

THE SHEPHERD'S SONG:
METALITERACY & THEATRICALITY IN FRENCH & ITALIAN PASTORAL

by

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(Under the Direction of Francis Assaf)

ABSTRACT

From its inception, pastoral literature has maintained a theatrical quality and an artificiality that not only resonate the escapist nature of the mode but underscore the metaliterary awareness of the author. A popular mode of writing in antiquity and the middle ages, pastoral reached its apex in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with works like Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, Tasso's *Aminta*, and Honoré d'Urfé's *Astrée*. This study seeks to examine and elucidate the performative qualities of the pastoral imagination in Italian and French literature during its most popular period of expression, from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century. Selecting representative works including the pastourelles of Jehan Erart and Guiraut Riquier, the two vernacular pastoral works of Boccaccio, Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, Tasso's *Aminta*, and D'Urfé's *Astrée*, I offer a comparative analysis of pastoral vernacular literature in France and Italy from the medieval period through the seventeenth century. Additionally, I examine the relationship between the theatricality of the works and their setting. Arcadia serves as a space of freedom of expression for the author. I posit that the pastoral realm of Arcadia is directly inspired not by the Greek mountainous region but by the Italian peninsula, thus facilitating the transposition of Arcadia into the author's own geographical area. A secondary concern is the motif of death and

loss in the pastoral as a repeated commonplace within the mode. Each of these factors contributes to an understanding of the implicit contract that the author endeavors to forge with the reader, exhorting the latter to be active in the reading process.

INDEX WORDS: Pastoral, Pastoralism, Jean Erart, Theocritus, Virgil, Jehan Erart, Guiraut Riquier, Giovanni Boccaccio, Dante, Petrarch, Guido Cavalcanti, Jacopo Sannazaro, Arcadia, Torquato Tasso, Aminta, Honoré d'Urfé, Astrée, Ameto, Ninfale fiesolano, Pastourelle, Arras, Naples, Ferrara, Forez, Italian Pastoral Literature, French Pastoral Literature, Medieval Pastoral Literature, Pastourelle, Pastorella, Pastoral Play, Renaissance Pastoral Literature, Metaliteracy, Theater, Performance, Orality, France—13th Century, France—17th Century, Italy—14th Century, Italy—16th Century

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B.A., King College, 2004

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A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2010

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December 2010

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my parents, Stelio and Ann Cro.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank my major professor, Dr. Francis Assaf, and the committee, Dr. Steven Grossvogel and Dr. Catherine Jones. Their support, guidance, and advice during my studies and the preparation of this dissertation have been invaluable and I am very grateful to them. Dr. Assaf has always encouraged my research, helping me to prepare articles and providing valuable insight on my dissertation. In his courses I learned to love the uniqueness of seventeenth-century France and the complex nature of literature. He introduced me to the concept of metaliterary awareness and the moment he did, I was hooked. He also challenged me to be a better writer and researcher. I owe a great deal of my professional formation to Dr. Assaf. Dr. Grossvogel is always willing to go above and beyond for his students and has been so supportive of my decisions while always offering excellent advice. He has always done whatever he could to help and to encourage me. He taught me a great deal about the Italian Middle Ages and Renaissance, two periods that I adore in Italian literature. He guided me through the poetry of the *scuola siciliana* and the complexity of Dante. He also encouraged my love of Boccaccio. I could not have asked for a better teacher in Italian. Dr. Jones taught me not only the beauty of the French Middle Ages but also how to teach. Her courses are lessons for future teachers of literature. She brings her subject to life and encourages her students to interact with the text, to explore the nuances of the work. I am so grateful to have had such wonderful mentors.

I would also like to thank my family, in particular my parents, for their love and support during this challenging process. They were always available for a late-night phone call or an in-depth discussion of pastoral literature. They instilled in me early in life a passion for literature

and a true sense of curiosity, always encouraging me to find the truth. It is due to them that I have succeeded. I would also like to thank my sister, Rebecca. She always had a smile and a laugh waiting for me. Finally, I would like to thank my fiancé, Ryan, for always being there. There is no one else in the world I would rather walk through life with.

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Introduction

The shepherds gather round in the shade of a tall oak, asking Logisto and Elpino, two of their number, to sing in contest. Selvaggio is elected judge and Ofelia plays his pipe. Logisto and Elpino answer one another in verse, composing a sweet song to which the accompaniment must be imagined by the reader. Music lies in the words spoken, however. Rhythm and rhyme combine to form song. This is a very typical scene of pastoral literature. It occurs in Theocritus and Virgil in antiquity. Boccaccio includes such a contest in his *Comedia delle ninfe fiorentine*. This particular scene comes from Sannazaro's *Arcadia*.

Taking a moment to consider the elements of this scene, it becomes evident that the reader has witnessed a performance. Two shepherds, like actors, take the stage and entertain a group of on-looking shepherds. The "audience" listens, appreciates, judges, and praises. The audience reaction guides that of the reader, leading them to value the winner's song and indicating how the author would like the reader to evaluate the work. Through the performance of the song contest, the author reaches out to the readers, inviting them to witness and to participate, modeling an active interaction with the text rather than a passive reading experience. The performance allows a dialogue to open up between the reader and the text, between the reader and the characters, and enhances the reading experience.

This study seeks to examine and elucidate the performative qualities of the pastoral imagination in Italian and French literature during its most popular period of expression, from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century. Selecting representative works, I offer a comparative analysis of pastoral vernacular literature in France and Italy during this period. Additionally, I

examine the relationship between these qualities and the setting. Arcadia serves as a space of freedom of expression for the author. I posit that the pastoral realm of Arcadia is directly inspired not by the Greek mountainous region but by the Italian peninsula and thus facilitating the transposition of Arcadia into the author's own geographical area. A secondary concern is the motif of death and loss in the pastoral as a repeated commonplace within the mode.

The pastoral performance signals to the reader that a transgression is about to occur—the author is about to cross the “fourth wall¹,” the fictional boundary between reader and text. In depicting this performance, the author describes at once the writing process and the process of reception (reading). The “actors” compose their verses, paralleling the task of the poet while the “audience” listens, receives their words, considers them, and ultimately passes judgment as does the reader. Composition occurs simultaneously with reading so that each time the scene is read the process repeats itself, reflecting the author's metaliterary conscience. The audience functions as a model reader, and my own theoretical approach is informed by Eco's studies on the model reader².

While individual works of literature might boast a similar dialogue between reader and author, no mode as a rule offers with the same frequency such a dialogue disguised in performance as does the pastoral. Music, composition, and theatre combine in pastoral texts often as a means by which the author can communicate with the reader on a more intimate level, inviting the latter to enter the fictional realm of Arcadia. Once there, the reader is encouraged to don the disguise of the shepherd or another character and to participate in the action of the story. Reading in the pastoral is an immersive and active process, providing escape and retreat from society in the trappings of literary convention.

¹ This is a theatrical concept used to designate on a traditional stage the proscenium, the end of the actor's world and the doorway to the audience. I apply it to the texts because of their theatrical quality and as a means of illustration.

² See Umberto Eco, *Six Walks in the Fictional Woods* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2004)

The performative qualities of pastoral—both its theatricality and its orality (the spoken or sung words of the shepherds)—are core to its expression. While the definitions of pastoral concentrate on characters and setting, they ignore the manner of expression of these characters and the setting (for even nature sings with the shepherds). Orality and theatricality permeate the pastoral, informing the reader's understanding of its conventions and inciting the reader to consider the manner of communication in relation to one's own experience.

The conventions of pastoral, its performative qualities, highlight another characteristic of the pastoral author—the ludic, the author's sense of play. The author invites the reader to join in the fun; the reader must decipher the truths the author has veiled in pastoral trappings, look beyond the disguises and recognize not only his contemporaries but also herself or himself and the universality of the human condition condensed and expressed in pastoral terms. The ludic enables the author and the reader to come together to the performance and join in the pastoral masquerade. The inherent orality of the text underlines the conversation that must take place between reader and author. Difficult subjects can thus be broached, reality may be questioned, and the reader can enter the action, visit the fictional realm of Arcadia, and live the pastoral fancy.

Accompanying the ludic in the contemplation of the idyllic natural setting is loss, often in the form of death or in loss of innocence. The motif of the tomb in Arcadia finds expression in Virgil and is repeated in both Sannazaro and d'Urfé. The presence of loss or death highlights not only the universality of humanity's preoccupation with death, even in the idyllic pastoral realm, but increases the reader's awareness of the epicurean pull in the shepherd's life.

Southern Italy is the birthplace of the pastoral literary imagination. Theocritus, acknowledged as the first pastoral author, sets the *Idylls* in his native Sicily although he writes

them while away in Alexandria. Virgil sets his *Eclogues* in faraway Arcadia but he had never seen Greece. He was, however, intimately familiar with Naples, a Greek cultural center during Roman times and a resort area. In Greek times, Neapolis was a “centre of Epicureanism” (Lancaster 16). Epicurus believed pleasure was the highest good, the dominating principle of life. In Athens he founded a philosophical school in his garden and his followers were referred to as “garden people” in classical writings. Lancaster informs the reader of his biography of Naples that Neapolis was home to an important Epicurean school founded in the first century BC by Philodemus of Gadara (16). While the philosophical school came under criticism by later philosophers, in particular Christian philosophers, one cannot help but notice a certain similarity between the Epicurean ideal of pleasure as the highest good and the shepherd’s leisurely existence given over to the fulfillment of one’s happiness and the pursuit of love and poetic expression.

The focus on the good life in Neapolis influenced by Greek culture did not end during Roman occupation of Campania. Despite controlling commercial and political matters, Neapolis maintained its “strong Greek identity” (Lancaster 17-18). In fact, the Greek lifestyle was in vogue in the popular resort town:

The Roman aristocracy enjoyed travelling to Neapolis to wear Greek costumes and practise Greek customs as a form of relaxation [...] The Romans looked to Greece not only for intellectual pleasures derived from the study of art, literature and philosophy, but also for the sense of fun lacking in their regimented existence. In contrast with the Roman way of life, the Greeks, and indeed the Neapolitans, were amusing and carefree and viewed life with relaxed and nonchalant indolence. [...] Refined intellectual pursuits and the enjoyment of

nature soothed the souls of Roman visitors in accordance with Epicurean doctrines. (Lancaster 18-20)

Naples' Epicurean nature surfaces in the pastoral works of Virgil, Boccaccio, and Sannazaro. Virgil studied at the Epicurean school in Neapolis. Lancaster draws the link between Virgil's time in Naples and his pastoral poetry: "Virgil's bucolic poetry celebrated the rural life he enjoyed on the shores of the Bay of Naples. It was Virgil who first evoked the myth of Arcadia, the idealised pastoral landscape of central Greece where the simple, bucolic life offered the ideal atmosphere for intellectual contemplation and the happy life" (22). These same words, the "happy life" describe Boccaccio's time in Naples much later in the fourteenth century under the Angevin court that, while distinct from the Greco-Roman culture of Ancient Naples, fostered a cultural openness and freedom of expression reminiscent of its Epicurean roots. These roots infuse themselves within the mode and find repeated representation in later pastoral works.

In the medieval period the pastourelle, a pastoral poetic dialogue, emphasized the importance of pleasing and entertaining its audience. These poems were set in the woods in a *locus amoenus* through which the knight was wandering but there is no definitive identification of setting with the exception of one poem by Guiraut Riquier set on the pilgrim's road from Santiago de Compostela. While this form is a creation of Provence and was popular in Northern France, the first pastoral play, Adam de la Halle's *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, not only illustrates the ludic pursuits of the shepherds and shepherdesses but was most likely composed in Naples for members of the Angevin court (Schwam-Baird xv). This same court a few years later would provide a rich literary environment for young Giovanni Boccaccio and while his pastoral works are set in Tuscany there is an indelible mark left on his work by the Angevin and Neapolitan influence.

The best known pastoral romance is the product of a young Neapolitan humanist, Jacopo Sannazaro. The *Arcadia* (1504) is set in Arcadia (as the title indicates) but recalls Campania and the main character “returns” to his native Campania at the end of the story. Sannazaro’s work was significant not only for the pastoral literary tradition in general but for later works in particular. Honoré d’Urfé cites the *Arcadia* in his preface to the first volume of the *Astrée* (1607-27), a five-volume pastoral romance written in the seventeenth century and one of the central texts of French pastoralism. The other work he cites is Tasso’s *Aminta* (1573). Honoré d’Urfé transposes the Arcadian realm to his native Forez along the Lignon River west of Lyons.

What immediately strikes the modern reader of pastoral is the ebb and flow in the pastoral tradition between France and Italy, a tendency that can be illustrated not only through the literature but also pictorially. France and Provence have a strong medieval pastoral tradition in the form of the pastourelle. Italy, too, boasts a varied medieval pastoral tradition. Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio each experimented with pastoral, the first two primarily in Latin. Boccaccio composed pastoral works in both Latin (his *Eclogues*) and Italian (*Comedia delle ninfe fiorentine* and *Ninfale fiesolano*). Boccaccio is an important figure for pastoral literature, having composed the first prototype of the pastoral romance and I examine his vernacular offerings in detail. Vernacular pastoral is renewed in the Renaissance. Italian authors like Sannazaro and Tasso reinvented and reworked the structure, finding inspiration in the works of Virgil (undoubtedly due to the influence of the Humanist movement). In the seventeenth century, pastoral migrates north once more, finding definitive expression and renown in Honoré d’Urfé’s monumental *Astrée*.

Much work has been done examining pastoral, however the studies tend to be limited to an examination within a particular national context occasionally accompanied by brief references

to earlier models (specifically the works of antiquity). Insofar as studies in the English language are concerned, those scholars are inclined to deal primarily with British and American literature, and while they may offer a comparative view of pastoral works, the authors tend to limit themselves to works written in English. Paul Alpers' *What Is Pastoral?* is a survey of the pastoral mode. It is considered one of the fundamental English-language studies of pastoral. The author deals primarily with classical works and English works in the post-classical period. Although he does mention a few non-English language works, he tends to focus on British literature. While he accedes that this is a weakness, he asserts that to the general reading public works such as Tasso's *Aminta* hold interest only for specialists:

Most of the post-classical works I discuss are English. This reflects limitations on my part, of course, and also of what I could expect readers to bring to the book.

Tasso's *Aminta* and Garcilaso de la Vega's eclogues are generally known, I fear, only to specialists in their respective national literatures, and their literary distinction (unlike that of *Don Quixote*) does not survive translation. (x)

Alpers continues to justify his emphasis by underlining that there are clear differences between the various manifestations of this form across cultures and vernacular European literature. By ignoring pastoral expression in other languages, his work tends to be a bit limited and, in sections, of primary interest to specialists in British or American literature.

Another authority on pastoral, Terry Gifford, examines the form but again primarily in relation to American or British literature. The cursory remarks on pastoral in other languages offered in his study, *Pastoral*, also leave the reader with a very vague notion of what happened to the pastoral in other national literatures. As Lisa Sampson points out in her book, *Pastoral Drama in Early Modern Italy*, there is a wealth of Italian pastoral drama of the Renaissance that

remains “relatively unknown, especially to Anglophone scholars” (1). This leads to a gap in one’s conception of the pastoral mode.

Most scholars today identify pastoral as a mode comprising various genres. The discussion is a complex one since the definitions for both “mode” and “genre” tend to come under question and vary in meaning depending on the scholar’s approach. Paul Alpers notes this tension within the study of pastoral. He offers a very complete discussion of the debate between mode and genre with regard to pastoral literature in Chapter 2 (“Mode and Genre”) of his study, *What is Pastoral?* David Duff in his survey, *Modern Genre Theory*, offers a comprehensive survey of critical theories of genre and mode. In my study I follow Duff’s clear definition of mode:

A term which, confusingly, is used in two almost opposite senses in modern genre theory: to denote the manner of representation or enunciation in a literary work (the three basic modes, in this sense, being the narrative, the dramatic and the lyrical—though the validity of this triad has been questioned); and to denote more strictly literary categories such as the tragic, the comic, or the pastoral, which are thematically specific but *non*-specific as to literary form or mode of representation. In this second sense, a mode is often distinguished from a genre, the latter term being reserved for types of literature which are both thematically *and* formally specific: tragedy as distinct from the tragic, comedy as distinct from the comic, etc. (xv)

I follow the second sense; hence, mode is the thematic concern of the text whereas genre is the formal concern of the text. Because pastoral is exemplified across various forms (i.e. genres) I, too, consider it a mode, the characteristics of which I am examining.

My focus is to offer a methodology, a systematic means of examining pastoral literature, emphasizing the close relationship between the French and Italian vernacular pastoral tradition from the thirteenth through the seventeenth centuries. The key to understanding pastoral is the performative quality of the mode. The emphasis on orality and performance heightens the reader's experience, and provokes questions regarding authorial intent. It is the purpose of this study to highlight the theatricality of the mode that contributes to the metaliterary awareness of the author who, in choosing the pastoral vein, embarks on a highly fictional voyage into a conventionalized artificial realm that challenges the reader to recognize the fictionality of the work.

The study is divided into four parts. The first two parts examine the definitions of pastoral and evaluate the theatricality in the origins of the mode. The next two parts focus on the French and Italian vernacular tradition. In Part III, I analyze three medieval authors: Jehan Erart, Guiraut Riquier, and Giovanni Boccaccio. Erart and Riquier are both authors of *pastourelles*, a popular lyrical form in the thirteenth century. Boccaccio wrote the first Italian vernacular pastoral romances, the *Comedia delle ninfe fiorentine* and the *Ninfale fiesolano*. Each of these authors experiments with the pastoral mode in an innovative and original manner. In Part IV, I examine three works from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, Torquato Tasso's *Aminta*, and Honoré d'Urfé's *Astrée*. These three works represent landmark developments in the pastoral tradition—not only do the authors heighten the delicate eroticism and the lyric performances of the characters, they explore the fictionality of the mode, utilizing the performative and the reader's awareness of the artificiality of the mode to enhance the reader's interaction with the work.

Part I:
Towards a Definition

Chapter 1:

What is the Pastoral?

Arcadia—what does this word evoke? I would contend that at the utterance of this word a particular vision comes to mind in the reader, and this image, whether it be consciously or subconsciously created, dictates how the reader will approach the work. I posit that the reader's image might look something like this: a calm and serene countryside, lush and green, dotted with woolly lambs, inhabited by a shepherd and/or shepherdess. This is a pastoral setting, of course. One recognizes it immediately because pastoral is defined primarily through its setting and its characters. But where did this image first originate? How did this image develop and take hold in our mind? When and how did we first happen upon Arcadia? How accurate is this depiction and what does Arcadia mean, to us, and to our predecessors?

How to define pastoral has been a challenge to scholars, in particular in the twentieth century, when pastoral once more became a topic of great interest for literary critics. Pastoral denotes a literary mode that has transformed greatly over time and whose history offers a challenge to the student of literature. It is difficult to understand a mode that is so seemingly foreign to our modern sensibilities. This chapter offers a brief overview of important steps towards the definition of pastoral in the last one hundred years, highlighting those elements that are significant for this study³. I will then focus on my own criteria for defining pastoral.

A particularly useful resource is Bryan Loughery's book entitled *The Pastoral Mode: A Casebook* (1984). In his casebook, Loughery offers a compilation of various essays and extracts

³ Please note, this is a general overview. Studies pertaining to particular works studied will be examined in relation to the work in a later chapter.

from larger works pertaining to early criticism, twentieth century studies, and individual interpretations of specific pastoral works, predominantly in the English tradition. When examining the advent of twentieth century studies on pastoral, W. W. Greg's definition is an excellent starting point. In an excerpt entitled, "Pastoral Poetry and the Pastoral Ideal," from his larger work *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama* (1906), Greg asserts that pastoral "is the expression of instincts and impulses deep rooted in the nature of humanity [...]" (78). He notes a constant where pastoral literature is concerned—it lies in "the recognition of the contrast, implicit or expressed, between pastoral life and some more complex type of civilization" (79). This instinctual expression found at the core of humanity echoes my own belief that pastoral, as a mode, extends beyond pastoral literary history to form part of an archetype⁴. Despite acknowledging archetypal impulses, for Greg, pastoral writing begins with Theocritus. He distinguishes between poetry written during the "pastoral age" and "pastoral" as designated by later generations (79). The distinction Greg offers is one of intention—early pastoral was not conscious of *being* pastoral whereas later authors purposefully wrote pastoral works. Continuing this distinction between life and art grounded in authorial purpose, he justifies Theocritus' status as the first pastoral poet:

It is therefore significant that the earliest pastoral poetry with which we are acquainted, whatever half articulate experiments may have preceded it, was itself directly born of the contrast between the recollections of a childhood spent among the Sicilian uplands and the crowded social and intellectual city-life of Alexandria. (80)

⁴ Archetype: —"A recurrent pattern or motif which derives from ancient myth or ritual, and ultimately from a universal grammar" of the human imagination. Although archetypes are not specifically literary phenomena, the concept has featured in several modern theories of genre, most strikingly in the work of Northrop Frye" (Duff x).

Greg goes on to note the similarities between the pastoral or bucolic setting and the Golden Age conceived of in other forms of literature. He underlines the core characteristic of pastoral literature—that of "rustic simplicity" and a longing to escape "to a life of simplicity and innocence from the bitter luxury of the court and the menial bread of princes" (81).

That the primary tension and creative impetus for pastoral lies in the tension experienced by the authors between civilization and a natural, primeval state is one that forms the central consideration for many pastoral definitions. Roger Sales (1983) offers a political definition of pastoral and asserts that pastoralism is represented by five Rs: refuge, reflection, rescue, requiem, and reconstruction (15). He views pastoral as escapist in nature, and asserts that the past offers a refuge for the author. For Sales, the pastoral text is the great escape from adult experience from urban complexity to childhood innocence" (15). This juxtaposition is underlined by an inherent distance between the author and the setting. Pastoral reflection may be noted as an attempt to rescue values from the past. The paradox of pastoral is once more underlined in the fourth R, requiem: pastoral is a celebration of death (16). Pastoral is circular in nature: The past is described and reflected upon. It is conceived, born again and nurtured in the poetic imagination, but its beginning must inevitably be its end as it is always doomed to be still-born. We cannot raise the dead and they are unable to rescue us. We can, however, praise and celebrate the dead" (17). For Sales, pastoral offers a political interpretation of both past and present" (17). Pastoral reconstructs in a simplified fashion a reality that is much more complex.

Terry Gifford, in his work *Pastoral* (1999), notes that some form of retreat and return" is present within the mode and that it forms the fundamental pastoral movement, either within the text, or in the sense that the pastoral retreat returned some insights relevant to the urban audience" (1-2). That Gifford notes the importance of this fundamental pastoral movement" in

relation to the reader or audience underscores the metafictional awareness of the mode: all fiction, in one way or another, denotes escape and return, from reality, with the hope of having imparted some message to the reader or audience member along the way. The terms of this exchange are oral in the sense that the text will ~~—speak~~” to the reader or audience. This orality may be more real than metaphoric at times, as is the case with drama, for example. The examination of the oral nature of the pastoral mode is central to this study.

Returning once more to our consideration of the tension between the urban and the rural setting, Frank Kermode, in the section "Nature versus Art" (1956), examines the philosophical opposition between art and nature and asserts, ~~—the~~ contrast between town and country—the social aspect of the great Art-Nature antithesis which is philosophically the basis of pastoral literature" was most "poignant" (93) during the Renaissance. Other scholars have taken the tension implicit in pastoral and attributed a new significance to the mode. For example, Raymond Williams in his work *The Country and the City* (1975) exposes the juxtaposition between country and city present in Pastoral as a means of disguising the exploitation of those who lived and worked in rural settings. William Empson (1935) affirmed that pastoral authors used seemingly simple elements in order to examine more complex social concepts (22). Continuing in this vein, Peter V. Marinelli (1971) tells the reader that the contrast between country and town is ~~—essential~~ to the rise of a distinctively pastoral art” and that innate to pastoral is criticism in some form or another juxtaposed with a supposedly ideal setting. Lawrence Buell (1995) contends that it is the ~~—pastoral’s~~ multiple frames” (36), the versatility or tensions expressed (whether they be country/city, art/nature, human/non-human, inner-self/outer-self, masculine/feminine) that renders pastoral so intriguing. Annabel M. Patterson reminds the reader

that the pastoral tensions expressed must always be considered within the proper historical context.

In 1948, W.H. Auden examined the tension between Arcadia and Utopia. Auden affirms that the two are worlds apart. According to Auden, the Arcadian dreams of Eden whereas the Utopian dreams of the New Jerusalem. While there are psychological differences, the primary difference stems from time: “Eden is a past world in which the contradictions of the present world have not yet arisen; New Jerusalem is a future world in which they have at last been resolved” (90-1). Auden underlines this difference from the psychological perspective of the “Arcadian dreamer” and the “Utopian dreamer,” saying of the former that he looks backward realizing he cannot undo his “expulsion” from Eden and realizing that his dream will never cross the realm into reality, whereas the Utopian sees his dream as something that can and should be realized (91). Gifford rebuts this argument when he examines Eclogue IV, the “Messianic” eclogue, in Virgil’s *Eclogues*:

[It] is set in the future when the Golden Age of the past will be restored. This is important because, contrary to some critical opinion, it includes in the scope of the pastoral those utopian Arcadias that project into an idealized future, a restoration of rural values that urbanization, or industrialization, or technological alienation for the earth have lost. (20)

While some may contend that pastoral looks back to a golden age, to Eden, an earthly paradise, and others, like Gifford, that it incorporates elements of a forward-looking utopia, there is one element that seems ignored in the critical discussion: pastoral does not tell about creation. It offers no cosmogony implicit in both discussions of an earthly paradise (where, for example, the story of Eden is included in Genesis, or stories of the beginning) and in utopian literature (where

often the goal is to discuss the advent of a new social order). Rather, pastoral explores an alternate present, almost an alternate universe. Pastoral is about escaping the present momentarily into another contemporary experience, a fictional parallel universe, inspired by a literary form from the past much as is suggested by Shakespeare's *As You Like It*. It is an immersive experience, requiring a discerning reader who is aware of the artifice of the mode and who participates. This parallel universe is characterized by two primary elements: the setting and the characters. Hence the very setting of pastoral becomes central to the reader's experience.

The most common of pastoral settings is always identified with Arcadia. Arcadia is a region in the Peloponnesus peninsula in Southern Greece. The seclusion of the setting the mountainous setting is central according to Gifford: ~~It~~ "was the perfect location for a poetic paradise, a literary construct of a past Golden Age in which to retreat by linguistic idealization" (20). Arcadia is to be seen not as representative of reality but as representative of a literary construct that subverts reality and the supposed primacy of the urban setting (Gifford 23). Understood in these terms, Arcadia is not merely the setting but is symbolic of the literary journey undertaken by both reader and author. In this earthly paradise humans can tread the same ground as Pan. Pastoral allows the author and his or her humble characters to walk with the gods, to verily *inhabit* myth.

Arcadia functions as a signal to readers that they are entering a pastoral, fictional mode. To borrow Umberto Eco's terminology, the text ~~sends~~ "sends out a signal that immediately enables it to select its own model reader" (9). The model reader is the ideal reader envisioned by the author of any text, regardless of genre or medium. Using Eco's theories regarding the ~~fictional~~ "woods"⁵ as guide, Arcadia then becomes the model fictional wood. Renato Poggioli (1975)

⁵ I refer to Umberto Eco's essays, *Six Walks in the Fictional Woods* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2004), in particular the first essay, "Entering the Woods" dealing with the role of the reader and the notion of the ideal reader.

aligns pastoral Arcadia with the topos of the *locus amoenus*, the “lovely place” characteristic not only of pastoral but of epic and romance. The presence of the topos in a larger non-pastoral work, according to Poggioli, signals an “idyllic prelude to a bucolic interlude” that he calls a “pastoral oasis” (9), a famous example of which is Erminia’s stay among the shepherds in Tasso’s *Gerusalemme liberata* (vii), analyzed fully by Poggioli (10-12). The *locus amoenus* fulfills a seemingly understood and universal function as the narrative wood, rendering all events contained therein highly auto-referential and aware of their existence as a fictional creation. The way in which Sannazaro’s *Arcadia* interacts with earlier pastoral works, the way in which characters and settings reappear and are recycled, underlines the hyper-awareness of the fictional creation and the act of writing on the part of the author. Arcadia functions as a metatextual reminder to the reader to delve further, beyond the surface, to examine what is at the core.

It is important to note, as far as setting is actually concerned, that Arcadia in Greek myth, while known as the birthplace of Pan and being linked with shepherds, did not provide the setting for Theocritus’ *Idylls*. The conception of Arcadia in the Greek world is examined in the next chapter, with reference made to Erwin Panofsky’s work in the area of Arcadia and its pictorial representation; it becomes important in conceptualizing a definition of pastoral to understand the function of Arcadia. When using the term “Arcadia,” I refer not only to those pastoral settings labeled “Arcadia” but also those lands that remain nameless or whose names have been changed. Variation and metamorphosis in the actual nomenclature of the setting will be examined with regard to individual works; the essential function of the pastoral setting follows the guidelines I have established.

Perhaps the most extensive work done in recent years on pastoral is by Renato Poggioli whose collection of essays, *The Oaten Flute* (1975), takes a thematic approach to the bucolic

ideal, examining primarily works from the early Renaissance to 18th century Pre-Romanticism. In his opening essay, “The Oaten Flute,” Poggioli establishes the characteristics of the pastoral ideal arguing that pastoral man is searching for innocence and happiness by means of a retreat from the world. Poggioli makes clear the distinction between the Christian model of the Good Shepherd and the pastoral shepherd, noting that the bucolic ideal “stands at the opposite pole from the Christian one” (1).

Characteristic of the pastoral ideal, for Poggioli, is the inherent solitude of pastoral man, a solitude at odds with the fellowship inherent in the cityscape, a solitude that allows man a means of escape from the strife that accompanies an existence in the company of others (2). Life and the living can inflict pain on themselves and one another—the retreat into art and imagination, into the pastoral dream allows man to “evade its pressures, at least in thought” (4). That pastoral is a momentary retreat seems to be underlined by the titles given to the earliest recognized pastoral works—Virgil’s *Eclogues* (meaning “excerpts”) and Theocritus’ *Idylls* (meaning “Little Pictures”) (3). While Poggioli mentions the meaning of the titles, he fails to mention that both titles imply an emphasis on brevity. Brevity is implicit in the concept of retreat since the inevitable conclusion to any retreat is return. There is another element here worth noting. Theocritus was painting vignettes that carried a visual component. Virgil’s excerpts underline the intertextual considerations between his own work and the source, the *Idylls*, a point that Breed examines in his article “Inscribing Dialogue in Pastoral Poetics and Criticism” (2006) (93).

Pastoral literature traditionally never implies a perpetual escape—it is merely a momentary pause from the present daily concerns, an alleviation of quotidian pressures that must again be picked up once the experience has come to a close. The pastoral poetics of retreat and

return function as a metaphor for the reader's experience: the act of reading provides perhaps momentary solace but the book must be finished at some point and the reader must return to the daily life.

The shepherd's or shepherdess⁶ solitude is paralleled by the seclusion of the location—the *locus amoenus*, or Arcadia. Perhaps key to this consideration of setting is the fact that nature in the pastoral tends to echo the shepherds' erotic desires. In point of fact, the woods and the natural environment echo all the emotions of the shepherds, in particular the lament, a trait made evident in Sannazaro's *Arcadia*. For example, in the first eclogue between Selvaggio and Ergasto, the latter is distraught that his love has not been returned by his beloved. At the end of the eclogue, although he is singing with Selvaggio, in Ergasto's mind, nature is in a dialogue with him about his shepherdess:

Eco rimbomba, e spesso indietro voltami
 le voci che sí dolci in aria sonano,
 e nell'orecchie il bel nome risoltami.
 Quest'alberi di lei sempre ragionano
 e ne le scorze scritta la dimostrano,
 ch'a pianger spesso et a cantar mi spronano. (100-106)

Ergasto projects his desires onto nature, and the natural elements seem to respond accordingly: the wind calls her name; the trees speak of her and show her literally written in their bark; one must presume that he has written odes to her in the barks of the trees, a characteristic activity of the lovesick shepherd. Yet these reminders are more of a torture, a perpetual reminder of the shepherd's unhappiness.

⁶ It must be noted that Pastoral is a predominantly male mode that, while offering female protagonists, does not often explore their escapism but rather the man's escape from society. There are exceptions, to be sure, but overall the concern is with the shepherd and the author's escape.

