471 takes Corydon of *Ecl*.7 is the same persona as Corydon in *Ecl*.4, so that Corydon's *rusticitas* is also found in his outer look (*rustica uestera* 7.79) as well as in his poems (4.14-15). However, as we have seen, Corydon of *Ecl*.7 seems to tend bulls (3). If we take the meanings of given animals seriously, the two Corydon are not the same person.
[226] Keene 1887:114.

<div align="center">(*Ecl*.4.160-163)</div>

The humbleness of the tiny sheepfold, *ouile,* represents the rusticity, *rus,* for a poet to sing prior to *arma*. When the poet takes a shepherd's or goatherd's ma skin his own poem, he seems to express the humble status in which he currently is (financi ally in his real life and also as a poet) and from which he wishes to rise, with youthful ambition, so far as to trace the footsteps of Vergil, who is presented here as a legend, Tityrus.

carmina iam dudum, non quae nemorale resultent,
volvimus, o Meliboee; sed haec, quibus aurea possint
saecula cantari, quibus et deus ipse canatur,
qui populos urbesque regit pacemque togatam.

<div align="center">(*Ecl*.4.5-8)</div>

quicquid id est, silvestre licet videatur acutis
auribus et nostro tantum memorabile pago;
nunc mea rusticitas, si non valet arte polita
carminis, at certe valeat pietate probari.

<div align="center">(*Ecl*.4.12-15)</div>

This poem illustrates the rusticity, or humbleness, of the 'sheepfold' as a starting point for an epic poet, more clearly than the *Idyll 7* does. In *Idyll 7*, Simichidas tells he was once herding cows and is now an epic poet from town, wishing ambitiously for the recognision by Ptolemy. [227] This reveals an important aspect of Calpurnius' Corydon's idea a bout the countryside. Perhaps he rejects embracing 'rusticity' in himself and aspiring to be someone greater than a mere rustic, [228] in some ways unlike Lycidas of *Idyll 7*, who is intensely rustic, compared to Simichidas . Corydon wishes to sing a song suitable for the new age under the empe ror. After admitting that his song is rustic,

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[227] See page 68.
[228] Newlands sees the Corydon in Eclogues 1, 4 and 7 as identical, and these poems demonstrates Corydon's development as a singer and also his grow ing detachment in his mind to the country, although he is still a rustic. See Newlands 1987.

lacking of sophistication and art, he asserts that it should still win approval for its loyalty.

Likewise, Corydon of *Eclogue* 7 shows a sort of rejection of rusticity in his attitude. He finds sophistication and attraction in the city Rome and its amphitheatre, having left there to home country somehow reluctant (7.13-18). The urban powers seems to be invading the pastoral world occasionally in Calpurnius.

In conclusion, the hierarchy works in some of the Calpurnius' poems to mark some cowherds as nobler, in a similar way as in Theocritus. It also helps shepherd or goatherd represents rusticity or humbleness, but in a less comical way than in some of the *Idylls*. However, the contrast between cowherd and lowlier herdsman is occasionally quite weak, which is a result of the author's pursuit of describing the opposition of 'city' and 'country', and humbleness in a more general sense, where the herdsman-figure becomes more or less the same sort of rustic.

3.5 *Longus and the Pastoral Hierarchy*

In the pastoral romance, *Daphnis and Chloe*, the herdsman-characters are clearly distinguished as either goatherds, shepherds or cow herds, and the hierarchy seems to function in characterising these herdsmen clearly. Longus seems to adopt many bucolic motifs, including the hierarchy, from Theocritus and occasionally alludes to the *Idylls*, although the basic storyline follows that of a 'foundling story' with wealthy city-dwelling characters. The characterisation of each person is complex in this novel, as the elements of being high and low in status, urban and rural, are intertwined within some of the characters.

As we have seen earlier in Chapter 1, Longus presents the pastoral hierarchy due to the difference in the value of animals. However, the goatherds, Daphnis and their foster-parents, are depicted as very different in character, since Daphnis is a nobleman by birth. The hierarchy and its influence are most clearly seen in the characters of the genuine goatherds, shepherds and cowherds, as outlined below.

Daphnis' foster parents, Lamon and Myrtale are the genuine slave goatherds in this novel. They are poor and apparently slaves. In their character, they are not as prominent as Daphnis. First, Lamon does not appear as an independent morally upstanding individual. When Lamon found the abandoned Daphnis, he thought of taking away only the tokens the baby had with him. On his second thought, he decided to take the baby home, because the she-goat taught him 'philanthropia' (εἰ μηδὲ αἰγὸς φιλανθρωπίαν μιμήσεται, 1.3.1). It is, however, a good characteristic of his to be teachable when he is encouraged by nature, which the she-goat represents here.

