Although the new uates absorbs and masters heroic tradition in its Catullan form, the child hardly figures in a conventional epic narrative, not yet: he resembles not Peleus, Ariadne or Achilles so much as the audiences of didactic epic .. the brother of Hesiod or the patron of Lucretius. Like them, he is the object of instruction and persuasion. To be sure, Homer turns aside to remonstrate with Patroklés, Catullus apostrophizes the old heroes, and Virgil in eclogue six can commiserate with Pasiphae, enamored of a bull. In eclogue four, however, the empathetic turn grows into the main thrust, from promising the child miracles in the long central prophecy to closing with calls for him to take cognizance and act.

Besides the didactic stance, the vision of process under way in nature also evokes Lucretius. Innumerable similarities suggest that Virgil was reading and absorbing his text. Yet again and again a detail gets a new twist in the new context, as we noticed briefly in Chapter one. The literary process invites comparison with Virgil’s appropriations from Catullus, only that the natural metaphor for the process now would come from the Lucretian account of natural change, in which atoms from one world get released and recomposed to form a very different new world.

A. Comparisons begin with the opening talk of process:

(4.1-3)

Sicelides Musae, paulo maiora canamus.
non omnes arbusta iuuant humilesque myricae;
si canimus siluas, siluae sint consule dignae.

Sicilian Muses, let us sing slightly greater songs.
Humble plantings of tamarisk do not serve everyone;
if we sing woods, let woods be consul-worthy.

Paulo occurs nowhere else in Virgil and is very unusual in

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1 Fundamental work of compiling was done by W. A. Merrill, “Parallels and Coincidences in Lucretius and Virgil,” UCPCP 3, 3 (1918) 135-247. Interpretation remains to be done: see next note.

2 Useful preliminary observations in B. Farrington, “Vergil and Lucretius,” AClass 1 (1958) 45ff. For Lucretius and other poets, see, also by Merrill, “Cicero’s Knowledge of Lucretius’ Poem, (1909), Lucretius and Cicero’s Verse (1921), in UCPCP.
poetry generally, apart from Lucretius, who used it in fifteen
places, among them the following half-line: 3 (DRN 2.137)

...paulo maiora laccessunt.

...they harass those a bit greater.

―They, at this point in Lucretius’ argument are smaller
atoms that jostle and strike, ‘harass’, the atoms next above them, ‘a
bit greater’, which in turn harass others still greater. These acts of
discrete violence, which Lucretius refers to as the certamina
mundi, the contests of the cosmos, get repeated rising bit by bit,
paulatim, up the scale of size until they transfer the motion finally
to particles large enough to strike even the gross particles of human
sense. This idea of a causal continuum between small and great
serves Lucretius to justify a mode of argument employed by
Epicurean physics, reasoning by analogy between ordinary sense
objects and the invisible atomic world. Paulo, then, marks a slight
but distinguishing degree of difference in the magnitude of atoms.

In Virgil, the scene shifts from physics to poetics, setting off
a metaphorical comparison between the processes of Lucretian
nature and Virgilian art. In nature the causal force is the harassing
restlessness of atoms in their cosmic ‘contests’. In the eclogue, it is
the poet who urges ‘Sicilian Muses’ to sing something greater. His
brusque injunction, ‘let us sing’, stands ironically compared with
harassment, while here in poetry, too, contests result. The ultimate
reach of Virgil’s ambition would be to narrate the child’s eventual
deeds in song that would compete with such mythical figures of
poetic tradition as Linus and Orpheus, Calliope and Apollo, even
Pan (4.53-59). Of that claim, more can be said elsewhere.

The following hint of what ‘greater things’ in poetry might
be incorporates a trace of Lucretian poetics and psychology. The
verb iuvere served Lucretius to describe his pleasure in writing,
which he compared to drinking from fresh and copious springs and
plucking new flowers (1.927). Elsewhere he used iuvere to
describe the benefits of peace for man, with Venus as the active
agent; and the same verb expressed the beneficial effects that
music and poetry, carmina, along with sufficient food, had on early
man living in a bright and tranquil countryside (5.1381, 1388). 5

3 In Plautus, five times, always paulo post or prius; Catull., twice; Hor., eight
times, one not hexameter; Propertius, none.; Ovid, four; Lucan, none.; Seneca,
tragedy, none; Statius, twice. B. Axelson, Unpoetische Wörter (Lund, 1945) 95,
notes the rarity of paulo post in poetry: once in Lucretius, four times in Hor., not
found in other poets. The instances of paulo in Ovid are all with comparative, as
in E.4.1.

4 For Epicurean principles of investigating the imperceptible by means of
analogies, see C. Bailey, Tit Lucreti Car... (Oxford, 1950) 59.

5 Lucretius also imagines the origin of song in that idyllic past, with men
imitating birds and learning from the zephyrs how to sing: the image recalls
Theocritus’ first idyll, with its close parallel of natural and human music. More
audaciously, Virgil imagines man in–struct–ing nature: see Philip Damon,
―Modes of Analogy in Ancient and Modern Verse, UCPCP 15 (1961, Berkeley)
261-334, especially pp. 281ff.
Far from thoughts of contentment, Virgil speaks of poetic insufficiency and change towards a higher goal: the scale of physical magnitude, applicable in Lucretian nature, gives way to a hierarchy of values, in which ‘greater’ gets defined in Roman terms: poetry must become ‘consul-worthy’, offering pleasure and benefit, not merely in the private sphere, but with public value and relevance. Unlike Lucretius, who sought to draw his audience, Memmius, away from public affairs, Virgil proposes to reach out to the public sphere. Indeed, he imagines an audience, the boy, capable of transforming the world through the instruction offered in the poem.

B. When Virgil turns to the image of the kairos, Lucretian elements also come into play, again with strong reversals: (4.4-7)

ultima Cumaei uenit iam carminis aetas.
magnus ab integro saeclorum nascitur ordo.
iam reedit et urgo, reudent Saturnia regna
iam noua progenies caelo demittitur alto.

Now the last age of Cumaean song has come.
The great succession of the centuries is being born anew.
now also the maiden returns, Saturn’s realms return.
now a new line is being let down from the deep sky.