Pastoral man's projection of his erotic desires into or onto the nature underlines a law at the foundation of the pastoral experience: the pleasure principle. As Tasso reminds the audience in the opening chorus of the *Aminta*, *—S'ei piace, ei lice.*" Love and the fulfillment of one's desire reign supreme in the pastoral world, even if it leads to what seems to the modern reader like a torturous practice. The ability of the shepherd to wallow in his love, to express freely his desires and lament when they are not fulfilled is key to the pastoral experience. As Poggioli points out, contrary to the laws of honor and rectitude that cause strife and seek to control the ~~n~~natural" yearnings of man, pastoral literature espouses the grandness of free love. Of course, it must be noted that this expression of free love is reserved solely for the shepherd. The shepherdess, while able to spurn the love offered, is never depicted as taking liberties. She is the object of man's desire. She can function only in one of two ways: as either the fulfillment of that desire or as the frustration of man's desire. Her function will then determine her portrayal within the pastoral work. The latter function, as man's frustration, is the more common of the two, a characteristic shared with medieval lyric poetry. Along similar lines, Poggioli indicates that the pastoral —is a private, masculine world, where woman is not a person but a sexual archetype, the Eternal Eve" (16). Pastoral man's primary concerns are hedonistic in nature.

Pastoral setting functions on a variety of levels. It signals the readers of the conventions that are in place in the work. Moreover, the setting often recalls a pagan Golden Age. Considering authors living in a strict early Modern Christian society, the pastoral setting predates the moral requirements of the Christian world inhabited by the author. Stemming from the classical works, the setting provided a means of justification for a seemingly lax moral code in the early Modern era and became ingrained in the mode. The pastoral realm is imbued with certain properties that, since foreign to the western European Christian context, allow freedom of

expression, including erotic expression. Moreover, the pastoral setting is home to the Other—in fact, it is the Other. Arcadia or the *locus amoenus* (the latter being more a propos for a medieval or Renaissance context) functions as Other in opposition to the court and the urban setting. It is opposite and so its values are opposite.

At the root of pastoral for Poggioli is what he terms —hedonism disappointed” and finds that in this way pastoral is ideologically opposed to the Christian ideal despite attempts on the part of the Christian poet to align pastoral with the Christian tradition (16-17). He affirms, —the critical mind can only treat as failures all attempts to Christianize the pastoral, or to translate Christianity into pastoral terms” (19). Such an assertion fails to take into consideration the image of the Good Shepherd central to Christianity. Moreover it invalidates works such as Boccaccio’s *Comedia delle Ninfe Fiorentine* that disguise the Christian virtues in pastoral in order to examine them more freely. In fact, although Poggioli examines pastoral beginning in the Renaissance, a very common choice for most pastoral scholars, he neglects Boccaccio’s vernacular pastoral works as well as the French pastourelle, the poetic form so popular during the middle ages. I will offer an examination of medieval pastoral in a later chapter. Inevitably, given the western literary context in which Christianity plays a fundamental role, pastoral works must be considered within the context that they were written. Pastoral authors use pastoral as a means by which they can examine and evaluate the fabric of society, and that includes religion, mainly Christianity. The pastoral impetus should not be limited to a strictly pagan context, nor can one dismiss those works that endeavor, as is common in later pastoral, to combine religious elements from various social fabrics. Moreover, with regard to pastoral as an archetype, it might find expression in biblical myths, much as there may be —pastoral oases” in epic or romance, and one must be free to examine the pastoral presence wherever it is found.

Life and death are both explored in the pastoral, although not fully. It is a selective exploration, as is true of any theme or topos within any fictional work. Despite the emphasis on solitude within the pastoral, an important aspect of life is friendship, companionship, and how one interacts with others since such interaction allows insight into the character's state of mind for the reader. Friendship in the pastoral is conceived as a shared following of the pastoral callings—chiefly pleasure through poetry and music, shared experiences, and even breaking bread. I posit that the core of pastoral friendship is expressed in oral terms through musical and poetic composition and competition. Poggioli asserts that this bond of friendship can only be broken by death, hence the presence of the funeral elegy within the pastoral whose function is dual: it expresses the individual's grief and also ~~man~~'s recurrent sense of the everlasting presence of death" (20). Poggioli points out that the presence of death in Arcadia is indicative of our ~~all~~ too human awareness that death stalks us even in Arcadia" (21).

The link between death and Arcadia is established most clearly by Erwin Panofsky in his essay, *—Et in Arcadia Ego: Poussin and the Elegiac Tradition*" (1955), the famous enigmatic phrase found in Poussin's paintings. In his essay he not only traces the public understanding and reception of this phrase and the painting, he also examines the conception of Arcadia and when death first became linked with the bucolic setting, an alliance he traces to Virgil and then rediscovers in the Italian Renaissance with Sannazaro. Because I am extending the understanding of what ~~—Arcadia~~" means and how it functions as well as what death represents, I will examine this union also in the medieval period, thereby moving slightly away from Panofsky's accepted ~~—genealogy~~."

The presence of death in Arcadia is perhaps the only truly realistic moment in most pastoral texts. However, even where death is concerned the contrast to the Christian tradition is

palpable: —“The pastoral looks earthward, not heavenward” (Poggioli 21). Death is also at once a communal and a private experience. When happening upon the Tomb of Androgeo in the *Arcadia*, the shepherds arrive in a group yet the experience is told from the point of view of one shepherd, Sincero. He is our guide to the funeral rites of Androgeo and observes the others closely. Nonetheless, there is a preponderance of verbs in the “noi” form—the experience is inclusive; it even extends to the reader. In the end, however, the spirit of Androgeo is alone in the woods and what will become of him no one knows. Such is the mystery of death—it is the final journey. The sendoff is attended by many but the journey must be undertaken alone. It is a reminder of the solitude that permeates the shepherd’s existence. Moreover, the shepherds are surprised to find that Androgeo is dead, an indication that solitude is accompanied by privacy, a tendency that might seem belied by the open lamentations about love but these are literally the anguished expressions that the shepherd cannot hold in—moreover, he desires to express them.

Poggioli notes that early pastoral poetry was an adulation of private life, and in so doing aligns the image of the shepherd with that of the scholar, likening pastoral leisure to that of the humanist —“when he is no longer a learned man, but rather a sage, reaching not for knowledge but for beauty and wisdom” (23). Such a projection fixes pastoral man as musician and poet, making pastoral poetry’s primary task the depiction of —“either artist as man or man as artist” (23) in private terms rather than public. This concern is exemplary of the Renaissance penchant to identify —“pastoral calling with the literary profession” (36). Further, such an assertion underlines the dualistic nature of pastoral composition, at once a story in and of itself and an allegory for reality (as it is or should be). It belies also the metaliterary nature of the text where author/poet sees himself as the shepherd and encourages his reader to share in the experience.

Despite the affinity between the figure of the shepherd and the figure of the sage, Arcadia's inhabitants are not superhuman. The characters reflect the readers; they are ~~only~~ a little better and happier than we are" (Poggioli 26). However, the characters must be shepherds and must find themselves at home within the pastoral setting. They must also sing and compose poetry and follow the laws of pleasure, laws that govern men, not women. For Alpers, ~~pastoral~~ works are representations of shepherds (and, in post-classical literature, shepherdesses) who are felt to be representative of some other or of all other men and/or women" (26). Thus the shepherd functions as a representation, much as the setting functions as a literary artifice to signal the reader of the mode of interaction with the text⁷.

All these definitions of pastoral share certain points in common: the importance of setting, the characters as shepherds, and the tension between city and country as understood from the character's or author's retreat from society. Paul Alpers offers the following list as pastoral's ~~defining~~ characteristics: ~~idyllic~~ landscape, landscape as a setting for song, an atmosphere of *otium*, a conscious attention to art and nature, herdsmen as singers, and [...] herdsmen as herdsmen" (22). Taking these elements into account, I offer my own definition. Pastoral is expressed often in terms of retreat or escape from society as understood within an urban setting. The subsequent return to society is either implicit or explicit. Pastoral is characterized by the presence of shepherds in a bucolic setting identified with Arcadia. Although the actual name of the land might vary, the metatextual function remains as a reminder to the readers that they are entering the pastoral realm. The guiding principle for the shepherd's conduct is pleasure, and this

⁷ On an interesting side note, in terms of literary history, Poggioli notes that pastoral characters are transformed, as is Arcadia, in later literature, a transformation that coincides with the discovery of the New World and the development of the Noble Savage (15). In fact, the pastoral survives even today, although it has been transformed since in its conventional and traditional form it could not survive, due to four cultural trends: the ~~humanitarian~~ outlook, the idea of material progress, the scientific spirit, and artistic realism" (Poggioli 31). These are considerations, however, that are best left aside for the present.

–law” can lead to tension within the text. Juxtaposed with pleasure is the presence of death, which I expand to include a more generic conception: the dark side, or violence; instances where either realism has crept into Arcadia or man’s desires have led to an unforeseen, negative outcome for either the shepherd himself or another character or even possibly the reader. Either way, violence infringes on the pastoral setting, tinting it in a less optimistic light. What is missing from these definitions, and the contribution I hope to make to the understanding of pastoral, is the predominance of orality and the dramatic form inherent within the pastoral mode. The most common manifestation of said orality is through dialogue.

Paul Alpers demonstrates quite clearly that in Virgil’s first eclogue elements of the dramatic are present. He proposes that the dramatic effect stems from the –separateness of the two speakers in a responsive exchange,” each shepherd representing a different version of pastoral that literally interacts and competes before the reader (25). Brian W. Breed continues this vein of analysis in his article, –Inscribing Dialogue in Pastoral Poetics and Criticism” (2006) wherein the central figure of his study is pastoral dialogue. For Breed, pastoral –seems to value responsiveness and harmony over individual expression” (89) and not only does the dialogue represent the interaction between the shepherds, it is representative of the intertextual –dialogue” between Virgil and Theocritus (90). Indeed, Breed affirms: –To the extent that oral dialogue, in the form of spoken or sung exchanges between simple herdsmen, is the norm of communication in the pastoral world it is deservedly a prestigious metaphor for pastoral criticism” (90). We, too, shall examine the importance and use of pastoral dialogue within the text and establish its function not only on an intertextual level but on a metatextual level where the narrator (who at times coincides with the author) is interacting with the reader.

Breed observes a discrepancy between the shepherds' oral utterances and their actual station in life that contradicts Aristotle's theory of poetics. He argues that this is an intentional choice on the part of Virgil to underline the intertextual nature of his own work:

A rapport between a character and what he says would seem to be a fundamental requirement of literary mimesis; the inappropriateness of pastoral speech by contrast opens a gap between the speaker and his own words. Textuality fills that gap. [...] Taken together, these dislocations of language force readers to consider the similarities and differences between speaking and writing. The textuality of Virgil's pastoral, rather than simply violating a generic norm of naïve orality, in fact displays both the limits and the capabilities of writing in comparison to speech. (90)

Hence, Virgil's use of dialogue is seen as an intertextual dialogue in written form between Theocritus and the author, between the source text and the newer version. This denotes a consciousness not only of the writing process but of the sources, a fact that Breed links to the newness of the genre in Roman times: ~~In~~ fact, as a new genre, with all the problems of definition that that entails, ancient pastoral is more than usually self-conscious about sources, about origins, authority, all the things that go into defining its own history" (93). For Breed, dialogue and writing are inevitably linked in pastoral and are crucial to the pastoral experience: ~~P~~astoral, [...] despite the orality of its defining fictions, is impossible without inscription, literally writing the past into the text" (95). Hence the use of dialogue within the pastoral text functions paradoxically as a reminder of the act of writing, and indeed images of writing often permeate the ~~oral~~ dialogues between the shepherds. Dialogue also serves as the inevitable metaphor for intertextuality and the central referential nature of pastoral. More than this, though,

I posit that pastoral dialogue serves as a metaphor for the reader's interaction with the text, and this orality that is inherent from the advent of pastoral transforms into a deeper metatextual concern.

That orality lies at the base of all literary genres is a viewpoint examined by Mikhail Bakhtin with regard to the problem of speech genres: —[literary genres] from antiquity to the present [...] have been studied in terms of their specific literary and artistic features, in terms of the differences that distinguish one from the other (within the realm of literature), and not as specific types of utterances distinct from other types, but sharing with them a common verbal (language) nature” (84). Bakhtin distinguishes between primary and secondary speech genres, the former being the simple utterances exemplified in daily communication, the latter as complex forms exemplified by ~~n~~ovels, dramas, all kinds of scientific research, major genres of commentary” etc. (85). This distinction clarifies the act of communication by underlining the importance of the type of communication taking place. Emphasis is placed on the utterance as ~~a~~ real unit of speech communion” that must be distinguished from traditional linguistic considerations of the language units (sentences, words) (89). All acts of communication, for Bakhtin, fall into the realm of speech genres, whether they are written or oral.

Implicit in the understanding of the utterance is the consideration of the other; that is of the addressee without whom the genre is incomprehensible. With regard to literary history the addressee becomes immensely and increasingly important (a consideration that reminds us of Eco's consideration of the model reader): ~~E~~ach epoch, each literary trend and literary-artistic style, each literary genre within an epoch or trend, is typified by its own special concepts of the addressee of the literary work, a special sense and understanding of its reader, listener, public, or people” (Bakhtin 94). The audience, the one who receives the utterance, is as important as the

author since through that interaction the nature of the speech genre can be determined. As Bakhtin puts it, “addressivity, the quality of turning to someone, is a constitutive feature of the utterance; without it the utterance does not and cannot exist” (94). Pastoral literature and the centrality of dialogue which exemplifies a secondary speech genre, underlines the utterance, and is meant to be heard and read aloud, to resonate within the reader and/or spectator. The predominance of dialogue reminds the reader of the implicit orality of the text, an orality found at the root of pastoral origins. The study of those origins follows.

Part II:
Oral Tradition & Dramatic Structure in Pastoral
From its Origins to Virgil

Chapter 1:

Origins and Sources: The Pastoral as Foundation

Where did the Pastoral begin? As mentioned above, most scholars argue that the earliest form of Pastoral is Theocritus' *Idylls* (Gifford 15). Theocritus lived between 316 and 260 BC (approximately) but little is known about his life. It has been speculated that he was Sicilian based on references within his poetry and that he spent part of his life in Alexandria (Wells 9). However, what inspired his bucolic tendencies? Scholars seem content to attribute to one man the genesis of an entire genre and mode without the slightest hesitation. Many general discussions of the advent of Pastoral give the following rather generic outline: Theocritus began Pastoral by composing his *Idylls*. Virgil was inspired by Theocritus' work when he composed his *Eclogues*. In turn, Virgil inspired the western world. A bit simplistic, but this is the general consensus. Imitation is flattering, but is imitation alone responsible for the advent of one of the most popular modes of writing in France and Italy from the medieval period through the seventeenth century? Most decidedly not; the popularity of the mode is undoubtedly due to a number of factors, including the author's particular socio-political concerns with regard to his or her own historical context which might vary and thus affect the purpose behind a pastoral composition. Conceding this as scholars most readily do in later periods, why, then, do we remain staunchly fixated on Theocritus as the origin of a mode the roots of which might well pre-date him?

I propose that Pastoral goes beyond mere form—the popularity of the form lies in its depiction of an age-old tension: the nomadic life of the shepherd versus the stable or fixed state

of the farmer and city-dweller. Implicit by their very absence is a negative view of the farmer and townspeople, one to be juxtaposed with the serenity of the pastoral life. In this tension, which dates back to various foundation myths, can be identified a dramatic structure, one that characterizes the pastoral mode in Italy and France from the Middle Ages to the Seventeenth Century. It is not the purpose of this work to establish a new set of origins for the mode. My goal is to question, to examine the possible roots and the characteristics of these myths that will demonstrate a prevalence of dialogue and death or loss at the center of the mode, a characteristic that continued in the western tradition.

Early Pastoral Implications

Aspects of the pastoral can be found in one such foundation myth,⁸ the story of Cain and Abel. The edition that I have chosen is the English translation by Susan Brayford from her textual commentary, *Genesis*. The original text is the Greek Septuagint (LXX), the particular manuscript is the Codex Alexandrinus, dating from the fifth century A.D. and the most complete of the three surviving Greek manuscripts of the Hebrew Pentateuch (the other two date from the fourth century: Vaticanus and Sinaiticus) (Brayford 7-8). The reason for this choice is two-fold: firstly, the LXX translation dates to the third century B.C. (a date the importance of which is implicit if one considers Theocritus' lifetime) to Alexandria although the surviving manuscript is later; secondly, the Greek translation became the Bible for the Greek-speaking Jews and was an incredibly important cultural event in Alexandria.

The need for the Greek translation of the Bible stems from Alexander the Great's conquest of the Mediterranean and Ancient Near East in 333 B.C. Greek became the lingua franca of the empire and all those who lived within the realm. Brayford points to this event as

⁸ Please note the use of this word is for convenience, not to denote any particular religious belief.

key because it increased the number of non-Hebrew speaking and reading Jews; they lived outside of Israel and lost contact with their native language (1). As a result, in the third century B.C. work began in Alexandria to compose the Greek translation of the Hebrew Pentateuch at the request of King Ptolemy II Philadelphus (309-246 B.C.) for his library. According to legend, seventy-two men (six learned men from each tribe of Israel) brought an approved Hebrew copy of the Torah and worked on the translation on the island of Pharos for seventy-two days. Upon completion the librarian read it aloud and it was approved by both the court and Alexandrian Jews. It became the Bible for Greek-speaking Jews (1). What is provocative to consider is that Theocritus lived from c. 316 to 260 B.C. (Gifford 15). Theocritus was patronized by Ptolemy Philadelphus for part of his career (Wells 9). Could he have come into contact with the stories contained within the Pentateuch? Would they have been part of an oral tradition present in Alexandria? After all, as Susan Niditch points out in her work, *Oral World and Written Word*, —A particular oral-style aesthetic characterizes the literature of the Hebrew Bible and many nonbiblical writings in ancient Hebrew as well” (108). She elaborates that most scholars —suggest that the ‘oral’ lies deep in the prehistory of biblical texts. The oral world that supported such prebiblical forms, moreover, is frequently grounded in a nineteenth-century romanticism about nomads and the rural or pastoral life” (109). Further discussion of the oral tradition of the Old Testament will be provided later. It is merely an interesting point to consider, the truth of which will never be known. What is important is to examine the pre-existing tension in the human condition told through various foundation myths. Consider Cain and Abel:

Now Adam knew Heua [Eve] his wife, and she conceived and bore Kain [Cain].
And she said, —I have acquired for myself a human being through God.” And she
proceeded to bear his brother Habel [Abel].

And Habel came to be a shepherd of sheep; but Kain was a worker of the earth. And it came to be after some days Kain brought from the fruits of the earth a sacrifice to Lord; and Habel he also brought from his firstborn sheep and from their fatty parts. And God looked on Habel and on his gifts; but on Kain and on his sacrifices he paid no attention. And it caused Kain great distress and he collapsed in the face. And Lord God said to Kain, ~~W~~Why have you become deeply grieved, and why did your face collapse? If you offer correctly, but if you do not divide correctly, do you not sin? Be calm; to you will be its turning, and you will rule over it.” And Kain said to Habel his brother, ~~L~~et us go over into the open field.” And it came to be while they were in the open field Kain rose up against Habel his brother and he killed him. And God said to Kain, ~~W~~ere is Habel our brother?” But he said, ~~I~~do not know; am I a keeper of my brother?” And God said, ~~W~~hat did you do? The sound of your brother’s blood cries out to me from the earth. And now you are accursed on the earth, which opened its mouth to receive the blood of your brother from your hand. For you will work the earth, and it will not continue to provide its power for you; a groaner and trembler you will be on the earth.” And Kain said to Lord, ~~M~~y guilt is too great for me to be forgiven. If you throw me out today from the face of the earth, and from your face I will be hidden, and I will be groaning and trembling on the earth; and anyone who finds me will kill me.” And Lord God said to him, ~~I~~t is not so; anyone who kills Kain will suffer seven vengeancees.” And Lord God himself placed a sign on Kain that any who find him should not destroy him. Then Kain went out from the face of God and he lived in the land of Naid opposite Edem [Eden].

And Kain knew his wife, and conceiving she bore Henōch [Enoch]. And he was a city builder; and he named the city after the name of his son Henōch. (Genesis 4:4-17; Brayford 42-3)⁹

Is this a pastoral text? Not in the truest sense, perhaps. It was not written consciously as pastoral, a condition considered key in Greg's definition. However, it is an example of pre-pastoral or proto-pastoral, and three characteristics stand out to the reader: the first, the underlying tension between shepherd and farmer/city founder; the second, the prevalence of dialogue; and the third, the motif of death/violence/loss. These are all characteristics of later pastoral texts. If one considers the nature of this text, of its transmission and inscription, one must conclude that it is a text that was most likely transmitted orally as well as textually, performed for an audience by an orator. Scholars like Nielsen and Niditch both underline that transmission of the Old Testament might well have been oral as well as textual, perhaps side-by-side rather than one strictly preceding the other. As the latter explains:

Clearly the Hebrew Bible presents a case in which "written" and "oral" interact, for characteristics of oral-style works are exhibited in biblical literature [...]. The Bible makes constant direct reference to the spoken words that constitute various compositions, to orally delivered messages and sung stories, and yet the Bible exists because of writing and the assumptions of people in a writing culture of some variety. (Niditch 5)

Niditch, noting the work of Ruth Finnegan along similar lines, asserts, "There is no 'great divide' between the oral and the written in the cultures of ancient Israel but a continuum" (78). Nielsen,

⁹ It is important to keep in mind that the version of the Bible with which most of the authors represented in this study would have been familiar would have been the Latin Vulgate, dating from the early fourth century AD. However, I have compared both versions and both represent the text in the same fashion, in particular the emphasis on dialogue between the Lord and Cain. See http://vulgate.org/ot/genesis_4.htm accessed 2/18/2010.

citing Nyberg and Birkeland, tells of the oral nature of ancient oriental culture of which the Old Testament is a product: “Here writing is always secondary, used for the one purpose of preserving the oral message from destruction, whereas oral tradition is primary, creative, sustaining and shaping, a fact well-known especially from Arabian and Persian culture” (13). Nielsen notes that the ancient Semites and the Islamic culture (continuing into the modern period) valued the spoken word, memorization, and recitation (19-21).

Nielsen’s statement on the priority of the oral tradition over the written one could be applied to a dramatic text, in which the need for action widens the dimension of the oral utterance and prepares the basis for the stage adaptation. Consider, for example, Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*, a play with which most readers are familiar. The confrontation between Hamlet and Claudius does not take the form of a letter or even a battle—it is the Mousetrap, the play within the play that Hamlet organizes for the court. Here the treachery of Hamlet’s uncle is unfolded through dialogue and theatre. In this instance, mere dialogue was not enough. In order to express the action, to communicate the full horror of the situation, Shakespeare has it acted out for the other characters to witness. Just as this play seeks to go beyond the usual means of communication in order to express fully the message so do the Pastoral texts go beyond poetry to dialogue.

Returning to our text and our “orator,” consider that the story may have been told to others. In this “audience” there are listeners and in their imagination actors appear, and a strong dialogue takes place, in particular between the Lord and Cain. The story is an inherently dramatic structure. Two brothers who live off the land, the older a farmer, the younger a shepherd, offer what they have to God. However, Abel’s offering is greater than his older brother’s which leads to a chain reaction—The Lord favors Abel, Cain is jealous of Abel, Cain

kills Abel. The farmer kills the shepherd and is then forbidden to work from the earth. He is exiled and so begins a city, the “first” city. The founder of the urban setting slays the pastoral representative.

There are, of course, challenges to considering this text proto-pastoral, challenges stemming from traditional definitions of the pastoral. There is no pre-lapsarian state here, an element noted in the definition of pastoral offered by the Penguin *Dictionary of Literary Terms & Literary Theory* (Fourth Edition) —man has already been banished from the Garden of Eden. Indeed, Renato Poggioli argues that the “bucolic ideal” is diametrically opposed to the Christian one (1). Sannazaro’s *Arcadia*, recognized as a key pastoral text, however, combines the pagan pre-lapsarian world with a character from the post-lapsarian world. These seemingly fundamental oppositions might converge into dramatic tensions. Conceding or even merely considering the possibility that this text might indeed be an indication of earlier “pastoral” interests, there are interesting connotations for the pastoral in this biblical story. The first murder is between brothers. The first murderer is the first city builder, with a clear allusion to the contrast between the idyllic landscape of the shepherd and the farmer, both of whom “belong” to the land, to nature; and the urban landscape, created artificially by the murderer and named for his son. This contrast underlines the motif of escape often present in the pastoral text, an escape typically from an urban setting. Moreover, in the place of his lost profession, Cain places the urban element. Loss accompanies this myth—loss of life, loss of a brother, loss of vocation.

Additionally, there is an impending menace from Cain as he invites his brother to go to the field, the place where they worked and lived together, and kills him. In the same place that Abel slew the sheep in offering to the Lord so Cain slew Abel. After the murder, Cain tells the Lord that he is afraid because anyone could kill a murderer. Despite the fact that the Lord

reassured Cain by engraving a sign on his body and warning that He would avenge Cain's death seven times, one can't help but wonder if Cain built the city to defend himself. If so, the city takes on another dimension, that of the refuge of sinners, of murderers, a foreshadowing perhaps of Sodom and Gomorrah: in any case, something to be escaped, a truly pastoral consideration. There is no doubt of the ambiguity of the birth of the "first" urban setting, nor to the ambivalence of nature, at once the abode of Abel, the chosen shepherd of the Lord, and the scenario of his murder.

The prevalence of the dialogue and the inherent oral nature of the myth imbue this proto-pastoral story with drama, with a certain theatricality. However, dialogue might appear in other stories. What makes this dialogue of a theatrical nature? It is that this dialogue is synonymous with action. In a novel, for example, dialogue rarely moves the action forward; it is the narration and prose that fulfill that function. Rather, dialogue expands our understanding of the characters. Yet, in this biblical text steeped in oral tradition, the dialogue functions differently. It propels the action, pushing it forward. This is very theatrical. In a play, action and character motivations are both determined by the dialogue created by the playwright. This combination of speech and action, of the word and the deed, underlines the dramatic nature of the text. Moreover, dialogue allows for silence. In the dialogue between the Lord and Cain implicit is the silence of Abel, a fact noted by Brayford in her analysis (252-3).

The link between the Bible and theatre is not so tenuous as one might imagine. In her book, *The Comedy of Revelation*, Francesca Aran Murphy offers a detailed study of the theatrical or dramatic nature of the Bible. She argues that the Bible can, and should, be seen as a drama. She points out that other scholars have hypothesized that the action of the Bible is moved

largely by dialogue” (xv) (note, the same can be said of pastoral works) and asserts that she tested this theory with her own students by having them reenact the various stories.

Murphy differentiates between literary structure and genre in a manner that parallels the distinction most pastoral scholars make between genre and mode. In defining genre she argues that it is —literary life-world, the world inhabited by the fictional characters, as it can be imagined by readers or audience” (2) and that each of these life-worlds is governed by laws particular to it. When entering into the —Dramatic World” she notes that conflict stands at the core of drama:

A dramatic moment is a turning-point. It sums up the story of the characters involved. When we are challenged our strengths and weaknesses are most visible. A dramatic moment is a cliff-hanging point which expresses the reality of character. [...] The most dramatic event is one which is directly seen, rather than narrated from the outside. A drama presupposes an audience. In order for a public conflict to be a drama, it must contain a moral element. The background of order in drama is moral. (2-3)

The multiplicity of tensions inherent within the pastoral and discussed in the definition of pastoral aligns the pastoral text with the dramatic. As for the note on morality, morality may be governed or decided within the terms of the pastoral world rather than according to society’s laws. There is a right and a wrong in pastoral; it just may not always coincide with the reader’s socially accepted laws. Of course, that is rather the point of pastoral—to escape those laws that one finds stifling and replace them with a more freeing version.

Murphy links the theatrical drama with the sacred, noting that —drama is the genre closest to ritual” (3). Again she emphasizes that drama takes place in tension, that it is —but upon

conflict.” In fact, this is the first of six elements that she outlines as characteristic of the dramatic world. The others are that the drama is able to impart meaning of the whole through specific, suspenseful events; the characters have free will and are answerable to ~~—moral laws~~”; the plot is ~~—un~~folded by the characters’ action and speech”; there is an implicit audience to whom meaning is communicated; and finally, and perhaps most questionable of her assertions, is that the world inhabited by both the audience and the characters is ~~—subject~~ to the laws of the Holy” (3). Again, the ~~—laws of the Holy~~” might be extended depending on the particular mode of literature, a distinction she does not make given her interest in the subject. She concludes by noting that a drama is not necessarily synonymous with a play, and so a text may well be theatrical without having been conceived for the stage or intended to be performed (4). The theatrical may be underlying, as is the case with a number of texts examined in this study.

She goes on to discuss the nature of Comedy and affirms that the Bible functions as a dramatic comedy (29). Of particular interest is her assertion that the plot is developed and revealed through the characters’ speech and action, their words and deeds. Contemporary acting theory supports this hypothesis. As Robert Cohen tells the beginning acting student in his text, *Acting One*, ~~—There is one fundamental principle in acting. It’s that the actor must always play toward a goal. This is because characters, who resemble persons in life, are pursuing goals. The actor acts by pursuing—often vigorously—the presumed goal of the character~~” (21). He continues to assert that actors pursue their objective in the midst of conflict or obstacles and that this basic principle is what makes acting dramatic. However, where is the actor’s motivation to be found? In the text, of course, and for the theatre the text is dialogue. Similarly, a director will analyze a play fully, examining the playwright’s dialogue minutely in order to determine the overall goals of the text, the motivations for action and movement on the part of the actors.

Dialogue is not seen as expository in function in a drama—it has a specific purpose, and every word is charged with objectives and obstacles, with action. This is the type of dialogue exemplified in the interaction between Cain and the Lord and in later pastoral texts. Their words signal what has happened and what will happen. The moment of tension isn't the murder—it's the revelation of said murder by the Lord to Cain and the latter's confession. The theatrical nature of the dialogue and the orality of the text point to a multiplicity of both form and meaning that translate to the significance of the events represented within the text. It is the aim of this study to establish this same multiplicity and theatricality in the pastoral mode. Death also invades Arcadia. The presence of menace, either of the threat of violence or actual violence, and loss allow for the tension that creates dramatic action.

Philip R. Davies and John Rogerson examine the composition and historical context of the Old Testament in their book, *The Old Testament World*. Therein they establish several interesting points. The first is that they support claims of other scholars that Genesis developed simultaneously in both the oral and the written form and that around the seventh century BC it was put down in written form (226)¹⁰. Secondly, they note the inherently oral nature of the Sumerian myths, in particular the myth commonly entitled either “The Wooing of Inanna” or “Dumuzi and Enkimdu: The Dispute Between the Shepherd-God and the Farmer-God” (Halperin 102-3). This myth, mentioned both by Davies, et. al, and David M. Halperin in his study of early bucolic sources, tells of the wooing of Inanna by two rivals—the shepherd-god and the farmer-god. It takes the form of a series of dialogues, first between the goddess Inanna and her brother Utu, the sun-god then adding in two more voices, that of the shepherd-god, Dumuzi, and the farmer-god, Enkimdu. All interaction is reported as dialogue, lending a multiplicity of voices to

¹⁰ They also affirm that the motif of “quarrelling brothers” was shared by many nations (119).

the poem.¹¹ Once again, action is reported through dialogue. Additionally, the menace is provided in the form of the shepherd himself. He is not the victim but rather the “conqueror.” There may not be a murder, but there is dramatic tension in the form of the choice that Inanna must make and the competition between shepherd-god and farmer-god. This tension and the action of the poem are seen through the dialogue. Finally, Davies and Rogerson underline Cain’s position as the founder of the first city to be mentioned in Genesis and point out that the development of civilization and “civilized skills” personified by Cain “seems to bring more strife and killing in its train (Genesis 4:19-24)” (120).