Second, his personality is not very developed as independent in his relationship to his master either. Lamon does not dare to have an intense loyalty, unlike Eumaeus and Philoetius in *the Odyssey*, who always display an absolute devotion to Odysse use even without the master's presence. Lamon is a meddling slave, who tries to please his master when the master visits him (4.1.2), hoping to be freed in the near future. Besides, his skills in cattle-raising seem inferior to Daphnis' (4.14). Later, he and his wife are liberated, largely because of their being Daphnis' foster parents (4.33.2), although Dionysophanes appreciates Lamon's own works as well to make promise to liberate him in the future (4.13.5).

Third, the uniqueness of the goatherd-couple is rather their ugly appearance and it is stressed repeatedly that Daphnis does not resemble them at all (ἔστι δὲ καλὸς καὶ οὐδὲν ἐοικὼς σιμῷ γέροντι καὶ μαδώσῃ γυναικί 3.32.1. and 4.20). The word σιμῷ appears here as well as in *Idyll* 3 to express an ugly, rustic feature of goatherds. Thus, the goatherds seem less prominent or independent in their character and 'realistically' ugly in their appearance.

Probably due to the hierarchical order, the shepherds, Dryas and Nape, who raised Chloe, are not as poor as Lamon and Myrtale (3.26.4). Although their ugly appearance is not as emphasized as that of the goatherd-couple (4.30.4) either, their features are more or less the same. In Book 3, Lamon and Dryas try to gratify their cupidity for wealth and higher social status through Daphnis or Chloe's marriage, making use of these two youths' high birth. Their personalities are described with limitations. These shepherds and the goatherds mainly function as befitting foster-parents to Daphnis and Chloe, rather than individuals (compared to Daphnis and Chloe). They recognise that the two abandoned children are misplaced in the country and try to promote Daphnis and Chloe to where they should belong, giving the two youths enough education (1.8.1) and hoping their true parents will be found.

A positive aspect of these pastoral characters of goatherds and shepherds is in their relationship to nature and the gods. They are faithful to the gods, like Pan and Dionysus, just as Philetas (cowherd) is. Also, the vigour they gain through their work in fields is appreciated (Οἱ δὲ ἀντείχοντο σκληροὶ γέροντες καὶ χεῖρας ἐκ γεωργικῶν ἔργων ἰσχυρὰς ἔχοντες, καὶ ἠξίουν δικαιολογήσασθαι περὶ τῶν γεγενημένων. 2.14.4), which strongly reminds us of the old fisherman's strength described in the wooden cup by Theocritus in *Id.* 1.39-44. Also, they represent rustic, innocent, merry moments in the countryside when they dance (2.36, 4.38).

In the novel, there appear three cowherds and some descriptions of them give the contrast between them and the goatherds/shepherds. Philetas the old cowherd is surely someone superior to Daphnis' foster-parents in his status and also in his character. He appears as a reliable arbitrator in the society (2.15.2) and tells Daphnis and Chloe about Eros' epiphany to himself, as only Philetas could recognize Eros at his old age (2.5.5). [229] He is a typical pastoral figure, being adept at piping,

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[229] Eros shows himself also to Lamon and Dryas in their dreams but neither of them could identify him as the love god (1.8). See also page 100.

secondonlytoPan(ἄλλος ὡς μόνου τοῦ Πανὸς δεύτερα συρίσας 2.32.3).

The other two young cowherds are strong rivals to D aphnis because they are wealthier than Daphnis the goatherd. However, at the same time, th eir characteristics are inferior to those of Daphnis, as they function as 'countrymen' in contra st to Daphnis as a noble man. They are depicted as arrogant and both of them resort to brutish atte mpts to win Chloe in vain (1.20.1, 4.7 and 4.28). In 1.20, Longus describes Dorcon's guile as τέχνην ποιμένι πρέπουσαν. The meaning of 'herdsman-like' is not very clear. Morgan understan ds it as both 'pastoral' and 'silly'. [230] This is perhaps related to the general ancient view of herd smen, which we observed in the tragedies in chapter 1. [231] Later, however, they reconcile with Daphnis by Dor con's saving life of Daphnis at his own death (1.29) and Lampis' playing aulos along wi th Philetas' syrinx at Daphnis' wedding, while the goatherd and the shepherd dance(Φιλητᾶς ἐσύρισε, Λάμπις ηὔλησε, Δρύας καὶ Λάμων ὠρχήσαντο, 4.38.3.) Both of the two young cowherds are good at piping. In particular, Dorcon says he taught a tune to Daphnis and has defeated m any other cowherds and goatherds in piping (1.29). We understand that the three cowherds are m ore individualised and add a very Theocritean feature as pipers, compared to the genuine goatherd s and the shepherds. They show a sort of rustic sophistication, compared to the the other lowlier h erdsmen.

