

Introduction

Pastoral

In 1653, Margaret Cavendish wrote ‘A Description of Shepherds and Shepherdesses’:

The *Shepherdesses* which great Flocks doe keep,
Are dabl'd high with dew, following their Sheep,
Milking their Ewes, their hands doe dirty make;
For being wet, dirt from their Duggs doe take.

Their lovers cut ‘some holes in straw’ to play tunes to their Joan,

And not as *Poets* faine, in *Sonnets*, *Rhimes*,
Making great *Kings* and *Princes* Pastures keep,
And beauteous *Ladies* driving flocks of sheep ... (#256.1–4,
25–8)¹

Cavendish is satirizing a literary tradition well over a hundred years old in England by her time, and almost two thousand years in Europe. Its ostensible subject was shepherds, but shepherds designedly different from those actually populating the countryside, perhaps as tenants or hirelings of landed families like the Cavendishes.

The head of another such family, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, presents himself as owner-shepherd of a prosperous pastoral scene; but the ‘shepherdess’ he is addressing clearly does not drive sheep to pasture.

Fair starry twins, scorn not to shine
Upon my Lambs, upon my Kine;
My grass doth grow, my Corn and wheat,
My fruit, my vines thrive by their heat. (#216.29–32)

1 A number preceded by # indicates a poem number in the *Anthology*.

(The 'starry twins' are the beloved's eyes.) Most apparent shepherds of pastoral convention do not, in actuality, either own sheep or look after others' flocks. Their shepherd's role is a trope for their true identity, and the landscape they populate is only metaphorically rural. Pastoral is the most disingenuous of literary modes. It is neither folk literature nor popular literature, though it can incorporate elements of one or the other. It does not usually emanate from a rustic source. It is essentially a fiction of rural life created by people who do not live it.

Harry Levin offers a cuttingly dispassionate assessment of the place of pastoral in literary culture:

For so limited and so limiting a genre, its fortunes have been spectacular, and indeed could not be comprehended except through the emotional charge that it has single-mindedly and repetitively conveyed.²

This is not entirely unfair. Pastoral is often conventional and repetitive. It draws its basic material from just a few sources over a narrow compass, though it applies them to many themes, forms and genres. The vessels change shape, size and colour, but the wine is much the same. For so widely practised a mode, pastoral has produced few masterpieces. But having been established (through Virgil's example) as the fittest fodder for young poets to cut their teeth on, there is a depressingly high proportion of indifferent or worse output.

Yet Levin's account is not quite fair either. The 'charge' activating pastoral is not emotional: much pastoral is too conventional to be emotionally charged, even when treating of love, war or death. Its activating forces are contextual and tropological. The pastoral imagination reaches out from its narrow historical base to take in an almost encyclopedic range of subjects. Its metaphoric premisses, while also narrow, are deeply complex and suggestive, and reinforced with metonymic functions that are little recognized but no less crucial.

Pastoral relates two worlds: a foregrounded but notional rural setting and a concealed but decisive courtly or urban origin. Behind these are more fundamental, if less defined, paradigms locating oneself with respect to an Other, relating one's own dominant and suppressed identities, assessing oneself in terms of what one is not but might have been – perhaps as realized in snatches or in dreams, a holiday as against a workaday entity. Pastoral is often called a literature of nostalgia; but it

² Harry Levin, *The Myth of the Golden Age in the Renaissance*, 1969, rpt. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972, p. 7.

is a communal or societal rather than a personal nostalgia, a longing for something that strikes a deep congenial chord but that one has not experienced in the first place: the nostalgia of the townsman for a countryside where he has not been, yet to which he 'looks back' instinctually, almost atavistically, and uses to redefine his being. As he fashions it in his mind, that landscape too comes to be redefined.

The presence of this paradigm in all pastoral justifies its designation as a mode rather than a genre. The latter it clearly is not, as it appears in all kinds of formal guises, with very different patterns of structure and diction. In Paul Alpers's words, it is 'a broad and flexible category that includes, but is not confined to, a number of identifiable genres'.³ It is rather a way of looking at a particular kind of experience, the rustic, with particular implications for the viewer. To quote Alpers again, a mode 'is the term we use when we want to suggest that the ethos of a work informs its technique and that techniques imply an ethos'.⁴ A mode implies a mental design determined by a theme or outlook, not its outwardly visible structure of specific words and word-patterns. Rather, an open-ended repertoire of words and word-patterns is shaped by the theme.

Theocritus. Beginnings and ends

Unusually for a literary mode, we can trace the evolution of pastoral poetry practically from its moment of birth.⁵ The earliest instances are some of the Greek idylls ('little pictures' or 'sketches') of Theocritus (third century BCE). Theocritus was born in Syracuse, and intimately knew the countryside of Sicily and the island of Cos. But he spent much of his life in the great city of Alexandria, at the Emperor's court. His twelve pastoral idylls (some doubtfully his),⁶ scattered among eighteen on various other themes, clearly owe something to the actual folk poetry he heard from the lips of shepherds and other rustics in Cos and Sicily; but he worked them into a more refined compound appealing to the taste of the Ptolemy court, while evoking a vein of pleasurable escape and nostalgia. He may have been drawing on a line of rural or herdsmen's poetry designated as 'bucolic', whose exact nature remains uncertain.⁷ Perhaps through this

3 Paul Alpers, *What Is Pastoral?*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996, p. 44. Alpers's ch. 2 ('Mode and Genre') is notable among recent accounts of this aspect of pastoral, or indeed of the two terms generally.

4 Alpers, *What Is Pastoral?* p. 49.

5 See David M. Halperin, *Before Pastoral. Theocritus and the Ancient Tradition of Bucolic Poetry*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983, p. 2 and the references there.

6 As commonly numbered, Idylls I, III to XI, XX and XXVII.

7 See Halperin, *Before Pastoral*, pp. 8–23, 75–84.

special take on an extant tradition, Theocritus created the pastoral to customize the country for the city and court's consumption, to fashion a locale for a mental holiday.

One might need a holiday for all kinds of serious reasons. It is the play of real life behind the pastoral – generating it, framing it, ultimately absorbing it – that lends the latter its complexity and continuing relevance. Equally, pastoral's *raison d'être* lies in its difference from real-life settings. When it furnishes a metaphor or allegory for matters closer to hand, the trope is made effective by the contrast between tenor and vehicle. Even when presented singly, free of allusive or allegoric function, the shepherd world is held in implicit tension with the poet's own.

In an undemanding, open-ended way, Theocritus' pastoral idylls cover a range of themes and structures that would later be assimilated to the contours of the eclogue as standardized through Virgil's example. As a matter of course, the shepherd is presented as poet and singer: through songs embedded in the text or an exchange of songs or verses, perhaps in the form of a contest – the so-called amoebean (changing, alternating) eclogue. The shepherd as poet-singer is epitomized in the legendary Daphnis, whose death from frustrated love is described by the shepherd Thyrsis in Idyll I. Not only Pan and the wood-gods but Venus herself appear or are evoked. Such an opening to the customary sequence (perhaps no accident) at once frames the pastoral in a broader mythic context, giving a more basic, almost archetypal validation to the new mode of imagination. It also sets up love and death as two basic themes of pastoral. The latter would be memorably taken up by Moschus in his lament for Bion (see p. 6), and cast in allusive mould in Virgil's account of the death of Gallus in Eclogue X. The former, in happier and lighter vein, is taken up in courtship poems between shepherd lovers and their lasses, but also by the Cyclops Polyphemus wooing the sea-nymph Galatea (Idyll XI). Polyphemus owns vast herds, but obviously this idyll stands at the cusp of pastoral and myth. Its pastoral status was confirmed when Virgil transformed it in his Eclogue II into the human shepherd Corydon's address to the boy Alexis. Virgil also weaves Theocritus' non-pastoral Idyll II about the enchantress or pharmaceutrix into an exchange of songs between shepherds in Eclogue VIII. These instances best illustrate the extension and consolidation (by and through Virgil above all) that turn Theocritus' constructs from a novel idiosyncrasy into an established mode for two thousand years and more.

Theocritus was unknown in Western Europe in the Middle Ages. Even

in the Renaissance, he is a minor presence on the pastoral literary scene, evoked (if at all) more often than enshrined. But he instilled in the pastoral the core impulse of an unselfconscious expression of being: unguided, unmotivated, doing simple things like singing, loving or enjoying the humble delights of nature for no purpose or gain but as a spontaneous, pleasurable exercise. Even the occasional sombre concern, like the death of Daphnis in Idyll I, is framed and distanced within a song by a later shepherd, sung as a pleasurable exercise in a beautiful setting of nature, a *locus amoenus*. Yet this framing seems less a conscious structural contrivance than the spontaneous outcome of an uncritical narrative flow. Thomas G. Rosenmeyer talks of the ‘artlessness’ of pastoral:

[I]n pastoral the accent is on separation and dispersal, not on unity ... There is no single curve, no anticipation of a dramatic development ... [A]lmost every Theocritean or Virgilian pastoral is best analyzed as a loose combination of independent elements. It is left to the listener to weld the parts together in his imagination if he so wishes; the poet provides few if any clues to such an act of consolidation.⁸

One hesitates to call the Theocritean universe ‘aesthetic’, as it evinces no abstract pursuit of beauty or self-conscious cultivation of form. Yet the idylls, and more especially the songs embedded in them, have clearly defined, sometimes intricate, formal identities, and their only impulsion is the pleasure taken in them. There is no other motive in the shepherds’ songs, or the poet’s song incorporating them: only an easy natural absorption in the singing, or the simple activities celebrated in song. More often than not, there is no clear thrust or conclusion: the poem expends its charge of relaxed involvement in a humble, inconsequential activity, and ends in an equally untroubled, unproblematized close. Already in Theocritus, the shepherds’ occupational tasks are subsumed in a mother element of *otium* or leisured freedom.⁹ Through all its subsequent engagements with real and topical issues, *otium* remains a bedrock premiss of pastoral, its ultimate claim to a special imaginative identity.

This source-vein of pastoral, contentedly following its lowly, even trivial pursuits, oblivious of any externalized, purposeful world, has conventionally been called ‘art-pastoral’. It is certainly set within the self-referring, self-fulfilling, ‘irrelevant’ paradigm conventionally attributed to art. More usually, ‘art-pastoral’ means no more than non-allusive

8 Thomas G. Rosenmeyer, *The Green Cabinet. Theocritus and the European Pastoral Lyric*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969, p. 47.

9 On this subject see *ibid.*, especially ch. 4.

pastoral, not glancing at the real or non-pastoral world but creating a contrived shepherds' realm.¹⁰ Either way, it is seen as an imaginary construct pleasing the aesthetic faculty alone. It is the Theocritean legacy, and still more often the Theocritean name and associations, that ensure this core imaginative independence of the pastoral. That is why, despite its deep overlay of allusion and allegory, pastoral is pre-eminently a trope for art and poetry, and for a life of imagination lived amidst nature. It is umbilically linked to the countryside and the rural community from which Theocritus brought it to birth.

***Virgil. The consolidation of pastoral. Allegory and allusion,
metaphor and metonymy***

Two Greek poets, Bion and Moschus, are commonly cited as followers of Theocritus. But (apart from questions of date and authorship) their extant output comprises little pastoral beyond a celebrated lament for Bion traditionally attributed to Moschus (#5). The history of the pastoral took a decisive turn only when Virgil adapted Theocritus' model in ten Latin poems (one not really pastoral) in the first century BCE. These pastorals were preserved as a selection (hence *eclogae*, selected pieces) from Virgil's early work. They closely follow Theocritus' model, sometimes echoing his very words. But behind this literal adherence, there is a radical change of purpose.

For a start, the very adherence constitutes a change of purpose. By reworking the material of two centuries ago in another language, Virgil is turning Theocritus' primary matter into the stuff of a more removed convention. Theocritus was writing about Sicily because he knew the place; Virgil, because he had read about it in Theocritus and thought it a good setting, worth casting in durable mould, for his particular line of poetry. Virgil was also the first to set some of his pastorals in Arcadia, an inhospitable region of Greece transformed into an idyllic setting, a landscape of the mind, drawing upon the slender lead in Polybius that the Arcadian shepherds delighted in singing contests.¹¹

Yet the overall impact of Virgil's Eclogues was not, or not primarily,

10 The term was made current by W. Leonard Grant in his *Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965. Underplaying the allusive component of Virgil's Eclogues, Grant (p. 117) used the term to designate the 'genre art' of the 'classicizing pastoral' in imitation of Virgil; but it has come to indicate all pastoral presenting the shepherd world as an independent imaginative construct.