Pastoral Tendencies in Greek and Roman Myths

The oral nature of early myths and the link to drama are facts freely acknowledged by Jenny March with regard to Greek and Roman myths:

¹¹ The quarrel between *Dumuzi and Enkimdu* can be found in James Pritchard’s *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (41-42). As Davies and Rogerson explain:

Here, the shepherd-god Dumuzi is rejected by the goddess Inanna. She favours the farmer-god Enkimdu and intends to marry him. Dumuzi argues his superiority in what he can produce as a shepherd, compared to that offered by a farmer, and begins a quarrel with Enkimdu, in which he appears to be victorious and to win over Inanna. We can detect behind this story the competing strategies of using land for agriculture, as against using it to graze animals. (120)

For a detailed discussion of the link between the Sumerian texts and Pastoral, see David M. Halperin’s *Before Pastoral: Theocritus and the Ancient Tradition of Bucolic Poetry*, in particular Chapter Six (“Pastoral Origins and the Ancient Near East”). In this chapter, Halperin examines the pastoral economy of early cultures in the Near East and the fear the nomadic lifestyle evoked in early Sumerian texts as opposed to the treatment of said lifestyle in the Old Testament. His study of early pastoral or proto-pastoral is extensive and inclusive, choosing texts that go beyond the modern conception of pastoral. Perhaps one of the most interesting elements he notes is the role of the shepherd, particularly in the religious context, as arbitrator (99). Of further interest is Halperin’s assertion that the pastoral metaphor fused with the political metaphor as early as the Old Testament and Sumerian texts (99-100):

The shepherd’s crook was part of the insignia of authority in Sumer no less than in Egypt, and the image of the ruler as shepherd was ubiquitous throughout the ancient Near East and Egypt (especially during the Middle Kingdom) long before Homer applied it to Agamemnon. (101)

This explanation provides the groundwork for understanding the origins of the political aspect of the Pastoral in Medieval and Renaissance compositions. The author was always associated with or patronized by a court and so Pastoral was conceived of at the court. Moreover, in the Renaissance, Pastoral texts sometimes hid the court within them, linking the Pastoral with the kings, reminiscent of the union of King and Shepherd in the biblical form of David.

They were told and retold by the poets, and from the later sixth century BC onwards were the subjects of gripping dramas played out on the tragic stage. A major part of all education was the memorizing and reciting of epic poems on mythical subjects. (1)

Not only were myths in Greek and Roman culture developed and passed on orally, they were turned into plays and acted out. Such a step underlines the dramatic nature of the myth. Moreover, if we consider these not only artistic but religious events, the ritual element of drama is brought to the surface. These myths were not perhaps originally conceived for the stage, but the readers or listeners acknowledged a dramatic quality and an impetus for action within the text. It also formed the basis for escape from daily life. All these qualities can be found not only in myths that might have inspired the pastoral; to varying degrees, they can be found within the texts themselves.

In addition to the dramatic and oral aspect of myths, several Greek Gods have links with Arcadia, either through romantic liaisons¹² or through birth. Hermes was born “at dawning in a deep and shadowy cave on Mount Kyllene in Arcadia” (March 98). Pan, son of Hermes, was also born in Arcadia (116). More provocative yet for our purposes is the presence of the Styx, and thus, death, in Arcadia:

The Styx itself was thought to have its source within the mortal world, then to drop from a sheer, high cliff before flowing through the darkness beneath the earth. At Nonakris in Arcadia there is a real-life Styx, so named at least as early as the sixth century BC, with waters cold from the snows that feed it and just such a waterfall. Pausanias (8.17.6-18.6) records that its waters were instantly fatal, and that they broke or corroded all materials except the hooves of horses. (109)

¹² See the myth of Apollo and Euadne (March 80).

That death finds itself literally running a course through Arcadia is rather suggestive. However, Arcadia in the Ancient Greek world was not always seen in a positive light as an idyllic land of pastoral peace. Erwin Panofsky, the art historian known for his studies on iconography, traces the depiction, both literary and pictorial, of death and Arcadia in his excellent essay, *—Et in Arcadia Ego: Poussin & the Elegiac Tradition.*¹³ When considering the earliest representation of Arcadia, he affirms that Arcadia, for the Greeks, was viewed negatively and not ever considered the possible setting for a bucolic work (298); that death should run through it underlines that Arcadia was not considered a safe place. Panofsky offers an interesting examination of Arcadia as a pastoral setting, albeit brief and, in the modern period, primarily pictorial. The art historian tells us that even Polybius, whom he terms —Arcady's most famous son,” while pointing out the musical simplicity and talent, cannot help but characterize the region as a —poor, bare, rocky, chilly country, devoid of all the amenities of life and scarcely affording food for a few meager goats” (*Historiae*, IV, 20. qtd. in Panofsky, 298). The Greeks refrained from setting their pastorals in Arcadia. Theocritus set his *Idylls* in Sicily, his native land (Gifford 15). Gifford notes, —For the writer this was a poetry of nostalgia to set against his present life which was actually that of an Alexandrian scholar.” The poetics of retreat or evasion seem to be present from the beginning in the pastoral.

Panofsky notes that Latin poetry drew on Theocritus but there were two opposing views of Arcadia: Ovid characterized the Arcadians as —primeval savages” (299) while Virgil (b. 70 BC near Mantua; d. 19 BC) idealized Arcadia in the *Eclogues* (c. 42-38 BC). As Panofsky states, —He transformed two realities into one Utopia, a realm sufficiently remote from Roman everyday life to defy realistic interpretation [...] yet sufficiently saturated with visual concreteness to make

¹³ In Panofsky, Erwin. *Meaning in the Visual Arts: Papers in and on Art History*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1955. 295-320.

a direct appeal to the inner experience of every reader” (299-300). Of course, it is Virgil’s Arcadia not Ovid’s that takes hold in the Renaissance. It is interesting to note the varying distances that later authors place between themselves and Arcadia: for Virgil, it was far away in another country. The Medieval French and Occitan poets never really specify the setting of the pastoral other than a clearing in the woods, a field, a place by the river—it could be anywhere within riding distance. Boccaccio, in the *Comedia delle Ninfe Fiorentine*, offers the first reappearance of Arcadia since Virgil (approximately 1300 years later), and while keeping Arcadia peripheral in the work (its mention is in conjunction with a character), he situates it near Cortona in Tuscany (Panofsky 302). In Sannazaro’s work, Arcadia seems reminiscent of the Neapolitan countryside in part due to later revisions. D’Urfé plainly states that he has chosen to set the work in Forez, situated near Lyons through which runs the Lignon, a beautiful river—it is the author’s own native countryside that he describes. This change of location for Arcadia underlines the fact that this utopia had undergone a change, from one distant in space to one distant in time (see Panofsky 303; he observes this change without giving textual references other than Boccaccio and Sannazaro as support).

Returning to the earlier Greek histories, Hesiod’s description of the Golden Age, the earliest race of man, is evocative of later pastoral descriptions of Arcadia:

They lived like gods, with carefree hearts, remote from toil and grief. Nor did wretched old age beset them, but always with vigour in their hands and feet they took their joy in feasting, far from all ills, and they died as though overcome by sleep. All good things were theirs, for the fruitful earth of its own accord put forth its plentiful harvest without stint, while they enjoyed a life of peace and ease in abundance, rich in flocks and loved by the blessed gods. (March 126)

While they might not be openly described as shepherds, the fact that they were “rich in flocks” make these earliest of the five human races according to Hesiod proto-types for the leisure and carefree nature of the pastoral protagonists in their natural habitat prior to the beginning of the dramatic tension.

Another evocative foundation myth is that of Rome, the story of Romulus and Remus, the twin sons of Mars left to drown by their uncle and raised by the she-wolf. As legend had it, they “grew into fine, strong young men who often led a gang of young shepherds on daring exploits” (March 499). They decided to found a city near the Tiber yet quarreled over the name and who should become king. As a result, Remus was murdered by his brother and so Romulus founded Rome (498-500). Interestingly enough, once more there is the presence of the union of the creation of the city with the murder of a pastoral representative, although in this case it is two former shepherds who are at odds rather than a farmer and a shepherd. Nonetheless they are brothers. That pastoral finds expression in two separate foundation myths offers an intriguing commentary on the creation of the urban environment and underlines pastoral’s inherent juxtaposition to the city, taking refuge in the country and dying there. Romulus does not retain his role as a shepherd after the murder. He becomes the leader of a city and there is no mention of his returning to the countryside. Upon the creation of the urban environment the only way to escape is by flights of fancy—in short, through pastoral literature.

The critical works, taking the view of the myths, in particular the Bible, as drama, reinforce my own view of the pastoral mode as the literary output of what Carl Jung defined as the “collective unconscious”:

[...] In addition to our immediate consciousness, which is of a thoroughly personal nature [...], there exists a second psychic system of a collective,

universal, and impersonal nature which is identical in all individuals. This collective unconscious does not develop individually but is inherited. It consists of pre-existent forms, the archetypes, which can only become conscious secondarily and which give definite form to certain psychic contents. (Jung 60)

Hence Pastoral belongs to one of the archetypes of humanity, a shared oral tradition that surfaces in a variety of early myths and whose oral characteristics survive in later exempla. In the case of the story of Cain and Abel, the drama lies in their sense of guilt. It is interesting to note that one of the founding tenets of the Romantic school was the distinction of the sense of guilt from original sin that separated ancient, pagan literature from modern, Christian literature (Schlegel 24-5). Halperin notes the renewed interest in bucolic poetry and the pastoral during Romanticism (2). Although this reference to Romanticism is chronologically outside the scope of this study, its inclusion at this point underscores the potential for future research.

The importance of orality in the pastoral is best illustrated through an elaboration of its dramatic qualities. Similarly to Murphy, I have chosen drama as a means to an end. In examining pastoral as a mode inherently theatrical in nature, one can conceive of a methodical approach to the oral tradition of the works. In addition, there were many examples of pastoral dramas and these are counted among the most influential of the early forms. Therefore, examining the orality and theatricality at the roots of the mode, “reverse engineering” it, so to speak, allows the modern reader greater insight into the nature of the mode and its texts. Orality and tension are at the base of the most important and influential ancient pastoral authors for the French and Italian vernacular literary tradition—Theocritus and Virgil.

Chapter 2:

Early Pastoral and Its Influence: Theocritus and Virgil.

It must be said that the two greatest influences for French and Italian literature in the Medieval period are the Bible and Virgil (70 BC-19 BC) (Goold 1, 6). While scholars of pastoral literature assert Theocritus' primogenitor status, one must accede that whatever influence Theocritus had was through Virgil. In point of fact, Halperin argues that the later pastoral literary tradition has tempered and influenced our view of Theocritus and Virgil and the early bucolic tradition (3-6). The author identifies three major pastoral movements: late antiquity; early Italian Renaissance, which he begins with Petrarch and Boccaccio, two authors who are considered primarily Medieval, foreshadowing the Renaissance but not of it; and the age of Neo-Classicism, and notes that it was Virgil, not Theocritus, who was dominant (3-4). Wells goes so far as to argue that Bucolic and Pastoral literary traditions should be regarded as distinct but he does not elaborate on the reason beyond indicating that Theocritus was at the beginning of this form of literary production and therefore not necessarily part of it. Halperin offers a clearer discussion of the difference. He underscores our lack of knowledge of what bucolic really meant for Theocritus—the word was used in several contexts and not all were related. He warns against equating “bucolic” with “pastoral” due not only to our own uncertainty regarding meaning but underlining the possible misrepresentation that might arise from associating terms that are separated by both time and language/culture (9). He continues:

There is no foundation for believing that the two words functioned interchangeably in antiquity: *boukolikos* appears to be a technical literary term—it

refers to a specific type of poetic composition and can be employed as a title—
 whereas *pastoralis* is wholly descriptive, denoting (in particular) a relation to
 animal husbandry. (10)

This discussion in antiquity, which Halperin sees as problematic for the modern scholar, proves beneficial for our own purposes. Once more it emphasizes Pastoral as a mode and opens the door to consider bucolic as a particular genre or form, an expression of the mode.¹⁴

The discussion of bucolic versus pastoral and Theocritus' legitimate place at the head of the pastoral literary tradition is beyond the scope of my analysis. What is of interest is to accept the work as it has been considered an early example of pastoral and to examine the text for the oral tendencies and dramatic tensions already exposed in the earlier foundational myths. It must be remembered that the whole of Theocritus' *Idylls* are not bucolic—rather, they are a mix of various types of idylls, including mimes, mythological narratives, and epigrams (Wells 23). As such, I will focus on those idylls with universally recognizable pastoral themes: Idylls 1, 3-7, 10, and 11.¹⁵

In each of these idylls the predominant characteristic is the presence of dialogue and the multiplicity of purpose behind its use. In idylls 1 (The Passion of Daphnis), 4 (The Herdsmen), 5 (Goatherd and Shepherd), 6 (Damoetas and Daphnis), and 10 (The Reapers), the idyll is composed of a dialogue between the two characters. This dialogue often leads to the discussion of a possible musical composition, whether it be on friendly terms as is the case, for example, in the Passion of Daphnis where the Goatherd praises Thyrsis and begs him to sing to him:

But, Thyrsis, you have composed _The Passion of Daphnis'_

And have made yourself a master of herdsmen's song [...]

¹⁴ For further discussion see the introductions to both Halperin's and Wells' studies on Theocritus.

¹⁵ Wells offers an interesting overview of the different types of themes exemplified within the *Idylls* in his introduction that is well worth consulting.

and again later, after promising Thyrsis, among other things, a beautiful cup:

But how cheerfully I would part with it [the cup]

For that beautiful elegy. Do you think I mock you?

No holding back! You cannot take your song with you

In the end. Hades and forgetfulness are the same (55-6)

or on unfriendly terms, as is the case in the “Goatherd and Shepherd” (idyll 5) which recounts the competition between Lacon and Comatas, each trying to better the other’s song:

LACON: If you’re ready to stake a kid

I’ll match you, song against song, till you give in. (73)

Each of these idylls is characterized by dialogue, by a clear interaction between two (or more) characters that moves the action forward. It is by their very meeting and discussion that the poetic creation, the shepherd’s song, can be sung, without which the idyll would not exist.

In idylls 3 (“The Lovesongs”), 7 (“The Harvest Festival”), and 11 (“The Cyclops”), dialogue once more plays a central role. In both the third and the eleventh the man is speaking to his beloved (whose voice and presence are absent), beseeching her to treat him with kindness. Although she is not physically present both shepherds address her directly (Amaryllis and Galatea) and ask for her favorable response. While they never hear her answer, readers are assured at the end of “The Cyclops” that his song heals his wounds of love, working as a veritable *remedia amoris*: —So Ælyphemus shepherded his love by singing / And found more relief than if he had paid out gold” (93). “The Lovesongs” do not end quite so well—the shepherd seems resolved to kill himself in order to make Amaryllis pay for not returning his affection. However, once more the dialogue propels not only the action forward but provides the reason for the composition, the reason for the shepherd to sing.

In “The Harvest Festival,” while the dialogue is not divided up between the different shepherds with their names in the form of a play, there is most certainly a dialogue functioning within the text, reporting the present actions of the characters. Once more these idylls are dramatic, linking speech with function and propelling the action forward and drawing the reader in through the dialogue. The theatricality of the idylls has been noted by Robert Wells. He tells us that Theocritus draws heavily from the convention of mime. As Wells defines it, mime “consisted of the presentation in dramatic form of a scene from everyday life” and while literary mime was not intended for dramatic representation it did suite recitation (26). He continues by explaining that the “innovation which produced bucolic poetry may have consisted merely of applying the conventions of mime in a rural setting. The simple countryman was already a stock character in these performances. The bucolic idylls, however novel in some respects, are likely to have appeared to Theocritus’ contemporaries as a variety of mime” (26-7). Hence, at the foundation of Pastoral lies theatricality and orality.

It is always the dialogue that provides the excuse for the composition of music, of a song, and while the reasons may vary, the metapoetic character of the songs and the repetition in every idyll of the thematic of song and composition reminds the reader of the literary consciousness and self-awareness of the author who constantly tries to justify his literary experimentation through the creation of a scenario that might reasonably explain the reason for composing a song in the middle of the day on the part of the characters. The language of these characters, their conversation, expresses a duality—they are at once humble rustics discussing everyday life and great poets inspired by the Muses and second only to the gods (see the first exchange between Thyrsis and the Goatherd in idyll 1, for example).

This dualistic conversation at once entrenched in daily life and poetic of a quality to challenge the gods is accompanied by a setting that echoes the dualism. The nature described, whether the shepherds find themselves near Etna or elsewhere (and note, none of the idylls are set in Arcadia), is at once the land that they see every day and yet it goes beyond a daily description for nothing is taken for granted. Their eyes are not tired of the view—rather, they revel in it and the poetic quality of the description encourages a sense of awe in the reader/listener. Moreover, the composition of song is often accompanied by the description of nature, thereby inextricably linking poetic composition with the gods of nature and the natural venue. Consider, for example, idyll 5:

[...] Come and sit down

Under this wild olive; you'll sing more pleasantly. (74)

or:

I'll stop where I am, among oaks and galingale.

The bees buzz round the hives with friendly warmth.

Cold water gushes from two springs. Birds chatter

From the cover of trees. The tall pine sheds its cones.

The shade's much thicker here than it is with you. (75)

The land and the poem are one with the shepherd; and nature composes its song alongside the shepherd's, at times accompanying his verse.

Death is present in the pastoral from the beginning—one need only read Theocritus' first idyll, "The Passion of Daphnis," to witness the profound presence of death. And yet, death leaves no physical trace in Theocritus' first idyll. Daphnis is taken away by the current:

Daphnis drew near the water and the current took him,

Unhappy child of the Muses, the Nymphs' lost friend. (59)

The threat of death and suicide menace the young lover in the third idyll as well:

Strip this castaway naked and let him fall

From the cliffs where Olpis watches for the sunny shoal.

Then if you are pleased I shall not have died in vain. (67)

and later:

My head aches, my legs give way. As if you cared!

No more songs. I shall lie here, food for the wolves.

May you relish that sweetly as honey in your mouth. (68)

While death is not directly influential in the fourth idyll, it is alluded to in passing by one herdsman but thrown off by the other:

BATTUS

Dear Amaryllis, who can forget your grace?

I think of the loveless, lonely days to come,

And, with you gone, grief stops all other thoughts.

CORYDON

Cheer up! Tomorrow shines with its own light.

Living is hoping, Battus. Let the dead despair.

Fine weather or foul, the dawn is always new. (71)

Remarkably enough, while love and singing provoke the death of our young lover in the third idyll, singing is the *remedia amoris* of the Cyclops in the eleventh idyll. In a more practical and humorous treatment in idyll 10, the young Bucaeus is suffering horribly, deeply in love with a beautiful young girl whose absence has completely overwhelmed the young man. He speaks to

his companion, Milon. The reader senses Milon's seniority, in particular as he tells Bucaeus to get to work and quit bemoaning his position. Finally Milon encourages Bucaeus to put his feelings into song while he works:

Don't let your feeling get in the way of your work,

That's all I ask. Put it into a song

While you mow the field. You used to be a singer. (89)

That Bucaeus "used to be a singer" seems almost like an acknowledgment of the poet's place within the pastoral. The young man composes a charming verse about his beloved which, while impressing Milon momentarily, only encourages him to sing his own verse, the "song of Lityerses" as he calls it, in praise not of a mortal woman but of Demeter, thanking her for the harvest and speaking of the daily toil that one should do. He concludes:

That's how men should sing as they work in the sun.

But as for your hungry love, Bucaeus, keep it

For your mother's ears when she wakes you in bed at dawn. (90)

Milon reminds Bucaeus of his duty and of where his thoughts should be directed in a scene that might still be repeated, with minor alterations, in later Italian pastoral poetry.

However, a familiar topos in both later pictorial and literary representations of pastoral is the Tomb in Arcadia. There is no such indication in Theocritus, so where and why does the "Tomb in Arcadia" first appear, a topos or motif increasingly present in Pastoral from the Renaissance on? The first appearance is in Virgil's *Eclogues* V, 42 ff. Two shepherds, Menalcas and Mopsus, sing of Daphnis and his death. Unlike in Theocritus' version where death is present but leaves no physical mark in the pastoral world, in Virgil's pastoral death remains in the form of the tomb. Mopsus begins the song, and finishes with instructions on how to erect his tomb:

And build a tomb, and on the tomb place, too, this verse: *—Daphnis was I amid the woods, known from here even to the stars. Fair was my flock, but fairer I, their shepherd.* (57, v.42-44)

In Virgil's *Eclogues*, published in 38 B.C. (Goold 2), Theocritus' influence is plain as is Virgil's originality. One who reads Theocritus' *Idylls* and then Virgil's *Eclogues* will notice similarities in theme and situation, but they have been re-invented and re-wrought; in some cases they are completely original, in others one can see the allusions to the former. Despite the reinvention, the sophistication and depth that Virgil brings to his pastoral poetry, one particular characteristic is repeated—dialogue. The oral tradition resurfaces in Virgil as it did in Theocritus. Dialogue is the dominant form for the eclogues, making up the primary mode of communication in Virgil's bucolic/pastoral composition. Eclogues I, III, V, VII, VIII, and IX are direct forms, clearly theatrical scenes that evoke a pastoral play, conversations or contests between two or, rarely, three, shepherds. Eclogues II, IV, VI, and X are indirect yet, as is true of Theocritus, they are addressed clearly to another, not mere poetic contemplations of life and the nature of the world.

Key to any dramatic work is the presence of the other, the audience. As Virgil himself asserts in the final eclogue (X), a metapoetic tour de force that seems to unify the work as a whole and underscores his awareness of poetic creation and the writing process, in the shepherd's song or pastoral composition there is always an audience: *—Let us tell of Gallus' anxious loves, while the blunt-nosed goats crop the tender shrubs. We sing to no deaf ears; the woods echo every note*" (91). Even when there is no other shepherd to hear one's song, Arcadia is alive and ready to listen. In this eclogue he makes numerous references to Arcadia (*—Pan came, Arcady's god, and we ourselves saw him [...]*) and *—But sadly Gallus replied: —Yet you,*

Arcadians, will sing this tale to your mountains; Arcadians only know how to sing. How softly then would my bones repose, if in other days your pipes should tell my love! And oh that I had been one of you, the shepherd of a flock of yours, or the dresser of your ripened grapes!” (91). Arcadia and nature are the audience of the shepherd’s verse if there is no other to receive it. The setting is hence of central importance.

The significance of nature and setting is established from the beginning. In eclogue I, Meliboeus tells his companion, —“The very pines, Tityrus, the very springs, the very orchards here were calling for you!” (27). The nature of Arcadia longs for her own shepherds, echoes their songs, and plays a crucial role not only in their composition (often their pipes are made of reed or other natural elements) but also are ever-present within the poetic creation. Arcadia echoes Corydon’s song to Alexis in the second eclogue: —“But as I track your footprints, the copses under the burning sun echo my voice with that of the shrill cicadas” (33). Arcadia and nature are active, not passive; there is active participation on the part of the natural world, an intense interaction between the shepherd and his surroundings. In the fifth eclogue, Mopsus leaves a tangible poetic mark on nature by carving his verses into the green beech-bark (55), a topos repeated later in Sannazaro’s *Arcadia*. Later on in the same eclogue, Menalcas acknowledges the content of two preceding Virgilian eclogues, —“First let me give you this delicate reed. This taught me —Corydon was aflame for the fair Alexis’ and also —Who owns the flock? Is it Meliboeus?”” (eclogues 2 and 3) (61). This awareness of previous compositions, considered common pastoral songs extends beyond intertextuality and suggests an unprecedented metaliteracy, an ultra-awareness of sources, the importance of sources, and self-referential nature that continues in later European pastoral. It also symbolizes the intertextuality of Virgil and Theocritus’ texts and the dependence on the reader’s awareness of the literary mode. Further, the reed, a symbol of nature, taught him

the songs mentioned previously. In Arcadia nature acts as instructor, as the common chain connecting all poetic composition, as the ultimate master. The importance of belonging to Arcadia, of being one of her shepherds, is again emphasized in the seventh eclogue where both Thyrsis and Meliboeus refer to each other as Arcadians in their song (67, 69).

The peril or menace of love unrequited (eclogues II, V) and even death (eclogues V and IX) are ever-present, yet subtly, and tinged with a quiet sadness, a haunting awareness of the passage of time, the intense feeling of love lost mixed with a passionate desire to sing one's deepest, most spiritual experiences as well as the legends of the past and the activities of every day. In the end, nature plays the role of both solace and bitter reminder of the love lost and the loss of Arcadia itself: ~~W~~ell I know that in the woods, amid wild beasts' dens, it is better to suffer and carve my love on the young trees. They will grow, and you, my love, will grow with them" (eclogue X, p. 93). Written into the forest itself is a reminder of his love, a love that he is destined not to share since he is preparing to part from the woods, wishing them farewell. The final peril, the arrival of the ~~s~~hade," the evening, is seen as dangerous for the shepherd-poet: ~~L~~et us arise. The shade is oft perilous to the singer—perilous the juniper's shade, hurtful the shade even to the crops. Get home, my full-fed goats, get home—the Evening Star draws on" (95). This sadness and the juxtaposition it poses to nature are discussed eloquently by Panofsky. This scholar suggests that there was a discrepancy in Virgil between the ~~s~~upernatural perfection of an imaginary environment and the natural limitations of human life as it is" (300):

In Virgil's ideal Arcady human suffering and superhumanly perfect surroundings create a dissonance. This dissonance, once felt, had to be resolved, and it was resolved in that vespertinal mixture of sadness and tranquility which is perhaps

Virgil's most personal contribution to poetry. With only slight exaggeration one might say he discovered the evening. (300)

Moreover, this eclogue exemplifies the depth and multiplicity of the narrative voice, a multiplicity that finds its root in the oral tradition. In the final eclogue, the narrator (shepherd-poet) recounts the words of others—the emotions of his characters fill his song, his words evoking the actions and deeds of a mythic past. The final lines here cited hint at the presence of an audience, listening to his poem, to his dramatic recitation, the multiplicity of which is clear only if one understands the dramatic nature of the scene. Once more orality finds itself at the center of the pastoral experience. There seems to be an inescapable link between the bucolic, idyllic setting of the pastoral and the themes of menace, death, and discontent, an intrinsic quality of theatre—the creation of tension and conflict in conjunction with spectacle and recitation, practically the definition of theatre.

The importance and influence of Virgil for the Middle Ages and the Christian authors, both lay and clerics, cannot be overstated. Domenico Comparetti, in his seminal study *Virgilio nel Medio Evo*, underlines the importance of Virgil (and to a lesser degree Ovid) in the medieval period to anyone interested in literature (96). Virgil formed with other writers not only ~~il~~ “fondamento della generale cultura” but the heritage of the Latin language, an aspect important because of the prevalence of the Christian grammar schools in the early Middle Ages (97). Despite the divide between those who condemned and those who praised the reading of Virgil and the other classical, pagan writers, many on both sides recommended reading Virgil (106-7). Comparetti affirms: ~~per~~ “per tutti gli scrittori del medio evo, Virgilio [fu] il sommo rappresentante dell'antica tradizione classica” (118).

Virgil's influence is felt not only in the medieval period but also in the Renaissance and during humanism. Just as Virgil guides Dante through hell and purgatory, he guided the authors of pastoral, in particular Sannazaro. The core elements to Virgil's pastoral, consistent with our analysis, are the presence of death, the prevalence of dialogue, the importance of setting, and the centrality of the figure of the shepherd. While I have examined these elements with regard not only to Virgil and Theocritus but also with regard to the earlier tradition, it is my intention now to study them in relation to the medieval pastoral tradition. Typically, the medieval is kept separate and there seems to be a gap in most studies, leaving the medieval to one side as something completely separate. While it might be challenging to examine the medieval pastoral for various reasons, I propose that such an analysis is key to understanding the development of the pastoral ideal in France and Italy.

Part III:**Pastoral Literature and the Vernacular Middle Ages**

Chapter 1:
Pastoral Literature in Medieval France and Italy
An Overview

In establishing the literary context of the pastoral mode in which the *Arcadia* and later the *Astrée* were composed, two fundamental historical developments must be noted. The first is the genesis of the mode itself, of the imaginary creation that is Pastoral. The second key element, one often overlooked by scholars, is the development of this classical pastoral mode in the vernacular. This second element is crucial because without this step there would have been no *Arcadia*, no *Aminta*, and no pastoral as it is today; it would merely have remained an obscure instance of classical literature that found vogue among humanists in Latin and Greek. In the French and Italian context the medieval texts provide the link to the Renaissance creations on classical modes. Most studies tend to overlook the medieval period and the development of pastoral therein, either skipping from the classical period straight to the Renaissance or incorporating authors like Petrarch and Boccaccio into early Renaissance models, a consideration that clashes with the reality that these authors, although key to the development of humanism in the Renaissance and definitely belonging to a proto-Renaissance classification, are medieval authors. I hope to rectify this gap in current scholarship by examining the medieval vernacular pastoral.

As indicated, because Pastoral is a mode, the manner of its expression can vary from genre to genre with the exception of certain key characteristics universally recognized: the presence of the shepherd/shepherdess and the bucolic setting that recalls the artifice of Arcadia. I

have added two more key components for consideration: the presence of loss (either threatened or real) and the orality of the form that tends towards the dramatic. Using these criteria, I will examine three authors in particular who wrote texts from diverse genres in the medieval period to establish the oral and dramatic quality of these instances of pastoral as well as how the motif of loss is incorporated. Moreover, the metaliterary conscience of the authors will be examined through their pastoral expression.

This is not meant to be an exhaustive examination—that has been done elsewhere in part (see, for example, Geri L. Smith’s excellent study on the *pastourelle*, in particular the transformations thereof in the late medieval period). Rather, following Smith’s example, I will focus on three authors that I believe are representative of pastoral experimentation in France and Italy during the Middle Ages: Jehan Erart of Arras, Guiraut Riquier of Provence, and Giovanni Boccaccio of Italy. Not only does each author represent a distinct region important in the medieval cultural identity (Erart from Northern France, Riquier of Southern France, and Boccaccio of Italy), thereby providing the reader with a view of the Pastoral’s development in each region; these authors have also experimented with the pastoral mode more than any other identified author. The first two authors composed *pastourelles*. Jehan Erart was a French *trouvère* who was active between 1240 and 1254 (Newcombe 14); and Guiraut Riquier was a *troubadour* active from 1254-1292 (Paden, *Medieval Pastourelle* v). The reason behind this choice is relatively simple—these are the authors who were most prolific of those known for having composed *pastourelles*. Riquier composed a unified cycle of six *pastorelas*. Erart is the most prolific of the known French authors, his offerings numbering ten. Moreover, he hails from Arras, the same literary and cultural milieu as Adam de la Halle, another important innovator in medieval French pastoral.

The importance of the number of poems and the identification of these authors cannot be overlooked. The majority of pastourelles, in particular those in French, are anonymous. In Paden's anthology some eighty pastourelles are listed in this fashion (all but six are in French—the exceptions are those in Occitan, English, Latin, Italian, and Gascon—approximately one of each). Of the identified authors, many in French and Occitan composed only one or two, perhaps because they were in vogue, and went on to compose other poetic forms. The infrequency of composition does not necessarily detract from the richness of the offering. However, a higher frequency of pastourelles (relatively short poetic compositions) by a particular author translates to a more interested and dedicated experimentation in that genre and within the mode itself. Rather than choosing haphazardly a variety of pastourelles I have chosen to limit the study to those composed by Riquier and Erart. They both manipulated the genre beyond mere experimentation. They did not merely make a brief jaunt into the pastoral woods—they stayed and frolicked, if you will. My observations will serve, I hope, as a model for examining other pastourelles.

In the Italian tradition there is no well-defined and well-practiced or prolific genre. Paden notes but five pastorelle. I will examine three of the five—Guido Cavalcanti's "~~In~~ boschetto trova' pasturella," Dante Alighieri's "~~C~~avalcando l'altr'ier per un cammino," and Francesco Petrarca's "~~N~~on al suo amante piú Diana piacque." The reason behind these selections is the importance of these authors within the Italian pastoral tradition and their influence on their successors. In addition, both Dante and Petrarch composed eclogues, as did Giovanni Boccaccio, a unified pastoral expression by the "~~tre~~ corone" of Italian literature, each known for works that are very different one from another. The Italian author who will receive the most dedicated treatment is Boccaccio (1313-1375) and his two important pastoral works, the *Comedia delle*

ninfe fiorentine (1341) and the *Ninfale fiesolano* (1346). Because the eclogues were written in Latin I have chosen to leave them aside. From this point forward, Pastoral does find expression in the vernacular and that is the guiding principle of this study. These three authors (whose works cover roughly one hundred years from 1240 to 1346) exemplify pastoral experimentation in the Middle Ages and can contribute greatly to our understanding of this period and the development of pastoral in the Renaissance. The following section offers an overview of the pastourelle, the pastoral genre most prolific in France in the medieval period.