In the second verse, –saeclorum has been taken by commentators to mean ‘centuries’, even ‘epochs’ in a cosmic cycle, suited to the surrounding themes. Yet later in the eclogue, –saecla. also takes on a Lucretian coloring, ‘generations of living creatures, men, wild beasts, even inanimate things’; the Parcae authorize extraordinary forms of growth as well as periods of time.

In consequence the eclogue might be said to mingle the peculiar, Lucretian sense with something more historical and public. The placement of –magnus framing the entire verse has ample Lucretian precedents, but ‘great order’ evokes with emphasis a philosophical tradition of the great year, and of its possible return afresh, –ab integro, that Lucretius would deny. To be sure, he insists almost formulaically on the order of natural processes: (DRN 5.679)

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6 Lucretius speaks of public affairs as distracting both himself and Memmius (1.41-43), who is called from the pleasures of poetry to look after the common good (–praesesse communi saluti). Virgil speaks to one audience, Pollio, who is engaged in the world –consule and –duce, and he exhorts the child to take up responsibility in the world. Far–rington (above n. 2) 47 comments on the unwonted ap–pear–ance of political content in the Bucolics, unlike Lucretius, and calls Virgil –anxious to avow the dependence of pastoral on the statesman.

7 Büchner’s term for the turning point in time, RE 2.15.1197.39-41, quoted in Chapter one, n. 9.

8 E.g. DRN. 1.27 (=2.1120), 1.1104, 2.380, 632, 639; 5.392, 939, 983, 1075, 1315, 1383, etc. Yet only two in all book 4, both genitive with noun: 4.538, 679, cf. 3.1072. On the whole not so rare as thought by G. Radke, –Aurea Funis, Gymn. 63 (1956) 83. For the pattern in other hexameter, see C. Conrad, HSCP 69 (1965) 224ff.

9 Cf. 5.1430; 2.489, 494.
iam redeunt ex ordine certo.

now they return according to a fixed succession.

But return, in Lucretius’ scheme of things, takes place only seasonally and locally. The whole cosmos itself, he believes, once it has reached its peak, must inevitably run down, disintegrating, eroded by atomic rain. Its atoms will go to form other worlds; this one cannot be renewed. Thus he associates the adjective integer, ‘untouched’, with the pure springs of poetry; it would not suit a world conceived as subject to erosion by the incessant touching, pounding atoms. Ironically, his account of the returning seasons, redeunt..., resembles Virgil’s emphatic redeunt..., redeunt... (4.6), although Virgil evokes a mythic return ruled out by the Epicurean creed of Lucretius.

A further repetition of iam brings the picture of kairos to its climax (4.7). The idea of a new line let down from heaven recalls and revises Lucretius where he, in turn, had quarrelled with Homer (Il. 8.19) as interpreted by the Stoics. Lucretius held as an Epicurean tenet that the gods did not intervene in natural and human affairs and that all creation took place on initiative of the material, by the self-moving agency of the atoms themselves: in his view, life came up from earth not down from heaven: (DRN 2.1153-54)

haud ut opinor enim mortalia saecla superne
aurea de caelo demisit funis in arua

For in no wise, I think, did a golden rope let down from heaven mortal generations from above to the fields.

Only here, in rebutting the Stoic allegory of Homer, does Lucretius use the phrase caelo demittere, which Virgil adapts in a striking verbal array that underlines his differences with Lucretius: (4.7)

iam noua progenies caelo demittitur alto.

Noua emphatically counters the Lucretian idea of irreversible decay and the rest of the verse denies his view that life does not descend from above. Both adjectives, noua and alto,

11 DRN 1.927: iuuat integros accedere fontes; Pacuvius, in Cicero, de div. 131: quicquid est hoc omnia animat format alit auget creat/ sepielit recipitque in sese omnia omniumque idemst pater/ indemque eademque oriuntur de integro atque eodem occidunt. Pacuvius envisioned a universal father, Lucretius a universal mother.
12 Radke (above n. 9) 83, discusses the linguistic problem, that funis elsewhere is masculine, and the stylistic question, whether aurea, could be construed with arua. Separation of attribute from substantive framing an entire verse is more frequent than he admits, yet he is probably correct in referring aurea funis ultimately to Homer’s golden rope, with change of gender owed to the attraction of Greek seira. Munro suggests that Lucretius is rejecting some Stoic allegory. Büchner notes the Homeric origin and anti-Stoic cast of Lucretius, without ap-preciating its relevance to B. 4: RE 2.15.1197.8-12.
13 Cited by Merrill (n. 1); other instances in Virgil are given by Radke (n. 8) 86.
receive emphasis from their arrangement in chiasmus; and alto may have a special force as the last word and because it follows, not precedes, its noun in an epic form of separation. Undercutting Lucretius in this way, Virgil reasserts, reclaiming for himself, a mythic mode of thought like that Lucretius rejected. Indeed the thrust of his reversals of Lucretius in this section might be read as Virgil’s move towards a poetry more Homeric than Lucretian, in other words the eventual narrative of deeds, which he will project later in the eclogue (4.53-54). To that end, he is well served by the appropriations from the Catullan epic, such as saeclorum and progenies, noted in Chapter two, the latter a new hero.

C. In the prayer and initial prophecy at the child’s birth (4.8-10), with the phrase nascenti puero. Virgil approaches as closely as ever in the Bucolics to one of Lucretius’ most frequent words and central concepts. Natura, which never appears in the Bucolics, is abstract, meaning the process of coming into being. It serves Lucretius to objectify the whole, summa rerum. When Virgil wants a comparable term, he uses mundus, which implies the orderly aspect of the whole, or omnia, which implies the exhaustiveness and the generality, or totum, which implies the entirety, and these but sparingly. Virgil prefers the variety of concrete things, the pines, narcissus, springs, goats, leaves and even shadows, or in eclogue four, a child, not children.