11 See Bruno Snell, 'Arcadia: The Discovery of a Spiritual Landscape', in *The Discovery of the Mind*, trans. T.G. Rosenmeyer, 1953, rpt. New York: Harper & Row, 1960, p. 281. Arcadia was also the location of Mount Maenalus, sacred to the god Pan.

to place pastoral deeper within the sphere of the imagination, upholding the Theocritean legacy; rather, to relate it more decisively to the real world. Only Eclogue I is firmly set in Virgil's native region, though a few others address or allude to Roman figures. (Even among these, Eclogue IV invokes the 'Sicilian [i.e. pastoral] Muses', and Eclogue IX appears to be set in Arcadia.) But Eclogue I has a personal and topical cast that revolutionizes the bearings of pastoral. It is set in Virgil's homeland, the countryside around Mantua: he is thanking the Emperor Augustus for letting him retain possession of his farm in a time of turmoil and eviction. Hence the shepherd Tityrus can sit piping under a beech tree while his neighbour Meliboeus must wander forth with his flock.

Of Theocritus' idylls, only the seventh is commonly thought to carry allusions to the poet and his circle. But it also vividly presents the countryside and has songs embedded in the text. Virgil goes much further: his Eclogue I is structured around the allusion and would have no point without it. Elsewhere, the allusion may be more tangential. Eclogue IV, an account of the Golden Age, is anchored in a compliment to the poet's patron Pollio on the birth of his son. Eclogue V, mourning the death of Daphnis, might seem a purely aesthetic construct, lamenting the original mythic shepherd-poet of that name (earlier mourned in Theocritus' Idyll I); but there is a strong suggestion that the dead shepherd is an actual person, most likely a ruler or general (perhaps Julius Caesar). The ten eclogues together create the sense of an integrated shepherd community as Theocritus' disjunct pastoral idylls do not; but no less the sense that the community actually addressed by the poet belongs to his contemporary Rome. Virgil's eclogues have become so encased in commentary that we cannot break free from the heavily allusive readings of medieval and Renaissance scholiasts, even if we do not agree with all the allusions or cannot unravel the precise reference. But there is enough in the text itself to support the idea of an uneven but organic use of allusion, turning the literal fiction of a shepherd world into a different ambience whose authenticity lies on an allusive plane.

What we primarily get in Virgil is allusion, not allegory. The two are so often associated that we forget they are functionally opposed. Ultimately, an allusion is metonymic: it links a person, object or event to another through literal association or, in Jakobson's term, contiguity. It may consist simply in a change of name. Allegory, on the other hand, is metaphoric: it links objects from different realms or planes by

their similarity.¹² We may also explain the difference in terms of Walter Benjamin's distinction between the allegorist and the 'collector':

The allegorist ... dislodges things from their context and, from the outset, relies on his profundity to illuminate their meaning. The collector, by contrast, brings together what belongs together.¹³

What obscures the contrast is that in pastoral, allusion usually occurs in combination with metaphor or allegory. In Eclogue I, the poet presents himself as Tityrus: the two figures illustrate, literally and factually, a common condition, being saved from eviction by a gracious patron; hence one can allusively refer to the other. Going a step further, the poet composing poetry presents himself as a shepherd piping under a tree. The two figures are linked by a similarity (not identity) between their activities, both composing poems or songs: there is still a material correspondence. But where the shepherd controlling his flocks is compared to a king ruling his subjects or a priest guiding his flock, the correspondence has moved towards the metaphoric pole: it is no longer material, only formal. To mourn a dead contemporary under the name of Daphnis (as Virgil does in Eclogue V) is merely allusive, but if (as often conjectured) that person is Julius Caesar, and his shepherd's role signifies Caesar's as ruler and general, there is a metaphoric transference of terms, a species of allegory.

As a rule, Virgil does not develop the metaphoric content of his allusions: he is content with a general reference to a statesman or poet in the guise of a shepherd. He does not work out the detailed correspondence between their roles. But later poets and theorists seized upon the rich potential of the shepherd figure as a trope. The shepherd rules over his sheep like a king over his subjects. He cares for them like a priest: it was left to the Christian era to bring out this aspect of his task, giving a new (and now standard) meaning to the term 'pastoral care'. It draws its strength from the more basic Christian metaphor of God or Christ as the Good Shepherd. The shepherd is also versed in nature lore, a 'wise shepherd' comparable to academic scholars. In pastoral convention, he spends much of his time in poetry and song, just like the poet writing about him, and offers love to shepherdesses

12 Roman Jakobson, 'Two Aspects of Language and Two Types of Linguistic Disturbances': see David Lodge (ed.), *Modern Criticism and Theory*, London: Longman, 1988, rpt. 1991, pp. 57–61.

13 Walter Benjamin, *Arcades*, H4a, 1, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin, Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1999, rpt. 2002, p. 211.

in terms assimilable to the Petrarchan convention, where such poets often found their theme.

The figurative implications can extend to the entire setting and context. Every detail of the pastoral fiction can be imbued with figurative import. Perhaps the extreme instance is Petrarch's *Bucolicum carmen*.

The 'inaccessible peak' ... is the summit of rare fame, attained by few. The 'deserts' are scholarship, for today it is truly a desert. ... The 'mossy cliffs' are the rich and powerful, enveloped by their inherited wealth as though by moss; by 'echoing springs' we can mean literary and eloquent men who by their art, through the bubbling forth of their genius, create streams flowing with a delightful sound.¹⁴

It is this energy latent in trope and theme, operating at many levels with many functions, that ensures the persistence of pastoral as a literary mode and its great range of themes and applications. But it needs stressing that this multifunctional trope, like any other, relies for its efficacy on the vehicle no less than the tenor, the pastoral fiction no less than the 'real' sphere of reference. As a critical practice, the opposition of 'art-pastoral' and allusive pastoral is somewhat outdated; but if so, only because all pastoral must contain an element of art-pastoral to serve the functions of pastoral at all. The contrast between the fictive rural setting and the incipient urban ethos necessarily requires both sides to be present.

***Extensions and affinities. The Golden Age and Paradise.
Simple and complex man***

The source-forms of pastoral, the idyll and the eclogue, are formally limited and ill-defined. Their dialogic potential, betokened by common devices like song-contests or exchange of verses, is seldom exploited. The true dialogism of pastoral is at a more basic and pervasive level: between country and city/court, 'art-pastoral' and allusive pastoral, the fictive/aesthetic and the topical/real. That is why pastoral must be viewed as a mode rather than a form or genre. Hence it can be incorporated in

14 Petrarch, *Familiars* 10.4, letter to Gherardo Petrarca: "Inaccessum cacumen" ... fame rarioris et ad quam pauci perveniunt, altitudo est. "Deserta" ... sunt studia; hec vere deserta hodie ... "Muscosi scopuli" sunt potentes ac divites, patrimonio velut musco obsiti; "fontes sonantes" literati et eloquentes homines dici possunt, quorum ex ingenii scatebris disciplinarum rivuli prodeunt cum sonitu quodam delectabili.' Francesco Petrarca, *Opera omnia*, ed. Pasquale Stoppelli, Rome: Lexis Progetti Editoriali, 1997 (accessed 15 January 2013), *Biblioteca Italiana*, www.bibliotecaitaliana.it/xtf/view?-docId=bibit000255/bibit000255.xml&chunk.id=d3607e4161&toc.depth=1&toc.id=d3607e4041&brand=default

various actual genres whose paradigms overlap with it, and incorporated in the more capacious forms of romance and drama, where its conceptual possibilities can be brought out *in extenso*.

There is another reason why the conceptual implications of pastoral exceed the formal bounds of its origins. The structure of an idyll or eclogue is limited but not closed. Its frequent diffuseness, the lack of a conclusive thrust in narrative or argument – part of its pristine element of *otium* – gives it a transient, occasional quality: it records an episode in a continuum of rural life. Whether or not by accident, both Theocritus' idylls and Virgil's eclogues constitute series or sequences; later pastoralists often follow the practice. Petrarch significantly calls his pastoral work a *bucolicum carmen* (bucolic song) in the singular, 'divided into twelve eclogues'.¹⁵

This incorporation in a greater structure relaxes the formal constraints of the individual poem. More importantly, it creates a sense of community and continuity. There is an implicit pastoral world to which all the events and characters belong, often underpinned by repetitions and cross-references from poem to poem, author to author. The sense of a continuum is highlighted in the persistence of common pastoral names, most typically drawn from Virgil – Daphnis, Tityrus, Meliboeus, Thyrsis, Corydon, Thestylis, Amarillis – and common events, activities and topoi, again most typically from Virgil out of Theocritus. Thus a body of short and formally distinct poems, composed by many hands over time, can take on something of the thrust and substance of a single unfolding annal or narrative. At one level, it is the record of a fictional shepherd world to which every piece, every author adds a new facet while confirming its general lines. All shepherds in all pastorals seem to belong to the same community, to step out of one poem into another: the recurrence of certain stock names only underpins the deeper sense of a continuum. 'To be a bucolic character', says Mark Payne, 'means to have a character that is shaped by its relationship to an imagined world, the fictional world of bucolic poetry itself.'¹⁶ At another level, this affinity traces a trajectory of the imagination, an expansive melding of the real and fictive worlds, an integrated poetic process operating across centuries – one may say a metapoetic process, for the shepherd in the poem (even when he does not sing) is a projection of the poet creating him. This is not a matter

15 *Ibid.*

16 Mark Payne, *Theocritus and the Invention of Fiction*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, p. 92.

of biographical allusion but of imaginative identification with the shepherd's fictive persona, which is for the poet both self and other. All shepherd-singers reflect the poets who create them simply because they are poets. The metonymic function is compressed to virtual identification.

Yet another group of factors must be taken into account. I have referred to other genres with paradigms overlapping with the pastoral. The most immediate of these is Virgilian too, though harking back to the early Greek poet Hesiod. Hesiod composed a *Works and Days* describing the farmer's labours through the year. Basing himself loosely on that model, Virgil followed up the Eclogues with four Georgics instructing the reader in various branches of farming: growing crops and fruit trees, tending herds and bees. The instructional core is embellished with various types of description and broader didacticism, including passages on the moral and social dimension of rural life to which I will return.

The georgic effectively reverses the basic principle of *otium*, the peaceful and creative leisure afforded by pastoral life. Yet it shares many common themes with pastoral, and of course relates to the same world of rural life and activities. The shepherds of pastoral are also cultivators: Meliboeus in Virgil I weeps at having to leave his 'well-tilled fallows', and like Corydon in Virgil II, he tends or tended vines. We may say that the georgic deconstructs the pastoral by drawing out its latent counter-elements, yet thereby builds up a fuller and more complex pastoral world.

The most basic function of the Georgics in the history of pastoral was, however, to introduce a Virgilian trajectory of the poetic career. Virgil followed up the Georgics with the epic *Aeneid*. The master-poet was seen as progressing from pastoral, reflecting the earliest quasi-nomadic stage of civilization, to the settled rural and agricultural phase, and then to the martial, courtly and urban. It was a climb up the social hierarchy too, with players from increasingly grander stations of life: 'For first, to rustics, comes the care of flocks; then of fields, hardened by the cultivation of which, they are at length judged fit to wield arms.'¹⁷ So compelling was the design of this sequence of poetic themes that it was imposed unhistorically on poets like Petrarch and Marot, and even Theocritus himself:

17 Jodocus Badius Ascensius, commentary on Virgil: Virgil, *Opera*, Lyons, 1528, sig.†7v: 'Nam prima est rusticis pecoris cura: deinde agrorum quorum cultu indurati tandem ad arma gerenda idonei censentur.' Ascensius is talking of the supposed (and quite unhistorical) succession of pursuits in the life of the individual Roman, but the idea was more fitly applied to periods of history or to class divisions within a society.

So flew Theocritus, as you may perceiue he was all ready fully fledged ... So Petrarche. So Boccace; So Marot, Sanazarus, and also diuers other excellent both Italian and French Poetes, whose foting this Author euery where followeth ... So finally flyeth this our new Poete, as a bird, whose principals [chief wing feathers] be scarce grown out.¹⁸

The 'new Poete' is the Spenser of *The Shepheardes Calender*, and the author of these lines his elusive commentator E.K. The 'wheel of Virgil', as the medieval scholar John of Garland termed it, placed the pastoral within an inclusive design embracing all human life and experience. More immediately, it suggested that an aspiring poet should begin by writing pastorals. In most cases, youthful poetic ambition soon dies out. This explains the vast body of indifferent pastoral poetry. But it also explains the ubiquitous presence of the pastoral and its varied uses in the Renaissance and later times.