The Shepherdess and the Knight: The Pastourelle/Pastorela/Pastorella

Dante identified the presence of two literary languages and literatures in Medieval France in the *De vulgari eloquentia* (1302-05): langue d'oïl (Northern France) and langue d'oc (Provence or Occitania). It is in the latter that the prototype of the most common manifestation of the pastoral mode in the Middle Ages surfaces: the *pastorela* (Fr. *pastourelle*, It. *pastorella*), a poetic form that flourished in France and Provence in particular from the twelfth century to the late fourteenth century. Critical study of this genre is prolific, so I will confine my efforts to a brief introduction and then an analysis of certain texts with regard to their place in pastoral as a mode. Awareness of the Latin model (i.e. Virgil's works) in the medieval period has already been established: —The appearance of an indigenous pastoral poetry in medieval France is hardly surprising, especially since the poetry of Virgil was known, translated, and studied in the schools” (Gravdal 361). Virgil's influence on the medieval pastoral recalls certain realities of literature and writing important in medieval literary theory. Literature was not created in the Middle Ages; as Duval tells us, —[a littérature] n'est plus à faire. Il ne reste plus aux nains médiévaux, selon la célèbre formule de Bernard de Chartres, qu'à commenter, à compiler, à

remanier et à prolonger les œuvres des géants qui les ont précédés.” He continues : “Les écrivains d’expression française, durant toute la période, sont généralement de culture latine et connaissent les *‘auctoritates’*. Une partie importante de cette littérature consiste d’ailleurs en adaptations, en remaniements, en compilations et en traductions d’ouvrages latins” (11). Thus, according to Duval, “le texte médiéval est essentiellement réécriture” (14). It is not my purpose here to suggest that these examples of pastoral stem directly from the Latin and the Greek; rather, I consider them instances where the universal tendency towards pastoral has once more surfaced in the Western imagination and the medieval predisposition to rewriting facilitated pastoral composition. This is not to say that there is no creation in the medieval period—merely a tendency to remain within certain genre boundaries and rework or reference earlier manifestations. The pastourelle is unique, but its origins lie in *poésie lyrique*. Then, once the genre began to gain in popularity it began to more fully define itself and, following the medieval tradition, imitated and reinvented.

Simply stated, the pastourelle is a poem comprising of a dialogue between a knight and a shepherdess. The knight happens upon the shepherdess in a bucolic setting and in most instances attempts to seduce her. He is not always successful, but there is often the threat of violence (the knight threatens to have his way with her). The shepherdess often exhibits a quick wit and the dialogue offers an interesting contrast between knight (male of higher social class) and shepherdess (female peasant). Whether or not the shepherdess’ speech is truly representative of her class or whether she is a noble lady in disguise is a matter for later discussion.

William Paden is best known for his work on the pastourelle and his excellent two volume anthology, *The Medieval Pastourelle*, is an indispensable guide for the reader. Paden views the pastoral mode as —a natural feature of the human imagination” (“Reading” 2). Another

useful resource is Geri L. Smith's *The Medieval French Pastourelle Tradition: Poetic Motivations and Generic Transformations* (2009). She offers an excellent overview of the critical work surrounding the genre and examines three authors in particular as examples of late transformations within the genre of pastourelle: Adam de la Halle, Jean Froissart, and Christine de Pizan. The final work that must be noted is Michel Zink's *La Pastourelle: Poésie et folklore au Moyen Age* (1972), an invaluable introduction and outline to the genre.

While Paden attests that the concept of the pastourelle as a song about a shepherdess can be found as early as 1170-1190 in the French *Tristan* of Thomas (‐Reading‐ 4), the earliest most complete definitions of the pastourelle can be found in Occitan in two ‐arts poétiques‐. The first, by Raimon Vidal, can be found in his *Razos de Trobar* and dates from the early thirteenth century (Zink 25):

Pastora: si vols far pastora, deus parlar d'amor en aytal semblan com eu te ensenyaray, ço es a saber, si t'acostes a pastora e la vols saludar, o enquerar o manar o corteiar, o de qual razo demanar o dar o parlar li vulles. E potz li metre altre nom de pastora, segons lo bestiar que guardara. Et aquesta manera es clara assatz d'entendre, e potz li fer sis o vuit cobles, e so novell o so estrayn ya passat. (cit. in Zink 26)

Pastorela: If you want to compose a pastorela, you must speak of love in the manner which I will teach you: you accost a shepherdess and you want to greet her, or ask for love, or tell her something or court her, or discuss something with her. And you can give her a name according to the beasts that she

*guards/watches. And this genre is easy to understand, and you can compose six or eight couplets accompanied by a new tune or one already used*¹⁶.

The other definition dates from the beginning of the fourteenth century (Zink 25) and is written by Guillaume Molinier in his *leys d'Amors*:

La diffinitios de pastorela. Pastorela es un dictatz que pot haver. VI. o .VIII. o .X. coblas o mays, so es aytantas cum sera vist al dictayre, mas que no passé lo nombre de trenta. E deu tractar d'esquern per donar solas. E deu se hom gardar en aquest dictat maiormen, quar en en aquest se peca hom mays que en los autres, que hom no diga vils paraulas ni laias, ni procezisca en son dictat a degu vil fag; quar trufar se pot hom am femna e far esquern la un a l'autre, ses dir e ses far viltat o dezonesta. Pastorela requier tostemps noel so plazen e gay, no pero ta lonc cum vers o chansos, ans deu haver so un petit cursori e viacier. E d'acquesta pagela son vaquieras, vergieras, porquieras, auquieras, crabieras, ortolonas, monias, e enayssi de las autras lors semblans. (cit. Zink 26)

The definition of the pastorela: The pastorela is a poem that can have six, eight, ten, or more strophes, that is, however many seem agreeable to the author, so long as it does not surpass thirty. It must make use of tricks in order to be entertaining. And it is most urgent that in this genre of composition we must be careful—given that here we sin more than in other genres—to not use words that are vulgar or ugly and to not give over to any villainous action. For we can have a man and a woman argue and tease one another without saying or doing anything vile or dishonest. The pastourelle always requires a new melody, pleasant and gay, less ample than that of the vers of the canso but that must have

¹⁶ My translation.

a quick and lively air. And on this model are the pastourelas that are “vaquieras...” (The remaining terms denote pastorelas that are named after the type of animal that the shepherdess is watching)¹⁷.

While the second definition is more detailed and underlines the importance of morality in the pastourelle, both emphasize the use of dialogue and the centrality of the spoken interaction between the knight (the first-person male narrator aligned with the Self) and the shepherdess (identified as the Other), represented in poetic form. Whereas in the classical model the shepherd is identified with the poetic self here the pastoral representative is placed apart. And yet, she does speak, she has a poetic voice, more extensive in some examples than in others, but she shares in the creative process. She is at once Other and Self.

The other key element in the definitions is that the pastorela be entertaining and pleasing. Inherent, then, is the concept of performance since music is to accompany the text. One does not include music merely to read it. These were performative texts, and this last characteristic is one that tends to be overlooked but its importance cannot be overstated. Performance and orality are core to the transmission of the texts, and thus core to these manifestations of the pastoral mode. Finally, there is another aspect to note: the poem always depicts the opposition between man and woman, where they must battle through their speech in a contest of wits. This tendency to juxtapose opposites is a recurring theme within the mode, as discussed earlier (See Part I, Chapter 1), and contributes to the dramatic tension implicit in the vignette.

In his anthology, Paden proposes a detailed definition that he used to guide his own identification of the pastourelles included therein as “~~l~~assical.” His classification is worth examining. He identifies five key elements:

¹⁷ My translation.

1. The mode is pastoral, commonly realized in a country setting and in the description of the heroine as a shepherdess.
2. The cast includes a man and a young woman.
3. The plot comprises a discovery and an attempted seduction.
4. The rhetoric involves both narrative and dialogue.
5. The point of view is that of the man. (ix)

The point regarding the rhetoric of the pastourelle is of particular interest. Paden's collection includes 210 pastourelles in a variety of languages (French, Occitan, Galician-Portuguese, Latin, German, Italian, Spanish, Welsh, and Gascon). Over half are in French (ix). The texts are organized chronologically, an organization that allows the reader to examine the development of the genre as a "cross-cultural phenomenon" (ix). Smith also recognizes the importance of historical and cultural context when examining the pastourelle (2). In these pastourelles, dialogue plays a dominant role in the transmission of the mode. Once more the oral tradition at the root of the pastoral mode surfaces. Moreover, it is a core constituent of the genre. Each pastourelle plays out like a small scene in a large pastoral wood. The dominance of dialogue is clear even in the prototype of the genre, Marcabru's "L'autrier jost'una sebissa."

Marcabru was active from 1130 to 1149. Little is known of him aside from what he himself tells us in his *vidas*. He was a "minstrel and mercenary from Gascony" (Paden, *Introduction to Old Occitan* 106). Saulnier notes that he is among those early troubadours who developed the concept of courtly love (37). His poem, "L'autrier jost'una sebissa" ("The other day beside a hedge") starts in a very typical fashion: a narrative description of the setting in the first strophe. However, there is no mention of springtime, a characteristic Smith notes as dominant in the genre: "The traditional correlation between spring as the awakening of nature

and morning as the awakening of day figures often in the pastourelles' opening lines, and with it, erotic overtones. The freshness of morning, when winter cold gives way to the warmth of the new season, is in tune with the knight's stirring desires" (19); rather, there is a description of her clothes which include a ~~p~~elissa" (v. 5), or ~~f~~ur-lined coat" (Paden's translation). This would indicate that the setting is a bit out of the ordinary and reminds us that this is a prototype rather than a confirmed expression of the genre.

In the second strophe, as is typical of later manifestations of the genre, the dialogue begins. The knight, who speaks in the first person and narrates the events, addresses the girl in the customary fashion: ~~T~~oza." He also mentions the chill of the wind, underscoring the weather and attempting to give himself a reason for keeping her company. When she responds that she is in good health, he replies that she needs companionship to watch her flock. Her rebuke sets the tone for her position throughout:

[~~T~~senher, " so dis la vilayna,
~~L~~ay on se tanh si s'estia,
 que tals la cuj'en bailia
 tener, no n'a mas l'ufayna. " (vv. 25-28)
[“]Sir,” said the peasant girl,
“Let it [pleasing companionship] stay where it belongs,
For someone thinks she has it
In her power who only has the show.”¹⁸

The shepherdess is not taken in by the knight who keeps dropping rather subtle hints that she is alone and practically begging her to let him have his way with her. Her responses to his advances are decidedly strong and clear; for example, to his ~~c~~ourtly" attempt at persuasion she responds:

¹⁸ All translations of the pastourelles come from Paden's anthology unless otherwise noted.

—Don, hom cochatz de folhatge
 e·us promet e·us plevisc guatge ;
 si·m fariatz homenatge,
 senher,” so dis la vilayna,
 —mas ges per un pauc d’intratge
 no vuellh mon despiuzelhatge
 camjar per nom de putayna!” (vv. 64-70)

“Sir, a man driven by his folly
Both promises and pledges payment;
Thus you would do me homage,
Sir,” said the peasant girl,
“But I scarcely wish to exchange
For a paltry entrance fee
My deflowering for the name of whore!”

The shepherdess in the pastourelle occupies a unique position—the ability to voice her opinion, even (and quite often this is the case) when it goes against the will of the knight who happens upon her. The poet gives the woman a voice, but in the end readers are left with two sides of the same coin—both are of course composed by a man, the knight’s queries and the shepherdess’ rebuttals. Despite the strength of her response in this particular poem, the knight is not deterred—rather he continues, describing a location more conducive to sexual union, an —abric lonc la pastura” where she would feel —sfer”. Permeating the knight’s words is an underlying threat of violence, despite all that the shepherdess says to dissuade him from his pursuit. In the end, the reader/spectator/listener is left with an ambiguous frame of mind. There is

no mention of the knight leaving. Rather, it ends with her final rebuke. The power or rhetoric, of the spoken word, of the shepherdess' voice is not lost here, but there is no clear indication of what happens next. It is up to the reader to decide the fate of the shepherdess.

While the Occitan poets tend to have their knights locked in witty debate with the shepherdess, the French poets are more varied in the reaction of the knight—he may leave or he may force his way. If courtly behavior fails to attain the desired result, brute force does not. Desire is accompanied by loss—or rather the threat of loss, of ~~de~~flowering—but it takes a variety of forms, and in some cases that of rape, a consideration noted in two excellent articles. The first is by Kathryn Gravdal, —~~C~~amouflaging Rape: The Rhetoric of Sexual Violence in the Medieval Pastourelle,” the first to offer a feminist interpretation of the pastourelle; and William Paden's —~~R~~ape in the Pastourelle,” his response to Gravdal's article.

The concept of loss in relation to the sexuality expressed within the pastourelle is by necessity influenced by Gravdal's study. The pastourelle in general, as evidenced clearly by the third point in Paden's classification (—The plot comprises a discovery and an attempted seduction.”), describes the scene of an attempted seduction or rape. For Gravdal, the —Old French texts are not songs about poetry-contests or bucolic life, but celebrations of rape. Even when they do not actually depict rape, they consistently celebrate its threat” (362). She continues, —The pastourelle conveys a message of intimidation and repression” (363). She asserts that rape is the —inevitable encounter between the representatives of two different social classes” (365). Thus, the knight's advances are not really welcomed, even when it seems that they are. In each encounter Gravdal sees a forced union indicative of rape, a rape that she argues tends to be ignored even by scholars today, and the rape is linked to the social status of the characters. She proposes that the shepherdess is the lady from the courtly love tradition in disguise, which

explains her ability to attract the knight with her courtly speech and her beauty since Gravdal argues that the pastourelle does not depict reality because a real shepherdess would be unappealing and repellent: “If this were social satire, for instance, why isn’t the shepherdess unattractive? Why doesn’t she speak like a bumpkin or smell of the pigsty? Why doesn’t the *courtois* knight turn from her in disgust?” (370). Her argument seems a bit specious and at times, strangely enough, contrary to her own ideology, however her point is interesting. The shepherdess is not a shepherdess—she is the courtly lady, dressed in a shepherdess costume. She does not speak, reason, or argue like a peasant, but is as quick and witty as the knight, with whom she can pun and debate” (371). Disguise then becomes a key feature to the medieval pastoral, a motif repeated later in Boccaccio’s works. The pastoral disguise, according to Gravdal, masks a deeper social tension:

[...] the opposition between the two characters in the pastourelle is, at one level, the struggle between social equals: the poet (who is in many cases, an aristocrat, and signs his texts), and the lady of the court. They are engaged in a deadlock struggle, in the pastourelle: she for her dignity, her voice, her autonomy, he for his right to control, to dominate, to master, to rape. (372)

The next, deeper level, the reality of the literary fiction for Gravdal represents the means by which the poet can have his way: “There is always a way of putting women in that place, in their place. What scholars and students must remember, as we re-read the medieval pastourelles, is that a woman’s place is a male construct” (373). In Gravdal’s article the seduction or rape is central to the pastourelle and the poetic form celebrates it as a means by which the poet, a man, asserts his power in a way he could not in the courtly love lyric of the *fin’amors*. William Paden responds to Gravdal’s arguments in his article, “Rape in the Pastourelle” (1989).

Paden challenges Gravdal's reading for several reasons: (1) she fails to consider poems in which sexual union occurs otherwise than through rape; (2) she distorts the poems in which no sexual union occurs at all; and (3) the explanatory model which she proposes leaves too many questions unanswered" (331). Paden proposes that by examining the details of a larger selection of pastourelles they eliminate the possibility of rape: "The combined motifs of the offer of payment, acceptance, and sexual union, either explicit or under a transparent euphemism, are unavoidably suggestive of prostitution" (335). In many of the pastourelles a transaction seems to take place—the knight/poet offers clothes and gifts or makes promises in return for her willing yielding to his desires. For Paden this type of "transaction" evokes prostitution: "I believe that the theme of sexual license in a country setting carries overtones of prostitution and that such overtones undermine Gravdal's thesis that the genre is a celebration of rape" (336). Paden cites evidence that indicates that sexual liaison outside the city walls is reminiscent of the status of prostitution that also took place outside the city walls.

The union described in the pastourelle does not always end in violence. Paden affirms that the pastourelle can also express love, real love. He cites a poem by Jehan Erart ("L'autre ier chevauchai mon chemin") that I study in the next chapter as an example of the depiction of love, not rape: "This poem depicts an idealized eroticism to which the themes of rape and prostitution are equally immaterial" (341). Perhaps the most convincing counterpoint to Gravdal's assertions is the fictionality of the characters that Paden argues she ignores:

[The shepherdess] is a character, and if the male poet whose erotic fantasy she embodies chose to think of her as bouncing back with a grin, then that is what the fictional shepherdess did. We cannot accept the fiction of the rape and then deny the fiction of the woman's pleasure. [...] The problem with Gravdal's model is

that we cannot legitimately consider the pastourelle a celebration of real historical rape because of the constraints exerted by this most conventional of literary genres. [...] If the pastourelle is a celebration of rape at all, it must be a celebration in the form of erotic fantasy. (344)

Drawing from the Freudian model, Paden asserts that the pastourelle is “a set of poetic jokes ranging from dirty to refined, [...] illustrating the varying combinations of sexuality and repression which are, together, constitutive even of the rape poems” (346). These poems are tempered by the self-awareness of the poems as part of a poetic genre. Thus,

[T]he French genre in which sexual aggressiveness is expressed through rape became possible because it was accompanied by repressive devices which made rape generic, imported, unreal—in a word, poetic, and therefore acceptable in the polite society in which lyric poetry was composed and consumed. (347)

Moreover, he argues that the pastourelle is an expression of contradictory forces: aggression and repression, typical of human emotions and reminiscent of the pastoral tendency to juxtapose conflicting forces or themes:

The French pastourelles depicting rape do not represent the culmination or the essential function of the genre; rather, they express sexual aggression, one of the two unsteadily balanced psychological forces that underlie the poetic form. The compensating force of repression dominates other versions of the tale and produces a characteristic effect of cultural eccentricity or marginality. These poems seem to protest, even while singing artfully of seduction, quasi-prostitution, or rape, that such behavior occurs only in faraway places. [...] the

genre of the pastourelle exhibits a multivalence which enables it to express conflicting drives felt by men and women, medieval and modern. (348)

Emphasis is placed on two characteristics in particular: the “otherness” or “distance” between the society inhabited by the audience and the actions of the pastourelle; and the juxtaposition of natural tendencies within the human psyche. These are both traits inherent within pastoral—escape from society, from its conventions, from what is usual and quotidian and the contradictions expressed therein.

So where does the reader fit in? Inevitably, the medieval audience would have identified with the “I”—the narrator (knight/poet). As Duval points out, many manuscripts in the medieval period were copied to be seen more than to be read. The principal mode of diffusion of texts was oral, not written: “La lecture publique, bien que concurrencée par la lecture silencieuse, demeure une pratique courante à la fin du Moyen Age” (Duval 19). Olivia Holmes also notes that transmission of the troubadour lyric in the twelfth and thirteenth century had been oral and it was not until the end of the period that poetic books were actually assembled (*Assembling the Lyric Self* 1). The audience members or “readers” in the Middle Ages would have been either noblemen and women (members of the court) or the clergy. Often they listened to the poem or the story told by a jongleur. Even the women listening to the pastourelles would have found more in common with the knight than with a supposed peasant, despite her gender. Thus, the pastourelle invites the readers to take an active part in the dialogue, identifying themselves with the knight and the poet, viewing the shepherdess as the Other, an unknown quantity. However, this Other at times shares attributes with the beloved in the courtly love lyric or in the romance. She is eloquent and, while observing a difference in social class with the knight, she speaks in a manner that recalls the wit and grace of the lady.

While some have proposed that the shepherdess might be a stand-in for the beloved, one must keep in mind that key to the medieval aesthetic was the concept of *bel et utile*,” what is both beautiful and useful (in Italian, *utile e dilettevole*”). Having her speak as a peasant might have spoken would not have followed the first part of the requirements. Nonetheless, there are similarities between the shepherdess and her noble counterpart that cannot be ignored. She attracts the eye of the knight, as does the lady. She has a certain power over the knight, as does the lady. The difference is the way in which the knight reacts. He is able to take liberties here in this pastoral setting that he would not have been able to do otherwise. When reading the poetry of fin’amors, one often gets the impression that the poet is frustrated—he states it clearly enough. He desires the lady but he cannot have her—either she outranks him socially, is not interested (and is thus portrayed as cold and callous), or she is already married to another, making any real union impossible. In the pastourelle, however, it is the knight, not the object of his desire, who has the upper hand. He can not only long for her, he can actually have her. Moreover, in this setting away from the civilized rules of court, the poet experiences a freedom foreign to medieval sensibilities. I propose that the pastourelle functions as not only entertainment but as a manner of release for the poet—a way to explore an alternate reality, completely removed from his own, an escapism characteristic of the mode itself.

The knight’s words in the first person become those of the reader, whether those words are transmitted through a jongleur reciting for the entertainment of others or someone reading to themselves. Whichever it may be, the audience is placed immediately in an intimate setting. Once one enters the fictional woods, one must take part in the action. Furthermore, the author has written a detailed counterpoint, and if one were to evaluate the contest of wits, the shepherdess excels. This assessment might be due to our own modern sensibilities. However,

even within the rules of courtly love and conduct the shepherdess exhibits a powerful stance, one that rivals that of the knight. She often maintains her place and reminds the knight of his own.

The shepherdess challenges the audience, provoking one to reconsider the traditional roles assigned to the characters, to look beyond the pastoral disguise. The next chapter examines Jehan Erart's pastourelles which offer the reader a clear idea of the typical expressions of the genre as well as the transformations and liberties that an experienced author might take when composing in a genre with which he is intimately acquainted through practice.

Chapter 2

Jehan Erart, Arras, and the French Pastourelle

Very little critical scholarship has been produced on the thirteenth century trouvère Jehan Erart (fl. 1240-54). The most expansive offering is the edition of his poems edited by Terence Newcombe (*Les Poésies du trouvère Jehan Erart*. Geneva: Library Droz, 1972). There is a general lack of articles and studies, a fact noted even in 1972 by Newcombe (9). Erart belonged to a group of poets from Arras in Northern France. The literary production of this group was very important for the development of the medieval French lyric (9). Medieval Arras was a vital and prosperous commercial center, known for the textile industry and for banking (Langley 61, Fossier 15-16). Descriptions of medieval Arras bring to mind analogies with Boccaccio's Florence. In the midst of these two prosperous commercial banking cities great pastoral authors arose, examining life through idyllic eyes. Arras in the thirteenth century was not only an increasingly cosmopolitan urban landscape; it was also a site where the vernacular was becoming dominant. Carol Symes explains that Arras was:

[A] world in which the newly consolidated power of emerging monarchies was balanced by the mercantile power of independent towns situated within international trading networks, where vernacular literacy was beginning to challenge the hegemony of Latin, and when the production of written records was transforming the ways that people in a predominantly oral society communicated with one another. (1)

This new way of considering the oral in relation to the written was examined by two authors, Jehan Erart and Adam de la Halle, and both played with pastoral. Erart examined the pastourelle and the interaction of music and text, the tension between aural/oral reception/transmission and written expression. Adam de la Halle wrote the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, the first pastoral play.

Critics believe Adam de la Halle was likely born in the mid thirteenth century and likely died between 1285 and 1289 (Schwam-Baird xii). It is thought that he composed the play during his stay in Italy while in the service of Robert II, count of Artois. The count went to Naples in 1282 to help his uncle, Charles d'Anjou, and Adam is thought to have remained there until his death, either in 1285 or 1289. This theory cannot be sustained but it is generally accepted (Schwam-Baird xv, Smith 71). Once more Southern Italy, and Naples in particular, plays host to the pastoral. The play itself, hailed as the first comic opera in French, the first secular French theater, and the first and only medieval dramatization of the pastourelle (Schwam-Baird xvi-xvii), falls into the category of a "generic transformation" according to Geri L. Smith who has completed an in-depth analysis of the work¹⁹.

Medieval Arras underwent a complex creation of power, due in part to the success of banking and lending at interest on the part of wealthy manufacturers and merchants to the aristocracy, leading to the creation of a patrician class at the core of the city's municipal authority and economic power. This patrician class was chosen to serve as the *échevins*, the ruling body of towns in Northern France, and thus the group formed a "self-perpetuating oligarchy, jealous of its powers and privileges" (Langley 61). That a courtly form like the pastourelle would not only flourish in this environment but undergo transformation and expansion is perhaps indicative of the authors' viewpoint. In both Erart and Adam de la Halle the shepherds and/or shepherdess seem to have the upper hand. In a society that was at once very

¹⁹ See —Chapter 2: Adam de la Halle's *Jeu de Robin et Marion* in *The Medieval Pastourelle* (2009).

top-heavy along the lines of the power structure but also could boast a citizenry that was innovative, prosperous, and industrious, these authors were inspired to examine the pastourelle and elaborate on the motif, pushing beyond its traditional definition by offering pastoral plays, for even a few of Erart's pastourelles can be seen as having more in common with a shepherd's play than with the traditional genre.

Jehan Erart's Pastourelles: Tradition and Innovation

The twenty-five poems that are attributed to Jehan Erart can be found in ten different manuscripts. The majority of the pastourelles (six out of eleven) can be found in Paris, B.N., f.fr. 844. The others are found in numerous manuscripts (Newcombe 19). Erart's pastourelles exhibit a greater variety than do most other poets'. Additionally, they seem to call upon the motifs common to the pastoral mode quite often—the prevalence of music, the shepherdess singing, playing the typical pastoral instruments (the flute, the pipe), depicted as one with the natural environment. Erart's literary language is —~~une~~ "tée de picardismes" (29). In his edition, Newcombe offers an intricate and detailed examination of the metrics of Erart's poetry. While it is an invaluable source regarding technique, there is no thematic examination or analysis and the remarks on the individual poetic compositions are brief and predominantly technical or related to the manuscripts. Newcombe has not offered any translations either into French or English. The only other source I could find at the time of this study is Paden's anthology in which he has recorded and translated five of the ten pastourelles Erart composed, however once more the notes are cursory. The reason why Paden did not include the other pastourelles that Erart wrote is unclear. I hope to elaborate the study of Erart by offering an interpretive analysis of the pastourelles.

Orality is once more at the core of the pastoral in Erart's compositions, and it takes on a variety of forms. Not only is there the requisite dialogue throughout—there is often reference to music, either that the shepherdess is singing or playing an instrument or both. In *—L'—autre ier chevauchai mon chemin*,” (52-3) the shepherdess does not contemplate her emotions in silence—on the contrary, she performs a song for her hidden audience, the knight. Erart, as is common with the other poets, gives his shepherdess a voice, and she uses it. While she is being watched without her knowledge, Erart seems to be modeling through the knight what the medieval audience would do when the jongleur sings the pastourelle. The knight's role is double—at once he represents the audience reception and he models the poetic process. The knight emphasizes that he speaks only because he hears her—her music has spurred him to speak: *—Qand je l'—oĩ si dementer / Adonc li dis*” (vv. 37-8). First he hears, then he speaks—as though the poet actually heard her and then was inspired to write, for what the knight/poet says becomes written word. Another possible interpretation is that it refers to the medieval conception of *—rewriting*”: Erart heard singing in a pastourelle and then wrote his own account, entering into the fiction himself.

The element of performance and spectacle, albeit supposedly inadvertent, recalls the nature of the text. She has a flute (*—frestel*”) and pipe (*—ehalemel*”) and the knight notes that she sang *—bein et bel*” (vv. 7-9). These common items of the pastoral mode situate the work clearly within the larger tradition. Moreover, these details all contribute to the musicality, underlining the accompaniment that Newcombe sees as essential to the understanding of the work. I differ from Newcombe on this point— granted, in order to be *—read*” as was intended, the music is important; however, much may be learned from the text itself. Orality, in the form of music and dialogue, is central in inciting the action. The knight/poet always hears the shepherdess, and his hearing is accompanied by sight which then provokes him to enter the pastoral frame. The

performative nature of the communication also sets the tone for what follows, reminding the audience of the fictionality of the work and the theatricality of the form, that element of spectacle implicit within pastoral.

The natural setting is also evocative of the pastoral—in this particular poem, the poet/knight finds his shepherdess seated under a pine wearing a hat she made of a branch (*—d'un ramissel / ot fait chapel*" vv. 4-5). While he listens to her the knight takes a position under a *—fraisnel*" (an ash) and he listens to her voice resonate in the wood (*—Sa vois retentist el boschel*" v. 15). What delights and attracts the knight are the shepherdess' natural qualities—her innate talent for music and her natural beauty. The poem takes place during the traditional springtime setting—May, as the shepherdess informs us in her song (v. 23). The poet tells us from the beginning that it was *—l'autre ier*" (the other day) as he was riding that he came across her. This indeterminate setting in the not too distant past is characteristic of the pastourelle and again acknowledges the distance and separation between the present telling and the past action of the poem. It is not, however, too distant or too far in the past. Rather than a golden age far removed from the unpleasantness of the contemporary, the medieval pastourelle revels in it; the knight need never wander too far away from his present to come upon the pastoral woods. Everything about the experience emphasizes that it is a brief sojourn into another world, one at once familiar to the medieval audience and indeterminate or foreign in that it is outside the walls and thus beyond the reach of the court and the law. Details are added to contribute to the verisimilitude, however the marginality of the pastoral setting, the otherness of the shepherdess, and her surroundings seem at odds with the familiarity ~~readers~~" would have had with the setting and situation, common topoi of the pastoral mode. The *locus amoenus* would have been familiar to medieval audiences as reminiscent of not only the courtly lyric but also the romance and the

epic. The juxtaposition between the familiar and the other/marginal recalls the prevalence of conflicting themes or elements present in earlier pastoral.

In Erart's pastourelle, the shepherdess suffers because Robin²⁰ has not returned her affection and her song is a lament. The knight appears then, encouraging her to leave Robin and to choose him instead as a lover, promising much, although what exactly is not specified. There is no rape here. The poet tells us:

Tant dis
et pramis
qu'entre mes bras doucement le saisis;
sor l'erbe verdoiant la mis,
les ex li baisai et puis le vis ;
lors me sambla que fusse en paradis.
De li fui espris
s'en pris et repris.
Puis li dis, —N'aurez pis.”
Ele jete un ris
si dit, —Me amis
serez mais toz dis!” (vv. 45-56)

For both the union is mutually satisfying. There is talk of remaining lovers. He feels as though he were in paradise when with her. The mention of the sacred in relation to the profane is an interesting combination and it underlines the depth of feeling, even if only in the moment. Loss

²⁰ Robin was a typical name used for the shepherd in the French pastourelle, just as Marion was a very common name for the shepherdess.

is still present—the shepherdess has lost Robin, however she replaces him with another “worthier” lover.

The next poem in Erart’s collection is “~~P~~ar un tres bel jour de mai.” The scenario is similar, however here the setting of time (the season) is the first thing mentioned. He once more finds the shepherdess singing and the use of the verb “~~t~~rouver” recalls the meaning of not only “~~t~~o find” but also “~~t~~o compose,” hence the term “~~t~~rouvère” for a poet (in Occitan: trobar / troubadour). When he tells us “~~E~~t trouvai les son bregier / une bregerete / qui mult ert doucete” (vv. 5-7) then he is at once indicating that he found and composed. There is a multiplicity of meaning, underlining the act of composing the poem and hinting at a metaliterary awareness on the part of the poet when he writes the pastourelle. Combining these two meanings, the poet hints that he “~~f~~ound” the pastourelle and that he is merely rewriting it, recording a composition already finished, a reminder of the importance of rewriting and the esteem with which it was considered. The reference might even be self-referential, recalling his own composition.

Once more as in other pastourelles a gift is offered, although rather than a vague mention of promises made giving way to two lovers sharing a moment together as in the first pastourelle, here the poet offers her “~~b~~urnete.” According to Newcombe, burnete was “une fine étoffe teinte, de couleur sombre,” and he asserts, “Le chevalier offre à la bergère quelque chose qui soit fortement à désirer” (57). Smith discusses the theme of the bribe in her work and she indicates that bribes in the pastourelle function as “straight-forward offers of material goods in exchange for sexual favors. When the knight introduces into the shepherd milieu objects that are culturally coded to evoke his aristocratic world, their function as a lure indicates that they are not only different, but superior” (28). Smith highlights the most common forms of bribe: clothing, money, and promises of marriage (29-30). While she asserts that they underline the “social

dominance and the material trump card” the poet/knight holds, I believe that their function might have multiple purposes. The primary is of course persuasion. Such an offering, which today seems meaningless at best, at the time might well have been considered very fair, and indeed such is the reaction of some of the shepherdesses. It is also reminiscent of the knight’s or seigneur’s duty towards the peasants—he must exhibit *largesse*, generosity, both of spirit and materially. That he asks for something in return might seem to undermine this, however through *largesse* the seigneur ultimately hopes to gain and maintain allegiance and loyalty, necessary to survival in a feudal society. This —libe” might not have been seen in such a negative light as is attributed to it today. Returning to our poem, the knight proposes she love him in return, or at least be willing to offer recompense. The exchange seems commercial to our modern sensibilities, but one must remember context. In any case, the offer seems to work. She tires of awaiting Robin’s return, and so she makes advances towards the knight. Once more the loss of the shepherd Robin turns to profit for the wandering knight.