Because of their peculiar birth, Daphnis and Chloe are partly free from the characterisation based on the hierarchy. Although Daphnis is a low li er and poorer herdsman than the cowherds, he is never portlayed as negative in his inner charact er. This is related to the fact that he has two sid es: a poor goatherd and a nobleman, since he is raised to be a slave goatherd but a nobleman by birth.

Daphnis' beauty, resembling Dionysus (ὡς ὅμοιον τῷ Διονύσῳ τὸ κάλλος 2.2.1.), constantly reminds us of his true identity: his bea uty does not befit a rustic(καὶ κάλλος αὐτοῖς ἐξεφαίνετο κρεῖττον ἀγροικίας. 1.7.1) or a slave(Ἐγὼ δὲ σώματος μὲν ἐρῶ δούλου, κάλλους δὲ ἐλευθέρου. 4.17.4.). His rustic features are favourable and he is likable as a person, 'ἀγαθὸν νεανίσκον' (4.18.1.5) and holds pastoral ideals: He is portra yed as a talented piper (e.g. 2.37.3, καλῷ τε ὄντι αἰπόλῳ καὶ μουσικῷ 4.15.4), efficient in herding, who could double th e number of goats (e.g. 3.29, 4.4.3).

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[230] Morgan 2004:168.
[231] See pages 14-15.

Since Daphnis' association to goats is presented positively, he resembles a goat in a positive way, as active as a goat (Σιωπηλὸς ἦν ὁ πρότερον τῶν ἀκρίδων λαλίστερος, ἀργὸς ὁ περιττότερα τῶν αἰγῶν κινούμενος. 1.17.4). Also, according to Hunter, Longus chose Daphnis to be raised by goatherds in order that Daphnis would assume goatish features in his sexuality.[232] His sexuality is marked as positive along with his youthful innocence.

On the other hand, negative aspects of being a goatherd are not taken into his nature seriously. In Daphnis' countercharge with Dorcon, he tells that he is not smelly and his goat is as large as Dorcon's cow (1.16.3). In spite of the fact that a lso in *Daphnis and Chloe* the rank smell of a goatherd is recognised as well as his particularly low status (e.g. 4.17.2), it is not considered an important feature of Daphnis, in the idealised portrayal of him. Thus, although Daphnis enjoys being in the country and loves his goats, his character is not very much like a goatherd, simply because he is not a goatherd by birth. He is described as rather a nobleman and superior in his character than a genuine slave goatherd.[233]

However, the concepts of goats and goatherds in this novel are not simple. As we have seen already, when Daphnis and Dorcon point out goatish features of each other to criticise one another, we find that the goats are still given negative images. However, there seem to be some positive images of goats and goatherds, in the course of idealising rusticity, and owing to the influence of Theocritus. The first point is, as we discussed before, the sexuality of Daphnis as a goatherd (3.13.1-3):

Ἐβληχήσατό που καὶ ποίμνιον· ἐσκίρτησάν που καὶ ἄρνες καὶ ταῖς μητράσιν ὑποκλάσαντες αὑτοὺς τὴν θηλὴν ἔσπασαν· τὰς δὲ μήπω τετοκυίας οἱ κριοὶ κατεδίωκόν τε καὶ κάτω στήσαντες ἔβαινον ἄλλος ἄλλην. Ἐγίνοντο καὶ τράγων διώγματα καὶ ἐς τὰς αἶγας ἐρωτικώτερα πηδήματα, καὶ ἐμάχοντο περὶ τῶν αἰγῶν· καὶ ἕκαστος εἶχεν ἰδίας καὶ ἐφύλαττε μή τις αὐτὰς μοιχεύσῃ λαθών. Καὶ γέροντας ὁρῶντας ἐξώρμησεν εἰς ἀφροδίτην τὰ τοιαῦτα θεάματα· οἱ δέ, νέοι καὶ σφριγῶντες καὶ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον ἔρωτα ζητοῦντες, ἐξεκάοντο πρὸς τὰ ἀκούσματα καὶ ἐτήκοντο πρὸς τὰ θεάματα καὶ ἐζήτουν καὶ αὐτοὶ περιττότερόν τι φιλήματος καὶ περιβολῆς, μάλιστα δὲ ὁ Δάφνις.

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[232] Hunter 1983:22-4. Here, the hierarchy and the affinities between Daphnis and Pan are noted as well.

[233] For the idealisation of Daphnis and Chloe, see MacQueen 1990:Chap.10.