The Georgics notably reinforced the impact of the Eclogues by elaborating on the virtues and attractions of country life in a more stable and familiar vein. Their idealization of that milieu is a more realistic idealization, so to speak. In the intervals of agricultural instruction, they present more directly the happy and virtuous simplicity of rural life. One celebrated passage (Georgic II.458–74) culminates in the remark (derived from the Greek poet Aratus) that it was among the rural people that Astraea, the goddess of justice, planted her last footsteps before leaving the earth at the end of the Golden Age.

The myth of the Golden Age is endemic to pastoral.¹⁹ Its earliest notable occurrence – though almost surely not its origin – is in a five-stage, steadily declining slope of human history postulated by Hesiod (*Works and Days* 109–201). Later poets reduced the stages to four, named after increasingly baser metals: gold, silver, bronze, iron. The Golden Age, the first and best, was a time of simple abundance, spontaneously gifted by nature: agriculture was unnecessary, hence unknown, and sheep naturally yielded wool of many colours. Unknown too was war and trade – hence also navigation, impelled by these two motives. Equally, it was an age of unsullied virtue: hence the myth that Dike or Astraea, goddess of justice, dwelt on earth in that age, to leave at its end when evil entered the world of men. However, the strongest mythic association of the Golden Age is

18 E.K., dedicatory epistle (to Gabriel Harvey) to Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender*. Petrarch wrote his *Bucolicum carmen* in his 40s, after commencing his epic *Africa*. Marot's eclogues were written when his career was in full swing.

19 For a full account see Levin, *The Myth of the Golden Age*.

with Saturn or Cronus, king of the gods before the rise of the Olympians ruled by Zeus or Jupiter; but Saturn is also viewed as, or conflated with, an earthly ruler in the remote legendary past.²⁰

Like so much else, the idea of the Golden Age was consolidated by Virgil: most famously in Eclogue IV, which gives a detailed catalogue of the features of the Golden Age. (There is also a reference in *Aeneid* VIII.314–29.) The other major source is Ovid's *Metamorphoses* I.89–112. As expected, it is Virgil's treatment in Eclogue IV that links the Age most closely to pastoral. Yet there is little explicitly pastoral in the poem itself, which foretells the return of the Golden Age with the birth of a miraculous child. Virgil was celebrating the birth of a son to his patron Asinius Pollio; but in the Middle Ages, the poem was commonly taken as a prophecy of the coming of Christ. Hence Virgil acquired the status of a magus to lend special lustre to his already exceptional poetic stature. For the history of the mode, it sanctioned the practice of a 'somewhat higher' strain (*paulo maiora* in Virgil's phrase) that enabled pastoral to proceed beyond humble shepherd life. The phrase became the key to allegorical pastoral of urban and courtly life, as also to didactic pastoral on moral and philosophic issues.

The pastoral universe thus came to be identified with the first and best of the four ages of human history. This in turn provided a rationale for detaching the idealized shepherds of pastoral from the drab reality of actual shepherd life and locating them in a remote historical fiction. These shepherds, unlike their deprived (or even depraved) descendants, owned their flocks, enjoyed a modest abundance (happily contrasting with the corrupt opulence of the court) and marked the highest intellectual and artistic stratum of their society. They could be aligned with their urban and courtly creators, even while they provided an idealized contrast to the latter's stressful and imperfect milieu. The two most famous Italian pastoral comedies, epitomes of aesthetized, mythicized literary pastoral, incorporate choruses on the Golden Age, included in translation in this volume (#33, #34). Many Renaissance eclogues adopt the same theme. A particularly interesting case is the Italian Paolo Belmisseri's Latin Eclogue IV, which cites many standard details of the Golden Age: crops springing spontaneously, men leading lives of virtue, gods walking the earth. But these gods include not only the Olympian offspring of thundering Jove but wood-gods like Pan, Faunus

20 This is a greatly simplified summary of the complex sources and identities of Saturnus and Cronus (Kronos), originally two separate figures.

and Sylvanus; and Virgil's Tityrus is placed in the middle of this setting, in words echoing Virgil's own:

This is where Tityrus, the most famous singer of the woods, sat of old under a spreading beech and played songs on his slender pipe.²¹

This links Virgilian pastoral to the Golden Age more closely than Virgil himself ever did. In the very different context of Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, the exiled Duke and his band in the forest of Arden 'fleet the time carelessly [i.e. without cares], as they did in the golden world'.²²

Yet something of the Golden Age often adheres even to the present-day countryside and rural life, as suggested in Virgil's Georgic II. Thus in the Portuguese Henrique Cayado's Latin Eclogue IV:

We at any rate, guardians of flocks, unlearned crew, preserve today the ways of the first humans, far from the stir of vulgar crowds, devoid of ambition.²³

This is contrary yet assimilable to the location of the Golden Age in the past. Much more problematic, yet increasingly common, is the placing of a Golden Age in a courtly, urban or even martial setting of the present or future. Euricius Cordus celebrates the peace and plenty of Hesse in such terms: 'Everything flows with honey, the loving earth bountifully offers everything.'²⁴ Allusive pastoral commonly hails one or other ruler as bringing about a Golden Age in his reign. The practice is as old as Calpurnius' praise of Nero in his Eclogues I and IV. In the Renaissance, the outstanding instance is in Ronsard's work.²⁵ The reign of Charles IX of France and his consort Catherine de' Medici is consistently presented as a Golden Age: 'If we see the Golden Age return, it is the blessed work of the shepherdess Catherine.'²⁶

21 'Hinc tunc antique recubans sub tegmine fagi / Tityrus est gracili carmen modulatus auena.' Paolo Belmisseri, *Opera poetica* (Paris, 1534), fol. 6v. There are Golden Age references in Joachim Camerarius VI and Euricius Cordus III.

22 William Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, ed. Juliet Dusinberre, London: The Arden Shakespeare, 2006, 1.1.113. Later references to this edition.

23 Cayado IV.43–5: 'Nos hodie pecorum custodes, inscia turba, / Seruamus primae saltem uestigia gentis / A uulgi fluctu procul, ambitione carentes.' Henrique Cayado, *Eclogues*, ed. W.P. Mustard, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1931, p. 36.

24 'Omnia melle fluent, pia largiter omnia tellus / Proferet.' Cordus I: *Bucolicorum autores XXXVIII*, ? ed. Gilbert Cousin, Basle: Johannes Oporinus, 1546, p. 348.

25 See Elizabeth Armstrong, *Ronsard and the Age of Gold*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968. As Armstrong points out, the Golden Age theme is seldom linked to nature in Ronsard's poetry.

26 'Si nous voyons le siecle d'or refait, / C'est du bienfait / De la Bergere Catherine.' Pierre de Ronsard, *Bergerie*, Eclogue I: *Œuvres complètes*, Paris: Gallimard, 1950, I.918.

As Lerner observes, 'if [the Golden Age] is to be restored by the prowess of a prince, it is difficult for it to keep its primitive innocence'.²⁷ The settings of Renaissance pastoral straddle a tentative line dividing the ideal from the real countryside, otium from labour, content from suffering, the Golden Age from the Iron – and thus, finally and emphatically, the country from the court or city. No longer can the one ambience be delinked from the other. The moral primitivism implicit in the idea of the Golden Age is directed at all later human states as well, implicitly through allusion or openly through an appropriate narrative.

The most subtle and idiosyncratic book ever written on the pastoral is surely William Empson's *Some Versions of Pastoral*. It says little or nothing about conventional pastoral; instead, it treats of a range of works from Shakespeare's History Plays to *Alice in Wonderland*, united by the fact that they all present the encounter of the 'simple man' with the 'complex' – mediated, of course, by the latter and leading him to the conclusion that 'I am in one way better [than the rustic], in another not so good.'²⁸

It is this acute perception of the function of pastoral that makes Empson's work so basic to our understanding of the mode. Pastoral idealizes the 'simple' life, but not in an unqualified way. In the last analysis, it presents the simple man as conceived and controlled by the complex: the former is an element in the latter's complexity, an item on the latter's agenda. I pointed at the outset to a paradox in the nostalgia fostered by pastoral. There is another aspect to the paradox: the nostalgia is not directed at the past but at an unrealized potential of the present leading on to the future. Tellingly, whatever the implicit affinities with the Golden Age, the shepherds are seldom projected as creatures from an earlier world: their lives may recall such a world, but they are located in a fictional present – often emphatically in the narrator's own present, allusively participating in its concerns. The primitivism of pastoral is not crudely chronological. It may invoke earlier phases of social evolution, but tries to inculcate the mental state associated with them in our own more complex world, in fictions viable on the latter's terms. This

Eclogue I is generally full of Golden-Agery: see esp. pp. 930–2. Cf. Eclogue V, *Œuvres complètes* I.986. Cf. also these Latin eclogues: Boiardo IV, VI; Giambattista Amalteo V; Cornelio Amalteo, 'Proteus'; Cayado IV.

27 Laurence Lerner, *The Uses of Nostalgia. Studies in Pastoral Poetry*, London: Chatto & Windus, 1972, p. 67.

28 William Empson, *Some Versions of Pastoral*, 1935, rpt. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966, p. 19.

becomes clearest when, rather late in the day, pastoral adopts the more expansive vehicles of romance and drama: the time-planes compressed within the brief compass of the eclogue are clearly separated in the cyclic structure of the later genres. The overt terms of pastoral hide an encounter of opposites where the determining factor is the reverse of pastoral: emanating not from the imagined rustic but from the genuine courtier or urbanite, not the former's fictional state but the latter's actual desire.

The two-way tension becomes clearer when in Christian times, the classically conceived Golden Age comes to interact with the Earthly Paradise. The idea of the Earthly Paradise is older and more widespread than Christianity: it is the mythic perfection of the ideal oasis in any desert culture. Its conflation with the Garden of Eden in the Book of Genesis may be a later development of the Hebrew apocalyptic tradition, which also associates it with the home of blessed souls after death.²⁹ In other words, Paradise may be an originary or a concluding state, a beginning or an end. This double function becomes vastly more complex and intensive in the Christian mythic and theological order. There, Paradise is the setting for the original sinless state of man on earth, and survives as a terrestrial setting even after humankind is expelled from it. But it is also linked to the celestial heaven, the home of redeemed or blessed souls in afterlife, to which Christ the second Adam will restore humankind as the first Adam exiled us from Eden. As Laurence Lerner remarks, 'The story that starts in Eden will culminate in the New Jerusalem.'³⁰

Christian writers such as Prudentius also conceive of the Golden Age in this way, as the future reign of Christ. Again, as the venue of a blissful afterlife for the virtuous or heroic dead, the celestial Paradise is prefigured by the pagan Elysian Fields or Fortunate Isles. Interestingly, Petrararch conflates the two in describing his retreat at Vaucluse: 'Whatever grows here either on land or in water is such that you might think it as sprung from the delights of Paradise, as the theologians call it, or, as the poets do, the Elysian Fields.'³¹ (Horace's 'Epode' XVI.41–66 had conflated 'the Happy Fields, and the Islands of the Blest' with the Golden Age in a passage recalling Virgil's Eclogue IV.)

Unsurprisingly, the Christian Paradise comes to meld with the pagan

29 See A. Bartlett Giamatti, *The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic*, 1960; rpt. New York: Norton, 1989, pp. 11–12.

30 Lerner, *The Uses of Nostalgia*, p. 64.

31 Petrararch, *Familiars* 16.64, letter to Niccolo dei Vetuli, Bishop of Viterbo: '[Q]uicquid seu in terris seu in aquis hic nascitur, tale esse ut in Paradiso delitium, sicut theologi loquuntur, sive, ut poete, in campis Elysiis natum putes.'