In the Lucretian concept of nature, one thing comes into being only when it can absorb atoms given off by the death of something else, as noted above. Something similar appears to be implicit in Virgil’s idea of the social transformation to be produced by the agency of the child: (4.8-9)

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14 Cf. B. 4.3, 13 discussed in Chap. 2.
15 Natura occurs 237 times. nascenti puero is found at 1.113 (cf. 3.671, 4.60, etc.): birth, the way things come into being, is both form and content for Lucretius, as Munro recognized: What he means by rerum natura will sufficiently appear in the course of the poem; they are two of four words, corpus and ratio being the other two, that appear with such curious frequency (above n. 8) 27, on 1.25. The seven most frequent words in Lucretius are sum (1599), res res (637), corpus (549), omnis (507), terra (267), natura (237), and ratio (223), according to D. C. Swanson, A Formal Analysis of Lucretius’ Vocabulary (Minneapolis, 1962) 177.
16 Natura means mode de naissance and de rerum natura is sur la manière dont les choses sont nées, E. Benveniste, Noms d’agent et noms d’action en indo-européen (Paris, 1948) 103.
17 Munro (above n. 8) 27, on 1.25.
18 Likewise he uses res, things, only once in the Lucretian sense, and that in a notoriously Lucretianizing passage of eclogue six: B. 6.35: et rerum Paulatim sumere formas: note also Paulatim and formas. More Virgilian is eclogue three where res is the ‘not slight stuff’ of a bucolic contest (3.54).
19 See DRN 1.250-649, ‘rains’ die to produce ‘grains’: nothing grows up unless nourished by the death of something else. The hyperbaton with toto. in penthemimeral cesura is something of a struc-tural commonplace: Lucretius 3.410, etc., and ultimately Euphorion.
... nascenti puero quo ferrea primum
desinet ac toto surget gens aurea mundo

... boy just now being born through whom iron first
will cease and golden race rise in the whole cosmos

Acting as a formula, ¬primum... ac coordinates the two contrasting races:20 conservation of matter is implied, with the iron race leaving off first and then the golden race arising. The process of exchange, which was physical in Lucretius, acquires an ethical and political overtone in the new frame.

D. The ensuing expansion and articulation of the future contains further contacts and contrasts with Lucretius: (4.11-17)

D. The ensuing expansion and articulation of the future contains further contacts and contrasts with Lucretius: (4.11-17)

In your consulship, Pollio, yours this glory of the age will start and the great months take up their course.
under your command, if any traces of our crime remain,
voided they will lose the lands from endless fear.
He will take up the gods’ life and see with gods heroes intermingled and himself be seen by them
and rule with ancestral virtues a world brought to peace.

Decus (10), which Virgil uses to describe his new hero,
was applied by Lucretius to his hero, Epicurus (DRN 3.3). Also, to describe ¬the beginning of the life or existence of some living or inanimate things, Lucretius five times used the phrase ¬ex ineunte aevo paralleled here in Virgil’s picture of the moment when the child will begin growing.21 Typically, what was natural and generic in Lucretius becomes specific and historical in Virgil, marked by the consular name and time.

The renewed address to Pollio, ¬te duce, marking a middle phase in the progress of growth, resonates with a passage in which Lucretius addressed his muse: (DRN 6.92-95)

20 On ¬ac see note 1.42. ‘Race’ recalls Hesiod, who spoke of five, not merely two, races. Schematizing, Virgil mentions only the extremes.
21 Munro (above n. 8) 156.
Taking up the time-worn metaphor of the poet as a racing driver, Lucretius imagined the race as a campaign under the Muse’s generalship, leading him to capture the garland of victory. In the eclogue, the military phrase has a more literal sense, since Pollio is imagined as a leader in some public role. The displacement of leadership to a public figure fits with Virgil’s whole departure from Lucretius, replacing, too, the old hero Epicurus with the new child. Yet the Lucretian trace also serves as a reminder that Pollio played literary as well as public roles.

The process Pollio would lead shows other Lucretian traces. Vestigia for Lucretius often meant signs that point a true course in reasoning, among them the words of Epicurus. Here the uestigia point a true course, bringing freedom from political fear. The attribute of fear, perpetua, which occurred 22 times in Lucretius to only four in Virgil, the other three in the Aeneid, occurred in a similar verse structure where Lucretius praised the sayings of Epicurus: (DRN 3.13-14)

...aurea dicta
aurea, perpetua semper dignissima uita.

...golden sayings,
golden, ever most worthy of unending life.

‘Golden’ is no idle metaphor in the imaginative economy of Lucretius, who counts on Epicurus’ words to combat fear, principally fear of death, which Lucretius sees as causing greed and war: for him, the gold of reasoned argument must overcome fear, hence material desire. In the eclogue, then, ‘golden’ and ‘worthy’ serve as motifs of praise.

The ensuing image of the child entering heroic society contains two Lucretian elements. The first, permixtos, occurs five times in Virgil, the other four in the Aeneid, notably permixti caede... / ...equi. (11.634-35) which recalls permixta caede. (DRN 3.641) and permixta flumina caede. (Cat. 64. 360): the word appears once more in the Catullan Wedding and ten more times in Lucretius in phrases describing physical not social or divine mingling. The last line recalls a Lucretian verse structure: placatumque nitet diffuso lumine caelum (avbBA: DRN 1.9).

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22 DRN 5.49, of Epicurus; DRN 1.402-08, in a comparison of hunting and knowing; cf. 4.707, 994 of dogs; then of perception and learning, DRN 2.114-28, 5.125ff., 4.87-89; and of his own poetry, DRN 3.3.

23 Cf. DRN 3.63-64, 79, 1.151, 3.981. Cf. 1.62-105, the cognitive heroism of Epicurus, freeing the world from religious terror, which is typified by the sacrifice of Iphigenia, but then the danger that a new convert will seek to desert, vanquished by the frightening sayings of the uates (102), where uates has its negative sense: charlatan, soothsayer.


25 The participle pacatum means peaceful and not pacified in Catullus (68.104) and Lucretius: DRN 3.292, 5.1152, 1201.
All told, the concatenation of links with Catullus’ *Wedding* and the *Aeneid* fits the other signs that Virgil’s program of growth tends towards epic goals.

E. Up to now the poem has been a prelude to the moment when Virgil turns to speak as if instructing the child newly born. Replicating the structure of the preceding prophecy, as we noted earlier, three stages also mark the prospective growth: a beginning, a middle and an end, each with its distinctive thematic color. First gifts of nature and pastoral culture, imagined as miraculously free of work, danger and guile, are said to mark the beginning (infancy and boyhood): (4.18-24)

\[
\text{at tibi prima, puer, nullo munuscula cultu} \\
\text{errantes hederas passim cum baccare tellus} \\
\text{mixtaque ridenti colocasia fundet acantho.} \\
\text{ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae} \\
\text{ubera, nec magnos metuent armenta leones.} \\
\text{ipsa tibi blandos fundent cunabula flores.} \\
\text{occidet et serpens, et fallax herba ueneni} \\
\text{occidet; Assyrium vulgo nascetur amomum.}
\]

But to you, boy, first little gifts with no cultivating...

ivy wandering everywhere with baccar and bean
of Egypt mingled with smiling acanthus...
earth will pour.
Themselves goats will bring home stretched with milk
their udders, nor will kine have fear of great lions.
Themselves for you cradles will pour out soothing flowers.
The snake will perish and the plant treacherous with venom
perish, too; Assyrian balm will be born commonly.