The pleasant spring energises all the life in the pasture. There ewe-lambs leap, and he-goats mount she-goats, which has a direct impact on the goatherd. His passion gives us a pure impression, when it is restrained by their innocent lack of knowledge and youthful modesty. Interestingly, the erotic theme in Longus developed different concept of love from that in Theocritus: whereas in the *Idylls*, love often brings only frustration to herdsmen, Longus describes love also as gradually, healthily blooming according to Daphnis and Chloe's maturity, leading them to the happy ending of consummation on the wedding-night. [234] Here 'song as φάρμακον does not appear. Philetas tells Daphnis and Chloe that the only cure for love is the act of making love (2.7.7). [235]

Secondly, there seem to be some positive associations between goats and personas. Philetas, the learned old cowherd, who gives prayers to Pan, is depicted as wearing a goatskin (2.3.1):

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

This first appearance of Philetas is loosely based on that of Lycidas in *Idyll* 7. [236] Another association of him with goats is that Tityrus, his youngest son, is described being as lively as a goat (καὶ ἥλλετο κοῦφα βαδίζων ὥσπερ ἔριφος.2.32.1), just as Daphnis is.

Thirdly, in Lamon's speech in 2.33.3, an anonymous goatherd from Sicily (Σικελὸς αἰπόλος), who sang for him on Syrinx and Pan, appears, which is a clear allusion to the *Idylls*.[237] Longus' usage of the images of goat and goatherd is complex because he characterises the named goatherds with limitations, based on the concept of the pastoral hierarchy and, at the same time, under the influence of Theocritus, gives a positive meaning to goats/goatherd, as a symbol of idealised rusticity, pastoral energy and song.

Before closing this chapter, we shall address the issue of 'country' in Longus. In spite of the limited characterisation of some herdsmen, the idealisation of 'countryside' is more clearly seen in Longus than in Theocritus. For example, the goats taken good care of by Daphnis are rather

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[234] Morgan 2004:6. However, Daphnis does not reveal Lycaenion's instruction in sex to Chloe. For the gender roles of Daphnis and Chloe, see Morgan 2004:12.
[235] See also Di Marco 2006:484 in Fantuzzi-Papanghelis 2006:482.
[236] Morgan 2004:178.
[237] Hunter 1983:59.

romanticised as being great and sacred, ἱερὰν ἀγέλην (4.4.5). They are even considered as gods by Daphnis and Chloe, τὰς αἶγας καὶ τὰ πρόβατα ποιμένων καὶ αἰπόλων ἰδίους θεούς (2.39.6) and appear as symbols of nature. Daphnis and Chloe's sme   ntal attachment to the country life also adds to the non-ironical, idealised view of the country s   ide.

Conclusion

The herdsman is a unique being who holds various me   taphorical meanings in literature. Before Theocritus, herdsmen occasionally appeared i   n poetry and the early poets suggested to later poets several ways of presenting literary herdsmen.   They were associated with peace and vulnerability as humans in the   *Iliad*,[238] peace, order and justice in the   *Odyssey*,[239] functioning as intermediaries between beasts and gods as well as b   etween human and nature, rusticity and poetic inspiration in the   *Theogony*,[240] eroticism (anti-heroism) and cunningness in the   *Homeric Hymns* [241] and wildness and 'otherness' in some tragedies.   [242]

In the expansion of the subjects treated in hexamet   ers in the Hellenistic age, herdsmen became Theocritus' protagonists in his bucolic poet   ry. Some images of the earlier herdsmen are taken into Theocritus'   *Idylls*, after being partly modified, or sometimes radical   ly changed, to make new types of characters in hexameters.

In shaping herdsman-characters, we observe a rule c   oncerning their different status, as early as in the   *Odyssey*: the concept of the so-called pastoral hierarchy s   eems to have been rooted in characterising herdsmen occasionally in Greek liter   ature, and the hierarchical order, which places goatherd as the lowliest, shepherd as next and cowh   erd as the highest, seems to be derived from the different values of the animals they herd,   [243] and as far as goatherds are concerned, the negativ   e images the goat might have had and negative side-ef   fects which goat-herding could bring about (e.g. smell) seem to have affected the herdsmen's l   ow status. [244]

This status difference seems to result in the diffe   rent characteristics of different kinds of herdsmen in the   *Odyssey*, in which the goatherd is described as negative, w   hereas the blue-blooded swineherd and the cowherd are good and faithful sla   ves, who deserve a favourable treatment from their master (*Od.* 21.203-230).[245]   Likewise, in many literary works before Theocritus,   it seems cowherds are depicted as relatively positive, where   as we do not find positively marked goatherds

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[238] See pages 8-10.
[239] See pages 10-12.
[240] See pages 12-13.
[241] See pages 13-14.
[242] See pages 14-15.
[243] See page 5.
[244] See page 6.
[245] See pages 16-20.

andshepherdsareinbetweenthesetwocategories. [246]

IntheTheocriteancorpus,thedistinctionbetween differentkindsofherdsmenisveryclear, asfarasthemainherdsmen-charactersareconcerne d.Theocritusspecifieswhichtypeofherdsman, notonlytoadd'reality'tothesettingthecharac terisputinto,butalsotohelpeachoftheherds men takeondifferentcharacteristics,accordingtothe differenceinoccupationandstatus.Although Theocritusdoesnotexplainittohisreadersclear ly,wefindseverallinesinthe *Idylls*whichimply theideaofthehierarchybetweentheherdsmen(e.g . ἦνθον τοὶ βοῦται, τοὶ ποιμένες, ᾠπόλοι ἦνθον· *Id.*1.80).[247] The hierarchy is certainly at the back of Theocrit us' characterisation of his herdsmen.Thus,wehaveexploredsometypicalfeatu reseachtypeofherdsmenrepresents,partly basedontheideaofthehierarchy.