Golden Age. The two conform (or are made to conform) in most external features. Both enjoy eternal spring, hence the earth spontaneously brings forth crops. In both, plants that are thorny and animals that are venomous in the mundane world lack power to harm. Of course there are differences as well. The Golden Age is chronologically defined, Paradise spatially or geographically. Yet needless to say, the loss and recovery of Paradise within a historical and theological framework also frames it temporally. Again, Paradise is more of a setting or venue, the Golden Age more a social condition. Nature was radically different in the Golden Age, but the crucial differences related to human nature and activities. Paradise, on the other hand, is basically an idealized natural setting in which human beings can find place if they conform to it. It can thus present actual nature in a transformed light, assimilate it to pastoral. In a major line of development unfolding on the margins of the pastoral, nature comes to be seen in the late Renaissance as a second Book of God, and further as a place where the lesser creatures live in a state of innocence lost to man. In other words, nature *is* Paradise.

In its past or ordinary role, Paradise invokes an ideal state of pristine humanity. As a setting for the afterlife, it becomes a goal or ideal to strive for (if not already attained, as by the virtuous dead in a Christian elegy). Either way, it is readily assimilated to pastoral. As a setting, it intensifies the idealized, mythicized landscapes typical of pastoral. The theological implications consolidate those already implicit in the topos of Astraea's lingering among the country folk. It even suggests that shepherds or rustics might somehow have escaped the Fall of man, or at least been less marked by its effects. 'Thou Paradise hast found, whych *Adam* lost,' says Spenser's Colin to Hobbinoll (*The Shepheardes Calender*, 'June': #40.10); and the exiled Duke in *As You Like It*, 'Here feel we not the penalty of Adam' (2.1.5). This consideration governs the presentation of the Nativity shepherds: typical examples of fallen humanity, hence engaged in various tricks and scrapes in the medieval shepherds' play, yet the first to hear of the birth of the Saviour who will redeem man from the consequences of the Fall. All in all, the Golden Age enters more deeply into the pastoral topos than the Earthly Paradise. But there are deep and multiple links between the two – philosophic, theological, mythic, imaginative – and pastoral is a major site of their operation.

Other, less problematic factors also impinge on the pastoral, drawn from other classical genres and conventions. I have already mentioned the georgic, whose Virgilian exemplars are a major supplement to the Eclogues as a source of pastoral practice: the basic difference in thrust

between pastoral *otium* and agricultural activity is commonly ignored. Different again, but worked into the same spectrum, is a generic cluster presenting the (varyingly idealized) delights of country life, usually as seen from a patrician farm or country retreat. The vein is epitomized in the Odes of Horace but also found in certain elegies by Propertius and, more memorably, Tibullus. (As in all classical and many later contexts, ‘elegy’ does not mean a poem of mourning but a poem written in the elegiac metre. Country life and natural beauty are among the commonest themes of classical and Neo-Latin elegies.) Four centuries later, Ausonius added some notable poems to the tally. But the single most influential piece, after Virgil’s Eclogues and Georgics, was the second Epode of Horace.

Horace’s Epodes – so called from the short iambic line or *epodos* featuring in their prosody – cover a range of themes. As noted, Epode XVI makes interesting use of the Golden Age topos. But it is Epode II that plays a prominent part in the extended world of the pastoral. It celebrates a contented country life: contrasted with courtly pomp and luxury, but assured of simple abundance and clearly set on a patrician estate with ‘home-bred slaves’. The closest parallel is with the praise of settled rural life in Virgil’s Georgics, though Tityrus of Eclogue I is projecting the same contented state in formally pastoral terms. Blessed (*beatus*) is such a man, says Horace at the outset, comparing his state to the earliest race of mortals (*prisca gens mortalium*). Yet we are jolted at the end to learn that the entire poem, barring the last four lines, is to be placed within quotes, as it were: it is the utterance of the money-lender Alfius. Nor does this indicate a wish to relinquish his pronouncedly Iron-age occupation: he calls in all his funds only to lend them out again half a month later. In the late Renaissance, this poem was constantly translated, adapted and imitated – almost always ignoring the twist in the tail. As a result, it could be exalted to spiritual heights. But Horace himself is subtly balancing country and court, ideal and real: the basic pastoral tensions find rare expression in this non-pastoral poem. At the same time, it places those tensions in a more realistic setting than formal pastoral: it opens up a channel whereby sixteen centuries later, the pastoral realm was greatly extended by annexing such poems into its territory.

Path-breaking in a different way is the prose narrative of Longus’ *Daphnis and Chloe*. Longus works one of many innovations in the prolific genre of Greek Hellenistic romance by embedding it in a pastoral setting. *Daphnis and Chloe* is the only instance of its class: a unique anticipation of the cyclic structure of pastoral romance and drama emerging in the

Renaissance, where the leading shepherd lovers often prove to be of noble birth. It is a moot point whether Longus' model could have played any part in this development, but it is certainly a striking prelude.

The medieval contribution

In the Middle Ages, Virgil's Eclogues were consistently read and analysed, usually in moral or allegorical vein, but only sporadically imitated: by Modoin and in the anonymous *Conflictus veris et hiemis* in the ninth century,³² Theodulus in the tenth, Martius Valerius and Metellus of Tegernsee in the twelfth. The last two wrote eclogue cycles, Valerius with a genuine regard for the pastoral aesthetic. But the effective revival of the Virgilian eclogue starts with a poetical exchange between Dante and Giovanni del Virgilio in 1319–21. It is consolidated by Petrarch and Boccaccio later in the century in weighty eclogue-cycles of intricate allegorical (often autobiographical) content. This marks the start of the Neo-Latin eclogue, which then traces a sustained course to the seventeenth century and beyond, with variant but essentially analogous lines in the new vernaculars. But the full history of Renaissance pastoral covers a much wider compass.

The Middle Ages made many other contributions to that history: quasi-pastoral genres, often with no organic link to classical pastoral.³³ We may almost say that, in a replay of Theocritus, the actual life of shepherds and the genuine products of folk poetry undergo a new process of formalizing or aestheticizing, a new transfer of provenance and identity, only this time on a much wider base with many authors, genres and settings involved. The shepherds are not impossibly removed from their real-life counterparts: at very least, they reflect recognizable elements of their life. The compositions are usually urban or courtly in provenance, but draw on features of genuine folk poetry and popular poetry. There is no allegory: we are dealing with rural life in literal terms, though variably idealized.

The poems cover many genres. The lyric forms include a variety of short simple pieces, popular in tone if often not in provenance. There are spring songs (the *reverdie*), various kinds of love song, and a great range of dance songs, especially the carol (originally a distinctive dance-pattern and its accompanying song, with a refrain). All these forms cover a great

32 Besides quasi-pastoral pieces like those by Paschasius Radbertus and Sedulius Scotus: see Helen Cooper, *Pastoral. Medieval into Renaissance*, Ipswich: D.S. Brewer, 1977, pp. 15–18.

33 The best account of medieval *bergerie* is still that in Cooper, *Pastoral*.

range of themes, but commonly treat of rural life in ways assimilable to the pastoral. On a more sophisticated plane, the intricate *virelai* or *ballata* (different from the *balade*, and both radically different from the ballad) can treat of rural and pastoral themes, while the *pastourelle* specifically presents encounters between a countrywoman and a courtier, often to the latter's discomfiture. Indigenous country song (not always strictly 'folk' song) contributes markedly to the elite pastoral lyric: the latter is endemically disguised as the former, and the difference may be hard to tell from internal evidence. (Consider, for example, the song 'I pray thee keep my kine' [#24] from Alonso Perez's continuation of the romance *Diana*.) Such models are superseded in the new genres of song evolved in the Renaissance, from the simple *frottola* to the more intricate madrigal. But their actual 'lyric' or wording, necessarily limited by musical constraints, retains something of the simplicity of the indigenous song-lyric.

The simple lyric model of medieval provenance takes on a special importance in the flowering of the English lyric in the Elizabethan age. As I will elaborate, the Elizabethan lyric typically adopts a brevity and song-like lucidity of form, lending a distinctive simplicity to the theme as well, implying a special plane of experience and sensibility. The shepherds of these poems think and feel in a special way not only reflected in, but imparted by, the lyric form. This ambience of the Elizabethan pastoral lyric derives not from any classical source but from the song-poem descended from the Middle Ages.

The Middle Ages provide other pastoral models as well. There are short narrative poems anticipating Henryson's 'Robene and Makyne' (#18) in the fifteenth century or the anonymous 'Harpelus' Complaint' (#31) in the sixteenth. The link between longer *lais* like Christine de Pisan's *Dit de la Pastoure* and Renaissance pastoral verse narratives (or prose narratives intermingled with verse) seems more tenuous, perhaps accidental. But there is no classical model for such genres, nor can they be readily linked to the full-fledged pastoral romance and pastoral drama that evolve in the Renaissance. Medieval romances have pastoral interludes, and the play of the Nativity shepherds in the religious drama-cycles becomes steadily more elaborate; but all these are structurally episodic. Their function relative to the total structure differs from that of the pervasive pastoral of the narratives described above.

Alongside these is a more realistic, practically oriented line of productions. In 1379, Jehan de Brie wrote an instructional manual for shepherds at the French king's command. The work survives only in

abridged form, the widely circulated (and later printed) *Le Bon Berger* (The Good Shepherd): could this be entirely free of biblical associations, though the text does not treat of them? Even more importantly, *Le Bon Berger* inspired the *Kalendrier des Bergères* (Calendar of Shepherds). This first appeared in French in the fifteenth century and was translated into various languages including English, with many editions over the years. It is a kind of almanac-cum-handbook for the countryman, with some moral and spiritual instruction and a few verses thrown in.

However practical and apolitical, the *Kalender of Shepherdes* is within touching distance of a major line of realistic, satiric and politically oriented portrayals of rural life, channelled in England through the Plowman literature epitomized in William Langland's *Piers Plowman*. The name Piers Plowman for the representative toiling rustic may have predated Langland's poem of the late fourteenth century (a fluid text, constructed in many stages and possibly by many hands). It is used as a code name in messages during the Peasants' Revolt. But it was Langland's poem that lent Piers an iconic status among similar figures like Lawrence Labourer, Tomlin Tailor, Hob of the Hill and Colin Clout.³⁴

Langland's flagship work was widely read and repeatedly printed in the sixteenth century. So were *The Plowman's Tale* (then regarded as Chaucer's work) and *Pierce the Ploughman's Creed*. Surrounding these is a spectrum of Middle English and Early Modern works. They range from badly composed demotic tracts,³⁵ apparently written without direct knowledge of Langland's complex and ambitious work, to social critique from the enlightened elite like Thomas More and his circle, one or other of whom composed the dialogue *Of Gentleness and Nobility* (#19). They include aggressively Catholic works like the manuscript *The Banckett (Banquet) of Iohan the Reeve* and aggressively Protestant ones like *A Goodly Dialogue and Disputation between Piers Plowman and a Popish Priest* (1550). *The Prayer and Complaint of the Plowman unto Christ* (1531) was included in that classic proto-Puritan tract, Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (the so-called *Book of Martyrs*).

The earliest pastorals of the English Renaissance, especially Barclay's eclogues, show marked affinity with Plowman literature; but the latter remains largely distinct in the heyday of Elizabethan pastoral, though

34 The first three names occur in the title of a manuscript work from c.1550, *The Banckett of Iohan the Reve* (BL MS Harley 207). Colin Clout predates Spenser's appropriation of the name: he is the title figure in a poem by John Skelton.

35 E.g. one without a title-page, beginning 'I playne Piers which can not flatter': c.1550, but sufficiently popular to be reprinted c.1589 during the Martin Marprelate controversy.

we can detect its clear influence in *The Shepherdes Calender*. It follows its own course into the seventeenth century, when it merges with new lines of social criticism, rustic satire and propaganda. The entire line is undeniably 'pastoral' in the sense of focusing on the humble and, in Empson's sense, 'simple' man.³⁶ But it places court and country, rulers and ruled, in sharper opposition than the subtle if fragile, unreal tensions of conventional pastoral. The latter's relation to the wider compass of rural poetry is like that of a garden to the open countryside. Yet the two terrains are not absolutely opposed: there are intermediate states like the estate and the commons. The range of rural poetry covers a spectrum of social perspectives and aesthetic processes. They vastly exceed what we normally call pastoral; yet the term loses its deepest meaning if we exclude them from our reckoning.

Renaissance pastoral and its outgrowths. Soft and hard primitivism

The plethora of medieval precedents has important implications for the growth of Renaissance pastoral. It supplements and modifies the range of classical models, taking us far beyond Theocritus and Virgil. But the Virgilian eclogue remains the controlling factor. It has a formidable range in the Renaissance in both Neo-Latin and the vernaculars (somewhat less in English). Some poems can assume independent authority as models, as most prominently the moral and religious Latin eclogues of Mantuan or Battista Spagnuoli, which (like Virgil's Eclogues) became standard reading in schools. They might even be preferred to Virgil's as being of blamelessly Christian content. (Mantuan was a Carmelite monk).