In “*Dalés loncpré u boskel*,” the shepherdess sings again, her song making up the refrain repeated at the end of each stanza. This structurally recalls the preceding pastourelle. In Erart’s pastourelles the shepherdess’s song seems to echo his own, running through his pastourelle and lending to the multiplicity of compositions. Both the knight and the shepherdess —compose” songs; however, the shepherdess’ song is only heard because the knight/poet records it for the courtly audience. It is through the poet’s perspective, through his song (hers tempered by his voice) that the audience is able to hear her song. From the outset of this song the knight’s presence reads in a more imposing fashion than in the previous two. He opens by noting the setting and having come upon the girl (“*une jolie tousete*”) —mener grant revel / en mi un sentier” (vv. 3-4), he quickly thanks God that she is alone! Clearly for the knight the shepherd’s presence

would spell defeat or discourage him from even trying. If his reaction weren't clear enough, her song, repeated throughout, foreshadows the truth: *–Robin cui je doi amer, / tu pués bien trop demourer.*” The mournful song reveals that her shepherd stays away too long, leaving her undefended against the undesired advances of the knight. The latter offers her his *–ehapel*” to introduce himself and then, catching sight of her *–mamelete / ki lieve sa cotelete*” (vv. 17-18) he tries to embrace her. His introduction is made through material goods. She tries to remind him of the clear social and class differences between them as well as tell him that she has a lover, the missing Robin. However, Robin is not completely absent from the tale. They hear him *–soun sa musete*” (v. 41) nearby. The knight ignores her protests, giving her his *–eainture*” and *–anel*” and then having his way with her, despite her protests. In fact, her protests seem to spur him on. When he leaves he hears again her song echo through the woods: *–Robin cui je doi amer, / tu pués bien trop demourer.*” It is the only reaction on her part in the end—the only way her voice is heard is through song once more, and that is how the audience last hears her; it's also the last thing they hear at all in the song. She has the last say, and the last say is powerful. The effect on the modern reader is a bit chilling and sad. Even in the light of the medieval context it must be recognized that her lover, the one she *–must love*” can indeed stay away too long and such a lapse of judgment on his part ultimately leads to her downfall. Perhaps here we can read a warning about the dangers of a wandering knight, one who clearly does not recall any of the rules of courtly love, rules that would not apply in the strictest sense to a non-noble but that should dictate the conduct of the noble. Here, on the margins of civilization in the pastoral wood, the knight finds the opportunity to ignore the rules that, by escaping the trappings of the court, he no longer feels bound to obey.

–Les le brueill” features a continuously shifting refrain that parallels the shepherdess’s shifting frame of mind from staunchly turning the knight down:

–Se je chant j’ai bel ami,

Doëte est main levee

J’ai m’amor assenee” (vv. 15-17)

and later:

–Ce ne doit on mie faire

S’amor doner et retraire” (vv. 32-3)

to giving the knight hope should her shepherd be gone too long:

–Amis, vostre demoree

Me fera faire autre ami.” (vv. 48-9)

That she addresses her absent lover recalls Theocritus’ and Virgil’s pastoral scenes and adds another level of dialogue to the poem. In many of the pastourelles the shepherdess seems to be already promised to another shepherd and the knight, either by force or by her choice (concession), often takes her away. This leads to two considerations: one, there is an inherent danger for the shepherd who leaves his shepherdess alone without supervision. Women left alone in the woods, away from the protection of the court, are often in danger in medieval literature. As beautiful as the woods may be, they symbolize a threat, a risk to a woman’s safety. They are beyond the safety of civilization. Taken as representative of the fictional process, once more there is peril when a woman is depicted alone beyond the protection of a space that has been civilized by man, either a garden or a city or a castle. What is unknown represents danger to the –fair” sex, and thus it is the responsibility of her lover to ensure her safety by remaining nearby. The shepherd is lax in his duties, therefore unworthy of her companionship. The flip side to this

is that she might be deemed untrustworthy—she is not constant as are the ladies in the *chansons de geste* or the courtly lyric. However, more seems to be said about the shepherd by his very absence and the presence of the knight. The knight is always associated with the courtly love tradition and his prowess, his courtliness. When he seems to contradict this behavior we have one of two possible reactions—either, because it is unexpected and reverses the natural order of the world, the audience finds humor in his depiction: the knight who is always seen as having such restraint and self-control loses his head over a mere shepherdess; or he remembers the proper mode of behavior and speaks to the shepherdess in a courtly fashion, again provoking a role-reversal that turns the courtly tradition on its head and once more causes a humorous situation. The medieval audience is accustomed to seeing the knight win—if a shepherdess foils him it is laughable. If he wins by having to resort to force over a shepherdess then once more the situation is so completely preposterous that it provokes laughter and is reminiscent of the *fabliaux*. Tristan would never have compromised himself by romping about the woods with some unimportant shepherdess. One cannot even imagine Erec ignoring Enide in preference to a rendezvous in the woods. The pastourelle depicts what by medieval terms is the absurd. It is an aspect that is overlooked by both Gravdal and Paden, however I feel it is core to the medieval definition of the pastourelle—it was meant to entertain, and as the fabliau also reversed the natural order of medieval life, so did the pastourelle.

Another interesting component in Erart's pastourelles is the importance of music. The shepherdess always sings and often plays a typical pastoral instrument—a flute or a pipe. Sound and music, the emphasis on orality and on hearing the pastourelle is implicit in its composition. Nowhere is this clearer than in —Atans novel.” Once more the newness of the season is upon us and the shepherdess' refrain actually emphasizes sound over meaning:

Si chante et note: —Drenlot!

Eo, eo, aé, aé, o, o ! dorenlot!

D'amors me doint Deus joie! (vv. 9-11)

Such is the case in —D'pascour un jour erroie" also; the refrain exemplifies sound over meaning and recalls the song of the birds but also the musical composition:

Et dont do do do do do do do do do do

Et dont do do do do do,

De la lupinele. (vv. 10-2)

The pastourelle describes a festival or party organized by the shepherds. Newcombe proposes that *lupinele* designates "~~une~~ sorte de chanson" rather than a musical instrument suggested by earlier scholars (83). Either way, music takes center stage from the very beginning with the knight/poet describing the various instruments (~~p~~ipe, muse, calemel") that the shepherds use and that each is accompanied by their ~~a~~mi." Granted, this may not fall into the category of a ~~c~~lassical" pastourelle as Paden defines it, however it does certainly belong to the pastoral tradition. The knight describes the shepherds celebrating and orality manifests itself not in the form of dialogue but in the form of song and in the refrain. The musicality of Erart's compositional style apexes here where sound, sheer sound, becomes the central note to the refrain. The sounds of the shepherdess' song in "~~A~~l tans novel" and the music of the instrument or of the song (depending on the interpretation one prefers) are so important that the poet endeavors to capture them in the text. If the importance of orality to the pastourelle were still in question, clearly these pastourelles demonstrate its significance for the genre and, by extension, for the mode.

Perhaps the most delicate interaction between shepherdess and knight in Erart's pastoral works is *—L'autrier une pastorele.* It begins with the knight distracted from his thoughts by the pretty shepherdess and he demands repayment for his loss:

[...] *—Damoisele,*
Tolu m'avez mon pensé,
Comment m'iert guerredoné?" (vv. 6-8)

In *ancien français*, *—guerdon* meant *—compense,* or *—reward.* By using *—guerredoné,* the reader has the impression that the knight requires compensation from the shepherdess who has distracted him not from idle thoughts but from contemplation of his lady.

In repayment the shepherdess offers to become the knight's lover if he promises to be true to her, however he resists. He explains that his heart is not free to give, but if it were he would be tempted:

—Bele, je vos mentiroie
Sel vos avoie en convent,
Car mes cuers aillors s'otroie,
Sachiez tot entirement ;
Mais sachiez a escient
Que volentiers le feroie
Se j'eüsse pensement
De mon cuer qui aillors tent." (vv. 17-24)

The knight here exemplifies the courtly behavior and attitude that one expects from a knight. He is truly devoted to his lady and, despite his interest, graciously explains to the shepherdess that his heart belongs to another. The shepherdess's response is equally charming: she suggests that

they pray together to “Dieu le grant”, that he may find great joy with his love and that she might find a devoted and loyal lover:

[—]Or proions a Dieu le grant
 Qu’il vos doint de l’amor joie
 Ou je vos trovai pensant,
 Et moi doint loial amant.” (vv. 29-32)

The key element in her response is the use of the verb “trover”—she shares in his discovery of the other and in the act of composition. Moreover, the social divide between the two fades here as they come together in prayer.

The last three pastourelles all diverge from the “classical” model proposed by Paden. In the first, “Pastorel” a young shepherd laments that his “Ble Mariete” has left him for another. The knight finds the shepherd seated in the woods suffering and lamenting. The poet, in an unusual choice, has recorded for all intents and purposes Robin’s response to the earlier pastourelles. The entirety of the pastourelle is rather conventional and brief in its content—however, it is notable for two reasons. The first is the change in voice: here is a shepherd, not a shepherdess, so an exchange of the feminine for the masculine perspective. Secondly, his lament dominates the short composition and recalls classical pastoral compositions in its form. It also foreshadows scenes that are very frequent in Sannazaro’s *Arcadia*.

In “El mois de mai par un matin,” once more the primary characters do not follow the standard. The reader is presented with a love triangle comprising of the shepherdess, Marion, and the two shepherds, Robin and Guiot. There is no knight present and narration dominates the form, in particular in the first half of the pastourelle. Nonetheless, music and orality are still notable in the poem: all the characters sing refrains and the shepherds play their instruments—

Guiot plays his ~~—muse~~” and Robin plays his ~~—festele~~.” The love triangle is fairly commonplace: both shepherds love Marion but she has given her heart to Robin. What is unusual is the menace that Guiot represents, insulting Marion’s choice:

~~—~~Marion, mains fez a prisier
 Que fame qui soit nee,
 Quant pour Robinet ce bergier
 Es si asseüree.” (vv. 44-8)

His critique of Marion, demeaning her through her choice of lover, not only illustrates his jealousy but portrays a side of love not often depicted in the courtly love lyric—the petty anger and envy that is extremely realistic. Loss does not take the form of a loss of virginity through a sexual encounter—rather, it is in the shepherd Guiot that loss resonates. He loses the girl and she seeks comfort in the arms of Robin: ~~—~~Maion contre lui ala, / Et Robin deus foiz la besa” (vv. 62-3). The poem ends with Robin’s refrain to Marion, ~~—~~Suer Marion, / Vous avez mon cuer / Et j’ai vostre amor en ma prison” (vv. 64-6). Erart offers a different depiction of love, one familiar and tender and very different from both the courtly love between knight and lady and the uneven relationship between knight and shepherdess.

The final pastourelle, ~~—~~Au tens Pascor” (~~—~~In Easter time”) subtly links the Christian celebration of Easter with the pastoral celebration of the shepherds described in the poem. The poet plays the role of observer here. This pastourelle is an interesting composition for it is basically divided in two parts. In the first part (strophes I-III) the knight/poet happens upon three shepherds (Guiot, Perrin, and Roger) who, after their meal, declare that there will be a celebration and dance. Guiot (shortened to Gui) plays the bagpipe (~~—~~la muse”) and his bell and pipe (~~—~~la clochete et au frestel”) (vv. 11-12) and leads the dance and band with the chorus:

–Cibalala duriaus duriaus, / Cibalala durie” (vv. 15-16). It is repeated at the end of each strophe. The dance and music are central to the pastourelle. The other component of the story is the dueling between Perrin and Roger. Roger wants to give Sarah a belt to show his affection, however Perrin tells him that Sarah will be engaged soon (to him!).

In the second part of the pastourelle (strophes IV-VI), the two scenarios set up in the first part come to fruition in a way that not only challenges the readers’ conceptions of the pastourelle but provokes thought on the title of the piece. The dance gets underway with Gui cheerfully leading the dances. Roger, however, is angry with Perrin regarding Sarah and by the end of the episode he has begun to beat up Perrin and a large fight breaks out. The celebration and music give way to a fist fight where –doné maint chembel” (v. 80). The knight backs away to watch the fight but does not interfere. His role is merely that of an observer. In the end even Gui gets mad and his bagpipe is split with a knife (vv. 81-2). What should be a happy celebration turns into a knockdown brawl and the lawlessness inherent outside the city walls becomes even more apparent in this pastourelle where the knight refuses to interfere—he merely watches them fight. Elements of the *fabliaux* and the comic resonate in the farcical fight, underscoring the element of entertainment inherent to the pastourelle.

While not always conforming to the –classical” definition, Erart’s pastourelles demonstrate a variety of style worthy of further study. Moreover, the trouvère experiments with the mode in a way that is unprecedented in the medieval period, contributing a richness and multiplicity of meaning to the genre. Loss, orality, and spectacle are all central in Erart’s pastoral poetry. In studying Erart’s works, one can determine new ways of approaching other examples of the genre. The next author, Guiraut Riquier, also offers a novel approach to the pastourelle, a unified examination over time of the knight and the shepherdess.

Chapter 3

Reinventing the Pastourelle

Six Walks in the Pastoral Woods: The pastorelas of Guiraut Riquier

The knight enters the scene. He sees the young shepherdess, beautiful and alone next to the river. They speak and their dialogue occupies the majority of the scene as well as the five following scenes. While this may resemble the description of a play, this is neither a comedy nor a drama. This is a cycle of *pastorelas* written by Guiraut Riquier between 1260 and 1282.

Riquier was born in Narbonne and travelled among various courts in southern France, including Narbonne, as well as in Toledo, capital of the kingdom of Castille (Paden, *Medieval Pastourelle II* 620). He is often referred to as the “last troubadour” (Holmes, *Assembling the Lyric Self* 103).

A work well known and among the most appreciated of the author (Bossy 149), there is nonetheless a gap in the research regarding Riquier’s pastoral cycle. The importance of the work, in particular with regard to the “libre” of the poet, is duly noted, but there is missing, for example, an explanation on the importance of the theatricality of the cycle. One critic, Rouben Cholakian, notes this very fact but it does not figure greatly in his study. Rather he concentrates on the fragmentation of the “je”. However, what he does note prepares the way for our own study. He identifies the cycle as a “six-part psycho-drama of gender relations” (153). He elaborates later:

Riquier [in the first pastorela] speaks as both artist and lover, and the woman responds as both desiring and censuring female. But all of the personae are part of the internal turmoil which is being acted out in a theatrical representation of the

paradoxes of the *fin'amors* system. (160)

Nonetheless, the theatricality of the work is not really examined although it plays an important role within the cycle. Through an analysis of the *mise en scène*, the use of dialogue, and the plurality of the characters, one can arrive at a clearer view of the theatrical and oral nature of the work. I propose that the troubadour made certain choices in order to underline a double concern: the decline of the *fin'amors* system, his culture, and his literature that parallels the decline of the aristocracy and the ascension of the bourgeoisie.

The pastourelle, defined by the ancients clearly and precisely, is always acknowledged as having certain characteristics. Michel Zink offers a synthesis of the definitions offered by Raimon Vidal in his *Razos de Trobar* and Guillaume Molinier in his *Leys d'Amors* that bears repeating; he tells us that the pastourelle at its core is a *“requête d'amour s'adressant à une bergère et l'échange de moqueries et de propos piquants qui s'en suit, le tout présenté sur le mode plaisant”* (27). However, Riquier's cycle of *pastorelas*, although there are points of resemblance, tend to challenge this definition. For example, as Michel-André Bossy observes, *“An important feature of the pastorela cycle is that it dramatizes how the poet-redactor learns to hone his skills of thematic and metrical control. Pastorela II illustrates this apprenticeship, almost in terms of a comic fable”* (153).

The most shocking divergence from the *“classically”* conceived genre is to be found in his treatment of the setting. According to the medieval conception of the pastourelle, it always takes place within a bucolic frame where the poet-lover finds the shepherdess, alone watching her flock (whatever the flock may be). Riquier's cycle begins in this fashion: *“L'autre jorn m'anava / peruna ribeira [...] Vi guaya bergeira, / bell'e plazenteira, / sos anhels gardan”* (I, 1-

²¹); and the structure recurs at the beginning of the following pastorelas: –L'autrier trobey la bergeira d'antan. [...] –Toz', aissi etz vostres anhelhs gardan!"" (II, 1, 9), –Gaya pastorelha / trobey l'autre dia / en una ribeira" (III, 1-3), –L'autrier trobei la bergeira / [...] gardan anhelhs e sezia" (IV 1, 3). However, in the fourth pastorela the troubadour introduces a new element: a little girl. From the fourth pastorela through the sixth there is a development and evolution in the setting. In the fifth pastorela, the scene changes dramatically: –D'Astarac venia / l'autrier vas la Ylla / pel camin romieu, / e pres de la via / desotz una trilla / vi (e no.m fon grieu) / la bergeira mia / que sec ab sa filha" (V, 1-8). The road that brought the poet-lover and took him away again in the first four pastorelas here brings the shepherdess and her daughter. The riverside is no longer the setting for the encounters between the shepherdess and her poet-lover. Instead of the poet-lover coming by the path to find her in the field next to the river he meets her with her daughter in the road, at mid-point, on her return from her pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. Moreover, this and the sixth pastorela are unusual in that they mention an actual location, a real, specified place. Typically the pastourelle is never specific—the setting is almost always vague. Such a development signals a shift in content. The shift in setting parallels the evolution of the character of the shepherdess. The young shepherdess is transformed into a mother, religiously conscientious and concerned with the sociopolitical preoccupations of the period. The sacred here enters the pastorela and in the same way that the woman is transformed so is the scene.

In Pastorela VI, from the familiar *locus amoenus* with which the reader of the pastourelle are well-acquainted they are transported to a place more common to the *sirventes* that recalls the bourgeois setting. The reader finds themselves at the hotel of the old shepherdess (who is now the hostess and merits the greeting –Pro femna"):

²¹ All citations of the pastorelas come from Paden's edition, *The Medieval Pastrouelle*, vol. 2 (1987) with the exception of those by Jehan Erart that come from his collection (ed. T. Newcombe, 1972).

A Saint Pos de Tomeiras
 vengui l'autre dia
 de plueja totz mullatz,
 en poder d'ostaleyras
 qu'ieu no conoyssia ;
 [...] mas quasquna.m fazia
 los plazers que sabia
 tro fuy albergatz. (VI, 1-5 ; 10-12)

The change in setting parallels the change in the shepherdess. She has always been identified by the poet as one who mocks him. In the fifth pastorela, however, her concerns have turned to the divine and she admonishes Riquier for lingering on the pastorela when his songs should sing not of her but of God: —Serher, per drechura / de Dieu, si-us membrava, / fosson vostre chan!"" (V, 52-4) and again: —En Guiraut Riquier, lassa / suy quart ant seguetz trassa / d'aquestz leugiers chantars"" (VI, 74-6). She tires of him singing these "frivolous songs" when his thoughts should be occupied with more serious matters. Clearly, the real, empirical poet's mind is plagued by these serious thoughts. However, rather than voicing them himself he has his shepherdess act as the sage who admonishes her poet to turn to God. Such a concern inevitably reminds the reader of Dante and Beatrice in the *Vita Nuova* and the *Commedia*. The *Vita Nuova* was composed between 1292-1295 (Cervigni and Vasta 4), however the possible interrelation and mutual influence of Riquier's works and earlier Italian works (such as Guittone d'Arezzo) has been examined by several scholars. Olivia Holmes asserts:

Riquier may have been familiar with contemporary developments in Italian lyric
 [...]. A channel of communication between the Tuscan city-states and the court of

Narbonne, with which Riquier was long associated, existed in the person of Aimeric of Narbonne, son of Riquier's patron, who was military commander of the Florentine Guelphs for a time and whose martial successes are celebrated by the troubadour. (*Assembling the Lyric Self*, 103)

Both Michel-André Bossy and Lino Leonardi have explored this avenue of study. Bossy proposes that the Occitan poets influenced the Italian whereas Leonardi argues that the Italian poets influenced the Occitan (cit. Holmes, *Assembling the Lyric Self*, 207). Either way, it seems clear that the two cultures and literatures were aware of each other and influenced by each other.

Returning to the pastorelas of Riquier, by varying the setting, the troubadour extends the genre. Thus, the pastorelas of Riquier surpass the traditional limits and the poet indicates to the reader that this cycle will not belong solely to the genre of the pastourelle. Such indications are supported through lexical choices in the later pastorelas. For example, in the last pastorela, Riquier tells the shepherdess that their ~~ten~~sa" has pleased the count of Astarac. This reference recalls the lyric genre of the tenso, a poetic debate. This process of evolution at the level of the setting is imitated in the poet's awareness of time, in particular of the passing of time. While in the traditional pastourelle the only awareness of time is in setting the encounter in the recent past, Riquier's cycles go beyond this consideration. The setting and the characters both change. The poet does not require that his invention remains always the same, stable, fixed, a common characteristic among the poets of the pastorelas and even of the *cansos* where the lady does not change and the poet either begs her to remain as she is and never change (an impossibility that defies nature) or to change to his design (an imposition that is not often, if ever, conceded). These poems tend to capture a moment in time and while they may look briefly into the past they never really confront the passing of time. However, in Riquier's work, the shepherdess changes

from poem to poem just as the setting and the structure change. This fluidity on the part of the poet underlines his intent to highlight his awareness of the historical context and the passing of time. This notion of the historical context reveals his conception of time, the subject of Olivia Holmes' studies. Guiraut Riquier offers the modern reader a richness without precedent since he dates his poems. In her article, "The Representation of Time in the *Libre* of Guiraut Riquier," Holmes underlines the unified nature of the *Libre* of Riquier that the troubadour seems to have organized himself, and she finds significant the fact that in the manuscript BnF fr.856 the book is identified as "*lo cans*" in the singular even though the book is composed of a variety of poems of diverse forms: "*Aissi comensan lo cans den: / Guiraut riquier de narbona / en aissi cum es de cansos. e de uerses. e de pastorelas. e de retroenchas. e de descrotz. e dal / bas. e dautras diuersas obras [...]*" (cit. Holmes 126). Holmes offers the following explanation:

The first verb "*comensan*," which is actually plural, is linked with a singular subject, "*lo cans*." [...] The grammatical inconsistency points to the underlying tension, in the poems (or poem?) which follow(s), between unity and multiplicity, between the poet's apparent efforts to make his poems cohere into an organic whole, a *libre*, and the fragmentary, non-narrative nature of both the individual lyrics and the entire multi-authored manuscript. (126)

Holmes notes that Riquier demonstrates a certain affinity for the forms linked as *coblas capcaudadas*²² or *capfinidas*²³ and proposes that this tendency is an indication of his preoccupation with the stability of the text and of the passage from oral to written. However, she remarks that the conception of time is double and contradictory:

²² In a *coblas capcaudadas*, the rhyme sound rather than a refrain word links the end of one stanza to the beginning of the next" (Van Vleck 109).

²³ In the *coblas capfinidas*, the final word of each stanza is repeated in the first line of the next. Van Vleck points out that such a use strengthens "the hearer's sense of continuity both in sound and in meaning" (103).

[...] it is in the nature of the written text both to mimic time and to stop it, to immortalize and to kill: beginning, end, and all points in between exist at once. Time is represented spatially, or linearly, by the sequence of letters from left to right and top to bottom, and every moment can be taken in at one glance (unless one has to turn the page), as if by God's eye. This is unlike the nature of spoken or sung performance in which one moment in the text necessarily follows another in time, and moments cannot coincide, although they are endlessly repeatable (and endlessly variable). (129)

Holmes envisions the conversion of the poet-lover from physical love to divine love, a change that takes place throughout the *libre*, like a figure of the transition from the oral to the written, underlined by the growth of the culture of the book (130). The *pastorelas*, written over twenty-two years and dated by the troubadour, underline this awareness of time. For example, Riquier permits the poet-lover and the shepherdess to age, and the way in which the two protagonists face this inevitability of life speaks volumes of the awareness of the troubadour. The *pastorelas* and the *pastourelle* protagonists are usually forever young. Here the poet allows growth in a genre that could at times seem two-dimensional. These characters demonstrate a dramatic arc. They are not fixed and agreeable figures of a genre preoccupied with *le divertissement*. On the contrary, the poet gives them a life, a stroke of realism that seems to be pulled from a play that represents the world as it is and as he sees it.

In order to examine the dramatic arc of the characters in relation to the cycle, it is necessary to consider the cycle as the entire work. Of course, each *pastorela* is a complete work that can be considered independently of the others, but in order to really seize upon the complete sense and meaning that Riquier contributes it is necessary to evaluate it as a whole. Such is the

model that Cholakian and Bossy offer. As the latter notes, “From random encounters emerge six dialogues which are richly cumulative” (149). These two scholars are concerned with comparing the pastorelas to other examples within Riquier’s complete oeuvre and in situating them therein, however I limit my remarks to the cycle itself. Bossy notes that there is a refined relation between the pastorelas with regard to the form: “Equally striking is the inner geometry of the pastorela cycle. Taken as a set, the six pastorelas display a remarkable degree of metrical symmetry” and proposes that the central principle is a “scheme of nesting” (160). This formal link underlines the connection between the poems. Bossy demonstrates the sophistication of the formal organization noting that the first and the sixth poems are *coblas singulares*, the second and the fifth are *coblas capcaudadas*, and to describe the third and the fourth poems he adopts a neologism: *coblas capcorporadas* since each strophe derives the first rhyme from the penultimate preceding rhyme (160-1). This structure of nesting and formal interlacing is imitated in each pastorela at the level of narration. Cholakian notes a plurality of the “je” and proposes that each character represents a fragmentation of the poet. While I may differ from this thesis slightly since Cholakian tries to apply a very modern psychoanalytical approach to a medieval work that seems to us slightly problematic, it must be recognized nonetheless that there exists a plurality at the narrative level. I offer, therefore, a model of the narrative structure of the pastoral cycle that demonstrates the frame of the text²⁴:

²⁴ I follow the concept of the empirical author as envisaged by Umberto Eco in his work, *Six Walks in the Fictional Woods* (Cambridge: Harvard U.P., 2004).

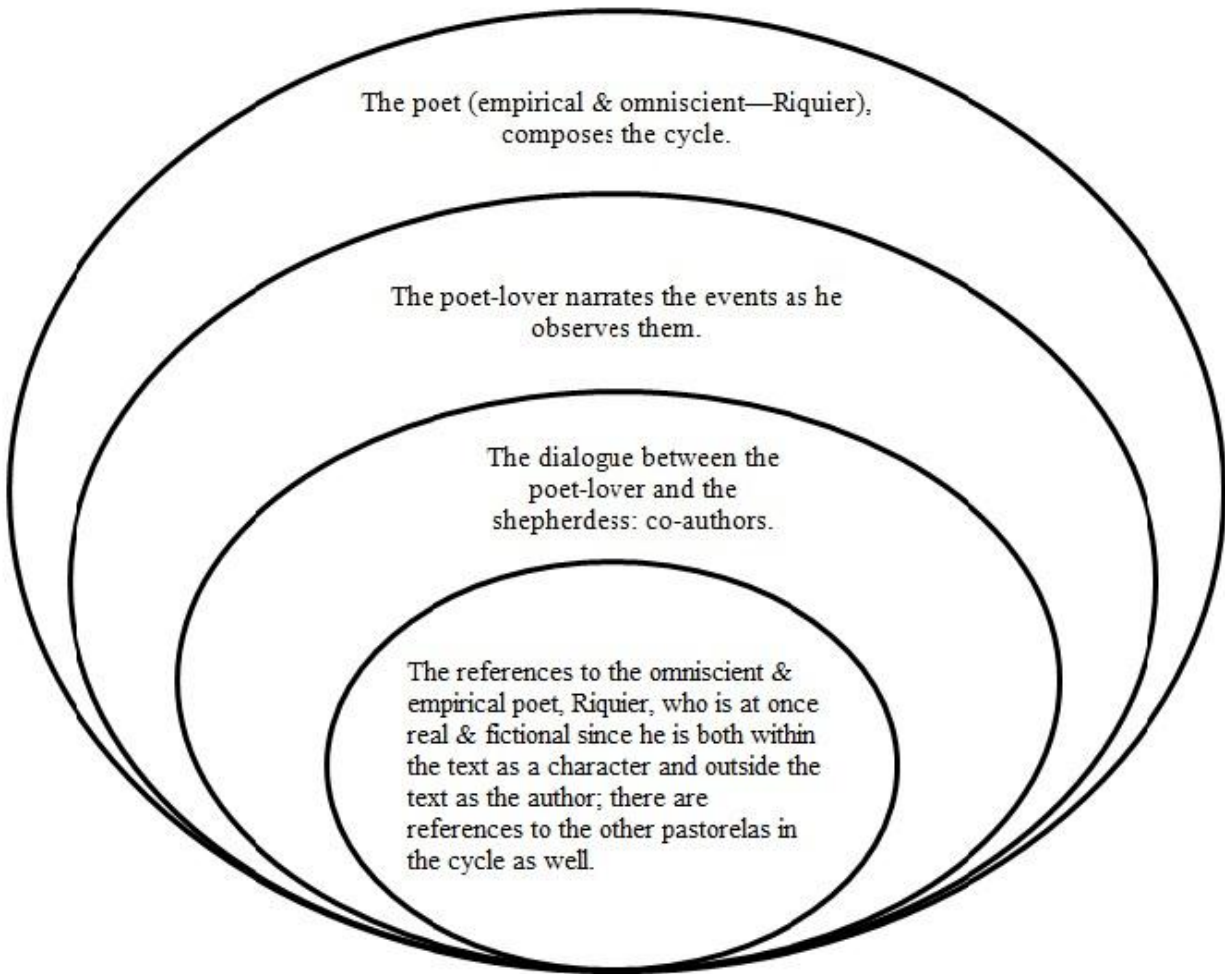


Figure 1: Narrative Structure of Guiraut Riquier's Pastorela Cycle.

This structure and organization within each pastorela recalls those more formal of the cycle. The narrative plurality conceived by Riquier demonstrates the rich complexity of his work, not only at the formal level but at the structural one. Moreover, the awareness on the part of the poet of the plural narration underlines the dramatic nature of the scene that he illustrates. It is not one sole troubadour who sings of an impossible love for his lady. On the contrary, the poet presents a lively dialogue between two characters from very different social classes. In addition, it is a frame that is purely fictional that the poet acknowledges. In choosing the pastorela, a genre recognized as fictional and whose goal was for entertainment according to the definitions of the period, Riquier enters in the domain of fiction. The readers know that the shepherdess is an invention of the poet because the inventor is relatively explicit: —“autre jorn m’anava / per una ribeira / soletz delichan, / qu’amors me menava / per aital maneira / que pesses de chan” (vv. 1-6). The use of the word —chan” is noteworthy since the poet thus signals a double meaning here and offers a clue to the discreet reader: that is, the poet is perhaps actually singing, however the word also indicates —trobar,” meaning to compose a poem. Thus, the poet enters in this pseudo-fictional world six times during twenty-two years and walks among his —fictional woods” speaking to his invention. As Holmes states of Riquier’s pastorella cycle, —“The sequence is thus a metanarrative, in which the self-conscious conventionality of the situation is offset by the illusion of the characters’ reality” (*Assembling the Lyric Self* 106). Riquier indicates to the reader that he is conscious of the fictional nature of his work from the beginning as indicated above and he reminds us often throughout the cycle: —“Toza, no.m cossire / tant qu’aisso entenda. / Etz ges la chantada ?” (III, vv. 57-9); —“autrier trobei la bergeira / que d’autras vetz ai trobada” (IV, vv. 1-2 ; and again in Pastorela IV, —“Toza, mos gaugz se comensa / quar selh per qui etz auzida / chantan sui hieu, ses duptansa” (vv. 37-8). In Pastorela V the shepherdess herself exhibits an

awareness of her own reality as a fictional invention: —Senher Guiraut, lassa, / Riquier, nom bergeira / suy d'aquest chantar » (vv. 36-8) (which underlines her metamorphosis from shepherdess to mother to hostess) to which he responds later in the same pastorela, —Tot farai rancura / de vos, qar m'es brava, / hueymais en chantan" (vv. 49-51). Furthermore, the shepherdess identifies the empirical author several times and makes reference to his songs and even to her own status as a fictional character: —Senher, tant aug dir d'en Guiraut Riquier / que, si no.us val, no fa ren que no deya" (II, vv. 53-4); —Senher, tanta rendra, / Riquier, tanta qe.us rendra / aital, quar suy fada" (III, vv. 66-8); —Senher, aital me dizia / en Guirautz Riquiers ab tensa, mas anc no.n fuy escarnida" (IV, vv. 28-30). This last citation comes from Pastorela IV where she pretends to have forgotten him as repayment for his forgetting her in the third. The last strophe of the sixth pastorela exemplifies this game between fiction and reality:

_Al pro comte agenensa
 d'Astarac nostra tensa,
 dona, q'om deu lauzar. »
 « Senher, sa grans valensa
 lo fai ab bevolensa
 a totas gens nomnar. '
 _Dona, si.l sa veziatz,
 saubessetz l'amparar ? '
 _Senher, ben auziriatz
 que n'ay en cor a far. ' (vv. 97-106)

The poet thus underlines the plurality of form, for although it is a pastorela, he mentions here the —ensa" which recalls the poetic form the *tenso*, a poetic genre in which a debate takes place

between two poets. Hence, the poet transmits creative power to his own creation and asks her if she knows now (after having participated in this *pastorela-tensa*?) how to greet and welcome the count d'Astarac, his/their patron. In this manner, the poet links a didactic goal to the cycle, a function often shared with dramatic literature of the period, in particular the religious theatre inspired by the lives of the saints.