Thegoatherds'lowlinessisindicatedintheirsoci alstatusandrusticguise.Asfortheirstatus, Comatasin *Idyll*5seemstobeaslave,andthelegendaryComatasi n *Idyll*7alsohadamasterto serve,althoughthelattermaynotbeaslavebuta hiredman. [248] Wefindgoatherd-lowstatus association elsewhere,astheunnamedgoatherdin *Idyll*3,forexample,dealswithsome'realistic' working-classpeople(e.g. ἁ Μέρμνωνος ἐριθακὶς ἁ μελανόχρως 35).[249]

Inmanyofthe *Idylls*,thegoatherds'humbleandrusticguiseoftenindi catestheirrelatively lowerstatusthantheothertypesofherdsmen.The visibleindicatorsoftheirlowlystatusare,for example,theirsmell,barefeetandgoatskinashum bleattributes. [250] Besidestheirpossessions,we findsomephysicalfeaturestomarkagoatherd particularlyrustic(e.g. προγένειος3.9). [251]

Thegoatherdsareoftendescribedaslowlyandrust ic alsoinnature,behaviourandspeeches, whichisnotcontradictorytotheirlowstatusint hehierarchy. The goatherd in *Idyll* 4 is, for example,loud,emotional,acomicalcharacter,comp aredtohiscowherd-friendCorydon,whois calmandmoresophisticated: [252]

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[246] Seepages20-1.
[247] Seepage22.
[248] Seepage26.
[249] Seepage28.
[250] Seepages26-7.
[251] Seepages27-8.
[252] Seepages29-32.

ΒΑ. λεπτὸς μὰν χὠ ταῦρος ὁ πυρρίχος. αἴθε λάχοιεν

τοὶ τῶ Λαμπριάδα, τοὶ δαμόται ὅκκα θύωντι

τᾷ Ἥρᾳ, τοιόνδε· κακοχράσμων γὰρ ὁ δᾶμος.

ΚΟ. καὶ μὰν ἐς στομάλιμνον ἐλαύνεται ἔς τε τὰ Φύσκω,

καὶ ποτὶ τὸν Νήαιθον, ὅπᾳ καλὰ πάντα φύοντι,

αἰγίπυρος καὶ κνύζα καὶ εὐώδης μελίτεια.

(*Id*.4.20-25)

Here, the exaggerated comment on cows by Battus is refuted by Corydon's fact-based realistic speech. A theft motif appears in his speech as well as in that between the goatherd and shepherd in *Idyll* 5 to present these characters as lowly and coarse.[253]

One important aspect of the goatherds is their sexual desire. Theocritus describes love as almost always frustrating and disturbing the state of mind and this is expressed well through a goatherd,[254] when he suffers from love, although the sexual side of love or the character's rustic way is focused often, so that even his agonising pain appears as comical:[255]

ὦ μ' ἐκέλευ καθελεῖν τύ· καὶ αὔριον ἄλλα τοι οἰσῶ.

θᾶσαι μάν. θυμαλγὲς ἐμὶν ἄχος. αἴθε γενοίμαν

ἁ βομβεῦσα μέλισσα καὶ ἐς τεὸν ἄντρον ἱκοίμαν,

τὸν κισσὸν διαδὺς καὶ τὰν πτέριν ἅ τυ πυκάσδει.

(*Id*.3.10-14)

In case of Comatas in *Idyll* 5, he is a sexually vigorous character, whose coarse passion is described to duplicate that of a he-goat. Here we find an association of goatherds to goats in rusticity or wildness.[256]

The rusticity of the goatherds works to characterise the pastoral genre as unique, with an

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[253] See pages 74-5.

[254] See pages 32-3.

[255] See page 34.