Allusion prevails markedly over art-pastoral in both the Neo-Latin and the continental vernacular eclogue. At most, a genuine imaginative exercise might impregnate a basically allusive poem, very rarely creating a pastoral fiction viable in its own terms. The allusive element in Virgil's Eclogues was stressed by the scholiasts, who were widely read owing to the spread of grammar-school education with its use of the Eclogues as a seminal text.³⁷ The allusive mode would be further consolidated by the examples of Petrarch and Boccaccio, the first in particular. The extent of their influence is best illustrated from the Italian eclogues of the Florentine Neoplatonist Girolamo Benivieni. His eclogues function

36 Mike Rodman Jones treats exclusively of Plowman literature in *Radical Pastoral, 1381–1594. Appropriations and the Writing of Religious Controversy*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.

37 See Sukanta Chaudhuri, *Renaissance Pastoral and Its English Developments*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989, ch. 1, 'Virgil Allegorized'.

at four allegoric levels: political, private, ethical or moral, and spiritual or indeed mystical.

The commonest field of allusion is political, using one of two alternative strategies. By one, rulers, courtiers, even warriors are allegorized as shepherds,³⁸ exploiting the metaphoric potential of the shepherd figure but also creating latent contradictions. Royal pride and pastoral humility can soon clash, even more the career of a military leader and that of a peaceful shepherd.

These are not shepherds from a rustic cottage who, for hire, lead their flocks out to graze, but of noble family and ancient lineage, who, wielding the sceptre in many places, have protected Europe and grazed their flocks in full security on the pastures of France.³⁹

This is Pierre Ronsard, but the paradox is inherent in the metaphor of king as shepherd. It is obviated by the other strategy, where the rulers are seen through the eyes of 'literal' shepherds: whether awestruck by the court and its denizens:

What could I do? The prince was worthy to be praised, but ... my unwarlike Muses trembled at this weighty new task.⁴⁰

or condemning its pomp and corruption by contrast with the humbler but happier rustic state:

O happy Lollius, content with your paternal abode! Whoever spurns the secure cottages and greening fields of the beautiful countryside to seek for great halls, seeks knotty chains in place of freedom, and superior flour instead of wheaten bread.⁴¹

38 See Petrarch II, Paolo Belmisseri VI, Eobanus Hessus VI, Euricius Cordus IV, Jacob de Slupere VI, and Johann Stigel's 'Iolas' (all Latin).

39 'Ce ne sont pas bergers d'une maison champêtre / Qui menent pour salaire aux champs les brebis paistre, / Mais de haute famille et de race d'ayeux, / Qui portant en la main le Sceptre en divers lieux, / Ont défendu l'Europe, et, en toute assurance, / Engressé leurs troupeaux par les herbes de France.' Ronsard, Eclogue I: *Œuvres complètes* 1918.

40 'Quid faciam? Princeps laudari dignus; at ... imbelles trepidant nova pondera Musae.' Matteo Maria Boiardo, Latin Eclogue IX: *Tutte le opere*, ed. A. Zottoli, Milan, 1937, II.683. See also Boiardo I, Anisio II, Jacob de Slupere VI, Eobanus Hessus I, and George Sabinus' eclogue on the marriage of the Marquis of Brandenburg (all Latin).

41 O felix Lolli villa contente paterna, / Securam quicumque casas et ruris amoeni / Vernantes contemnit agros, ut magna sequatur / Atria, nodosas pro libertate catenas / Triticeoque petit meliorem pane farinam.' Publio Fausto Andrelini, Eclogue II.14-18: *The Eclogues of Faustus Andrelinus and Ioannes Arnolletus*, ed. Wilfred P. Mustard, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1918. Cf. Mantuan V, VI, Andrelini VII, X, Cayado IV, Cordus IX, Hessus XIV (all Latin).

These two topoi, of the admiring shepherd and the critical or complaining shepherd, become standard devices for the panegyric and satiric modes of pastoral. Spenser's *Colin Clout's Come Home Again* shows a remarkable amalgam of the two, anticipated in Publio Fausto Andrelini's Latin Eclogues II and X: the court is a corrupt and daunting place, but it is also the haunt of the poet's patron.

The other major sphere of public allusion is the ecclesiastical. The basic metaphor of the priest as shepherd is extended to present the Church, or the congregation of the faithful, as a pastoral community. Depressingly, this is usually applied in reverse to condemn unworthy clergymen and a Church in disarray, as in Euricius Cordus' Latin Eclogue VI:

We have shepherds at whose hands all the lambs are oppressed. Whether they fleece or milk us, we must bear it equably.⁴²

Here again is the Dutch Catholic Jacob de Slupere's Latin Eclogue VII on what he perceives as the evils of the Protestant Reformation:

In the orphaned fields, wolves stirred up many agitations among the flocks and the wretched farmers ... It was rare to find one who had care of the common herds, and even he ruled over the fields with very little authority.⁴³

The most prominent pieces incorporating religious and ecclesiastical allegory are Mantuan's Eclogues VIII–X. (Mantuan was a Carmelite monk.) The most impressive, all told, might be a brief passage in Milton's 'Lycidas' (#230.108–31).

As Helen Cooper says, 'The shepherd world, in early modern pastoral, is always to some degree metaphorical, a way of simplifying a complex world or a complex society.'⁴⁴ The allegory may address other spheres – the shepherd as wise man, for instance, hence as teacher or scholar.⁴⁵ The metaphor of the shepherd as poet was memorably revived in the late Middle Ages in the exchange between Dante and Giovanni del Virgilio, soon augmented by Petrarch's *Bucolicum carmen*. Needless to say, such allegory commonly embraces private allusion as well, usually to the poet's own career, and can further be woven into the treatment of public affairs. The poet's career and milieu form the substance of many

42 'Aequo animo, si nos tondent, mulgentque, feramus.' Oporinus, p. 380.

43 Jacob de Slupere, *Poemata*, Antwerp, 1575, p. 148. Cf. Serafino's Italian Eclogue III and Jacopo Fiorino de Boninsegni's Italian 'Urania'.

44 Helen Cooper, 'Pastoral and Georgic', *The Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature*, vol. 2, ed. Patrick Cheney and Philip Hardie, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015, p. 202.

45 See Cayado II, Tito Vespasiano Strozzi I–III, Hessus I, XII, de Slupere VIII (all Latin).

eclogues. A striking instance from the early Renaissance is Petrarch's Eclogue I, which memorably reverses the pattern of Virgil's Eclogue I by making the poet a restless, fraught, wandering figure in contrast to his sedentary brother, the monk Gherardo. An extended example from England is the body of Latin eclogues by Giles Fletcher the elder, father of the Giles and Phineas included in the *Anthology*. The younger Fletchers continue the personal allegory in their English works. But such examples, in all kinds of association with other themes, are too numerous to list.

The allusive eclogue is one area where Neo-Latin productions from northern Europe – Germany or the Low Countries – match those of the south. The English and Scottish output is relatively thin. But vernacular production, except in English, is largely restricted to the south – above all, as might be expected, in Italian, sometimes alongside Neo-Latin works by the same poet. (Boiardo has two separate series, of ten eclogues each, in Latin and Italian.) Allusion is still more prevalent, almost the exclusive mode, in the French eclogue, whether early in the sixteenth century in Clément Marot or later in Ronsard and Jean-Antoine de Baif (though Marot in particular displays a genuine pastoral imagination). However, the corpus of Renaissance eclogues bears out George Puttenham's distinction between those that 'glaunce at greater matters' and those that 'contain and inform moral discipline' – that is between allusive and didactic pastoral. The latter, making general moral or instructional points rather than allusive references, is best known from Mantuan, but has a wide and varied range.

Old shepherds condemning the follies of love in the young is a common didactic theme, predictably broadening out into attacks on womankind. Disappointed lovers may themselves engage in such dispraise. Mantuan's first three eclogues contrast moral and immoral love, and the fourth condemns the evil lures of women as the prelude to a story of love's folly.⁴⁶ But the commonest moral theme is the condemnation of pomp, sycophancy and corruption at court, broadening out into a general attack on social decline and injustice, and the gulf between the poor and the rich. Mantuan's Eclogues V and VI are prominent and powerful examples:

Fulica. The good man is a rare beast, and dwells in few places, whether cities or villages. Virtue is very rare indeed.

Cornix. You are raving, Fulica. All city-dwellers are your enemies. They

46 See also Andrelini XII, Belmisseri V, Camerarius IX, Cayado V, de Ponte IV, X (all Latin).

fleece and shear us, caring nothing about our well-being; they urge us to theft, then promptly send us to the gallows. So if something comes in the way of our fingers, it is permissible to snatch it up by our wiles and snares and, having captured it, pluck its feathers with light fingers, gently and cautiously ... Whatever they have is owing to our toil and effort.⁴⁷

Such satire and criticism is based on a common topos of what we may call the complaining or suffering rustic, deploring his toil, poverty and exploitation at the hands of his superiors.⁴⁸ A special variant is the complaint against marauding soldiers and the general miseries of countrymen in time of war.⁴⁹

But complaints about the shepherd's suffering can merge into praise of his hard labour and frugal living – perhaps to denounce the social order which consigns him to this fate, but also extolling the life both socially and morally. What the georgic does implicitly and conservatively, the moral and satirical eclogue can do sternly or even bitterly. Mantuan's Eclogue V (absorbed in Barclay's Eclogue IV, included here in part as #28) is a classic example. Andrelini's long autobiographical Eclogue XII yields a shorter but vivid instance:

Mopsus, to endure hard labour is a difficult task for a man coddled in soft down; but to the man toughened by long experience of hard things, it is an agreeable pleasure to have submitted to a familiar burden.⁵⁰

Pastoral moves interestingly between the 'soft primitivism' that might be thought its *métier* and the 'hard primitivism' to which its very premises seem to direct it, even where the poet is not consciously reversing or subverting its premises: an opposition of 'shaggy and smooth,

47 *Fulica*. Vir bonus est animal rarum paucasque per urbes / et per rural locos habet; est rarissima virtus. / *Cornix*. Insanis, Fulica, insanis; tot in urbibus hostes / sunt tibi quot cives. hi nos tondentque pilantque / non habita nostri capitis ratione; coartant / nos ad furta, ipsi mox ad suspendia mittunt. / fas igitur, si quid nostris sese unguibus offert, / radere et insidiis ac nostra indagine captos / deplumare levi tactu sensim et pedepresim. / ... quidquid habent noster labor est, industria nostra est.' Mantuan VI.222–30: *The Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus*, ed. Wilfred P. Mustard, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1911, p. 95. Cf. the extract from Barclay's Eclogue IV in the *Anthology*, translating Mantuan's Eclogue V.

48 E.g. Joachim Camerarius I, XII, XX; Cordus IX; Eobanus Hessus III; Andrea Navagero I (all Latin).

49 E.g. Belmisseri III, Cayado I, Petrus Pontanus (de Ponte or Van der Brugge) IX (all Latin).

50 'Difficilis rigidus res est tolerare labores, / Mopse, homini plumis nutrito in mollibus; at qui / Iam rerum longo durarum incalluit usu / Huic notum grata est pondus subiisse voluptas.' Andrelini XII.206–9. Cf. Andrelini VII, Belmisseri IV, Gervais Sepin I (all Latin).

dark and light', in Simon Schama's phrase.⁵¹ The terms 'soft' and 'hard primitivism' were developed by A.O. Lovejoy and George Boas in their book *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity*.⁵² 'Soft primitivism' is self-explanatory: it presents an earlier phase of society as attractive and sustaining. 'Hard primitivism', however, can shift radically from its original projection of primitive society as cruel and destructive, to seeing it as hard, taxing, but, for that reason, productive and morally uplifting. Even in this more accommodating version, needless to say, it reverses the principle of *otium*.