The theme ¬nullo cultu. (‘no toil, no art’, 18) sets the tone
for the whole section. It recalls Lucretian descriptions of the early,
fecund earth, or of new poetic growth, even though Lucretian
nature did not feature such plants as *amomum*, *baccar* or *colocasia*
which are exotic and miraculous, nor ivy and acanthus, which are
conventional ornaments in painting, sculpture and poetry. Virgil’s
prophecy also shares themes and forms of argument with two
places in which Lucretius described abundant growing. One
follows his denial, mentioned above, that life originated from
heaven. It was earth, says Lucretius, that first generated out of
herself, and on her own, herself created sleek grains and happy
vineyards, of her own accord, by her own design, gave out sweet
nurslings: (*DRN* 2.1156-59)

\[
\text{sed genuit tellus eadem quae nunc alit ex se.} \\
\text{praeterea nitidas fruges uinetaque laeta} \\
\text{sponte sua prime mortalibus ipse creauit,} \\
\text{ipse dedit dulcis fetus et pabula laeta.}
\]

The underlined words and phrases recur in Virgil’s
prophecy or color it: ¬tellus. (4.19); ¬ipsa. (4.21, 23), suggesting
natural spontaneity (cf. ¬sponte sua. 4.45), which follows from

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[^26]: *DRN* 1.7-8, 5.783ff.
nullo cultu, implying freedom from technical intervention.
Laeta, has a thematic parallel in ridenti, (4.20), discussed more amply below. The gift of flowers also recalls Lucretius’ image of earth in spring responding to Venus: (DRN 1.7-8)

...tibi suavis daedala tellus
summittit flores...
...to you fashioning earth
sends up sweet flowers...

Related motifs occur, too, when Lucretius describes the linkage in nature between death and new growth, as one thing dies freeing material for the joyous growth of something else: (DRN 1.250-264)

Lastly rains perish, when father sky has hurled them headlong into the lap of mother earth;
yet grains spring up bright and branches grow green
on trees: they themselves grow and get heavy with nurslings;
hence in turn gets fed our kind and beasts’;
hence we see cities joyful flower with children
and leafy woods sing everywhere with new birds;
hence flocks weary with fatness set down their bodies
throughout joyful meadows and gleaming milky moisture
flows from full-stretched udders; hence new offspring
on infirm limbs skittishly in tender grasses
plays, struck in its newborn wits by the unmixed milk.
In no way, thus, utterly do whatever are seen perish,
since one thing out of another nature remakes nor lets
anything get born unless helped by another’s death.

Both poets use the verb surgere of the new life that springs up following the death of something else. In Lucretius, cities flower with children, where Virgil imagines one child for whom the country pours out flowers (itself another Lucretian motif, as we saw above: DRN 1.7-8). ‘Udders swollen’ serve both poets to symbolize pastoral abundance (uberibus distentis, DRN 1.259, distenta ubera, B. 4.21-22). Both use forms of ipse, ‘self’, to suggest the spontaneous energy stemming from nature; and both
use *hinc* emphatically to suggest causal linkage in argument, ‘from here, hence’.

To depict natural exuberance, both poets also use forms of the verb *fundere*, ‘to pour out’. Thus Lucretius, ‘crescunt arbusta et fetus in tempore fundunt’ (‘trees grow and pour out their nurslings in time’, *DRN* 1.351); or again of the enticing words Venus ‘pours out’ (*DRN* 1.40) and of herself, ‘poured’ honey-sweet about the god of war (*DRN* 1.39). The earth at first creation ‘poured’ (5.823, cf. 5.110); and Lucretius himself, like Venus, ‘pours out’ enticing draughts from his rich heart (*DRN* 1.413, cf. 5.1385, also of poetry). Forms of *fundere* serve Lucretius metaphorically to depict all the creative processes. Whether consciously or not he makes them analogues to each other in a universe where the first process is the ‘poured down’ rain of atoms. Where processes were parallel in Lucretius, Virgil integrates: pouring in the eclogue is both natural and moral, the earth to the child in mythical exultation.

The beasts of Virgil’s nature, more generic than the rare plants and distinguished in any case by the novelty of their actions not their names, also were in Lucretius: *armenta* (*DRN* 5.228, etc. passim) and *leones, serpens*. Lucretius also uses *herba* and above all *blandum florem*, noted by Merrill (2.847-48). Frequently *blandus* in Lucretius suggests natural, quickening power (*DRN* 1.19, etc.). Although the word *cunubula* is not Lucretian, a like concept occurs in Lucretius’ account of early life (*DRN* 5.806ff.).

Joy is one of the most prominent shared motifs. Lucretius also spoke in his own opening lines of the smile of the sea, quickened in response to Venus (tibi rident aquora ponti, *DRN* 1.8), like the rest of nature, and in general of reproductive joy. Similarly he described the season that quickened and favored growth for early man (tempestas ridebat, *DRN* 5.1395). In the eclogue, then, the motif undergoes development. After the image of acanthus ‘smiling’ (tidenti, 4.20), the happiness reappears as a quality of the whole world (omnia... laetantur, 4.52) and finally as an ideal for the relations between mother and child (risu, 4.60, risere, 4.62). The smile both persuades and is a response to persuasion; it is a sign of laetitia, ‘prosperous joy’, and encourages it. In Virgil’s imagination, the smile of the acanthus and joy of the whole world are signs in nature of the smile he will urge on the child (aspice, 4.52, and then incipe... risu, 4.60).