[256] See pages 33-4.

often lowly and comical tone. Theocritus' view towards goatish lowliness is complex, sometimes ironic from the position of an educated city-dweller.[257] However, one of the most interesting things about Theocritus' characterising of herdsmen with the hierarchy is that he occasionally changes the way the rule of the hierarchy is applied to his characters: the goatherds are not always simply lowly. The highly intertextual nature of Hellenistic poetry encourages him to make allusions to earlier literature, and even shows some attempts to contradict with the tradition. When Comatas wins over the shepherd, we are tempted to take this as a playful challenge by Theocritus to Homer, in a way of describing a slave goatherd: [258]

οὗτος ὁ λευκίτας ὁ κορυπτίλος, εἴ τιν' ὀχευσεῖς
τᾶν αἰγῶν, φλασσῶ τυ, πρὶν ἢ ἐμὲ καλλιερῆσαι
ταῖς Νύμφαις τὰν ἀμνόν. ὃ δ' αὖ πάλιν. ἀλλὰ γενοίμαν,
αἰ μή τυ φλάσσαιμι, Μελάνθιος ἀντὶ Κομάτα.

(*Id*.5.147-150)

Theocritus emphasises the difference between Melanthius and his goatherd, the latter of whom is lowly, but eloquent enough to assert himself as a new protagonist of an epic poem.

Theocritus makes another allusion to Homer, in describing Lycidas, another goatherd. Theocritus duplicates his own goatherd's appearance with that of Homeric goatherd/Athena in the *Odyssey*.[259] This implies that Theocritus deliberately chooses goatherds to fashion them differently from the Homeric one, which leads to the difference of his poetics from that of Homer.

The cowherds, 'rustics' as they still are, appear nobler than the goatherds, and sometimes are described as heroic. The legendary cowherd, Daphnis, is commemorated in Thyrsis's song in *Idyll* 1, where Daphnis shows a Hippolytus-like sense of chastity and tenacious resistance to Eros, which leads him to death but to stand out as the only human who never gives up struggle with the powerful god, and marks himself and the Golden Age unity between herdsmen and nature/gods as

257 See page 38.
258 See pages 39-45.
259 See pages 46-7.

something rooted firmly in the distant and irretrievable past, to be sung by later herdsmen with admiration:[260]

λήγετε βουκολικᾶς, Μοῖσαι, ἴτε λήγετ᾽ ἀοιδᾶς.
νῦν ἴα μὲν φορέοιτε βάτοι, φορέοιτε δ᾽ ἄκανθαι,
ἁ δὲ καλὰ νάρκισσος ἐπ᾽ ἀρκεύθοισι κομάσαι,
πάντα δ᾽ ἄναλλα γένοιτο, καὶ ἁ πίτυς ὄχνας ἐνείκαι,
Δάφνις ἐπεὶ θνάσκει, καὶ τὰς κύνας ὥλαφος ἕλκοι,
κἠξ ὀρέων τοὶ σκῶπες ἀηδόσι γαρύσαιντο.᾽

(*Id.*1.131-136)

The intensity of Daphnis' love let Priapus compare him to a goatherd. However, Daphnis' complicated attitude to love, or his attempt to be free from sexual desire, contrasts with a goatherd's simple wish, as the goatherd longs for a sexual indulgence he never seems to reach (1.88). [261]

The Daphnis of *Idyll* 6 does not have this heroic status, but shows an ideal, harmonious relationship to his fellow-cowherd Damoetas. [262] This contrasts with the argumentative relationship in *Idyll* 5 between the goatherd and shepherd, which is a result of their lowliness brought about largely owing to their low social status as slaves. [263] This Daphnis functions as a 'real-life' or mundane version of the legendary Daphnis, and retains part of his predecessor's pastoral ideal of harmony and singing talent.

Theocritean shepherds do not seem to have one particular characteristic to distinguish them from the other types of herdsmen. Rather, they are placed at the mid-point of the goatherds and the cowherds, and can be described as similar to either type of the herdsmen: Thyrsis, who sings on Daphnis, may be understood as a similar singer to, or a successor of, the legendary cowherd. [264] Lacon is perhaps categorised as similar to Comatas in *Idyll* 5, with his aggressive attitude and

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[260] See page 53.
[261] See page 52.
[262] See page 54.
[263] See page 29.
[264] See note 144.

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'coarse' homosexual inclination. [265]

The different characteristics of herdsmen deliver d ifferent aspects/messages of the *Idylls*. Usually the goatherds more explicitly exhibit the m otif s bucolic poetry has come to encompass as a new genre: the manners and habits of lowly people a nd their rusticity. They serve primarily for urban readers' derisive laughter. When the goatherd in *Idyll* 3 serenades his beloved in κῶμος, his failure consequently sets down his rustic manners f ar apart from urban, more sophisticated manners. [266] Also, the herdsmen's manner is opposed to more tra ditional, heroic motifs, which are more commonly seen in the earlier literature of epi c and tragedy. [267] In both cases of contra-urban and contra-heroic context, the goatherds, rather th an cowherds, function well.