A medieval reader, however, might have conceived the poet-narrator as a representation of the real poet. The *vidas* of the troubadours are full of details given as description of the life of the poet that are borrowed from their poems. There is in the *vida* an implicit mixing of reality and fiction. The lines between an author and his work were not so clearly distinguished as they are today. The choice of the *pastorela* contributes to this effect. The poet plays games with his creation and his reader through his choice of genre and form and thus reinforces the awareness of the poet that he is manipulating fiction. But why? I propose that Riquier's choices lead to the "effet de réel" or the effect of reality as conceived by Barthes. For example, by mentioning that the shepherdess watches her lambs, the poet does not contribute to the development of the *pastorela*, it is rather a means of emphasizing the verisimilitude. Another example is the detail with which he discusses the shepherdess' current life and her situation as hostess of the lodge in the last of the *pastorelas*. Hence, the troubadour creates a drama worthy of the *theatrum mundi* through his poetic cycle. The reader accepts the poet-narrator and the shepherdess as figures at once of their social class and in their role in the fictional world.

While there is a formal link that joins the *pastorelas* in a circular manner, the dramatic arc of the protagonists unifies them in a more linear fashion. The most tangible evidence of the progression and development of the characters is the way in which the poet-lover addresses the shepherdess. In the first four *pastorelas* she is —Tza," a common term used by other authors of

pastorelas. However, the shepherdess does not remain a shepherdess in this cycle. In the last two pastorelas she is older with a daughter who ages as well. Her naming varies as does the scene. In Pastorela V although the poet identifies her as *“la bergeira mia,”* in addressing her he calls her, *“Dona.”* In Pastorela VI she becomes *“Pro femna.”* This modification in the naming of the woman demonstrates not only a recognition on the part of the poet-narrator that the woman ages but also underlines the respect that the poet has for her.

The theatricality of the cycle is again brought to surface in the use of movement. Throughout there is a series of actions and reactions where the inventor and the invention seem to participate in a complex dance in order to maintain a certain distance. At times she wants to escape, in particular when his behavior is neither noble nor *“courtois.”* For example, in the first pastorela the poet follows the shepherdess up until the point that she must respond, *“Senher, for cochoza / son que fos partida / d’aquest parlamen !”* (vv. 46-8). However, he continues and finishes by menacing her with physical violence, *“Toza, forsa.m sen”* to which she responds, *“Senher, no.us er gen!”* (vv. 55-6). At the moment when he hears *“gen”* which recalls nobility and *“courtoisie,”* his behavior changes, he tells her that he doesn’t want her to fear him (v. 59) and makes reference to Belh Deport, the *“bon comportement”* (Holmes 130) in verse 65. Belh Deport is the *senhal* that the poet uses in the majority of his cansos and verses for his beloved lady, but here I suggest that it functions as a reminder of *fin’amors*. At the moment that he remembers the rules of behavior according to courtly love, the shepherdess reacts differently: *“Senher, mot m’agensa / vostra benvolensa, / qu’ar vos faitz grazir”* (vv. 66-8).

Movement is again central in the second pastorela: *“Senher, aquo es aissi quon ieu sai ; / mas cavalgatz e tenetz vostra via !”* / *“Toza, no vuelh anar; ans dissendrai.”* / *“Senher, que.us val er quan etz dissendutz ?”* / *“Toza, sapchatz que serai vostres drutz !”* (vv. 23-7). The menace of

physical violence is linked with movement, the intention of moving, and the act of having moved, reminiscent of theater and blocking. The shepherdess tries to reestablish the distance typical of a courtly relationship between the lady and the poet, a distance that the poet-narrator seems to want to transgress or break but that he never actually does. He always finishes by respecting the shepherdess and reminding himself (or she him) of courtly behavior. Thus, literature serves as a model for behavior. However, Riquier seems to launch a criticism here. The literary model works in the moment, but the effect does not remain: he is quick to forget himself from one pastorela to the next. There are two ways in which this message may be analyzed. Either the poet wants to indicate that one must find another model, as the shepherdess herself suggests in Pastorela V (where she reprimands the poet for not having focused enough on God) or, thanks to the cyclical nature of the pastorelas, it is necessary to read and reread in order to not forget.

This plurality of the message of the text has already been noted by Bossy: “As I have argued elsewhere, Riquier disposes his poems in such a way as to narrate two stories at once” (152). The doubling is evident throughout the pastoral cycle. For example, in Pastorela II the shepherdess employs a series of insults veiled under the disguise of a courtly dialogue (“Senher, no.us par que vivatz ses plazer” [v. 40]; “Senher, per mi sai tot vostre talan” [v. 56]) until the moment where she reveals that she knows he has been unfaithful (“Senher, altra n’ametz aterant yer” [v. 58]). The poet-narrator and the shepherdess(-poet) enter into a complicated game reminiscent of a tennis match. It revolves around certain juxtaposed topoi of the *fin’amors*: “ennoysensa” and “membransa”, patience and suffering, beauty and youth. This pairing recalls the doubling characteristic of the cycle, a doubling that Chloulakian argues reflects the paradoxes of the *fin’amors* (160). This doubling also recalls the nature of the pastoral mode. The first pair is

really developed in the third and fourth pastorelas. These two poems reflect one another. In the first it is the poet-narrator who seems to have forgotten the shepherdess. She avenges herself in the following poem where it is she who “pretends” not to recognize him. This doubling inevitably recalls the theatre that tries to represent the world as it is by way of a fiction.

In Riquier’s cycle the evolution of the courtly lyric tradition can be observed, beginning with desire and *fin’amors* in Pastorela I and concluding with spiritual love (Pastorela V and VI) which reflects the ascension of the cult of the Virgin prevalent towards the end of courtly literature and the medieval period. It also reveals a metaliterary awareness inherent to the pastoral mode. Moreover, the cycle seems to foreshadow the decline of the aristocracy, of the culture of the court, and of the dominance in literature of orality. The poet in the last pastorela cannot conceive of a future for himself and seems a bit lost. He is no longer in a familiar setting, that of the *locus amoenus*. Instead, he finds himself at the shepherdess’s business (vv. 87-9). However, the shepherdess can conceive of a future, through her daughter (vv. 58-60). The contrast is evident. The “ehans amars” no longer please the poet (he tries to ignore his age) whereas the shepherdess seems happy with her life and her old age. Thus, the troubadour underlines the decline of *fin’amors*, its culture, and its literature that parallels the decline of the aristocracy and is replaced by the ascension of the bourgeoisie in the figure of the shepherdess whose social rise is portrayed in the pastorela cycle. Through Riquier’s pastoral experimentation the reader becomes privy to the reality of the world in which the poet himself exists.

The Italian Pastorella: Transitioning Beyond the Pastourelle

The Italian pastorella tradition is far less extensive and varied than its northern counterparts. Paden counts merely five offerings that, according to his definition, fall into the

category of the pastourelle. I will examine three in particular by the three best-known authors, each having composed only one each: Cavalcanti's "In boschetto trova' pastorella," Dante's "Cavalcando l'altr'ier per un cammino," and Petrarch's "Non al suo amante più Diana piacque."

Guido Cavalcanti (c. 1255-1300) was a Florentine poet of the *dolce stil nuovo*. Dante hailed him as the "primo dei miei amici" (*Vita nuova* III e passim). Dante recognizes Cavalcanti and Guinizelli as important precedents, Guinizelli because he was the *caposcuola*, Cavalcanti because he develops and elaborates on the lyric of the *dolce stil nuovo*. Dante and Cavalcanti even exchanged sonnets. In his only pastorella "In un boschetto trova' pastorella," Cavalcanti begins with a very typical title. He launches into the description of the shepherdess in great detail. Despite the detail regarding the shepherdess there is no reference to the setting in the opening beyond the first line, "In un boschetto." Whether the narrator is a knight or not is unclear, however the shepherdess is far more amenable than usual. Moreover, she is eager to find a lover, linking her desire with the singing of the birds: "[...] _Sacci, quando l'augel pia, / allor disia _I me' cor drudo avere'" (vv. 13-4). Such a link recalls the fundamental orality of the text that the poet plays on through this imagery and recalls to the reader the pastoral setting.

Simon West in his critical edition highlights an interesting aspect in Cavalcanti's treatment of the shepherdess: "[...] the representation of the woman does not simply identify her as a sexual object, but as a figure of beauty worthy of praise similar to that reserved for the *donna* of other poems" (172). The "other poems" to which he refers are those belonging more directly to the stilnovistic lyric that celebrates courtly love. Once more there is an alliance between courtly poetry of *fino amore* and the pastorella. However, the outcome in this poem is quite unique—the protagonist, hearing her desire and "per lo bosco augelli audio cantare" (v. 16)

asks her to be his lover and she, unlike most *donne amate*, acquiesces happily and tells him her heart is already his. Then:

Menòmmi sott'una freschetta foglia,
là dov'ì vidi fior' d'ogni colore;
e tanto vi sentio gioia e dolzore
che I die d'amore me pareva vedere. (vv. 23-6)

The pastoral setting is given renewed emphasis in the poet's description where his desire and feelings are illustrated by the woods in the form of colorful flowers and a pleasing *locus amoenus*. The poet addresses his audience, telling them his story of an amorous liaison in the midst of the pastoral woods, his singing and the shepherdess' voice and desire echoed by the birds' song. Their desire is innate and natural and through this close link with the natural scenery Cavalcanti transforms the woods into a portrait of erotic human yearning and, more importantly, fulfillment. The wood barely registers at the opening of the song, yet explodes into color when the poet/ "knight" succeeds in his unplanned conquest. This encounter is not a violent tale of rape—rather, the characters' interaction is characterized by a tender gentleness that transports the poet in "gioia e dolzore" (v. 25). It is perhaps one of the most popular of the pastourelles and West tells us that it is among the most frequently translated of Cavalcanti's poems into English (174).

The next of the Italian *pastorelle* is, according to Paden, Dante's "Cavalcando l'altr'ier per un cammino." Dante (1265-1321), the great poet of the *Divine Comedy*, included this madrigal in the *Vita Nuova* (section 9, p. 60). The title is the same as that which Erart gives his pastourelle, however it is a common enough beginning that Erart's work might not have been the inspiration. Paden includes this poem in his anthology, despite the fact that it does not conform

entirely to his own definition—there is no shepherdess, and the poet does not consider himself a knight.

Whether or not this is indeed a pastorella is dubious and a point for further discussion. The setting is elaborated in the preceding prose section: “Elli [Amore] mi pareva disbigottito, e guardava la terra, salvo che talora li suoi occhi mi pareva che si volgessero ad uno fiume bello e corrente e chiarissimo, lo quale sen gia lungo questo cammino là ov’io era” (60). It is reminiscent of the *locus amoenus* but it is not elaborated in the poem itself. Without the prose section readers would know nothing beyond the fact that the poet was riding and came upon Love in the middle of the road. While the poem itself has elements of the pastoral and demonstrates an awareness of Cavalcanti’s pastorella and perhaps of those composed in the North, Dante’s intention is not to compose a pastourelle, inscribing the *dolce stil nuovo* into the form and transforming the pastourelle into a part of his own songbook, but rather to examine the inner turmoil presented by the appearance of Love. Given my interpretation, I do not believe that Dante’s madrigal belongs in the pastoral mode nor do I feel it is a pastorella as Paden suggests.

Petrarch (1304-74) also composed a pastorella, “Non al suo amante piú Diana piacque” and it, too, represents a development beyond the pastourelle—the combination of the pastorella with classical references, a quality that perseveres in the tradition through to Sannazaro’s *Arcadia*. It is a brief composition comprising of eight verses. The first three recall Diana bathing naked and Actaeon happening upon her (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 3:138-252). The second tercet recalls the poet himself gazing upon his beloved Laura. The discreet reader notices the use of “l’aura” in the sixth verse: “l’a l’aura il vago e biondo capel chiuda.” “l’aura” linguistically reminds the reader of Laura and she takes the form of the “pastorella alpestra e cruda” (v. 4). Petrarch combines antiquity with the medieval poetic composition, the latter illustrated by a

tendency towards symbolism and “riddling,” as Bergin describes the allegorical quality of Petrarch’s eclogues. Although the poet is the only speaker, he is addressing an audience and invites the reader to understand his veiled references, a characteristic found elsewhere in his work²⁵. Whereas Dante provides a detailed guide in prose to his sonnet (because that is the nature of the *Vita Nuova*), Petrarch asks the reader to solve his riddles as best he/she can.

The lack in forms of pastorelle should not be taken as an indication that pastoral did not find expression in the Italian peninsula during the medieval period because nothing could be further from the truth. It was most prevalently expressed in Latin eclogues, written by Petrarch and Boccaccio. Even Dante wrote a few. In the vernacular, however, of these three authors, Boccaccio is the author that played most with the pastoral mode in many of his writings. The next chapter will examine Boccaccio’s vernacular pastoral works, the *Comedia delle ninfe fiorentine* and the *Ninfale fiesolano*.

²⁵ The presence of dialogue with regard to Petrarch’s songbook has been studied by Aldo Bernardo in his article, “Dialogue and Monologue in Petrarch—II.” *Symposium*. 7 (1953): 92-119.

Chapter 4

Boccaccio and the Nymphs

When considering the Pastoral, the medieval contribution tends to be overlooked, so much so that the first pastoral romance recognized by the majority of scholars is Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, a Renaissance text, rather than the true first pastoral romance, the *Comedia delle ninfe fiorentine* by Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375). The text is perhaps not the perfected pastoral romance that is the *Arcadia*, but it is the first romance in the vernacular and proves highly influential for Sannazaro. In fact, just as the first two authors were prolific examples of pastoral experimentation in their own cultural circle, Boccaccio is the Italian author who played most with the pastoral mode in Italian. He composed not only the *Comedia*, later renamed the *Ameto* by Renaissance publishers (Quaglio 670) but the *Ninfale fiesolano*, another pastoral tale.

Giuseppe Mazzotta in his book *The World at Play in Boccaccio's Decameron* (1986), asserts that the pastoral mode "constitutes the primary strategy of Boccaccio's fiction. He attempts to weave and subsume into the continuity of the pastoral structure the various levels of the book" (50).

While he is speaking primarily of the *Decameron*, it can be said that the pastoral permeates Boccaccio's works, finding the most complete and original expression in the early pieces, the *Comedia* and the *Ninfale*. Another consideration is whether or not these works fall into the medieval period or whether they should be hailed as Renaissance texts. Judith Powers Serafini-Sauli in her study of Boccaccio's life (*Giovanni Boccaccio*, 1982), sums up the question neatly: "Is Boccaccio to be characterized as the bemused, unbridled narrator of the *Decameron*, first author of the Renaissance, or is he really more medieval, the stern moralist of his later, and even

his earlier works?” (1). Boccaccio’s life spans the fourteenth century, a period of “profound upheaval and transformation in Western Europe” (2). Serafini-Sauli continues:

Italy, especially, was a land of contrasts and confusion. It was the stage for many of the conflicts of the waning Middle Ages—the contest between the Empire and the Papacy, Church and State, feudalism and mercantilism, aristocracy and bourgeoisie. Intellectuals and men of letters sensed the change and displayed both optimism and uneasiness. (*Giovanni Boccaccio* 2)

Given the conditions in which Boccaccio found himself, it is no wonder that his work can at times seem contradictory, some aspects identifying him as a medieval author concerned with morality, others as an early Renaissance author placing man at the center of the universe and acknowledging the foibles of humanity. I consider Boccaccio a medieval author whose works can be considered either medieval or proto-Renaissance. The study of these two pastoral vernacular works will reveal the transition from the medieval pastoral to the Renaissance pastoral. Further, the analysis will provide a necessary counterpoint to the first two poets analyzed and examine two compositions key to the development of the pastoral mode that have often been overlooked.

The French Connection

That French authors were read and enjoyed in Italy, and Italian authors in France, is no surprise—such a link has already been mentioned with regard to Riquier. Boccaccio was born in either June or July of 1313 in Tuscany (either Florence or Certaldo) and was the illegitimate son of Boccaccio di Chellino, a successful merchant in Florence (Serafini-Sauli, *Giovanni Boccaccio* 7). He was legally adopted by his father near the time of his birth. His father hoped his son

would follow in his footsteps and become a merchant, and from early on his education was to this end. For Boccaccio, however, literature would be his one true passion throughout his life, despite his father's efforts to encourage his son to follow a more ~~p~~practical" calling. Around 1327 the young Boccaccio moved to Naples with his father who went to work in the Neapolitan offices of the Bardi bank.

The Kingdom of Naples was under Angevin rule from 1266 to 1435, beginning with Charles of Anjou (brother to the King of France and holding a kingdom in Provence) crowned King of the Two Sicilies in 1266 (Lancaster 57). The Angevin monarchy, including King Robert during Boccaccio's stay in the city from 1327 to 1340, marked a prosperous time for Naples albeit marked with the loss of Sicily to the Spanish and, eventually, of Naples as well to the Aragonese court in 1422. Lancaster notes that the Angevins chose Naples as their royal capital, ~~p~~placing it on an equal footing with other European royal capitals as a centre for trade and diplomacy" (57). Furthermore, the Provençal rulers were illustrious patrons of the arts (59) and encouraged the growth and development of Naples so that despite stiff competition in trade from northern Italian ports, the Vesper Wars and the reduction of the kingdom's size (Sicily was relinquished to the Spanish by Charles II in 1302), Naples became one of the ~~m~~most important European capitals" by the beginning of the fourteenth century (61).

At the time of Boccaccio's visit the court was heavily influenced by French and Occitan literary tradition, one that had already been appreciated by the Hohenstaufen rulers beginning with Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor and King of Sicily (1198-1250). French and Occitan literatures were well represented in the court library of King Robert and dominated the courtly environment (Serafini-Sauli, *Giovanni Boccaccio* 11). Close political ties between Guelphs in Naples and Florence led to ~~e~~xtensive artistic and cultural interchange between the two cities"

(Lancaster 62). The banking families of Florence had offices in Naples and it is through this connection that Boccaccio came to Naples at the age of fourteen to work in his father's bank. Banking, however, was not for him, and after obtaining his father's permission he studied at the university. For Boccaccio this was an extremely happy period that would be very influential for his writing. With regard to the pastoral in Boccaccio's works Serafini-Sauli observes:

The aristocratic pleasures of Naples came to be associated with the *topos* of the idyll, the resplendent garden in the springtime where noble youths enjoy elegant amusements. With the passage of time this theme takes on the flavor of a personal nostalgia for a lost innocence; an ideal world he had known in Naples, when youth was in harmony with Nature. (11)

Boccaccio's studies in Naples would prove core to his experience and his career as an author. He studied Latin and Italian literature, both popular and scholarly, as well as French and Provençal poetry, romances, and fabliaux (12). Naples also retained its universal character, including the Greek influence that remained dominant in the city during and after the Roman Empire and throughout the Byzantine rule. Later in life Boccaccio would undertake the study of Greek. This time in Boccaccio's youth is described by a number of scholars as happy and full of pleasure, and an echo of Epicurean philosophy that was so popular in Neapolis and Naples seems to permeate the surface of his works, despite any proclaimed moralistic timber. Indeed, the search for a life of pleasure seems to be a primary concern of the pastoral shepherd, and Boccaccio examines this element in his own pastoral compositions through the interaction between the nymphs and the shepherd. Interestingly enough, he combines the idyllic elements and literary traditions that he learned in Naples with a new setting—Florence and Fiesole, transposing the Neapolitan idyllic to the Tuscan countryside.

Ameto, Africo, the Nymphs, and the Creation of the Pastoral Romance

In 1341 at the age of twenty-eight Boccaccio reinvented the pastoral mode by writing the *Comedia delle ninfe fiorentine*. A combination of prose and verse, the structure is inspired by the prosimetrum structure of the *Vita Nuova* (Panzera 42) and influenced Sannazaro's organization of his own pastoral romance, the *Arcadia*. Cristina Panzera notes that Boccaccio's approach to the pastoral mode was "cr ative et exp rimentale" and affirms that pastoral assumes a trans-generic connotation when considering the variety of what she describes as pastoral works from 1334-1367, beginning with the *Caccia di Diana* and concluding with his eclogues, the *Bucolicum carmen* (41-2). While there may be idyllic elements in the *Caccia di Diana* (indeed, the work describes a springtime scene reminiscent of his later works here examined), I hesitate labeling it "pastoral" because, simply put (as Leo Marx himself said) if there are no shepherds, typically there can be no pastoral. This distinction should be kept in mind. While Boccaccio might borrow pastoral elements in other works, including the *Decameron*, he wrote two pieces that can be considered pastoral because they include the necessary elements, namely a shepherd and the idyllic setting: the *Comedia delle ninfe fiorentine* and the *Ninfale fiesolano*. Of course, one must include the *Bucolicum carmen* in the list, however because the eclogues were written in Latin I leave them aside and focus on the Italian-language works, remaining constant in the primary concern of this section—the rise of the vernacular pastoral in medieval literature.

The *Comedia delle ninfe fiorentine* follows a young shepherd, Ameto, and his adventures with the nymphs in the forests around Florence. Critics have noted a "double register" in the *Comedia*: on one level it is a pastoral study of love, in particular sensual love and on another level it is an allegorical examination of the seven virtues veiled in the form of the nymphs he

meets in the forest (Quaglio 669; Poole 500). The four cardinal virtues (Prudence, Justice, Temperance, and Fortitude) are represented by Mopsa, Emilia, Adiona, and Acrimonia, respectively; and the three theological virtues (Charity, Hope, and Faith) are represented by Agapes, Fiammetta, and Lia. The first part of the tale follows Ameto, a “natural,” wild shepherd and hunter who first discovers the nymphs in the woods and falls in love with Lia. As he follows them on their hunts, hunting and offering the nymphs gifts he gradually becomes more refined.

The core of the *Comedia* takes place during the festival celebrating Venus where the nymphs assemble with Ameto during the heat of the afternoon near a fountain and, in order to pass the afternoon pleasantly, decide to tell the story of their loves. Critics have noted the similarity to the brigata and the *Decameron* in this particular aspect of the *Comedia*, the so-called “frame-plus-tale structure” of the *Decameron* (Poole 504). However, this is not a purely prose structure. Each “novella” is followed by a song in verse sung by the nymph in order to complete her story, and while the storytelling section might seem like the core of the romance, the *Comedia* reads more like an exploration of a variety of pastoral experimentations collected into one composition unified by its characters and the theme of love. Both Quaglio and Velli have observed a tripartite structure within the *Comedia* (Quaglio 670; Velli 113). For Quaglio, however, the guiding principle remains the same throughout—a stilnovistic awakening to God’s love through the love of a woman (671) seen in Ameto’s transformation —“allo stupore incantato dell’inizio al cupido vagheggiamento centrale, alla astratta redenzione della fine [...]” (670).

Antonio Enzo Quaglio, editor of the most authoritative version of the work (*Tutte le opere di Giovanni Boccaccio*, Mondadori, 1964), asserts in his introduction that Ameto’s transformation is the primary interest of the *Comedia*: it is the “storia di Ameto che si esalta ed eleva ascoltando i racconti delle ninfe a lui diretti” (669). Ameto’s metamorphosis is

foreshadowed through the nymphs' stories of their lovers' transformations through their love and thus the thematic of love is established as the central concern of the author. The narrator states as much in the opening chapter. The narrator, after offering possible subjects for poetry, asserts that he will tell of love, and even announces his intended audience:

Per che con voce convenevole al mio umile stato, senza paura di riprensione, non poeta, ma piuttosto amante, quella, di cui io sono, aiutandomi, canterò. E lasciando quel tempo, come se stato non fosse, nel quale Amore, forse con non giusto parere, mi parve grave, acciò che a coloro che gravoso il sostengono, porga di bene speranza, e diletto a chi lieto possiede i cari beni, la graziosa vista de' suoi tesori, a me indegno mostrati in terra, racconterò nel mio verso. E però chi ama, ascolti; degli altri non curo: la loro solecitudine gli abbia tutti. (680-1)

The *Comedia* narrator's intended audience is those who love, who, like he, are servants of love. Boccaccio's narrator exhibits an awareness of the audience's presence who will *hear* him as he sings. While Boccaccio's narrator should not be confused with Boccaccio himself, the poet does play with the levels of authorship in a manner reminiscent of Riquier and Dante. The same central concern as that of the *Comedia*—love—is established through the narrator in the *Ninfale fiesolano* (1346), the story of a young shepherd, Africo, who falls deeply in love with the nymph Mensola, a love that will be their undoing and result in their deaths. Their progeny, however, will be one of the early civic leaders of Fiesole.

In the first three cantos, the narrator establishes an interesting progression. First readers are confronted with the oral: —Amor mi fa parlar [...]” (1)—the narrator/poet is inspired to speak of love. Then the narrator transitions the reader to the written:

Amor è que' che mi guida e conduce

nell'opera la qual a scriver vegno;
 Amor è que' ch'a far questo m'induce,
 e che la forza mi dona e lo _ngegno;
 Amor è que' ch'è mia scorta e mia luce,
 e che di lui trattar m'ha fatto degno;
 Amor è que' che mi sforza ch'i' dica
 un'amorosa storia molto antica. (2)

The act of writing is solidified in the opening lines of the third canto: ~~Però~~ vo' che l'onor sia sol di lui, / poi ch'egli è que' che guida lo mio stile." The physical act is made present to the reader and so the act of composition seems to be renewed at each reading. This brings up the question of choice—why the pastoral? I believe that it has to do with the portrayal of the self as other as a means of self-examination. Velli states, ~~Just~~ as Vergil in the *Bucolica* is now Tityrus, now Menalcas, now the narrative I (IV and X eclogues), in the *Ameto*, Boccaccio assumes more than one mask: the narrative I, Ameto, Ibrida, Dioneo, Caleone and perhaps even Alcesto" (114). This doubling of the narrative I with the other characters contributes to the multiplicity of the redemptive experience in the *Comedia* and invites the reader to assume the pastoral disguise and join in the *Comedia*.

The *Ninfale fiesolano* contributes another level to the understanding of Boccaccio's pastoral narrative I: he inserts himself throughout the *Ninfale*, never allowing his reader to forget his continued presence. Armao asserts that the narrator is ~~highly~~ "highly visible" and ~~frequently~~ "frequently interjects his voice, sometimes to seek our complicity while other times to assert his own control" (36). For example, in cantos 40-1 the narrator interjects a description of the houses in

Fiesole at the time, reminding the reader that the story takes place in the past and so they must adjust their imagination of the housing to align with the setting:

Acciò che voi, allora, non crediate
 che vi fosson palagi o casamenti,
 com'or vi son, sì vo' che voi sappiate
 che sol d'una capanna eran contenti
 sanz'esser con calcina allor murate,
 ma sol di pietre e legname le genti
 facean lor case, e qual facea capanne
 tutte murate con terra e con canne.

In the next canto he continues briefly his discussion before announcing that he wants to return the reader to the main story and Africo: —*maitornar vi voglio a' gran dolori / che Africo sentia [...]*.” In another instance the narrator I intervenes once again in order to announce to the reader that he is going to skip forward and asks the reader to use his or her imagination based on their own experience in love to interpret Africo's mood:

Molto sarebbe lungo chi volesse
 le volte raccontar che e' tornava
 indietro e innanzi, tant'erano spesse,
 per ogni foglia che si demanava;
 e quanto doglia dentro al cor avesse
 ognuno il pensi, e quanto gli gravava
 di parti quindi; ma per dir più breve,
 a casa si tornò con pena grieva. (130)

The narrative I (who shares the authorial role since the I claims to be the author) guides the reader and encourages the reader to interact with the text. The narrator speaks to the reader, but of course he is addressing his ideal reader, the one whose experience in love allows him or her to fully appreciate the sentiments and sensuality of the story. In this way the readers are encouraged to enter the story, to don the pastoral mask and consider their own reactions in the pastoral setting. Moreover, the author exhibits a hyper-awareness of the act of writing and reading, and the role of Pastoral. Through the narrative/authorial interjections, Boccaccio does not allow his reader to escape completely into the story—rather, the act of reading is made active, not passive, and he does not allow his reader to neglect his or her responsibility.

In the *Ninfale* and the character of Africo the author explores the juxtaposition of active and passive by contrasting Africo's actions with his contemplation (which takes the form of his tortured thoughts and desperate sighs). The verb "–sospirare" and its gerund form ("–sospirando") as well as the noun (often in the plural: "–sospiri") recurs with great frequency in descriptions of Africo, in particular in those moments when he is at home or away from his beloved Mensola. The sighing lover is a figure common to the poets of the *dolce stil nuovo*. That the lover is a lowly shepherd underlines Guinizelli's affirmation that it is nobility of heart that is most important, not nobility of blood, and places Boccaccio firmly within the legacy of that tradition.

Juxtaposition occurs in the *Comedia delle ninfe fiorentine* as well, but it is between the aural/oral and the visual faculties. Desire is the beginning of love, and one desires with the eyes. This is true for Africo as well as for Ameto. The shepherd protagonist listens to the stories told by the nymphs yet all the while he is focused more on their physical traits, their beauty, and their "–hidden" attributes in a manner that might seem risqué had Boccaccio not veiled the nymphs in allegory. Ameto's leering could be understood as his desire to learn all he can about the virtue of

the nymphs. All the same, the author embraces the physical and after every story and song Ameto is lost in thought, ogling the nymph who has just spoken. In fact, Boccaccio utilizes an interesting structural technique during the stories. A nymph tells her story in one chapter. In the following section she sings a song/poem retelling the same story. The next chapter then describes Ameto's conduct during the telling of the story. During the first stories Ameto's lust goes unchecked. For instance, while Adiona (Temperance) tells of her love for Dioneo, Ameto is distracted: *—Mentre che la giovane ninfa co' lunghi ragionamenti si tira il tempo dietro, Ameto con occhio ladro riguarda l'aperte bellezze di tutte quante*” (758). His mind wanders, as might the reader's. In fact, he creates fantasies: *—Egli, mirandole effettuosamente con ardente disio, in se medesimo fa diverse imaginazioni concordevoli a' suoi disii.*” Moreover, he doesn't hear or understand a word said: *—Egli non intende cosa che vi si dica, anzi tiene l'anima con tutte le forze legata nelle delicate braccia e ne' candidi seni delle donne; e così dimora come se non vi fosse,*” and he has to be awoken from his stupor considering the *—segrete parti di quelle*” by one of the nymphs. Of course, the nymphs remain oblivious because they are busy listening (759). His leering, his desire to know what lies beneath the surface can be explained in allegorical terms—he longs to understand the truth of the virtues, and while he may not understand it at first it is this desire that enflames him. Nonetheless, there is an element of the erotic that accompanies Ameto's fantasies. It could perhaps be explained as Boccaccio's depiction of religious fervor, but it should be examined not only in the context of the allegory but in the literal context as well. The shepherd objectifies the nymphs and they take part in his fantasies. The nymphs remain nameless with the exception of Lia. He never addresses them by name and they are objectified for the most part until the story of Acrimonia (Fortitude) causes him to moderate his desires and consider more *—serious*” matters---love, for of course there can be no more serious matter than

that in Boccaccio's Pastoral. Acrimonia's story marks the turning point for Ameto. He becomes transformed through the stories and in the end becomes a worthy disciple of Venus, having been "baptized" in the fountain.

Of all the authorial interventions in both the *Comedia* and the *Ninfale*, the most curious is the one at the end of the *Comedia* in chapter forty-nine where the narrator himself is transformed. The narrator of the *Comedia* is not as present as the one of the *Ninfale*. This narrator is more secretive and hidden from the reader. He claims to have been listening to the nymphs' stories while hidden in the bushes nearby and his reactions seem to mirror those of the ideal reader. He feels love awaken within himself, after hearing the nymphs' tales, however it is pleasure mixed with pain. He does not approve of Ameto's ardent "admiration" of the ladies and worries it might bother them; moreover, the narrator is envious of Ameto's role as "king" of this pastoral court.