The middle stage, adolescence, as the child grows old enough to learn, divides into two aspects, the first endowed with natural miracles no longer pastoral but georgic: (4.26-30)

```latex
at simul heroum laudes et facta parentis
iam legere et quae sit poteris cognoscere uirtus,
molli paulatim flauescet campus arista,
inicultisque rubens pendebit sentibus uua,
et durae quercus sudabunt roscida mella.
```

But as soon as you can read at last the heroes’ praise
and parents’ deeds and know what manhood is,
the field will grow yellow little-by-little with grain’s soft beards,
the grape will hang reddening on uncultivated briars,
and the harsh oaks will sweat out dewlike honey.

These miracles of growth are imagined as taking place
\(-paulatim-, which occurs 23 times in Lucretius and is used
characteristically to depict the imperceptible, discrete gradations
by which atomic processes unfold (DRN 2.1029, 4.942, etc.). In the
eclogues it occurs elsewhere only in a passage of marked Lucretian
color, mentioned above.\(^27\)

Also marking the middle stage, however, are the lingering
traces of iron age civilization and then recurring age of heroes,
which we interpreted as part of Virgil’s revision of Catullus: a
heroic age imagined as transitional between iron and gold on the
way back up because a heroic age had been transitional between
gold and iron on the way down: (4.31-36)

\[
pauca tamen suberunt priscae uestigia fraudis
\]
\[
quae temptare Thetim ratibus, quae cingere muris
\]
\[
oppida, quae iubeant telluri infindere sulcos.
\]
\[
alter erit tum Tiphys, et altera quae uehat Argo
delectos heroas, erunt etiam altera bella,
atque iterum ad Troiam magnus mittetur Achilles.
\]

Yet a few traces of primeval deceit will survive,
the sort to command trying Thetis with boats, binding towns
with walls, splitting furrows into the earth.
Another Tiphys then will be, another Argo to carry
chosen heroes, there will be even other wars
and great Achilles sent again to Troy.

Merrill notes the like phrases \(-quae uehat Argo\) (4.34) and
\(-quam uehat aetas\) (DRN 3.1085), as well as \(-atque iterum\) (4.36
and \(DRN\) 3.849). The topos of ‘chosen leaders’ also recurs:
\(-delectos heroas\) (4.35) and \(-ductores Danaum delecti\) (DRN
1.86).\(^28\)

Finally Virgil depicts the boy’s full growth in terms of
miracles in all three spheres: civil society and georgic and pastoral
work, each totally altered to conform to the new regime: (4.37-45)

\[
hinc ubi iam firmata uirum te fecerit aetas,
\]
\[
cedet et ipse mari uector, nec nautica pinus
\]
\[
mutabit merces: omnis feret omnia tellus.
\]
\[
non rastros patietur humus, non uinea falcem;
\]
\[
robustus quoque iam tauris iuga soluet arator;
\]
\[
secu rarios discet mentiri lana colores,
\]
\[
ipse sed in pratis aries iam suauce rubenti
\]
\[
murice, iam croceo mutabit uellera luto;
\]
\[
sponte sua sandyx pascentes uestiet agnos.
\]

\(^27\) B. 6.35, discussed in n. 18; otherwise, twice in the \textit{Georgics} and seven times
times in the \textit{Aeneid}. For Servius, on 4.18, it was the key to the arrangement of the
entire prophecy: see quotations in Chapter two, n. 32.

\(^28\) Discussed in connection with Catullus 64.4, in Chap. 2, n. 19.
Hence when age firmed up at last will have made you a man, 
the carrier himself will give up the sea, nor will nautical pine 
exchange goods: all the earth will bear every thing. 
Soil will not suffer hoes, nor vine the hook; 
oaken plowman, too, at last will loose the yokes from bulls; 
nor will wool learn to feign variegated colors, 
himself, instead, in meadows the ram will change his fleece, 
now with sweet reddening purple and now with saffron yellow; 
by its own design vermillion will garb the grazing lambs.

Already in the beginning section, ¬hinc. was remarked as a 
Lucretian touch, used often by him as an inferential particle, 
indicating origin and succession in growth processes. Here then it 
suggests a strong reading, that the traces of the iron age and 
recrudescent heroes make possible the complete golden age. The 
inference gets underlined by ¬uirum te.: ‘when you (sc. not 
Achilles) are the hero, you, in contrast to the warlike heroes who 
would predominate while you were still aforing. Only as the 
child grows would his heroism have assimilated all the traces of 
iron. Also the rest of the verse, as Merrill reports, parallels 
Lucretius:29 ¬confirmata cupitum aetatis tangere florem/ uis animi. 
(\textit{DRN} 3.770-71). The subject was the soul’s force reaching the 
desired flower of life simultaneously with the body. Lucretius 
imagines body and soul inseparable. So too Virgil with child and 
age, only in them form and matter meet on very different terms, for 
the child’s origin is imagined as partly divine, from beyond 
material nature.

The initial conceit of a nature and culture free of harm and 
toil, ¬nullo cultu. (4.18), comes to full fruition. The plowman’s 
rest, intermingling both Lucretius and Catullus, was discussed in 
Chapter two. The miracle of the self-dying sheep (4.42) also recalls 
Lucretius: ¬at uarii rerum impedient prohibentque colores. (\textit{DRN} 
2.786), where ¬uarii. and ¬colores. form a similar hyperbaton.\textsuperscript{30} 
Also Merrill juxtaposed ¬suauae rubenti. (4.43) to ¬ostroque 
rubenti. (\textit{DRN} 2.35). And ¬suauae. itself is a key Lucretian term for 
sweet persuasiveness, in production and in philosophic calm.

Virgil’s leading idea, however, of the entire earth bearing 
everything, betrays a lack of differentiation unknown to the mature 
Lucretian world.\textsuperscript{31} Virgil’s new world is stocked with ever-so-
many specific things that exemplify its originality and exuberance 
even while it is presented as completely comprehensive through 
ideas like \textit{omnia} and \textit{totum}. Everything in it is imagined as 
deriving from a joy like that which motivates production in 
Lucretius, but Virgil channels this joy through the child, which 
becomes the activator of everything. What this portends requires a 
further remark.

\textsuperscript{29} Cf. Ennius, \textit{Ann.} 413 V\textsuperscript{2}; ¬postremo longinqua dies confecerit aetas. 
\textsuperscript{30} Cf. \textit{DRN} 1.298, 2.443, 825, all with \textit{uarius} and 4.494, cited by Merrill. 
Virgil’s sheep do not lose their diversity, but they become honest in it. 
\textsuperscript{31} \textit{RE} 2.15.1208.51-62, where Büchner observes that differentiation is a quality 
of the iron age; cf. also L. P. Wilkinson, \textit{CQ} 13 (1963) 82.
F. Virgil’s golden age seems indiscriminate in material because it is so highly discriminating in form. Its theme, “omnis... omnia, ‘all the... every’, comprises not only the physical but moral and spiritual dimensions, reflecting the single idea of the child. It assumes a conception of form and matter far different from Lucretius.