In order to analyse their rusticity and *aepolic* or intensely pastoral nature, we directed much of our attention to the goatherds in this thesis. I n its course, we discussed some goatherds in relati on to Theocritus' poetics. Lycidas, a mysterious goath erd, embodies two things: a down-to-earth goatherd-character in the bucolic picture and 'the bucolic poetry' itself with his intense bucolicism in the frame of the *Idyll*. [268] Here, rusticity is not the target of readers' laug hter, but is elevated to represent the bucolic ideal, closeness or harmony w ith nature. A goatherd as the symbol of rusticity and of bucolicism is seen also in *Idyll* 1, where an anonymous goatherd describes an ivy-cu p, which constitutes a bucolic version of *ecphrasis*. [269]

In his programmatic expression of his poetics, Theo critus often employed a pair of 'one cowherd and one goatherd' characters. There, the go atherds came to bear Theocritean most radical messages to assert the bucolic genre as a new kind of epic. At the same time, the cowherds' nobility helps to locate the new pastoral within the wider c urrent of the epic tradition. [270] Theocritean pastoral poetics are systematically made of these t wo sides, *aepolic* and *bucolic*. Thus, we conclude that the study of the hierarchy and its influence o n the characters certainly have served to our deepe r understanding of the characterisations and also of Theocritus' presentation of his pastoral poetics.

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[265] See page 33.
[266] See page 38.
[267] See pages 38-9.
[268] See pages 70-1.
[269] See pages 64-6.
[270] See pages 64-7.

Theocritus laid much of the basis for the developme nt of the bucolic genre in European literature. However, Theocritean bucolic is somethi ng in the process of creation and offers later bucolic poets a range of possibilities, rather than certainties. The hierarchy as a pastoral rule is inherited by some of the later poets, and the way t he rule is applied differs in each poet. Generally, however, the hierarchical order seems to have becom e less prominent in characterising herdsmen than in Theocritus.

In the pseudo-Theocritean corpus, the distinction b etween different kinds of herdsmen (goatherd, shepherd, or cowherd) starts to become b lurred (e.g. Menalcas in *Idylls* 8 and 9 keeps both sheep and goats: 8.49-50, 9.16-17). [271] Likewise in Vergil, the distinction is often very obscure, since many of the herdsmen appear as herding more t han one kind of animal and the animals to herd are not even named for some herdsmen, so that the hierarchy or its distinctions, for example in *Eclogues* 3 and 5, cannot be so important in understanding the characters as in Theocritus. [272]

Moreover, we notice that the hierarchy is ignored i n some authors' works. In Moschus and Bion, the hierarchy is almost absent in the charact ers, largely because the herdsmen appear to represent 'rustics' with their romantic association with rural ease or nostalgia, or 'passionate lover s' (like Theocritean herdsmen), and being a cowherd or goatherd does not give them any particular difference in the features, [273] although Bion 10 may be an exception, where the au thor depicts the character as a cowherd, due to the cowherd's nobili ty, divine link or the bucolic metaphor (if the character is a pastoral mask of the author himself) .[274]

We also have investigated some other poems where th e hierarchy seems to work to characterise the herdsmen. For example, *Idylls* 8 and 9 seem to present Daphnis the cowherd as nobler and Menalcas more down-to-earth. [275] Also, in case of *Idyll* 20 and 27, the cowherd-characters are idealised and associated wit h eloquence and intelligence, thus their noble characterisation is not inconsistent to that in The ocritus.[276]

Also in Calpurnius, we find a use of the hierarchy in characterisation in *Eclogue* 3, where a

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[271] See pages 78-9.
[272] See page 92.
[273] See pages 87-8.
[274] See page 88-9.
[275] See pages 78-82.
[276] See pages 82-6.

cowherd tries to regain his girlfriend's love from a goatherd. The cowherd seems to maintain his superiority over the goatherd and this is perhaps derived from the hierarchical order between the herdsmen, because the cowherd never falls into the role of a Theocritean desperate goatherd-lover's role.[277]

Perhaps Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* is one of the works whose characterisation of the herdsmen reflects the idea of the hierarchy most closely after Theocritus. We find the hierarchical order between the goatherds (Daphnis' foster-parents),[278] shepherds (Chloe's foster-parents)[279] and the cowherds (Philetas and the two youths)[280] in their status and wealth, as well as in their appearance and their characters and abilities. The goatherds are less developed as individual characters and presents rusticity (e.g. ugly feature and less independent nature) more clearly than the other types of herdsmen. The cowherds are, on the other hand, more ideally Theocritean characters, so as to play pipes. Philetas is especially marked positive, sophisticated and intelligent.