Otium is a governing principle of art-pastoral. As I have remarked, purely aesthetic or fictional constructs are relatively rare in the continental eclogue, whether Neo-Latin or vernacular. Where they occur, they tend to pass into mythological narrative drawing on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* more than Virgil's Eclogues. Giano Anisio's Latin Eclogue I, a dirge for the Neapolitan master-poet Giovanni Pontano, follows Theocritus I and Virgil X in making various classical gods attend the deathbed of 'Melisaeus'; but alongside them are mythic figures representing features of the Neapolitan landscape, who had earlier played their part in Pontano's own Latin eclogues. One of them, *Lepidina*, branches out from a core pastoral structure into a series of pageants presenting Pontano's native Neapolitan landscape in mythic but also vividly descriptive terms. *Lepidina* is virtually *sui generis*, but Pontano's follower Basilio Zanchi attempts something similar in his Eclogue I.

There are many eclogues where the pastoral is a shell for a simple account of one or more standard myths.⁵³ But elsewhere, the poet creates a new metamorphic myth around his native landscape, as in Giambattista Amalteo's Latin Eclogue IV about the river Sarno or his brother Cornelio's tale (also in Latin) of the rivers Meschio and Livenza. The Campania was specially fortunate in being treated by two major poets, Giovanni Pontano and Jacopo Sannazaro, besides others like Anisio, Zanchi and Giovanni Cotta, originally from Genoa. (Anisio's lament for Pontano is placed on Cotta's lips.) But as one might expect, poets everywhere see the commemoration of nature as a chief objective of pastoral, perhaps all the more when writing in the vernacular. Sannazaro uses Latin and Italian simultaneously; later, Ronsard writes a number of French poems in various forms on the landscape around

51 Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory*, London: HarperCollins, 1995, p. 517.

52 Vol. 1 of A.O. Lovejoy *et al.*, *A Documentary History of Primitivism and Related Ideas*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1935.

53 E.g. Vida II, Navagero I, Giambattista Amalteo V (all Latin).

Vaucluse, once Petrarch's dwelling-place and now Ronsard's own. But these nature-poems of Ronsard's have little formal pastoral content: they are largely distinct from his pronouncedly courtly and allusive eclogues.

Another major presence of the landscape in Renaissance pastoral is in the context of love. The conventional structure of pastoral love – deriving from Theocritus' Polyphemus no less than his Daphnis, and even more from Virgil's shepherds, especially Corydon in Eclogue II – is refashioned using Petrarchan content. The Petrarchan lover withdraws into solitude and communes with nature to assuage his unhappy love. So do many shepherds, like Navagero's Iolas:

These trees bear witness for me, and this nearby poplar;
this is the verse on its bark:
'When the ram exchanges its wool for bristly hair
and the goat its bristles for wool, Iolas will forsake Amaryllis.'⁵⁴

The Petrarchan link is one of many reasons why the eclogue reaches out in the direction of other forms. Needless to say, Petrarchism is also the mother element of the pastoral lyric, as of all other varieties of love-lyric in that age.

The landscape also features largely – perhaps more largely – in many genres that Renaissance poets read, edit and imitate alongside the eclogue: odes and epodes, sonnets, epigrams and elegies. They also generate new forms by recasting or merging the old – for instance, melding ode and epigram into the Latin *lusus pastoralis* (pastoral sport or recreation), a brief lyric often implying a background narrative, as practised by Marcantonio Flaminio or Andrea Navagero.

Because Thyrsis has obtained from his longed-for Leucas
some reward at last, he gives you these violets, blessed Venus.
Coming stealthily upon her behind the hedge, I took three
kisses; I could do no more, for her mother was near.
This time I bring violets. But if all my desire is fulfilled
I will dedicate to you, goddess, a myrtle carved with this verse;
'Because he has possessed his love, Thyrsis dedicates to Venus
this myrtle, as well as himself and his flocks.'⁵⁵

54 'Hae testes mihi sunt silvae, vicinaque silvis / Populus haec: cuius tale est in cortice carmen. / Vellera cum setis aries mutarit, et hircus / Velleribus setas, Amaryllida linquet Iolas.' 'Iolas' 74–7 (*Lusus XXVII*): Andrea Navagero, *Lusus*, ed. and trans. Alice E. Wilson, Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1973, pp. 54–5.

55 'Quod tulit optata tandem de Leucade Thyrsis / Fructum aliquem: has violas dat tibi sancta Venus. / Post sepem hanc sensim obrepens, tria basia sumpsi: / Nil ultra potui: nam prope mater erat. / Nunc violas, sed plena feram si vota: dicabo / Inscriptam

A series of *lusus* might actually make up a connected story, as in the last book of Flaminio's *Carmina*. In a corresponding movement in vernacular Italian, a series of sonnets might also contain a narrative, as in the work of Benedetto Varchi, Lodovico Dolce or, with less focus, Bernardo Tasso. Even the epigram can be given a pastoral bent, as can the loosely defined form called the *silva* (literally 'wood' or 'forest').

The *lusus pastoralis* proves a major site of a prominent feature of Italianate pastoral that we may call 'pastoral religion'. Its single most important source is Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, and perhaps its biggest repository the Italian pastoral drama. But in all non-allusive, non-didactic pastoral, the shepherds are usually pagan, worshipping a distinctive selection of classical Graeco-Roman gods: Venus (as in Navagero's *lusus* above), Diana and perhaps Apollo (but seldom the other Olympians), with wood-gods and other nature-gods and nymphs in abundance. The most important festival is the feast of Pan, featured in many excerpts in this collection.

This 'religion' is embellished with a wealth of rites and festivals, often the concoction of particular poets. In fact, it seems to consist chiefly in these observances: as one might expect, this fictional construct includes little or nothing of meaningful faith, philosophic depth or moral seriousness. There is a strong mythic component, cultivated for narrative content and picturesque effect, drawn from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. This is expanded in Guarini's *Il pastor fido* into a more elaborate structure of oracles and supernatural signs, drawn from Greek Hellenistic romance. These trappings become more and more important in Renaissance pastoral romance: the whole story of Sidney's *Arcadia* turns on an oracle, though there is relatively little else by way of the supernatural. The Spanish *Diana* has somewhat more to offer in this respect.⁵⁶

All these elements are retailed in the profusion of pastoral lyrics in the vernaculars. All the generic forms cited here are adopted or modified to this end. A particularly pleasing and varied collection in French is Vauquelin de la Fresnaie's *Idillies et pastorales*, following on the more

hoc myrtum carmine Diva tibi. / Hanc Veneri myrtum Thyrsis, quod amore potitus / Dedicat, atque una seque suosque greges.' Navagero, *Lusus* VI: *Lusus*, pp. 26–7. Cf. Boiardo (Latin) II, VIII; Hesus III, VII, X; Stephanus I, showing the pronounced impact of Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* (all Latin).

56 In *Diana*, see Montemayor Bk II (Felismena's story), Bk V (the magician Alfeus), Perez Bk III (Stela and the river-nymphs); also the account of 'pastoral religion' in Perez Bk IV. *L'Astrée* makes much of an enchanted 'fountain of the truth of love', guarded by unicorns, and a much more active operation of oracles than in Sidney. There is also a variant version of 'pastoral religion' centred on the god of love and a 'good goddess'.

mixed *Les Foresteries* (1555). *Idillies et pastorales* remained in manuscript until 1605. A slighter but more influential French model for English pastoral lyricists was Philippe Desportes's *Bergeries et masquarades* (1583). Its delicate lyrics are matched by those in Joachim du Bellay's *Divers jeux rustiques* (nearly all translations of Navagero's *lusus*), and there are graceful, light yet sophisticated lyrics by Ronsard and Jacques Peletier du Mans. The extent of pastoral lyrics in Italian or French can match, if not exceed, the English; but the latter is very different in bent.

Most importantly, the vernacular pastoral lyric occupies a contested territory alongside the ubiquitous pastoral song, especially the madrigal – a form specially associated with the pastoral. There was an earlier, somewhat formal type of song called the madrigal, but the lighter and more versatile product of that name developed only in the sixteenth century, achieving its first major success in Venice in the 1530s. While a certain pastoral content was present from the start, the pastoral madrigal truly came into its own in the 1570s in the work of Andrea Gabrieli and Luca Marenzio. The latter – the 'pastoral musician *par excellence*', as Jerome Roche calls him⁵⁷ – confirmed the status of Sannazaro's *Arcadia* as a prime source of madrigal material. Two celebrated pastoral plays, Tasso's *Aminta* and Guarini's *Il pastor fido* (*The Faithful Shepherd*) were the two other major sources.

Two key factors make the madrigal important in the history of not only Renaissance music but Renaissance poetry. One is a renewed interest in vernacular poetry and popular song – but an interest on the part of a humanist-educated elite wishing to recast those light and unpolished products in more sophisticated mould. The other is the rise of the printed song-book, usually with only one 'part' to the volume rather than the full score. For the first time, the song-lyric was being presented as a text to be read. This could induce the lyricist to add more body to the conventionally thin fabric of the words: the text remained light, brief and intrinsically musical, but could also present an independent verbal construct, even an embryonic fiction and an expansive natural setting as in this instance by Luca Marenzio:

Phyllis was weeping, and turned both her eyes to the sky, which was also weeping. 'O Thyrsis, O Thyrsis,' she said dolorously. 'O Thyrsis, O Thyrsis,' murmured the waves, 'O Thyrsis, O Thyrsis' the winds, 'O Thyrsis, O Thyrsis' the flowers, grass, and branches.⁵⁸

57 Jerome Roche, *The Madrigal*, London: Hutchinson, 1972, p. 60.

58 'Piangea Filli e riuolce ambe le luci / Al Ciel c'han ch'ei piangea, / 'O Tirsi o Tirsi.' /

This tendency towards a modest elaboration was countered by a move in the direction of the lighter *villanesca*, with a new folk overlay and a simpler and more colloquial structure.

The madrigal provides the biggest and most influential body of short pastoral lyrics, supplemented by (and perhaps overlapping with) the *lusus pastoralis*. It sets up such brief poetic exercises as a serious adjunct not only to the eclogue or other moderate-sized genres but even to the full-blown pastoral romance or drama: taking the latter's material, scaling it down to a new brief compass and imparting to it a new episodic but affectively intenser note. As remarked above, much of the material of earlier pastoral madrigals comes from Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, and of the later from Tasso and Guarini's pastoral plays.

Yet the madrigal must remain a limited, not to say rudimentary poetic form, restricted by its brevity and by the inevitable subordination of the verbal to the musical design. Despite their volume and impact, neither the madrigal nor the total body of continental pastoral lyrics provides adequate precedent for the wealth of such poems in the Elizabethan age, nor their importance – one might almost say centrality – to pastoral practice as a whole. But the continental madrigal and pastoral lyric create the conditions and provide the general store of material (plus many direct models and originals). They reshape the contours of Renaissance pastoral to introduce a lyric element not only in these particular forms and genres, but in the pastoral convention as a whole. The commitment to poetry and song inherent in pastoral from the outset are actualized in this body of poetry as never before. No wonder they popularized the notion of the 'shepherd' as a virtual synonym of the poet.

The spectrum of Neo-Latin pastoral lyric shades off towards Horace's odes or Martial's epigrams; so do many vernacular equivalents, in further admixture with more recent and popular forms. Scarcely less important is the nature-elegy, in both Neo-Latin and the vernacular. This can reach out towards the pastoral in one direction and, more importantly given the provenance of such poems, the georgic on the other, populating a middle ground where the poet and his upper-class friends can coexist with Thyrsis and Neaera (as in Giambattista Amalteo's Latin elegy

'O Tirsi o Tirsi' / mormorauan l'onde, i venti, / 'O Tirsi o Tirsi' i fior l'erbe et le fionde.' Text constructed by combining Canto and Alto versions of Luca Marenzio, *Madrigali a sei voci*, Antwerp: Pietro Phalesio & Giovanni Bellerio, 1594, fol. 27r. Translation from Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, ed. A. H. Krappe et al., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949, II.651.

addressed to Lodovico Dolce).⁵⁹ So also a conventional bucolic scene can be juxtaposed with realistic glimpses of farming, fishing or vine-culture.⁶⁰ Henri Estienne or Stephanus starts his long Latin praise of the country life with 'Beatus ille...', the opening line of Horace's Epode II, works in a reference to the Golden Age early on (and repeats it later), brings in Pan and other rural gods, yet describes a real landscape through the cycle of the seasons, and populates it with shepherds in conventional pastoral vein.⁶¹ Different again, yet in constant interaction with these models, is the longer ode or canzone, drawing on the Petrarchan canzone where the lover withdraws into and communes with nature.

In continental pastoral poetry as a whole, we see that on the one hand, the Virgilian eclogue is recognized as a distinctive genre, holding its own ground more forcefully than ever before. At the same time, its elements are placed in new combinations with others both traditional and novel, native and classical, folk or popular as well as elite, to create a whole new universe of the pastoral, virtually redefining the term and making it decisively a mode rather than a mere genre (the eclogue).