Lucretius says that in physical nature all things have in themselves a separately determined faculty of making, “secreta facultas.” (DRN 1.173), which they exercise of their own will, sponte sua, ipsa, and from which all generation ensues. This faculty resides in the individual atoms, so that we may infer a succession, hinc, hinc..., from the first autonomous atomic act, which Lucretius calls the clinamen, ‘swerve’, in the formamenta or ‘formative elements’. But if the atoms themselves are thus efficient causes of all generation, they are also its means and ends as well. They are not only, by their autonomous action, makers, but they act according to their own ratio, their design or plan, which then is realized in the final outcome, whether a tree, a forest or the whole world, summa rerum. The atoms are also the material out of which everything is made, thus material causes as well as efficient, formal and final. In short, Lucretius conceives of the whole form of things as already inherent in the matter, materies (DRN 1.171): the form of living things is in mother earth: “terram matrem.”

Growth then proceeds of itself, by natural relations and reckonings, rationes. If there were not fixed forms in things, he says, “all (trees) would be able to bear all (kinds of fruit):” ferre omnes omnia possent (DRN 1.166). Such a condition would lack form, to his way of thinking, for he conceives of form as a diversifying, individualizing principle. Form is the plan of what actually goes on. The individual existing forms, however, represent a mature, somewhat tired, stage of life; for the earth when young produced many prodigies, and more diversely and abundantly than of late.

That earlier, more exuberantly abundant, if less discriminating time when earth was not yet wearied nor limited by fixed form is what Virgil projects into the image of the new golden age, when ‘all the earth will bear every thing’, omnis feret omnia tellus. (4.39). Only Virgil gives moral and social significance to what had been for Lucretius a primarily natural process. In the eclogue the universal and undifferentiated abundance permits the cessation of commerce, which is the very type of human greed, as well as of agricultural toil and artisanship. Above all, growth in nature, as Virgil presents it, has become inseparably bound to the

32 Passages in which Lucretius associates mater and terra or speaks of one in terms used elsewhere of the other include DRN 1.168, 171, or 1.191, 2.1156 (tellus). Other such punning associations occur at 1.907-14, 5.417, 1.749 5.684, etc. For a fuller treatment of the process, which is fundamental to Lucretian poetics, see Friedlander, “The Pattern of Sound and the Atomistic Theory,” AJP 62 (1941) 16-32, who speaks of “atomology” and of the way that for Lucretius the elements of words reveal “realities of language and nature.”
child as we infer from the ‘little gifts’ (4.18), from ‘at the same time’ (4.26) and from ‘hence, when at last’ (4.37). Nature no longer is thought to form herself independently and autonomously in the Lucretian fashion. Instead, a mythological, Virgilian physics supervenes, through which the child plays an active part, becoming a kind of efficient (‘by whom’, ¬quo., 4.9) or perhaps formal cause, which is to say a catching idea of growth and change.

The eclogue posits a nature in which production no longer proceeds only out of, through and for the sole form and faculty of disparate elements themselves, ipsa, unlike Lucretian nature, where matter could be stuff, and maker and means and end: in short, all the meanings words like formamentum may assume. In the Lucretian scheme, the creative act was self motion, clinem. There was plurality of forms and contents, which, totted up, produced summa rerum, i.e. natura. The result of such a system, working on its own, had been iron ages and inevitable decay in which nature grew tired and human society estranged from the ‘golden words’ of Epicurus. Virgil now envisions a world growing by an agency not merely its own; there would be harmonious response to the child as agent (¬puero quo..., 4.8). Into the old plurality of forms and contents the child, smiling, would induce uniqueness of form. He is cast as a single, predominating ‘principle of growth’, ¬incrementum. (4.49) that would subsume all the diverse formamenta of nature as conceived by Lucretius, marshalling them for a transcendent growth now moral, historical and social as well as physical. The faculty of making, which had been inherent in diverse matter itself alone, thus comes to be shared with a being that is only in part of earth. Through him, through this opening to another realm, nature once again submits to divine plan. He has the form of a mediator between heaven and earth as traditionally a hero should.

In the newly mythologized cosmos, growth still is said to move from the will of the growers, sponte sua, but their will has become participation with the child, in harmony with a divinely imposed order, ‘from Jove’. Nature, the material cause, nods in assent (¬nutantem, 4.50) and rejoices at the beginning of growth (¬laetantur. (4.52); at the end she would finally make the child a hero: ¬uirum te fecerit aetas. (4.52). The child, for his part, is an agent (again ¬quo, 4.8), who would accomplish deeds: ¬facta. (4.54). The only deed envisioned, apart from study and growing, is the smile with which he would begin, yet this suffices for Virgil’s conceit. In the terms of Lucretian nature, the smile signifies natural growing, which as the smile of Venus expresses also divine power.

33 On -mentum words, see the monograph by J. Perrot, Les dérivés latins en -ment et -mentum (Paris, 1961), to be discussed in Chapter four.

34 The child’s origin is variously described in terms of humanity, e.g. ¬nascenti (4.8), ¬matrem. (4.60), and above all ¬fastidia (4.61), the specific touch of earthly discomfort; but also divinity, e.g. ¬caelo demittit. (4.7), although some readers have denied this to the child (see Chapter 1), and ¬deum suboles, Iouis incrementum (4.49). The signs add up to a conventional hero’s origin.
And in terms of the child’s human and Roman natures the smile is a sufficient sign of peace and hope. The smile, in short, may be the only symbol in which so many realms could converge. It unites ideal and material, divine and human, mythical and naturalistic, child and mother, male and female in a process for which joy is formal cause and the final object is the golden age, in which word and world would be wholly reconciled, beyond words.