In this novel, where the 'urban' and 'rural' elements intertwine in some of the characters, Daphnis is depicted as 'unusually' beautiful goatherd, because of his noble birth.[281] The reasons of his being raised by the goatherds are probably to illustrate his sexuality,[282] and also to create a gap between his true identity and humbler rural life.[283] However, the rusticity and lowliness in Longus is not all negative, since the romanticising and idealisation of the country in the novel seems to have much advanced since Theocritus. The goatherds and shepherds also hold positive characters, in their close relationship to nature and the gods.[284] In addition to this, what we find most interesting are some positive goats/goatherds images in Longus, probably due to the influence of Theocritus (e.g. Philetas' goat-skin and the anonymous goatherd-singer).[285]

As above, we found some cowherd-characters associated with nobility, and some goatherds, although less in number, with rusticity in several poets, which was not inconsistent to the Theocritean depictions based on the hierarchy. After Theocritus, however, there is generally the

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[277] See pages 98-100.
[278] See pages 105-6.
[279] See page 106.
[280] See pages 106-7.
[281] See pages 107-8.
[282] See pages 108-9.
[283] See page 18.
[284] See page 106.
[285] See pages 109-110.

lack of the contrast or conflict between different kinds of herdsmen and Theocritean goatish comedy, which results in the less ironical view towards the rusticity of the herdsmen and often contributes to the general, romanticised images of herdsmen and the country. [286]

Besides, it is sometimes not very clear whether the poets strongly intended to present the hierarchy or if it is the result of their taking over some elements from Theocritus, save for cases such as the *Epitaph for Bion* and *Daphnis and Chloe,* in both of which it is almost certain that the authors chose the characters' occupation (cowherd, shepherd or goatherd) carefully. In *Epitaph for Bion*, Bion appears as a cowherd, probably in order to let Bion take in Daphnis-like nobility and his harmony with nature. Also Bion duplicates the image of the cowherd for his heroism in his death and also for the associations with epic: Bion has become a new Homer and his poems are understood as a new kind of epic. [287]

In Theocritus, the hierarchy functioned clearly not only for the characterisation of the herdsmen, but also for the poet's presentation of his poetics. Contrary to that, the uses of the hierarchy by the later poets often do not seem to bear the depth in its meaning concerning their poetics, or their idea about the pastoral genre, except in some cases including *Idyll* 20, Vergil's *Eclogue* 1 and Calpurnius' *Eclogue* 4.

Idyll 20 employs a noble, intelligent cowherd with idealised rusticity, to assert effectively the autonomy of the pastoral genre and the pride of a rustic strongly against 'city'. [288]

In *Eclogue* 1, Vergil seems to intend the use of the hierarchy between the herdsmen Tityrus and Meliboeus. Tityrus, who keeps sheep and cows, marched to Rome to meet *deus* and kept his right to stay in the country, whereas Meliboeus the goatherd is forced to leave the country, never having left it before. By presenting Meliboeus as a goatherd with his deep attachment to the rural life, Vergil highlights the tragedy of a rustic and the irony of an innocent down-to-earth life being lost because of the urban threat. [289]

In *Eclogue* 4 by Calpurnius, we may read the poet's ideas about this life as a poet more explicitly than others, and the hierarchy seems to work occasionally there, but not consistently.

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[286] See page 91.
[287] See page 91.
[288] See pages 84-5.
[289] See page 96.

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Corydon of *Eclogue* 4 is a shepherd of sheep and goats, which allows him to bear the rusticity. [290] He is probably an alter-ego of Calpurnius and the humbleness of the goatherd/shepherd-character and his sheepfold (*ouilium*) manifests the poet's current humble status, financially and also socially as a poet. [291] However, there is also disregard to the hierarchy, or to the difference between herdsmen in Calpurnius, as he occasionally treat the herdsmen almost all the same rustics: Corydon, a humble shepherd as he is, who seeks the emperor's favour, as well as the cowherd Corydon of *Ecl*. 1 does. He may reject to embrace the rusticity (rural life and his fame only within the village) and wants to be acknowledged by the emperor, almost in the same way as the ex-cowherd Simichidas (the pastoral mask of Theocritus) of *Idyll* 7 does. [292]

In our survey of the hierarchy in some post-Theocritean pastoral, their various uses of the hierarchy and its occasional absence tell us of the developments of the pastoral genre into diversity. Even the absence of the hierarchy itself helps us understand where the authors' literary purposes are directed by means of the pastoral (e.g. 'city' and 'country' opposition in Calpurnius). Still, it is also probably appropriate to see some strong Theocritean influence in some significant descriptions of the goatherds, especially in Meliboeus of Vergil's *Eclogue* 1 and the anonymous goatherds in *Idyll* 8 and Longus: the authors seem to have seen the very rusticity, the Theocritean intense bucolicism, in these goatherd-characters, and in the case of the unnamed goatherds, use their image as a tribute to Theocritus. We see that their literary meanings have been changed largely by Theocritus from their being completely 'other' to become figures to be sympathised with.

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[290] See page 101.
[291] See pages 102-3.
[292] See pages 100-1.

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