All these sources and models are reflected in the translations included in the *Anthology*⁶² from classical poets and their Renaissance imitators. There are surprising omissions like Petrarch's eclogues (not to mention Boccaccio's) and Sannazaro's *Arcadia*. One assumes they circulated sufficiently in the original, obviating the need for translations. But these and other Italianate models are all reproduced in English, as (usually earlier) in other vernaculars; and alongside them, English poets (like their compatriots in Italy, France or Spain) practise new poetic genres developed in the Middle Ages or the Renaissance itself, like the sonnet, the madrigal and various veins of song and lyric – even one-off precedents like a verse interlude on the Golden Age in Boethius' *The Consolation of Philosophy*

59 Cf., in Latin, Navagero *Lusus* XXV (which combines this vein with a mythological tale) and Flaminio's invitation to Franciscus Turrianus (*Carminum libri* III, Florence, 1552, p. 186); in Italian, Bernardo Tasso, *Elegy* II; and in French, Ronsard, 'Les Plaisirs rustiques' ('The Pleasures of the Countryside') and 'De l'élection de son sepulcre' ('On the Choice of His Tomb').

60 As in Giambattista Amalteo's elegy 'Ad Ludovicum Dulcium' and George Buchanan's elegy 'Majae calendae' respectively. See also Andrelini V, Cayado IV, Camerarius VIII, and the detailed season-by-season account of rural activities in Strozzi I–II. Other poems like Cordus IV and Hessus IX describe the shepherd's tasks. (All poems in Latin.)

61 Henricus Stephanus, 'Oda, de laudibus vitae rusticae', *Moschi, Bionis, Theocriti ... idyllia ... Eiusdem carmina*, Paris: Robert Estienne, 1556, sigs D2r–E3v.

62 In this Introduction, 'the *Anthology*' always refers to *Pastoral Poetry of the English Renaissance: An Anthology*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016.

(#14). We may compare the same theme in choruses from two Italian pastoral plays, Tasso's *Aminta* and Guarini's *Il pastor fido* (#33, #34). In a general way, practitioners in all these veins pass from direct translation to excerpt and imitation: they are 'translating' a poetic mode and ambience, and perhaps specific topoi, rather than a particular poem. In other words, the reach of *translatio* extends much wider than actual rendering from one language into another, to approach something very like the *translatio studii* postulated in the Middle Ages, transference of the material of art and learning from ancient to new locations. The *Anthology* illustrates the reception, renovation, and above all interaction of classical, medieval and contemporary forms of pastoral and quasi-pastoral.

Renaissance English pastoral: the beginnings. Spenser and Sidney

In Renaissance England, the most attractive and productive synthesis of classical and medieval forms is in the corpus of pastoral odes and lyrics; but chronologically, the story begins with a group of sterner moral eclogues. Early in the sixteenth century, Alexander Barclay composed five eclogues, two based on pieces by Mantuan and the others on a non-pastoral didactic tract 'On the Miseries of Courtiers' by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (later Pope Pius II). Formally, these pieces are anything but Virgilian, even the two derived from Mantuan. They are long diatribes where the attack on the corrupt ruling class expands into general accounts of the miseries of shepherds and rural folk. At the same time, they make effective use of the metaphor of the shepherd as priest to deplore the state of the Church.⁶³

The most notable point about Barclay's eclogues is the way they assimilate the eclogue to traditions other than the strictly pastoral – most notably the satire, protest and social commentary of the *Plowman* literature deriving from the late Middle Ages, though not the spiritual, even mystical dimension with which Langland endowed it. English Renaissance pastoral does not really get off the ground for another half-century; but already we see the passage from formal pastoral towards other, thematically more compelling vehicles. Barclay's poems are called eclogues, but their long, meandering course and narrow range of themes almost belie the label. It is a sign of things to come.

I have described how formal pastoral always tends to diffuse and combine its energies with other modes and genres; but there seems no doubt that the process is more marked in English than in other vernaculars,

63 Barclay was a priest and, for a time, first a Benedictine and then a Franciscan monk.

let alone Neo-Latin. The most obvious pointer is the relative paucity of formal eclogues, especially in the sixteenth century: outside Spenser, the only sequence to speak of is Drayton's *Idea the Shepherd's Garland* (1593); and the tally of individual pieces is modest, even after trawling manuscript sources. The connected narrative of Thomas Watson's Latin *Amyntas* and its 'prequel' *Amintae Gaudia* (both with English translations) lie outside the Virgilian mainstream in intent even if not in form. The 'Eclogues' in Sidney's *Arcadia* seldom formally qualify for that label, and those in Lodge's *A Fig for Momus* are devoid of genuine pastoral content.

I have anticipated my account, for the story really begins with Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579). Before that, we have only the undistinguished Mantuanesque eclogues of Barnabe Googe and a few lyric pieces touching generally on nature or rural life. The one sparkling exception, 'Harpelus' Complaint' (#31) from Tottel's Miscellany (1557), can be explained as a late instance of a basically medieval line of short lyric narrative.

Into this unpromising world, albeit with a rich library of classical and continental models awaiting use, *The Shepheardes Calender* burst anonymously in 1579. Its author had previously published only a few short translations in 1569 while in his teens. After graduating from Cambridge, he had spent some time in the employ of John Young, Bishop of Rochester. He may have entered the Earl of Leicester's service and gained acquaintance with the latter's nephew Philip Sidney as early as 1577, certainly by 1579. The *Calender* was largely composed by then; it appeared the same December with a dedication to Sidney.

By this time, Sidney appears to have composed most of the poems that later went into his *Arcadia*, and had also begun the prose narrative of the earlier version (the *Old Arcadia*). Even on such a late encounter, it would be surprising if the two pioneering Elizabethan pastoralists remained untouched by each other's practice. Spenser seems to have made a few late revisions to the *Calender* as a result. Sidney offered the *Calender* high praise in *An Apology for Poetry*, and presumably had it in mind during his further work on the *Arcadia*. But there is no marked impact in either direction. It seems fair to say that each had formed his own pastoral strategy before encountering the other, and saw no reason to modify it to any degree. Later practitioners thus obtained the benefit of two wide-ranging yet widely variant and differently sourced models. This may be a major cause of the unusual trajectory of English Renaissance pastoral.

There is a great deal of allusion in the *Calender*. The single biggest topic

of allusion (treated in three eclogues, 'May', 'July' [#41] and 'September') is the state of the Church, of concern to Spenser since his time with John Young but also, more broadly, from his general Puritan leanings – a tendency no doubt enhanced by contact with Leicester and Sidney. But there is also a eulogy of Queen Elizabeth ('April', #38); a lament for an unidentified dead maiden ('November'); and all through, a strand of allusion to Spenser's own life under the persona of Colin Clout, especially the trials of his poetic career and his frustrated love for a girl here named Rosalind. This account can take on a moral dimension, and there are other moral themes as well, as in the debate between an old and a young shepherd in 'February'. (Both 'February' and 'May' incorporate moral fables of some length.) The topical allusions in the church allegory are anchored in a general discourse on a churchman's duties and personality. In other words, the discursive content of the *Calender* is as much didactic as allusive.

The allusions in the *Calender*, with many ancillary details, are treated by an 'E.K.' (perhaps one Edward Kirke, perhaps Spenser himself) in an elaborate apparatus of introduction, 'argument' and commentary accompanying the poems. Needless to say, they have been closely explored by later scholars. It therefore bears stressing that the truly notable element in the *Calender* is not the extent of the allusions but their relative absence, the marked presence of an imaginative setting and implicit narrative. The autobiographical element in Colin's unhappy love does not destroy its status as an independent fiction: it belongs with the similar tales of poet-shepherds (perhaps autobiographical too) in Italian pastoral drama. It yields two fine if conventional love-laments in 'January' and 'December', and a striking projection of the restless and inspired poet in 'June' (#40). 'June' inverts the paradigm of Virgil's Eclogue I by identifying the poet with the displaced and wandering shepherd, not his opposite number in secure repose. Spenser may have consciously followed Petrarch's Eclogue I, described above. But Colin's wandering figure also recalls the restless lover of Petrarch's love poems, roaming the wilderness to assuage his unhappy love.

We should also note how Spenser's shepherds constantly burst into song. In this they are no different from most shepherds in pastoral convention; what is unexpected is the nature of the songs. The praise of 'Eliza, Queene of shepheardes all' in 'April' (#38) is a cross between an ode and a dance song. The movement of the framing eclogue in 'March' is so tripping that a light-hearted song about the infant Cupid can be fitted to the same metre. 'August' works an unusual variation on the

amoeban eclogue: the contending shepherds contribute interweaving lines to a single composite song,⁶⁴ again in a light dance-like metre. The poem ends with a love-lament by the absent Colin, here sung by Cuddie: a weightier, more sombre sestina anticipating the intricate ode-like lament in a ten-line stanza in 'November'. These two pieces may be late additions to the *Calender*, made after Spenser's acquaintance with Sidney and access to the elaborate eclogues in the manuscript *Arcadia*. But with these two exceptions, the song-interludes embedded in the eclogues are light, pronouncedly lyrical pieces. The eclogues themselves display a store of metrical and stanzaic innovations, a greater approximation to lyric forms, and more decisive endings than the arbitrary close of many other eclogues. Spenser makes exceptionally good use of the vernacular poet's freedom from the unvarying iambic pentameter of classical pastoral, exploiting that freedom over the space of twelve poems. These formal innovations align him more closely with the shepherd-poets of his fiction.

The span of twelve eclogues affords other advantages too. The *Calender* conveys a strong sense of an integrated shepherd community with its web of relationships and year-round tasks and observances. The woodcuts preceding each eclogue visualize this milieu in concrete terms. It was a brilliant strategy to fit the arbitrary length of an eclogue series to the pattern of the seasons, imposing both a narrative and a societal structure to the fiction, attuned moreover to the natural cycle. Further, by recalling the *Kalendrier* motif, even if in name rather than content – 'applying an olde name to a new worke', in E.K.'s words in his introductory epistle to Gabriel Harvey – Spenser evokes a still wider range of real and conceptual shepherd life, virtually the entire range of rural experience in that age. The *Calender* enshrines a way of life current in the community hosting the fiction.

All this is within a single poem; but the impact of the *Calender* on subsequent English pastoral creates a still greater continuum, virtually a shared setting populated by each new poet with his own cast of characters – which are often shared characters. The most important presence in this sustained scene is Colin himself. Spenser adopted the name as his persona in all subsequent works; later poets (not only of the pastoral) habitually call him Colin. This gives an integrated Spenserian cast to

64 This is matched, presumably by coincidence, in Jean Dorat's Latin Eclogue VI (published 1586), where one shepherd does most of the singing, another merely repeating a one-line refrain.

the whole body of English Renaissance pastoral, indeed impregnates all English Renaissance poetry with an endemic pastoral association.

All in all, Spenser gifts English pastoral with a second, more proximate control point alongside the Virgilian, supplementing or even exceeding the latter. There is nothing comparable in any other European language: even Sannazaro's reach is not so pervasive. The genres, forms and topoi in the *Calender* range well beyond Virgil's Eclogues while, of course, incorporating the latter. One or more of these precedents could be adopted by any later pastoralist, to compose anything from a lyric or ode to a panegyric, satire, fable or dirge, in structures and verse-forms variously diverging from the conventional eclogue. The arch-themes of love and poetry are unfolded in good measure, and there is enough allusive reference to the real world: any later poet can draw out any of these lines where Spenser left off. Even the latent narrative is sufficiently open to absorb any later construct. Thus Spenser stakes out the whole territory of English Renaissance pastoral for his successors. Virtually the entire contents of the remarkable anthology *England's Helicon* can, in one way or other, be read back to the *Calender*. That is another way of saying that the *Calender* is the well-spring of the exceptional range of forms and practices found in English Renaissance pastoral, and the unusually strong presence of art-pastoral. Even the small corpus of English pastoral pre-dating the *Calender* seems to link up with one or other element in it.