The whole of earth bearing every thing exemplifies the new ideal unity, which subordinates physical diversity to single vision. The concretely exotic plants and events on the one hand, and on the other, universality, represent a unique exuberance and conceptual ambition. The poem has grown from ¬maiora. (4.3) to comprehend ¬omnia. (4.52) in a new myth. Its child is the analogue for the poet in the world, reforming everything in terms of one desire. For Lucretius the earth was the great type of the maker, ¬daedala tellus, with her moments of joy, ease and abundance, on which Virgil seizes for his poem, but also her long, wearing struggles, exhausting herself in diverse, limiting forms, which have lengthy embodiment in Lucretius, but which in the eclogue appear only in one verse: ¬matri longa... fastidia, ‘to your mother long discomfort’ bearing you (4.61). The eclogue by its very brevity avoids the toil of Lucretius, or of an Aeneas. It is form, with almost no, hence potentially every, content: omnis omnia.

G. Rhetorically, the prophecy has unfolded as praise, implying the child’s merit and prowess as recipient and agent of such growth. As if capitalizing, then, so as to draw implications and precipitate the intended effect, Virgil first claims that he has it all on the highest authority (Parcae, ‘fates’) then shifts back to the child, giving voice to his meaning in commands: (4.46-52)

talia saecla suis dixerunt ‘currite’ fusis
concordes stabili fatorum numine Parcae.
agdredere o magnos, aderit iam tempus, honores
cara deum suboles, magnum Iouis incrementum.
aspace conuexo nutantem pondere mundum
terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum.
aspaceuenturo laetantur ut omnia saecllo.

Such as these centuries ‘Run’ to their spindles have said the Parcae concerted in the steady force of the fates.
O approach great honors, soon it will be time,
dear offshoot of gods, great scion of Jove.
Look at the cosmos nodding with its down curved weight,
the lands, the stretches of sea and the sky poured deep.
Look how all rejoice in the century to come.

Taking stock of a complex process that has joined Lucretian with Catullan traces for aims beyond them both, Virgil

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35 Cf. n. 14, with Munro’s remarks, ¬rerum natura… in the course of the poem.
36 ¬Rhetorice digesta laudatio, says Servius on 4.18, ¬mire autem puerum laudat ex ipsis munerebus, on 4.19.
lays claim to more than just the Catullan mantle: ‘unchanging will, nod of the fates’, ¬stabili fatorum numine, recalls the ‘established will of fate’, ¬sanctum numen fati. (DRN 5.309). But where Lucretius was arguing that not even fate can reverse the natural decay of things, Virgil envisions just the opposite: not decline toward the infinite, discretely universal and dispersed forms of atoms, a final entropy, but ascent and unification through the unique form and mastering trope of the child; not ‘swerves’ in numberless formative agents (DRN 2.819) quite free of the nod of fate, but one ‘principle of growth’, ¬incrementum, operating in harmony with the fates. Virgil reasserts the myth of an authoritative fate, adapting it from Catullus, in keeping with his other restorations of mythology, such as the ‘new line let down from heaven’, where likewise he reversed Lucretius and revised a Catullan motif. That the ‘increment’ is called ‘of Jove’ drives home the point, that Virgil as uates restores mythology and imposes new myth.

The renewed approach to the child, then, is didactic, parainetic. The short commands recall Lucretius’ relation to Memmius and to the didactic tradition that orders its hearers, as one would a child, to pay attention. Lucretius says, variously adhibe, accipe, percipe, cognosce et clarius audi, ‘Put your mind to’, ‘Take in’, ‘Grasp’, ‘Look into and listen more clearly’. Virgil’s commands are more programmatic: adgredere, aspice, aspice.

A Lucretian coloring appears, too, in ¬...mundum / ...profundum (50-51), closing verses heavily with their identical endings, as in ¬...profundi / ...mundi (DRN 5.370-71); both words occur frequently in Lucretius, profundum often in final position. Like its source, the verb fundere, discussed above, profundum reflects the basic process of the Lucretian atomic system, the pouring down endlessly of atoms. Also Lucretian is ¬pondere, which Virgil places in a position which it frequently occupied in Lucretius.

Lucretian parallels continue in the following line (51), with the tripartite division of the cosmos, although this articulation of the verse, with trochaic penthemimeral cesura, is rarer. Lucretius also uses ¬tractus. as well as ¬terras.; Virgil’s spondees, and lengthened -que along with alliteration underscore the ponderousness of the context. These are not the Lucretian separate weights of atoms but a single concerted effort of nature in response to the child.

The whole picture comes to a head in the following line: ¬laetantur recalls Lucretius’ ¬laetantia loca, those places which living things populate and enliven (DRN 2.344). More generally, as
noted above, the theme of joy unifies Virgil’s entire idea of relations between nature, society and the child.

H. From these weighty intimations, Virgil turns to reflect on what it all implies for himself, for the ambition that Sicilian Muses grow and woods be consul-worthy: (4.53-59)

O mihi tum longae maneat pars ultima utiae
spiritus et quantum sat erit tua dicere facta!
non me carminibus uincet nec Thracius Orpheus
nec Linus, huic mater quamuis atque huic pater adsit,
Orphei Calliopea, Lino formosus Apollo.
Pan etiam Arcadia mecum si iudice certet,
Pan etiam Arcadia dicat se iudice uictum.

O to me then remain the last part of a long life
and breath that will be enough to tell your deeds!
Not me with songs will defeat either Thracian Orpheus
or Linus, though mother help that one and father this,
Calliope Orpheus, handsome Apollo Linus.
Pan even, with Arcadia as judge, if he compete with me,
Pan, even with Arcadia as judge, would tell of his defeat.

In aiming to tell of deeds, Virgil points beyond Lucretius, who aspired to the golden words of Epicurus: ‘deeds’ implies an ultimate ambition tending less to the didactic tradition of Lucretius and Hesiod than to the heroic tradition of Homer and Catullus, though with this new hero, the child, not another Achilles. That this means a step up in poetic hierarchy appears from the following boast, in which Virgil forsees equality with even the Muse Lucretius invoked for help on the last leg of his poetic race, Calliope.\(^{42}\) Lucretius appealed to her as a leader, \(\text{te} \text{duce,} \) in language that served Virgil to cast Pollio as a leader in political reforms accompanying the child’s growth, a difference that implied Virgil’s shift of interest from private and philosophical to public and historical concerns, also an unstated challenge to Lucretius. Now the challenge becomes more explicit, in the image of parity at least in a potential contest with the child of the Muse Lucretius invoked.