Seeing the late hour, the narrator decides to depart, but not without pointing out that in that idyllic setting of beauty and virtue desire moves man to salvation: "quivi d'io movente omo a salute" (833, v. 70). The importance of desire is thus explained as a means to an end—desire leads man to love which leads man to transformation and salvation. I say man because it is primarily with men that the pastoral is concerned. It is the shepherd's transformation, the shepherd's love, and the shepherd's suffering that takes center stage in Boccaccio's pastoral. The feminine is represented by the nymphs, semi-divine creatures of infinite beauty that represent the beatified women of Dante and the *dolce stil nuovo*. By loving the woman the shepherd is transformed and saved, at least in the *Comedia*. The result may not seem so positive considering Africo's suicide in the *Ninfale*. Nonetheless, Africo does beget a son who goes on to play an important civic role in Fiesole, so the union is a relatively positive one in the end.

The bittersweet note of the *Ninfale*'s conclusion, although absent from *Ameto*, is found in the person of the narrator at the end of the *Comedia* who must return to the real world, leaving the pastoral realm behind. He contrasts clearly the “delizie mundane” and the joy of “quivi” (that place) with his own universe: —ovìò vado / malinconia e etterna gramezza. / Lì non si ride mai, se non di rado; / la casa oscura e muta e molto trista / me ritiene e riceve, mal mio grado.” What seems to be missing is liberty, freedom, the freedom that *Ameto* enjoys and for which our narrator longs, so much so that he contemplates death, and it is the first mention of death, yet it resonates and remains with the reader:

Io mi tornai, dolendo de' miei mali,
al luogo usato; e attendendo peggio
per la sua fine, ho già pennute l'ali
al volare alla morte, la qual chiegio
la notte e _l_ di per men doglia sentire,
però che bene altro fin non veggio
esser serbato al mio lungo martire. (834, vv. 94-100)

All hope is abandoned and our narrator, who sang in the opening of his “Prince” (Cupid, Love) and desired to write in praise of love, demonstrates here the opposite effect that love can have. For Poole it is the contradiction between the ideal of the Church and the reality of earthly existence that is the core message of the *Comedia*. If considered in the light of the function of pastoral as a mode in Boccaccio, perhaps this contrast tells more about the author's hesitant return to the real world after having been freed from convention by the pastoral convention, allowing him to take up disguises and have the liberty to examine sensuality, desire, and theology in a manner that would never have been permitted in another form. Yet, the final

chapter (fifty) exhibits a very different authorial voice, distinct from the narrator who dedicates the work to a friend and tells the reader, “*Ea saetta, dal mio arco mossa, tocca li segni cercati con volante foga,*” a play on Cupid’s arrow. Such a playful use of the symbol of the arrow provokes the reader to consider whether the author is perhaps playing at aligning himself with Cupid, Love, and the divine. He is creator of the work, and so his role within the context of the book’s composition he is “*God.*” Boccaccio plays with his reader from beginning to end.

Boccaccio’s pastoral universe revolves around the feminine, evident in the titles chosen by the author for both works: nymphs are of central importance. Women in Boccaccio’s pastoral are deified, with the exception of Africo’s mother. The love interest is always a nymph who serves a goddess (Diana or Venus) and roams in the pastoral forest. She is at once the vehicle for man’s salvation and the object of his most ardent desires, so much so that the shepherd, perhaps because of his rustic nature, does not at first know how to deal with the fire of love that burns within. The shepherd objectifies the female, longing to possess her physically. Ameto eventually grows through his desire and manages to contain himself. Africo, however, is consumed by his desire and he prays to Venus to help him. Her advice is rather interesting—she tells him to dress as a nymph, to disguise himself as a woman and to join the nymphs during the day. In this way he can gain easy access to Mensola and, when given the opportunity, Venus encourages Africo to ravish the nymph.

Africo’s transformation into nymph is far more successful than the reader might have imagined. He takes one of his mother’s gowns and once he has dressed he considers himself transformed completely:

e poi ch’alquanto sé ebbe mirato,
gli parve essere quel ched e’ non era,

e femina di maschio trasmutato.

E certo chi non l'avesse saputo,

per maschio non l'aria mai conosciuto. (212)

His disguise is so good that he completely fools the nymphs and thus infiltrates the group. He catches Mensola's eye from the moment of his arrival and they spend the entire day together with the other nymphs. The nymphs decide to set up a target and practice shooting and Mensola's and Africo's arrows were always closest to the center and always side by side (through Love's intervention, of course). Interestingly enough, Mensola becomes enamored of the new ~~nymph~~: "[...] Mensola [...] ognora più le veniva piacendo / e già gli aveva posto molto amore. / Africo, sempre gli occhi a lei tenendo, / piacevolmente le dava favore / e acconsentiva ciò ch'ella dicea, / ed ella a lui il simile facea" (222). They behave as lovers courting do, however Mensola loves a disguise, a wolf in sheep's clothing, if you will.

A few cantos later, after they've eaten, the narrator intervenes, again describing Mensola's love for Africo but emphasizing that the reader should not believe it dishonorable: ~~ma~~ non pensi niun che già mai questo / amor fosse con pensier dionesto, / però che fermamente ella credea / che ninfa fosse ind'oltre del paese" (227-228). Despite the narrator's assurances, there is a latent sensuality and implicit intimacy that provokes the reader to question Mensola's love, a consideration further motivated by the narrator's intervention promising the reader that there is nothing more to her affection. Perhaps the author is preparing the way for the reader to believe Mensola's love for Africo, after he rapes her, in that she loved the person in female form. Nonetheless the homoerotic seems to define Mensola's love for Africo as a nymph and it is a tendency expressed in the *Comedia* as well. Venus appeared to Adiona in the garden and called

her to serve love. The encounter borders on the erotic and again the motif of misunderstanding is present, this time vocalized by the character:

Questa [Venere] allora, lieta appressantesi a me, credendo io ch'ella mi volesse
baciare, espirommi non so che in bocca; né prima così ebbe fatto che io me sentii
dentro accendere d'uno subito fuoco e ardere non altrimenti che le raccolte paglie
negli sparti campi di monte Gargano, poi che il lavoratore v'ha sottoposte l'accese
fiaccole. (754)

The pastoral abounds with love, with examinations of the sensual and the erotic and the desires love provokes. In Boccaccio, love between women is described in tender terms, gentle and honorable. The interaction between men and women, however, tends to be characterized by violation of some sort in the beginning, whether it be considering what lies ~~hidden~~ "from view in Ameto's case, or the actual rape of Mensola in Africo's case.

Rape is a theme relatively common to the French pastourelle, as discussed, yet the power relationship is different—in the case of the pastourelle the knight is not only the more powerful character physically he is also the dominant social figure. In Boccaccio, however, Africo is a shepherd. Mensola is a follower of Diana. The nymphs were classically ~~female~~ "female nature spirits" and were linked to a particular natural setting where they lived (March 28). Diana hunted the mountains and forests with a group of followers—beautiful, young virginal nymphs who were sworn to chastity like the goddess herself (85). Mensola, however, despite her impressive hunting abilities, seems to have been born to a human family and then devoted to Diana. In the *Comedia* the nymphs are not victims—on the contrary, in several cases, like that of Mopsa, they are the aggressors, pursuing their lovers with vigor. Mensola is not so lucky. When the nymphs invite their new friend to strip down and bathe with them in a clear stream he seizes on the

opportunity, especially now that the nymphs are disarmed. They all flee when he reveals his true self and Africo snatches Mensola like a hungry wolf: “Non altrimenti lo lupo affamato / percuote alla gran turba degli agnelli, / ed un ne piglia, e quell se n’ha portato [...]” (240). Africo tries to console the weeping and fighting Mensola, telling her he loves her, but she does not understand and keeps trying to escape. The description of the rape, figurative though it is, is clear:

Per la contesa che facean si desta
 tal che prima dormia malinconoso,
 e, con superbia rizzando la cresta,
 cominciò a picchiar l’uscio furioso;
 e tanto dentro vi diè della testa,
 ch’egli entrò dentro, non già con riposo,
 ma con battaglia grande ed urlamento
 e forse che di sangue spargimento.
 Ma poi che messer Mazzone ebbe avuto
 Monteficalli, e nel castello entrato,
 fu lietamente dentro ricevuto
 da que’ che prima l’avean contestato;
 ma poi che molto si fu dibattuto,
 per la terra lasciare in buono stato,
 per pietà lagrimò, e del castello
 uscì poi fuor, umil più ch’un agnello. (244-5)

The violence of the encounter is clear despite the figurative language and the loss of her chastity provokes Mensola to consider suicide. Africo’s behavior, however, seems to be natural and

beyond his control—something awoke and “it” took over. More intriguing yet is the courtly description in 245 (beginning “Ma poi che messer Mazzone ebbe avuto...”). The images common to courtly literature (a knight or sir, and a castle) come into play and replace the natural images of the previous canto with a contrived and clearly medieval imagery. How the reader should interpret this act of violence, however, presents a challenge. Said act is key to the story: it engenders a child and leads to the death of the young protagonist. It is a necessary act for the story line.

Mensola, after a great deal of persuasion, does come to love Africo. Technically the shepherd’s act has been condoned by Venus, the goddess of Love. He acts according to her orders and her will. Of course, Venus’ will is directly in opposition with that of Diana, but the goddesses do not interact with each other—they merely deal with the creatures in front of them in the moment. After the rape, Venus does not return and neither does Mensola go back to the promised *locus amoenus* to meet Africo in the days following their rendezvous. The nymph is afraid and vows to give up her love. The shepherd, despairing, commits suicide by stabbing himself and then falling into the stream that will bear his name, an act that mimics Mensola’s first attempt at suicide that Africo stops after the rape. Mensola gives birth to their child but is discovered by Diana who punishes her by killing her, making her one with the stream that bears her name and joins the Africo, signifying that the lovers will be together for eternity and that even Diana cannot keep them apart. The child is raised by Africo’s parents. In the final analysis the rape is beyond the control of the star-crossed lovers—divine forces, nature, and fate/fortune take hold and while this may seem an inexcusable reasoning in a modern context the medieval culture would not have been shocked by the inclusion of the act—merely, perhaps, by its rather forceful description.

Boccaccio's pastoral setting also marks his departure from the classical and the French. Granted, he does set the works in the woods, but they are identified as Tuscany, the countryside around either Fiesole or Florence, which must be said, is practically the same area. This is not to say that Boccaccio forgets Arcadia. In the *Comedia* he introduces briefly two characters, Alceste and Acaten, two shepherds who participate in a song competition to see who is the better herdsman. Acaten is haughty, believing that because he has many sheep that he is the winner, however Alceste outsings him, pointing out that quality is far more important than quantity. Alceste hails from Arcadia and the timing of their competition, so reminiscent of the *Eclogues*, is fortuitous—Alceste represents the ascetic life whereas Acaten is the worldly. Alceste is proclaimed the winner by the nymphs and then they move into the stories, further encouraging Ameto's Christian conversion / transformation. This competition serves as a key to the reader to guide him or her through the stories of the nymphs and to focus on the hidden meaning, the importance of the contemplative life over the worldly endeavors. Arcadia resurfaces, albeit briefly, in Boccaccio, and then is replaced with a local setting. Sannazaro will also return to Arcadia but he, too, is describing a local setting, this time the Neapolitan countryside of Campania. The transposition of the pastoral setting continues in later works, and while Arcadia may be mentioned it is its metaliterary function that is retained rather than the name.

The *Comedia delle ninfe fiorentine* and the *Ninfale fiesolano* are significant and essential steps in the development of the vernacular pastoral mode. The intertextuality of the works, in particular the overwhelming set of mythical references to Ovid's *Metamorphosis* and Virgil's works²⁶, both the *Eclogues* and the *Aeneid*, will provide an important model for Sannazaro's *Arcadia*. Armao describes Ovid's poetic voice as one characterized by ~~metaliterary~~

²⁶ Two articles in particular are of interest: Giuseppe Velli's "Tityrus redivivus: The Rebirth of Vergilian Pastoral from Dante to Sannazaro (and Tasso)" (1992) and Linda Armao's "The Ninfale fiesolano: Ovidian Bravura Veiling Truth" (1988).

commentary, by a visible, self-conscious narrator and by a smiling and ironic authorial presence” (35). I assert that the same can be said not only of Boccaccio but for the pastoral mode in its entirety. The act of composition and writing (songs, poems) is central to most pastoral texts. In the pastourelle songs are sung by the maiden or reference is made to the poet’s other songs. In the later works of Boccaccio the songs have reverted to poems without music written, relying on the musicality of the text, yet reference is still made to the oral element, the act of listening. The awareness of the act of writing and composing underlines the metafictional conscience of the author. Boccaccio plays with his reader. For example, the deceitful nature of love is emphasized in Africo’s and Mensola’s behavior. They deceive not only each other but all those in their life, even perhaps themselves, keeping love hidden. The deceptive, hidden nature of love leads the reader to question the narrator’s (and the author’s) motives. Such a choice forces the reader to delve into the work to read into the subtext. The “literal level,” as Armao puts it, of Boccaccio’s fiction cannot be trusted and so the reader must form his or her own theory (42). Moreover, the motif of deception reminds the reader that fiction is deceptive, it is not meant to tell a literal truth but rather a universal truth, often through symbolism and allegory. Boccaccio puts his reader on guard. The pastoral narrator in Boccaccio, who cannot always be trusted, vacillates between intimate knowledge of the situation, addressing characters and readers alike, and a marginal existence. Maria Elisa Raja notes in the *Comedia* that Ameto is the narrator’s alter ego and that the narrator can participate only marginally (27). This is paralleled in the setting—Ameto’s pastoral realm allows the reader a breadth of experience that extends far beyond that permitted in the real universe, yet the reader, like the narrator, can only participate marginally. At the end, while the shepherds go their merry way, the reader must return from their momentary escape to face the coldness of the world in which they live.

Final Remarks

The medieval vernacular pastoral provides an important and necessary step in the history of Pastoral in France and Italy. It bridges antiquity and leads to humanism. The works studied in this section each exhibit an independence of spirit unique in the tradition that not only exemplify the best of pastoral literature of the period but also lead towards the Renaissance and the reinvention of pastoral. The epicurean principle that dominates the pastoral setting is modified, becoming related and replaced, in some measure, by love as the guiding code. Love is identified as the motivating agent that provokes all the action described therein, thereby pardoning the protagonists from any true responsibility. The courtly love lyric and the *dolce stil nuovo* provide important models for the medieval pastoral, so much so that Boccaccio's shepherds are transformed by the love of a woman. Moreover, Christianity begins to inform the pastoral authors, to influence the world and while there was always a duality in the mode, a veiling of the true authorial concerns in pastoral disguise, the concerns are no longer merely social but also theological. Finally, death and orality remain core to the pastoral experience, dominant motifs in each of the authors' works considered. The next step is to examine the reinvention of pastoral in the Renaissance through the *Arcadia*, the *Aminta*, and the *Astrée*.

Part IV:

The Rebirth and Reinvention of the Pastoral, 1504-1627:

Arcadia, Aminta, and Astrée

Chapter 1:

Et in Arcadia ego

Three shepherds stoop to examine a tomb as a shepherdess looks on. Inscribed in the stone placed in the middle of an idyllic landscape is the enigmatic phrase, “Et in Arcadia Ego.” The painting, known as both *The Arcadian Shepherds* and *Et in Arcadia Ego*, dates from 1637-8 and was painted by Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665), a French painter who has become inextricably linked with the enigmatic phrase, in large part thanks to Erwin Panofsky’s essay (mentioned earlier—see Part I). Poussin could perhaps be described as the illustrator of Arcadia and pastoral retreat. In his late period (1657-1665), Poussin’s paintings consisted primarily of “ideal or mythological” landscapes” (Pace 73). This painting, housed in the Louvre, was his second examination of Arcadia and Death. The earlier tableau of the same name, dating from 1628 and housed in the Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth (Rosenberg 173), shows a rather different scene, one reminiscent of an earlier work.

Poussin’s paintings were not the first pictorial renderings of the Death in Arcadia theme. The artist known as Guercino (1691-1666), Giovanni Francesco Barbieri, painted his tableau, *The Arcadian Shepherds* circa 1618 in Rome. There is a discrepancy as to the date because different sources give different dates; nonetheless, it is early in his career when he paints it. In the tableau, two shepherds have come upon a skull, positioned on a stone column in the lower right-hand corner closest to the viewer. Both the painter’s choice of placement and the depiction of the shepherds both looking at the skull draws the viewer eye to the skull and its column on which is inscribed, “Et in Arcadia ego.” The setting, while idyllic, seems tempestuous, and the

prominent location of the skull, representative of death, contrasts with the gentle shepherds on the left who gaze at it, as though perplexed to find death in Arcadia.

This is the first encounter of the now famous phrase. For many years it was considered to mean, “I, too, was born or lived in Arcadia” however Panofsky’s landmark essay demonstrated clearly that the phrase meant —“Even in Arcadia there am I” (I being Death). It is possible that the phrase and topic was suggested to Guercino by Giulio Rospigliosi (later Pope Clement IX) who later suggested the same theme or topic to Nicolas Poussin. Poussin visited Rome just after Guercino left, and it is possible that not only was he influenced by the future pope but he saw the picture himself.

There are similarities between Guercino’s work and Poussin’s first version of this topic, of the same name as his later piece, painted in 1628 and found in the Devonshire collection. The two shepherds are again present but they are dressed in a classical rather than in a contemporary fashion like Guercino’s figures. Moreover, Poussin adds a third character to the scene—a shepherdess, thereby including a feminine perspective missing in the earlier piece. Rather than being off to the side, the shepherds are more towards the center, surrounding the tomb, touching it, examining the inscription, pointing at the skull on top. The focus is no longer the skull as it was in the earlier painting. The viewer’s eye is now drawn to the shepherds and the shepherdess, the latter who stands back a bit as the shepherds examine the inscription closely:

The shepherds retain the same melancholy and dreamy expression seen in those painted by the Bolognese master, but Poussin infused his composition with a delicate poetry tinged with nostalgia, making us conscious of the fragility of happiness and the presence of death even in the most blissful realm. (Rosenberg 174)

Nonetheless, all the figures remain focused on the tomb. The unexpected element is the river god, Alpheus, who sits with his back to the viewer, his robe running across the canvas as the river runs through Arcadia.

Poussin was a classicist and was probably familiar with Virgil, so it is not surprising that when he painted his tableau he revised Guercino's work; he adds a classical sarcophagus and the Arcadian River god, Alpheus. He even hints at amorous implications by adding the shepherdess. Poussin's landscapes evoke the theme of retreat, a theme that, according to Pace, was a ~~dominant~~ concern in the circles to which the artist's patrons in both Italy and France belonged—both as a literary topos and as an experience in life" (73). Retreat is, of course, characteristic of pastoral literature. Consider Saulnier's affirmation regarding pastoral: ~~Plus~~ qu'un genre, elle représente d'ailleurs une inspiration et surtout une tentation. Celle, pour l'homme occupé, d'être ailleurs. [...] La tentation de s'évader" (5).

The phrase, ~~Et in Arcadia ego,~~" underwent a metamorphosis in meaning, one that Panofsky clarifies and explains in his essay. Panofsky noted that in both Guercino's canvas and Poussin's first rendition a certain amount of drama and surprise is expressed on the part of the shepherds. In these early versions with the element of drama and surprise present, the phrase does not take on any meaning other than that it had originally. In his second version, however, the tableau for the Louvre illustrates a radical break. The element of drama and surprise has faded and there is a basic shift in interpretation. Panofsky affirms, ~~The~~ Arcadians are not so much warned of an implacable future as they are immersed in mellow meditation on a beautiful past." He continues, ~~Poussin's~~ Louvre picture no longer shows a dramatic encounter with Death but a contemplative absorption in the idea of mortality. We are confronted with a change from thinly veiled moralism to undisguised elegiac sentiment" (313), a change which might have been

influenced by Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, a possible inspiration for this second version. There was a lack of harmony between what was seen visually and what was written and so it was reinterpreted, not to fit the meaning of the phrase, but to fit the new visual indicators (Panofsky 316). Thus, "Even in Arcadia, there am I" became "I, too, lived in Arcadia" despite the linguistic contradiction.

This pictorial dialogue is characteristic of the pastoral exchange between France and Italy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This is not to say that after Boccaccio there was a long stretch of silence in pastoral literature. Humanist authors throughout the fifteenth century, in particular in Italy, continued to experiment with the form, as De Robertis outlines in his article, "Aspects de la formation du genre pastoral en Italie au XVe siècle" (1978)²⁷. However, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, pastoral experienced a surge of popularity.

In music, Giuseppe Gerbino affirms: "By the end of the 1580s, musical settings of pastoral verse had saturated the printing industry as well as the lifestyle of Italian courts" (2). The Renaissance sensibilities combined the pastoral of antiquity with the current conception of love. Gerbino identifies the pastoral fiction of this period as a "meta-musical fantasy," once more highlighting the highly self-conscious nature of the mode, a self-awareness that developed even further during the Renaissance. The Renaissance fascination with the pastoral reflects the similarities between the behavioral codes of court society and Virgil's shepherds:

Enormous cultural differences notwithstanding, they both aspired to a model of human bonding defined by two fundamental principles: the cult of emotions

²⁷ See also Giovanni Ponte, "Perspectives de la littérature de sujet pastoral au XVe siècle en Italie." *Le genre pastoral en Europe du XVe au XVIIe siècle*. Saint-Etienne : UP Saint-Etienne, 1980. 15-23. Print. and Antonia Tissoni Benvenuti, "La Restauration humaniste de l'églogue : L'école Guarinienne à Ferrare." *Le genre pastoral en Europe du XVe au XVIIe siècle*. Saint-Etienne : UP Saint-Etienne, 1980. 25-33. Print. The source for these papers is the *Colloque International sur le Genre Pastoral en Europe du XVe au XVIIe siècle*, held at Saint-Etienne University from September 28 to October 1, 1978.

(especially love-related emotions), and the management of the same emotions through the performative pleasure of music and poetry. (Gerbino 6)

According to Gerbino, the pastoral play was considered a “subversive genre” by the Church and others who found that the free love and eroticism portrayed therein could endanger the soul of the viewer (2), and perhaps its popularity can be explained by the paradox it represented—pastoral works were at once old and new. They were reminiscent of antiquity’s bucolic eclogues (often pastoral authors borrowed heavily from Virgil), yet evocative of humanity’s current state of existence. The combination of old and new also found expression in varied stylistic forms that combined prose with verse.

By the mid to late seventeenth century, pastoral was a well-established mode of expression, a vital part of the shared cultural experience. Consider, for example, the second scene of Act I from Molière’s *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* (1670). Monsieur Jourdain, a very wealthy member of the bourgeoisie who desires to become a nobleman by learning and doing all that noblemen do, discusses a new musical composition that his Maître de Musique has prepared for him. Present is his Maître à Danser who supports the Maître de Musique. When the Maître de Musique calls forward his musicians to play the piece he has composed for Jourdain, he explains that he will have to imagine that they are dressed as shepherds (—Il faut vous figurer qu’ils sont habillés en bergers.”). Jourdain replies in exasperation, « Pourquoi toujours des bergers ? On ne voit que cela partout. » The Maître à Danser replies quickly :

—Lorsqu’on a des personnes à faire parler en musique, il faut bien que, pour la vraisemblance, on donne dans la bergerie. Le chant a été de tout temps affecté aux bergers ; et il n’est guère naturel en dialogue que des princes ou des bourgeois chantent leurs passions »

Molière reveals the nature of the pastoral: the ability to sing of one's passions freely, a fact of seventeenth century dramaturgy, and the scene attests to the popularity of the pastoral. The sheer number of pastoral plays and narratives in the period underscore this fact. When conducting a search using the César database, one discovers ninety-nine pastoral plays written in France during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries²⁸.

The resurgence, renewal, and reinvention of pastoral in this period in France and Italy can, I propose, be linked to three works in particular: Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (1504), Torquato Tasso's *Aminta* (1573), and Honoré d'Urfé's *Astrée* (1607-27). This is not to say that there are not other important pastoral works in this period. For example, Guarini's *Il pastor fido*, Montemayor's *La Diana*, and Cervantes' *La Galatea* were also influential, particularly in the French context. However, the works of Sannazaro, Tasso, and d'Urfé are not only celebrated works in and of themselves—they also share a common thread. Honoré d'Urfé mentions both Tasso and Sannazaro as sources in his preface to the first book, —'Autheur à la bergère Astrée.' Moreover, as the first Renaissance pastoral romance, the *Arcadia*, published in 1504 (but written towards the end of the fifteenth century), was influential for the pastoral mode and a source of inspiration for many pastoral compositions.

In this section, I offer an analysis of the inherent theatricality of the pastoral in these three works by examining the use of spectacle and imagery as evidence of the authors' highly self-conscious manner of expression and awareness of the act of reading. In addition, the presence of death, menace, violence, and loss—*Arcadia*'s dark side—will be addressed as well as the

²⁸ A search for —pastoral” returns eighty-three titles, one for —bergerie” returns eleven different titles, and a final search for —Arcadie” returns five new titles (<http://cesar.org.uk/cesar2/search/index.php?fet=list&search=pastoral> ; <http://cesar.org.uk/cesar2/search/index.php?fet=list&search=bergerie> ; <http://cesar.org.uk/cesar2/search/index.php?fet=list&search=arcadie>).

transformation the setting itself continues to undergo, the latter aspect in particular as another means of evaluating the author's metaliterary experimentation.

Chapter 2:

1504: The Rebirth of Arcadia

Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, first published in 1502 in Venice, the second official, author-sanctioned edition dating from 1504 (Erspamer 5, 7; Nash 10), is a work that was begun in the author's youth while at a country retreat in the hills around Salerno, thirty miles south-east of Naples (Nash 7). That the actual unified design and scheme was not decided upon until later is almost certain—Sannazaro (1456-1530) began writing various eclogues and later rearranged them. The exact dates of composition are uncertain; chapters I-X were most likely written from 1482-1489, probably 1483-5. There are two periods of composition for *Arcadia*, the early one in which chapters I-X were composed in the mid-1480s and the later period comprising the revision of chapters I-X and the addition of chapters XI and XII as well as the epilogue, dating from either 1491 or 1502-4 (Nash 22). Francesco Erspamer offers a detailed and very complete discussion as to the possible date of composition and publication in the introduction to his excellent edition of Sannazaro's best-known opus. The reasons for the work's popularity are numerous. Perhaps the most compelling explanation is that offered by William J. Kennedy in his study on Sannazaro and his works:

[*Arcadia*'s] novelty consisted of three richly inventive schemes: it boldly transposed the form of the classical eclogue into the modern vernacular and versified it in the half dozen most popular measures of the day; it furthermore arranged the twelve eclogues into a narrative sequence that implies an affecting tale of unrequited love; and finally, it connected them with passages of

luminously detailed prose that clarifies the main action. The time was ripe for this endeavor, and audiences greeted it with high enthusiasm. (96)

Indeed, the popularity of the work is attested to by the record of publication. There were seventy editions during the sixteenth century by Italian presses alone (Erspamer 5). Damiani and Mujica affirm in their essay, “Death in Sannazaro’s *Arcadia*,” “*Arcadia* had an astounding success: a new edition appeared every two years, on average, throughout Sannazaro’s lifetime and throughout the sixteenth century. The work is one of the first literary monuments of the Renaissance to be written in Italian rather than Latin” (5).

Arcadia’s success was linked with the vernacular choice of its young humanist author: “Sannazaro’s contemporaries felt not just that he had legitimized the vernacular—Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio had already done that—but that he had legitimized the use of various dialects of the vernacular” (Kennedy 107). While Sannazaro had revised the work to reflect the priority of Tuscan, eliminating the Neapolitanisms, stylistically it was “in some ways still too Neapolitan and in other ways far too Latinate to be mistaken for Florentine” (Kennedy 108). In a sense, through pastoral, Sannazaro created an artificial literary language to reflect the artificial retreat and otherness of *Arcadia*, a quality that Kennedy notes in relation to both Virgil and Spenser (108).

Another contributing factor to the *Arcadia*’s unique nature is the vastness of sources from which Sannazaro drew when composing the work. He was influenced by both Latin and Italian authors. Of course there are the major “muses”: Virgil, Ovid, Cicero, Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. However, minor Latin authors figure as well: Nemesianus, Claudian, Valerius Flaccus, and Pliny (Kennedy 108, Erspamer 24-7). In fact, Sannazaro’s work can be described as a type of synthesis of those authors who preceded him and whom he admired:

L' *Arcadia* fu davvero il frutto di uno sforzo inteso di sintesi e di innovazione, sul doppio binario dei temi e delle forme. Fu Sannazaro a fondare il romanzo pastorale, genere ben diverso dalle bucoliche toscane o napoletane del tempo; fu lui a imporre il mito arcadico, a fare della regione greca uno dei più celebri luoghi della fantasia letteraria. E questo, come vedremo, senza inventare praticamente nulla. (Erspamer 19)

That he invented “practically nothing” is perhaps an overstatement of the author’s reliance on source material; nonetheless, there is evidence of heavy borrowing throughout and Sannazaro’s keen awareness of his literary precedents and his own place in the pastoral literary tradition is evident.

The influence that Sannazaro’s pastoral adventure had on European literature was immense:

In conjunction with certain Galician-Portuguese works, [*Arcadia*] provided the principal model for the Spanish pastoral novels as well as for a vast body of other literature that includes not only works by Tasso, Guarini, Ronsard, and Belleau, but also the *Astrée* of Honoré d’Urfé and the novels of Madeleine de Scudéry, Spenser’s *Shepherd’s Calendar* and Sir Philip Sidney’s *Arcadia*. (Damiani and Mujica 5)

In the Spanish tradition we can include Garcilaso de la Vega. Even Nicolas Poussin’s art was inspired by *Arcadia* (Erspamer 7). As Alpers asserts, Jorge de Montemayor’s *Diana* (1559) derives from Sannazaro’s work; it is with *Arcadia* that the sixteenth-century pastoral romance takes shape (66).

Arcadia is a unique work. It is a mixture of prose and verse. Alpers calls it “a sort of double eclogue-book, half prose and half verse” (67). Erspamer affirms that the “fabula” is a story of a voyage:

È in fondo la storia di un viaggio [...]; è la descrizione di paesaggi, costumi, popoli, remoti e fantastici, effettuata da un narratore che afferma di averli osservati di persona. E come ogni viaggio letterario, è anche la storia di una maturazione: il protagonista tornerà mutato dall'esperienza arcadica, fisicamente provato [...] ma guarito dall'indolenza e dalla malinconia in cui era caduto. (7)

That the pastoral retreat provides a haven and cure to love-sickness is not a new theme. It appears as early as Theocritus' eleventh idyll, that of the Cyclops who sings to heal his melancholy wounds (“So Polyphemus shepherded his love by singing / And found more relief than if he had paid out gold” (93)). Sannazaro returns to the key thematic, that of possible healing of the spirit through pastoral contemplation, in order to explain the narrator's presence in this other world.

The choice of pastoral as the mode in which many of his works, not just the *Arcadia*, were written indicates Sannazaro's awareness of, as Kennedy puts it, the mode's “power to communicate intertextually.” Kennedy continues, “With its evocation of ancient forms, pastoral is a literature of allusion where allusion enables the author and the audience to share their awareness of a common source” (7). Both authors and audiences of pastoral rely on the other's knowledge of the literary tradition in which pastoral participates so as to appreciate fully the latest response to an ongoing pastoral dialogue. Sannazaro perceived this characteristic and went beyond, pushing the audience's capacity for recognition by mixing characters, both created and disguised:

Coesistono così personaggi totalmente inventati (Selvaggio, Clonico), personaggi ricavati da altre opere letterarie (Coridone, Melibeo) e personaggi storici (Carlo di Durazzo, il padoano Mantegna'), questi ultimi altre volte nascosti sotto nomi pastorali (per esembio Massilia e Barcinio, trasparenti maschere di Masella, madre di Sannazaro, e di Cariteo), nel caso di poeti gli stessi autobiograficamente assunti nelle loro bucoliche (così Virgilio sarà Titiro, Petrarca sarà Silvio, Boccaccio sarà Idalogo). Sannazaro gioca con i vari livelli: realtà e cultura, letteratura e fantasia. (Erspamer 9)

The duality Erspamer notes in many of the characters is repeated in the narrator himself, Sincero. Upon his induction to the literary academy of Naples²⁹ in the early 1480s (before Sannazaro's twenty-fifth birthday), Sannazaro either chose or was given (by Giovanni Pontano), the Latinate name "Actius Syncerus," a sign of his dedication to classical studies in the humanities (Kennedy 12, Nash 8). Sannazaro was pleased with the name and signed letters as Syncerus, meaning sincere. The similarity to the narrator, Sincero, leaves many with the notion that Sannazaro identified with his narrator and that there are autobiographical elements in *Arcadia*. For example, young Sincero's exile from Naples prompted by the death of his beloved parallels the death of Carmosina Bonifacio, the young lady to whom Sannazaro's affections were directed at the time of the composition of *Arcadia*. Nash dispels the possibility of this love affair being a convincing motive for the composition of the pastoral work, explaining that it seems a bit too convenient and contrived (8); nonetheless, Sannazaro, looking back on his youth, might well have identified with his Neapolitan narrator in exile. Carmosina died at the age of fourteen during the 1460s while

²⁹ The Accademia Napoletana, later changed to Accademia Pontaniana in honor of Giovanni Pontano, learned humanist and leader of the academy during Sannazaro's lifetime (Lancaster 75-6)

Sannazaro was at his family's estate near Salerno. Exile from and return to Naples would figure prominently in Sannazaro's life around the time of *Arcadia*'s publication.