In Spenser's own career, the *Calender* proved an unusual inseminating presence. Diverging from the traditional path of 'Virgil's wheel', Spenser invested nearly all his subsequent work with an element of the pastoral. *Astrophel*, the pastoral elegy for Sidney, has nothing specially innovative, though it is an unusually elaborate compendium of all the conventional elements of such a poem. *Colin Clout's Come Home Again* (#42) may also be seen as an unusually complex and skilful application of the twin topoi of the 'admiring shepherd' and the 'critical shepherd', traditionally used to view court life through a pastoral lens. It is perhaps unusual in the force and scale of combination of the two modes: most pastoralists fight shy of letting moral strictures on court life impinge too closely on their praise of rulers and patrons. Perhaps Spenser was emboldened in his task by his patron Raleigh's own uncertain relations with Elizabeth and her court: Raleigh's visit to Ireland, which initiated the events of the poem, stemmed from the need to take stock of his estates there as a fall-back to his career at court. Spenser himself seems never to have ceased to set his sights on the court, or a more attractive preferment in London rather than Ireland, where he was secretary to the Governor. He dedicated *Colin*

Clout to the Queen, as later *The Faerie Queene*, where he celebrated the monarch virtually at mythic level. The point to remark is that even this hyper-ambitious romantic epic is impregnated with a vein of pastoral.

This pastoral exists in close combination with myth. The landscape is imbued with vital and supernatural presences in an openly Ovidian vein: the pastoral components are not so directly Virgilian. The pastoral presence in *The Faerie Queene* is uniquely Spenser's own. Against a setting of nature and in subtle but organic relation with it, he projects a succession of encounters between rural and courtly, 'simple' and 'complex' humanity, in a sustained assessment of the courtly ideal ('to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline')⁶⁵ which is his purpose in the work. The core themes and values of pastoral are, as it were, extracted from a specifically shepherdly setting and worked deep into the human negotiations foregrounded against the natural setting. But those negotiations are not quite human either: the participants are nearly all of the Faerie race, with a subtly fictive and supernatural dimension comparable to the shepherds of pastoral, though most of them are knights. The setting, again, modifies 'real' nature in a fictive and mythic direction, refashioning the Irish landscape to new imaginative purpose. One may say that Spenser's entire attitude to nature in Ireland is that of any pastoral poet to the rural landscape: an arena of the imagination, a fit setting for certain removed poetic values in a fictively modified community, resuscitative yet finally alien, redefining but not overthrowing the courtly and urban order.

Significantly, the climax of the narrative – seen by many as the designed culmination of a formally unfinished work – openly reverts to pastoral convention. Towards the end of Book VI (the last complete book of *The Faerie Queene*) Calidore, the knight of courtesy, comes upon a community of shepherds and casts in his lot with them, having fallen in love with the most prominent shepherd maiden. The *Anthology* includes the most salient passages from that section (#44, #45). 'Courtesy' in that age did not mean niceties of behaviour; it meant the perfected graces of the human state as most desired and best realized in the courtier, the 'vertuous and gentle discipline' of Spenser's letter to Raleigh. ('Gentle', of course, means noble, even if Spenser, like others of his age, finely weighs nobility of birth against nobility of being.) Yet Calidore, the finest

65 Letter to Sir Walter Raleigh 'expounding his whole intention in the course of this worke': Spenser, *Poetical Works*, ed. J.C. Smith and E. de Selincourt, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1912, rpt. 1970, p. 407.

flower of court life, not only finds his most congenial retreat among humble shepherds, but obtains among them an experience beyond his sophisticated conception.

On Mount Acidale, haunt of a trans-erotic Venus, Calidore sees the three Graces and their followers dancing to the tune of Colin Clout's rustic pipe, surrounding a country girl who is Colin's beloved. The vision has a Stoic significance, explained by Colin, of the giving and receiving of gifts and 'offices'; also Neoplatonic implications that, though not elaborated here, are implicit in the setting and narrative and were common knowledge to Spenser's educated readers.⁶⁶ Human acts and relations are linked to an ideal, transcendent world, but one enshrined in nature and myth. It is the pinnacle of Calidore's ideal of courtesy, but enshrined in a pastoral scene and accessible to the shepherd more readily than the knight: Calidore's approach makes the dancers vanish, leaving Colin distraught and inducing Calidore to beg pardon of him. At the same time, it is the point towards which the entire nature-setting of *The Faerie Queene* has been tending, now made philosophically explicit. It is arguably the profoundest revaluation of pastoral ever made, the high point of the entire mode.

Few poets, if any, follow Spenser to this philosophic height, but there are interesting reflections: lyrics like 'Theorello. A Shepherd's Idyllion'⁶⁷ (#132) in *England's Helicon*, or longer works like Edward Benlowes's Christian-mystical *Theophila, or Love's Sacrifice* (#255). There is also a philosophic or symbolic undertext in certain narratives, locally or *in extenso*, starting with the figure of Urania in Sidney's *Arcadia*.

Sidney's romance is a mine of pastoral poetic models, besides the importance of the narrative structure itself. Many of the poems hark back to the 1570s, and may have been composed independently of the narrative in which they were later embedded. This too was begun in the 1570s, and the first version (the *Old Arcadia*) completed in 1580–81, chiefly during Sidney's enforced leisure at Wilton, the Wiltshire estate of his sister and brother-in-law the Earl of Pembroke. (He was avoiding the court, even if not actually banished from it, after gratuitously

66 See notes to #45 in the *Anthology*.

67 This poem, presenting a Neoplatonic allegory of the created universe, has an interesting precedent in the First Eclogue of Gervais Sepin (Sepinus, *fl.* 1550): 'Behold, unheralded Nature, suddenly revealed in marvellous shape, stunned my dazzled eyes. Ah me, what beauty, and how much of brightness there was in her!' ('Ecce inopina mihi Natura oblata repente / Egregia specie stupidos perstrinxit ocellos: / Hei mihi quis decor? et quantum fulgoris in illa?'): *Delitiae C. poetarum Gallorum*, Frankfurt, 1609, III.750.

commenting on the Queen's proposed marriage to the Duke of Alençon.) In fact, Sidney's full title is *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, adapting the title of Sannazaro's work, much though Sidney's might differ from it. Later, Sidney set about a radical revision (the *New Arcadia*), but left it unfinished in mid-sentence halfway through Book III. Neither version appeared in Sidney's lifetime. There is an intricate history of posthumous publication from 1590 onwards, the *New Arcadia* being supplemented by the latter part of the *Old*. The full text of the *Old Arcadia* was only recovered from manuscript and published in the twentieth century.

The five books of the *Old Arcadia* are divided by groups of 'Eclogues', purportedly songs sung by the shepherds of the narrative. Some are eclogues on the Virgilian model, though often extended in length. Others are short lyrics, or more elaborate odes or canzones, or still more sophisticated variants like the sestina, dizaine or crown, with intricate rhyme schemes. Several are exercises in quantitative metre, using a pattern of long and short syllables as in classical Greek and Latin, rather than the stress-based prosody customary in English. Owing to the prestige of the classical languages, quantitative verse was an accepted model in the Renaissance. It attracted special though brief attention in England in the 1570s, apparently following the precept of the obscure Thomas Drant. Spenser discusses the matter in his correspondence with the Cambridge scholar Gabriel Harvey, though he never practised the form.

There is also a sizeable body of poems, chiefly lyrics of short or medium length, woven into the prose narrative of the five books of the *Arcadia*. Most of them are not ascribed to shepherds but to courtly characters, sometimes in shepherds' guise. The number and placing of the poems varies from version to version, edition to edition. The distribution of poems in the *New Arcadia* is specially indeterminate as it stands, though Sidney had clearly devoted much thought to the matter.

As this account indicates, Sidney's primary purpose in the *Arcadia* poems was not to develop pastoral poetry as such, but generally to present a range of Renaissance poetic forms, sometimes for the first time in English. (As Sidney's editor Ringler notes, Sidney had earlier introduced the amoebian eclogue in English, worked into the structure of *The Lady of May*, #46.) This is specially so with the poems embedded in the narrative: there the pastoral element, if any, is usually present in the context rather than the poem itself. Of the 27 Eclogues, only 9 have any pastoral content at all, and that, sometimes, merely in a passing reference to sheep or shepherds.

But even where not pastoral, the poems in the *Arcadia* are, so to

speak, conductors of pastoralism: that is where their importance lies. They offer a very large range of verse forms that, owing to their location in the *Arcadia*, are assimilated to the pastoral and can henceforth be used with that mode. Sidney's unique position as a literary icon would have enhanced their importance; and because in English, these poetic forms originated in the *Arcadia*, the pastoral would be recognized as the seminal theme or context for their use. This did not happen anywhere on the continent. No doubt in Italian or French, a poet could readily be called a shepherd, his beloved or any young woman a nymph; but the underlying pastoral themes were developed only in the eclogue and a clutch of associated genres as described above: they did not pervade the entire range of poetic forms. There was no seminal resource presenting that full range in a pastoral setting.

The year 1600 saw the publication of the anthology, *England's Helicon*. Its compiler remains unknown, though variously guessed to be John Flasket, the publisher; John Bodenham, recipient of a dedicatory sonnet that seems to credit him with the task; an unidentified 'A.B.', author of this sonnet and a dedicatory letter in prose; or Nicholas Ling, author of a longer dedication 'To the Reader, if indifferent' (uninterested). The *Helicon* trawls the range of Elizabethan writings – poetic collections, prose narratives, plays, entertainments, translations – for every kind of poem with a pastoral bearing, however remote. It even tweaks a number of originally non-pastoral pieces to make them conform. This is done with surprising ease, the results hardly distinguishable from other poems formally pastoral in origin. This confirms what the very appearance of the *Helicon* indicates: how by 1600 – twenty-one years after the *Calender* and just ten since the publication of the *Arcadia* – pastoral was accepted as a unifying presence, virtually a mother element, across the spectrum of Elizabethan literature. It links up with the entire formal range of Elizabethan poetry. Of the long line of Early Modern verse miscellanies, in English or any other modern language, the *Helicon* is the only one devoted to a single mode.⁶⁸ The formal developments that culminate in the *Helicon* can be sourced back to the *Calender* and the *Arcadia* poems; so can the thematic and fictive sources.

This has implications also for the controlling constructs in the sources themselves. In English Renaissance pastoral, Sidney's *Arcadia* and the *Calender* afforded large-scale prototypes of structure and theme from the very outset – and within them, a diverse range of shorter models.

68 Johannes Oporinus brought out a major Neo-Latin collection in 1546 (see p. 46).

This too had not happened in any other language, arguably excepting the narrower model of Sannazaro's *Arcadia*. There, the Virgilian eclogue had provided an authoritative and allusively fecund but formally limited prototype. The supporting genres current in the period – ode, elegy, lyric, *lusus*, sonnet, madrigal – were structurally limited and often conceptually restrictive, though they covered a great deal of thematic ground between them. Continental pastoral overcame these limitations by generating more ambitious forms: extending eclogue, song and lyric into cycles, pageants and narratives, consolidating them in full-fledged romance and drama. The thematic implications of these larger forms could then be redirected to the eclogue and lyric. Because of its late start, English Renaissance pastoral profited from these continental developments: it could begin where they left off, with the bonus of initial participation by two writers of genius. It could open its account with a uniquely integrated eclogue-cycle and a pastoral romance of complex form and great intellectual sophistication, even more so in revision. Subsequent developments of form and theme are like smaller constructs selectively abstracted from these grand designs. In other languages, the process had rather been one of building up, synthesizing smaller units into bigger structures: *Arcadia* had to be constructed by putting together its partial glimpses.

Hence my earlier premiss, that all pastoral seems to share in a common world and present the same community, is especially true in the Elizabethan instance. There, Virgil's *Arcadia* is overlain, sometimes virtually replaced by the more integrated settings supplied by Spenser's seasonally oriented shepherdly annals and Sidney's connected narrative. Conflating the two, England and *Arcadia* could be run together, as Virgil combined his native Mantua with Theocritus' Sicily.

The *Calender* had further editions in 1581 and 1586. Work on the *Arcadia* obviously ceased with Sidney's death in 1586, if not earlier. However, Elizabethan pastoral comes to full growth only in the next decade.

The consolidation of Elizabethan pastoral

The real impact of the *Arcadia* came from its publication rather than its composition. There are many extant manuscripts of the *Old Arcadia*; no doubt there were others now lost or undiscovered. (The incomplete *New Arcadia* is known from a single manuscript.) They must have circulated in courtly circles, and pastoral poetry seems to have been largely confined to those circles in the 1580s. Aristocratic poets scorned the 'stigma of print' (see p. 114) and fought shy of exposing their work to public gaze.