Beyond Calliope, Lucretius and his tradition, the sketch of poetic ambition moves to a climax as Virgil projects not mere parity but victory and in direct competition with a god:\(^{43}\) ‘even Pan (sc. the deity of pastoral itself)’, ‘even with Arcadia (sc. ‘which favors him, where he is worshiped’ so Servius, his home) as judge’. Here again a difference emerges. Lucretius debunked pastoral myth in a trenchantly rational analysis, arguing that Pan and lesser pastoral deities were mere figments of the imagination.

\(^{42}\) *DRN* 6.92-95, quoted above in discussing 4.13-14.

\(^{43}\) ‘Hoc multo grandius... non contentus uictor mortalium, aspirat ad uictoriam immortali
um, ‘This is much grander... not content to defeat mortals, he aspires to victory over immortals’: J. L. de la Cerda, *P. Vir~gi~lii Ma~ro~nis Bu~co~li~ca et Ge~or~gi~ca Ar~gu~men~tis, Ex~pli~ca~ti~on~bus, No~tis il~lus~tra~ta* (Lug~duni 1619) 77.
of hill folk, who pretend that echoes are the music of pastoral gods and thus make the hills seem less forlorn. Virgil instead returns to the traditional myth, placing Pan in Arcadia, his mythic homeland, and imagining him as a musician. By thus reaffirming pastoral mythology, Virgil does for poetry what he has already done for nature and society: where Lucretius had asserted the power of reason, Epicurean philosophy, and the individual initiative of atoms, Virgil has been replying all along with the mythic dimension, focused in the figure of the child with its features characteristic of heroic myth: sent down from heaven, scion of Jove, potential doer of deeds.

Virgil restores the dignity of a tradition trashed by Lucretian rationalism only as a platform to get further still. He sees himself defeating Pan. Why this should be the peak of his ambition becomes clear in view of another part of the myth, which makes Pan the inventor of pastoral music, as Virgil was well aware. Pan’s role as inventor explains why Virgil casts him as the ultimate competitor. To defeat the inventor is tantamount to claiming his authority for oneself. That must be Virgil’s aim, to reinvent pastoral tradition. Such an ambition in fact is implicit in the terms of poetic geography that he builds into his statements of poetics. He begins by challenging the Muses of Sicily (4.1) and ends by challenging the very inventor of pastoral myth in his homeland, in Arcadia. The shift in poetic geography, from Sicilian to Arcadian, signals Virgil’s program. He would go from the Sicilian tradition represented by Theocritus to an Arcadian tradition identified with Pan in myth, but in bucolic poetry only with himself.

I. From the glimpse of his furthest end, Virgil turns to the immediate problem of a beginning: (4.60-63)

\[
\text{incipe, parue puer, risu cognoscere matrem} \\
\text{(matri longa decem tulerunt fastidia menses);} \\
\text{incipe, parue puer: qui non risere parenti,} \\
\text{nec deus hunc mensa, dea nec dignata cubilest.}
\]

Begin, little boy, by a smile to know your mother (your mother long discomfort ten months brought); begin, little boy: whoever does not smile on a parent, him worthy neither god of board nor goddess deems of bed.

Within the didactic manner, with the imperatives, comes a specific Lucretian echo. Distinct atomic configurations let offspring know its mother, argues Lucretius, who goes on to elaborate on the pathos of a cow yearning for its sacrificed calf. (DRN 2.349-50)

44 DRN 4.572-589, discussed by Damon, cited in n. 5 above.
45 Pan’s status as inventor receives express mention in B. 2.32-33, −Pan primum calamos cera conjungere plures/ instituit. (generic background for the secondary tradition, sc. Theocritus/Virgil, evoked at this point in the eclogue book) and B. 8.22-24, which places Pan expressly in Arcadia, −Maenalus argutumque nemus pinosque loquentes/ semper habet; semper pastorum ille audit amores/ Panaque, qui primum calamos non passus inertes. (specific ground for the Arcadian strain being recovered at this point in the eclogue book).
46 The depiction of the cow wandering and yearning, unsolvable by pastoral
nec ratione alia proles cognoscere matrem
nec mater posset prolem...

for no other reason could the young recognize its mother
or the mother her young...

Instead of the naturalistic logic of the atoms bringing
animals together, and their sentiments, Virgil imagines the human
smile. Within the thematic system of the eclogue, the smile, \( \text{risu} \),
supplements the earlier references to productive joy in nature:
\( \text{laetantur} \) (4.52) and \( \text{ridenti} \) (4.20). The smile may recall the
delight in knowing and growth which Lucretius symbolized in
Epicurus and Venus. But the delight has become both more
particular and more general, with concrete universality. The smile
is a symbol in which multiple meanings converge. In the slight
figures of human child and mother, and in their longed for act of
recognition and reconciliation, can be seen the type of every happy
beginning and ending, every unifying and forming insight, each
atoneness, even, reflexively, the reader’s smile on grasping form.

In the figures of child and mother, the child who is partly of
the gods, there is also a type of harmony, of \( \text{concordia} \), that
opposes itself to the Lucretian world of continually alternating
\( \text{concilia} \) and \( \text{discidia} \). Lucretian nature is an endless battle of atoms
which have their analogues in human strife. The smile of the
eclogue, echoed in nature, would end striving in both kinds.

The mother and child, \( \text{risu} \), not only differ from Lucretius’
cow and calf, they represent a unique moment in Virgil’s own
poetry. They contrast with the encounter of a mother, Venus, and
her son, Aeneas, which Virgil will present in myth fully fleshed-
out with all its sensuality, deception, frustration and strained
pathos (\( A. 1.402-410 \)): shades of Catullus’ heroic age or the iron
ages of Lucretius and Catullus. With respect to all these, the
eclogue’s child is only a nub of myth without the consequences of
full, heroic experience that reflects and suffers with the world’s
passion. He is far from \( \text{fato profugus} \), ‘by fate put to flight’. His
growth is in concord with the nod of the fates, though even in the
eclogue there are traces of crime, deceit, and, more foreboding, the
\( \text{fastidia} \) of the mother’s toil. For a moment, though, everything
can be subsumed in the idea of the smile, if only it would come
about. Through it Virgil looks from republican, naturalistic
diversity into the universe of proto-Augustan myth. To the
Lucretian conception of the \( \text{satus} \) as a monger of fear, he opposes a
figure of hope.