In the period surrounding the composition of *Arcadia*, Sannazaro's Naples was torn by war. France and Spain both laid claim to the city. The Aragonese royal house had held Naples since 1442, and Naples had prospered under the leadership of Alphonse I (reigned 1442-1458). The nobles, of French origin, however, were not easy to rule and Alphonse's son, Ferrante, had a great deal of difficulty maintaining order during his rule. Civil unrest reached a peak towards the end of his rule and throughout the short rules of Alphonse II (1494-95), his son, Ferrantino (1495-6) who died at the age of thirteen, and Frederick III. To further upset the delicate balance of power in the kingdom, Pope Alexander VI (Rodrigo Borgia from Valencia, Spain) declared the kingdom to be under the rule of the French King Charles VIII. Lorenzo de' Medici, a good friend of Frederick, intervened on the Aragonese behalf, however when both he and Ferrante died there was no one else to intervene. In 1494, the new duke of Milan, Lodovico il Moro, married Beatrice d'Este and invited the French king to invade rivals Florence and Naples in a divisive move sadly typical of the city-states of Italy. By 1495, the French were able to begin capitalizing on the weakness of the Aragonese rulers in Naples and finally took hold of the city in 1501.

Sannazaro was close to Frederick III³⁰ and fiercely loyal. He was godfather to the king's son in 1497 and the king gave him the Villa Mergellina on the bay of Naples in 1499. Sannazaro sold his personal property (with the exception of the villa) and pledged it to the king's cause, but it did not help. The French king, Louis XII, entered the kingdom on August 4, 1501 and a month

³⁰ The younger brother of Alphonse II to whom the reign of Naples fell after the death of his nephew, Ferrantino, in 1496. Frederick III was the last Spanish monarch of Naples. During his reign, southern Italy and Naples in particular became a disputed possession; both France and Spain claimed the city. Spain finally reaffirmed its hold, but too late for Frederick who died in exile in France. The Spanish then sent viceroys to control Naples until 1714 when the Austrians gained hold of the city.

later Sannazaro sailed with Frederick into exile. The voyage stopped at various ports, first at Ischia, then Marseilles, followed by Milan, and, finally, Blois, where Louis offered Frederick refuge in exile in exchange for the entirety of the Kingdom of Naples.

France's strategic advantage in Naples did not last, however. Ferdinand of Aragon signed a pact, agreeing to divide the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies with France: France was to take over Naples, Campania and the Abruzzo while Spain retained Calabria and Puglia. As the French set sail for Naples, the Spanish reneged on the pact and war broke out in 1502. In the Treaty of Blois (September 22, 1504), Louis XII renounced his claim to Naples, leaving it in the control of the Spanish as a vice-royalty from 1503-1706³¹.

Frederick was never to see Naples again. He died in France on November 9, 1504. Sannazaro returned to Naples in 1505 having already published his authorized edition of *Arcadia* (1504). Kennedy characterizes these years as "filled with grief" for Sannazaro. Naples was "a city in mourning" (25). Sannazaro focused on literary pursuits, in particular the *De Partu Virginis*. He died on August 6, 1530.

Duality and Doubling in *Arcadia*

Duality and doubling seem to characterize the pastoral experience in *Arcadia*. Characters are dual, wearing a pastoral mask disguising the real self. Consider the list Erspamer provides (above). Not only are the characters disguised shepherds, the reader finds her or his double in the shepherd audience. Like an actor on the stage, the shepherd is at once himself and representative of another, both the urban and pastoral representative, symbolizing a utopian union of the two Renaissance ideals: the civic and the pastoral.

³¹ Useful sources describing this period are Lancaster, pages 73-87; and Kennedy, pages 22-26.

The most prominent example of character doubling is Sincero and the author. Sincero, the first person narrator is identified with Sannazaro, an identification the poet himself makes in chapter VII: “Ma che più mi prolungo io in racontar quello che a ciascuno può essere manifesto? Io non mi sento giamai da alcun di voi nominare ‘Sannazaro’ (quantunque cognome a’ miei predecessori onorevole stato sia) [...]” (123). He is a newcomer to Arcadia, a young Neapolitan attempting to escape a difficult love affair—his affection was not returned. Both Sincero and Sannazaro were taken with the pastoral mode, evocative of the duality inherent within *Arcadia*. The pastoral fascination is demonstrated in the narrator by his visit to and inhabiting of the pastoral world, and evidenced in the author’s decision to return numerous times throughout his works during his lifetime. The “allusion” of Sincero and Sannazaro actually being one and the same contributes to the verisimilitude of the tale and reinforces the feigned realism of the experience, thereby deepening the readers’ and audience’s immersion in the fictive through the use of doubling. Angela Caracciolo Aricò accepts this identification in her study, *L’Arcadia del Sannazaro nell’autunno dell’umanesimo* (1995). Nonetheless, one must not forget the distinction that must be maintained between the real and the fictive, the inevitable distance separated by pastoral imagination.

To the authorial multiplicity, Caracciolo Aricò adds another pastoral representative: Ergasto (26). Ergasto’s presence does indeed signal a recurring melancholic theme throughout *Arcadia*. He also exemplifies one point in the process of lovesickness as depicted by Sannazaro. In Sannazaro’s pastoral imagination he envisions Arcadia as a place of the mind and a refuge for the lovesick. This is not to say that the characters are always happy. On the contrary, melancholy seems to be a common denominator. The happiness depicted is only surface deep. Characters like Ergasto, Sincero, Galicio, and Carino are either in love, and it is unrequited, or have

experienced this type of rejection that they cannot escape—Carino, for example, in chapter X listens to various dark, magical, secret, and complicated rituals that might either remove his love fixation or impart similar feelings into the heart of the beloved. In the depiction of these characters, the author explores facets of unhappiness in love. Ergasto is at once a character who is described as separate from the others, at the end of the first chapter's prose section, one suffering from love, and an illustration of the alienation a lover undergoes when rejected by his beloved: —Ergasto solo, senza alcuna cosa dire o fare, appiè di un albero, dimenticato di sé e de' suoi greggi, giaceva, non altrimenti che se una pietra o un tronco stato fusse, quantunque per adietro solesse oltra gli altri pastori essere dilettevole e grazioso” (58).

Always linked with the pain and suffering in love is the pleasure of the Arcadian experience, inciting the reader to align the contemplation of love's misfortunes with the pleasure of leisure to consider them, and this pleasure is linked to the setting. Arcadia does not distract the lovers with its pleasures and beauty; rather, the landscape magnifies the experience, echoing the shepherds' loves and complaints in the wind, reflecting it in the streams, and displaying the lover's words or beloved's names carved in the tree bark. Even the birds' songs parallel those of the shepherds. Arcadia at one level is the reference to the ideal elsewhere, not one in the past but one of a simplified present, an alternative to the world in which one feels oppressed by society. On a secondary level, Arcadia functions as a realm of the sentimental where one can contemplate those matters of the heart that are swept aside in the daily existence. Caracciolo Aricò puts it quite neatly when she points out that Sannazaro's conception of Arcadia is, —l'Arcadia fatta di carta, potremmo dire, di lettere e parole, tutte desunte dalla tradizione, una cornice che nulla inventa, ma che riprende *topoi* divenuti canonici” (23). In this version of Arcadia, the shepherds are both individual characters and types that function —come parte di un tutto” (Caracciolo Aricò

23). The characters, like the natural elements, all form part of an exteriorization of the interior sentimental experience of the ~~author~~.” I say ~~author~~” because one cannot state for certain that these are the sentiments of the true, empirical author, that is, the real Jacopo Sannazaro. Rather, they are a projection on the part of the empirical author of a type, and *Arcadia* functions as an examination of said type. What we identify as the ~~author~~” is built on elements of a fictional work. It is our conception of the authorial projection, and must remain distinct from the man himself.

Not only is *Arcadia* dual in the sense that it expresses a fictional setting and a state of mind, a representation of emotional projection and a world created to contemplate one’s experience in love, it is also double in that it evokes both Campania and *Arcadia*, being both here and there:

In apparenza geograficamente e topograficamente preciso, il paesaggio si rivela vago e indistinto, al punto che l’*Arcadia* e la Campania si assomigliano e si avvicinano fino quasi a coincidere, a sovrapporsi. A separarle non sono le dimensioni fisiche dello spazio e del tempo, ma solo distanze mentali [...]: sono come due possibilità, sempre contemporanee e sempre alternative, di esistenza [...]. (Erspamer 12)

Sannazaro had never visited Greece; his fashioning of the pastoral realm was at once imaginary and inspired by his surroundings. At once the shepherds and the audience are both in their present and in the elsewhere. Pastoral space is not necessarily distant in time or distance; one need not travel to Greece to visit the pastoral realm. Rather, pastoral space is indicative of a psychological distance, a mental exile from the present into an alternative present reality, not a

distant past. The setting of *Arcadia* functions in double, being both elsewhere and present, and is thus representative of the reader's experience when reading the work itself.

The duality of the setting is renewed and emphasized in the prologue which functions both as entrance to the world and guide to the reader. The very form of each chapter, containing a section in prose and an eclogue in verse, underlines structurally the duality inherent in so many facets of the work. Duality, the setting, the author's conception of the reader and her/his role, the emphasis on spectacle, and the continual presence of death form the basis of this analysis.

Prologue: The Reader's Guide to *Arcadia*

Erspamer suggests that the prologue is the *“chiave di lettura dell'Arcadia”* (9). Heeding this advice, the prologue provides the reader with a guide to Sannazaro's pastoral imagination and outlines an implicit contract on the part of the author that he expects his reader to fulfill. The reader is introduced to the narrator, the *“I”* figure who at first seems to be a shepherd like the others whom he describes. It is only later that we learn his name (Sincero) and that he is a visitor in this pastoral realm, a visitor who is identified with Sannazaro. From the beginning the narrator is disguised, and the theme of doubling and masking is thus introduced. *Arcadia* is characterized by a multiplicity of voices. I offer the following authorial diagram by means of illustration:

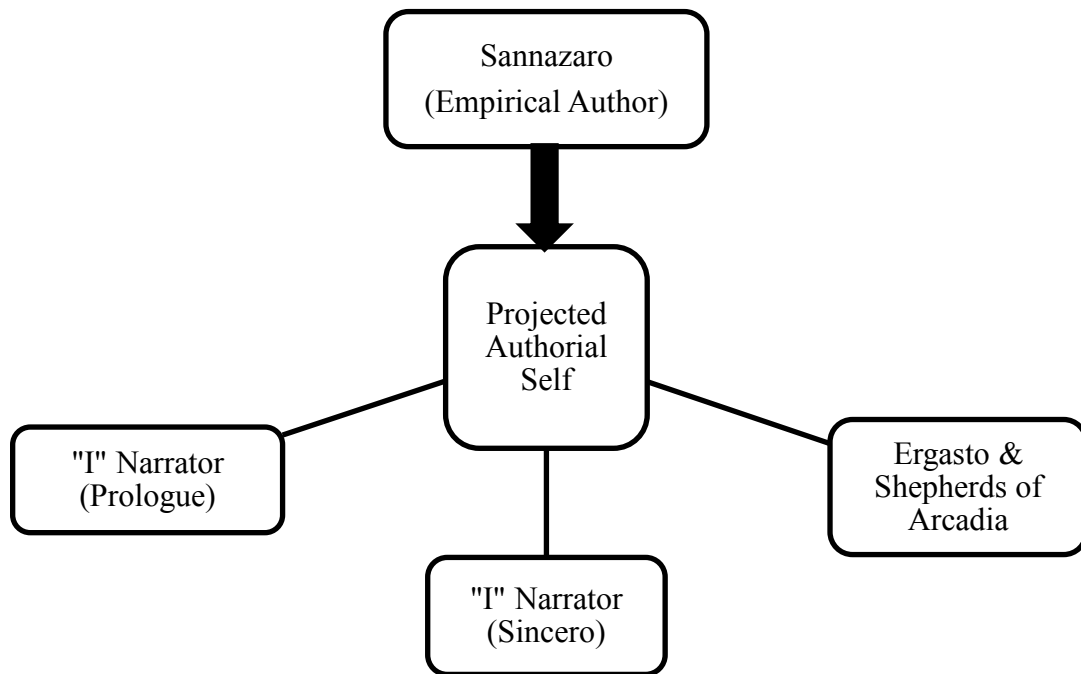


Figure 2: Narrative Scheme in Sannazaro's *Arcadia*.

At the top of the narrative scheme is the empirical author, Sannazaro. He is at once outside and within the work as a projected concept of whom the characters are largely unaware and a character, a recording ~~witness~~” and participant in the events, a member of the troupe of whom the characters are aware. The author participates in the fictional realm, taking on the role of character not only as Sincero but also as all the other shepherds who compose their own verse: Ergasto (in particular), Selvaggio, Montano, Uranio, Carino, etc. Sannazaro is the grand actor, wearing different masks to fully explore the pastoral experience, to completely describe the Arcadian realm; and as the master he entices the reader to attempt to unveil him, to penetrate his disguise. The reader may guess at the projected form that may share characteristics with the empirical author but must remain distinct since we cannot truly know his purpose; we can merely supply educated guesses as to his intentions.

In the prologue, Sannazaro inserts his authorial voice in the form of a first person narrator who expresses everything by means of contrast and juxtaposition, a characteristic of pastoral literature. The overarching comparison is the natural world and the civilized world, the former following the laws of the material world, the latter following those laws created and enforced by man. The narrator clearly prefers a state of nature over a state of artificial creation imposed on man by man. He begins, *“Sogliono il piú de le volte gli alti e spaziosi alberi negli orridi monti da la natura prodotti, piú che le coltivate piante da dotte mani expurgate negli adorni giardini [...]”* (53)³². A series of such comparisons follow, preferring the *“selvatichi ucelli sopra i verdi rami cantando”* over those caged birds, even though they are *“vezzose e ornate gabbie”* (53). The singing wild birds foreshadow the singing shepherds whose songs are echoed by the natural environment in Arcadia, another duality taking form in the author’s conscious creation. The act

³² When citing the prose sections of the *Arcadia* I will make reference to the page numbers alone; when referring to the verse portions I will provide both page number and verse numbers: (Page#, Verse#).

of singing recalls the act of composition, and is further enforced by the following comparison:

–Per la qual cosa ancora, sí come io stimo, addviene che le silvestre canzoni vergate ne li ruvidi cortecci de’ faggi diletтино non meno a chi le legge che li colti versi scritti ne le rase carte degli indorati libri [...]” (53). The act of writing and recording is highlighted, evocative of publication; the narrator, however, judges the ~~natural~~” manner of writing of the shepherds who carve into the bark of the trees to be superior to the ~~indorati libri~~” of civilized man. The narrator favors nature and the natural, spontaneous composition over the well-crafted product of society.

The narrator’s penchant for the natural world seems an artificial preference given Sannazaro’s dedicated reworking of *Arcadia*, his careful craftsmanship. Ironically, his pastoral work, as are all pastoral works, is the product of civilization. On another level, though, there is perhaps a critique of the early unauthorized publication of his work. *Arcadia* was published in a pirated version on June 14, 1502 in Venice and followed by several other pirated editions (Venice on November 22, 1502; Naples on January 23, 1503, and Milan on January 9, 1504) prior to the official, authorized version by Sannazaro himself in 1504 (Kennedy 25). It is unclear what his reaction was to the earlier publications of his unfinished work, but he was then encouraged by his friend, Pietro Summonte, to prepare an official and complete version for publication, the result being the 1504 edition. During this period, Sannazaro was in exile in France, away from his beloved Naples. It was a bitter time in his life where the humanist witnessed the fall of his friend and ruler, Frederick III. Perhaps the pastoral retreat, although it was begun in his youth, came to be particularly meaningful as he worked on the revision for publication. One can only guess; the truth will never be known.

The narrator continues, preferring the natural reed instruments of the shepherds to the ~~pregiati bossi de’ musici per le pompose camere~~” (54) and the natural springs to the marble

fountains created by man. Interestingly enough, the narrator's choice of comparison belies the truly natural world. Only in the last instance, that of the spring to the fountain, is his comparison based on the material elements. Because writing has long been considered the marker of civilization, Sannazaro subverts the definition of civilization, claiming writing as part of the natural world order, thereby emphasizing that writing and singing are both inherent in nature, not solely the product of civilization.

In addition to the reworking of the definition of civilization, the narrator/author extends the concept of the natural world. It is no longer the habitat of birds and wild animals; rather, it is man's world, the one to which he truly belongs, without artifice and ornamentation, simple and not ostentatious; one which he inhabits peacefully and in harmony with nature. Throughout his comparisons, the narrator affirms that what is natural is more pleasing, even allowing his last affirmation, that of the spring over the fountain, to take the form of a question: —*Echi dubita che piú non sia a le umane menti aggradevole una Fontana che naturalmente esca da le vive pietre, attorniata di verdi erbette, che tutte le alter ad arte fatte di bianchissimi marmi, risplendenti per molto oro?*” (54). He provides the answer for the reader (*—Certo che io creda niuno*”), and continues, using this justification to explain his own pastoral work:

Dunque in ciò fidandomi, potrò ben io fra queste deserte piagge, agli ascoltanti alberi e a quei pochi pastori che vi saranno, raccontare le rozze ecloghe da naturale vena uscite, così di ornamento ignude sperimentole come sotto le dilettevoli ombre, al mormorio de' liquidissimi fonti, da' pastori di Arcadia le udii cantare [...]

(54)

The author prepares the audience for his own disguise in pastoral costume by disguising his text as a simple song of shepherds. He attributes the eclogues to the shepherds of Arcadia, signaling a

duality on the narrative level to the reader because he distinguishes himself from his characters' creative capabilities. He affirms that even the gods are overwhelmed by the sweet compositions of Arcadian shepherds. Such a declaration leads the reader to one conclusion: even the gods are pleased by this humble form. If it pleases the gods it should surely please the reader.

Implicitly, by distinguishing the eclogues as the product of Arcadia, the narrator/author claims the prose as his own, encouraging the reader to zone in on the true innovation of Sannazaro: the structure. The duality in the narrative structure is echoed by the formal structure of the work in its entirety, each eclogue within a chapter functioning as a narrative within a narrative, reminiscent of the play within the play, the alternation of prose with verse sections that, like the prose, ~~nar~~rano avvenimenti, ne commentano altri, introducono personaggi, espongono oscure visioni: racconti nel racconto, sogni nel sogno" (Erspamer 13).

The act of reading is central to the prologue. The narrator/author addresses his reader directly, justifying his work and his aesthetic, bidding the reader to follow him into Arcadia, a world he describes as resplendent and extremely pleasing. The text does seem episodic and with each prose section an introduction is made to new characters who will sing for the reader and the in-text audience (the shepherds) in the verse section that follows. Each dual section (prose and verse) forms a chapter and reads like a scene with stage directions and then dialogue, and the shepherds are aware in places of their performance, even if it is only for each other (for example, the first, second, and third chapters). Performance is second nature to these shepherds, and it does not take much to provoke them. At the end of the third prose eclogue, for example, Galicio, ~~ve~~ggendo forse quella che piú amava, senza essere da alcuno di noi pregato, dopo alquanti sospiri ardentissimi, sonandogli il suo Eugenio la sampogna³³, così suavemente cominciò a

³³ The ~~s~~ampogna" refers to an early bagpipe commonly used by shepherds in pastoral literature. In the case of Pan, however, it refers to the seven-reeded pipe that he fashioned from the reeds created when Syrinx, the nymph he

cantare, tacendo ciascuno” (80-1). Performance and dialogue are inherent and fundamental to the action of the work.

Sannazaro establishes a seemingly new aesthetic, one which values nature and that which is natural and pastoral over the artificiality of civilization—a surprising conceit given the use of textual references and reworking of sources that Sannazaro offers the reader. The natural world is pleasure, a reflection of the Epicurean nature of pastoral. Davide Canfora argues, with regard to Sannazaro’s *De partu Virginis*, that the author was not only aware of Neapolitan Epicureanism, he utilized it in an interesting syncretism with Christian ideals in his epic poem. After the series of juxtapositions proposed in the prologue, the reader is ultimately left with the conclusion that it is civilization that is false—the narrator/author’s humble pastoral fiction offers a far more pleasing experience. The narrator/author closes his prologue again underlining the choice of a low style, appropriate to the subject matter, yet the imagery is contradictory: —“Che certo egli è migliore il poco terreno ben coltivare, che l molto lasciare per mal governo miseramente imboschire” (55). The imagery of the small well-cultivated field versus the large field left to grow wild seems to undermine the narrator’s previous affirmations: that which is natural and grows wild should be preferred to the cultivated field indicative of civilization. It can be read as an emphasis on the small humble nature of the work rather than on an overly ambitious work that would not please the reader. Further, it could be an allusion to the act of writing, one often paralleled with the act of cultivating land. Sannazaro proposes that one well-polished work, such as the *Arcadia*, is better than a larger, unpolished work³⁴. Nonetheless, the

loved and an ardent follower of Diana, prayed to be transformed so that she could escape Pan. This instrument, with which he is often associated both in picture and in literature, is commonly referred to as a Syrinx, named after the nymph.

³⁴ Sannazaro might also be referring to the real contrast between the small, well-cultivated plots of land looked after by the Neapolitan peasants versus the large *latifondi* that were poorly administrated and left uncultivated by the Neapolitan aristocracy. Sannazaro would have been well aware of this contrast as a landowning Neapolitan

authorial narrator leaves the reader with a slightly contradictory impression just as she or he is about to enter Arcadia, hinting that it is up to the reader to participate and interpret what is seen therein.

Ekphrasis and Spectacle: The Visual and the Performative in *Arcadia*.

Until Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, pastoral literature was characterized primarily by dialogue. Consider the eclogue and the pastourelle—both forms emphasize the dialogic mode of expression. Even Boccaccio's vernacular pastoral works give primacy to dialogue, and while the descriptive plays a part, it is with *Arcadia* that more emphasis is given to the visual component, that the use of imagery earns a particular place of importance. It is evocative of the primacy that Sannazaro attributes to the natural world in the prologue that description, setting, and ekphrasis find prominent usage throughout *Arcadia*.

From the first chapter, nature and the description of the natural world figure prominently. The narrator describes in great detail the trees, qualifying each variety with a multitude of adjectives that suggest more than mere poetic effusion:

[...] se io non mi inganno, son forse dodici o quindici alberi, di tanto strana et
 eccessiva bellezza che chiunque li vedesse giudicherebbe che la maestra Natura vi
 si fusse con sommo diletto studiata in formarli. Li quali, alquanto distanti e in
 ordine non artificioso disposti, con la loro rarità la naturale bellezza del luogo
 oltre misura annobiliscono. (56)

Evocative of the prologue, the description functions doubly as a reminder of the narrator's persuasive side, his desire to convey the realism of the setting to the reader, to reinforce his role,

at present, as witness; and the beauty and non-artificiality of the trees and, by extension, Arcadia. The minute detail of the trees of Arcadia is an instance of synecdoche. Moreover, the narrator notes a variety of trees and praises their individuality through a multitude of adjectives:

–Quivi senza nodo veruno si vede il drittissimo abete, nato a sustinere i pericoli del mare, e con piú aperti rami la robusta quercia e l'alto frassino e lo amenissimo piatano vi si distendono con le loro ombre, non picciola parte del bello e copioso prato occupando. [...] Ma fra tutti nel mezzo, presso un chiaro fonte, sorge verso il cielo un dritto cipresso, veracissimo imitatore de le alte mete, nel quale non che Ciprasso ma, se dir conviensi, esso Apollo non si sdegnarebbe essere transfigurato. (56-7)

The narrator here repeats the allusion made by the narrator of the prologue, aligning the divine with the natural and underlining the willingness of the gods to participate in the pastoral setting because it is so pleasing. On another level, the variety of trees seems to foreshadow the shepherds who inhabit the Arcadian realm. The individual trees symbolize the individual shepherds with Sincero perhaps paralleling the cypress. As Caracciolo Aricò notes, “Quasi ogni albero si presenta con la sua storia peculiare, personificazioni del mito, in cui Jacopo ricicla il repertorio mitologico greco-latino” (23). Nature and her elements are characters in the pastoral realm, functioning both as setting and not-so-silent witnesses of the shepherds' lives, a function that falls in line with the hyper-literary nature of the setting.

In the midst of this idyllic landscape in Chapter I, the shepherds play happily with the exception of Ergasto who sits alone at the edge of the group. Selvaggio approaches him and sings to him, thus the performance begins in the midst of this descriptive, natural, pastoral world, full of natural wonder and beauty. The narrator underlines the non-artificiality of the setting to

prepare the reader to accept as natural the behavior of the shepherds, both the ludic element and the performative.

The first eclogue not only prepares the reader to accept the formal choices of the author, it foreshadows the sentimental timber of the entire romance. Selvaggio tries to ascertain why Ergasto is so miserable: “Del cui misero stato Selvaggio mosso a compassione, per dargli alcun conforto così amichevolmente ad alta voce cantando gli incominciò a parlare [...]” (58). In the process, the form of the dialogue is echoed in a series of thematic juxtapositions. Selvaggio describes the time of year as springtime, the season when, “l’arco ripiglia il fanciullin di Venere” (59, v. 19). Ergasto, however, is in winter, and not only winter, but nighttime, a time of day typically avoided in pastoral literature, but whose use is expanded in *Arcadia* beyond the vespertinal contribution of Virgil:

Primavera e suoi dí per me non riedono,
né truovo erbe o fioretti che mi gioveno,
ma solo pruni e stecchi che l cor ledono.
Nubbi mai da quest’aria non si moveno,
e veggio, quando i dí son chiari e tepidi,
notti di verno che tonando pioveno. (60-1, vv. 34-9)

Ergasto does not see spring in the air as Selvaggio does. The melancholy shepherd is in winter eternal because he is unhappy in love, and the differing view of Arcadia is a reflection of his sentimental condition, underscoring Arcadia as a landscape of the mind. Arcadia is influenced by her inhabitants, so that Selvaggio experiences a dissonance in the land, a sense that all is not as it should be: “~~he~~ par che stiamo in Scizia o in Etiopia” (60, v. 27). The traditional pastoral role, represented by Selvaggio, is juxtaposed to the rebelling quality of Ergasto who represents a

reversal of the Arcadian ideal echoed in the setting that one would think might undermine the pastoral ideal but rather enforces the function of the setting and the need for exile and retreat.

The role that the natural world plays extends beyond setting in this eclogue. At the end of the eclogue, after Ergasto has expressed his complete unhappiness at the hands of unrequited love, he tells Selvaggio that the woods, the rivers, the mountains, the animals, and even the air knows how much he loves the cruel golden-haired beauty who scorned his advances:

ben sanno questi boschi quanto io amola;
sannolo fiumi, monti, fiere et omini,
ch'ognor piangendo e sospirando bramola. (63, vv. 94-6)

Nature knows Ergasto's love and his pain. The natural elements witness and echo his love:

Eco rimbomba, e spesso indietro voltami
le voci che sí dolci in aria sonano,
e nell'orecchie il bel nome risoltami. (63, vv. 100-102)

The trees even record his words in its bark: —*Quest'alberi di lei sempre ragionano / e ne le scorze scritta la dimostrano,*" (63, vv. 103-4). The young shepherd transposes his act of writing (having carved her name in the trunk of the trees of the forest) onto nature, attributing the writing to the trees, the echo of his voice to the air, personifying the elements of the natural world until they participate in the creative process, generating a multiplicity of voices that resonates throughout Arcadia; a metaphor, perhaps, for the extreme awareness of the act of writing and reading on the part of the author, Sannazaro, who plays with his reader through an array of narrative voices. Everywhere in Arcadia resonates the act of writing and composing or singing. The first chapter, in particular the first eclogue, combines the performative and the visual, modeling its future use in the rest of the work.

The centrality of the oral element (the dialogue, the performance, the songs of the shepherds) is matched by the significance attached to the visual language. A prime example of the import of the visual is the ekphrasis found in Chapter III in the prose section. In the chapter, the shepherds celebrate the feast of Pales, —*veranda dea di pastori.*” As the shepherds enter the temple, the narrator describes the painting on the façade, and his attention is caught by a depiction of nymphs. Sannazaro depicts several distinct scenes on the temple but this is the only one to include the feminine, and it is the one that most interests the narrator:

Ma quel che piú intentamente mi piacque di mirare erano certe ninfe ignude, le quali dietro un tronco di castagno stavano quasi mezze nascose, ridendo di un montone che per intendere a rodere una ghirlanda di quercia che dinanzi agli occhi gli pendea, non si ricordava di pascere le erbe che dintorno gli stavano. (76)

While this humorous scene unfolds and the nymphs giggle at the ram’s distraction, satyrs are sneaking up on them, and the nymphs, suddenly realizing the peril they face, take flight. The painting comes to life as the author describes their escape from the threat:

[...] una, piú che le altre presta, era poggiata sovra un càrpino, e quindi con un ramo lungo in mano si difendea; le altre si erano per paura gittate dentro un fiume, e per quello fuggivano notando, e le chiare onde poco o niente gli nascondevano de le bianche carni. Ma poi che si vedevano campate dal pericolo, stavano assise da l’altra riva affannate e anelanti, asciugandosi i bagnati capelli; e quindi con gesti e con parole pareva che increpare volessono coloro che giungere non le avevano potuto. (76-7)

One has the definite impression of a series of vignettes depicting the flight of the nymphs; however, when reading, the description reads as though the art comes to life, a metaphor for the

literary work and the interaction of the readers' imagination. The stories that were told ~~visually~~ on the temple are ~~returned~~ to words that the reader must then transform again to visual images, leaving the reader with a shared authorial responsibility for seeing what is described and recomposing it.

The description resonates of the pastoral world. The menace of physical violence towards the nymphs is underlined by their rapid and panicked movement and the poet brings both their escape and their fear to life. This rare moment of menace and violence seems out of place in the serene pastoral world inhabited by Sincero and the other shepherds. However, if one considers that this is a landscape of the mind, then the menace unfolding takes on a new dimension. It can be read as the projection of male desire into the idyllic. The nymphs personify the universal woman, the feminine object of affection and, more than that, desire. The satyrs embody male lust for the female, the underlining dissonance that causes the sentimental tribulations of Sincero and others. The nymphs escape and manage even to scold the satyrs from their safe perch and so peace is restored to the pastoral world. The harmony, however, seems tenuous and its momentary lapse leaves a shadow on the events.

Associated with this ~~—hunting~~ scene in which the nymphs are depicted as prey for the rapacious satyrs is the concept of pleasure: the narrator claims that this tableau pleases him very much. Such an assertion provokes the reader to ask why. The other paintings depict mythic, divine figures: Apollo, Mercury. Even Juno and Minerva are described, but emphasis is on the pleasure of viewing such a fine work of art, praising the painter. The narrator's reaction not only mimics the reader's process but also guides the reader's reception.

The paintings of the nymphs prefigure the appearance of shepherdesses in chapter V in a ~~virginal~~ meadow whose flowers were tread upon only by, the narrator surmises, by nymphs:

—Ma porti i divoti preghi, e i solenni sacrifici finiti, uscimmo per un'altra porta a una bella pianura coverta di pratelli delicatissimi, li quali, sí come io stimo, non erano stati giammai pasciuti né da pecore né da capre, né da altri piedi calcati che di ninfe [...]" (80). At the sight of the beautiful shepherdesses, one shepherd, Galicio, begins to sigh, and the narrator guesses that Galicio has seen his beloved amidst the group of beautiful young women. The shepherd is so inspired that he begins to sing of his love. The painting not only foreshadows the appearance of the shepherdesses; it prefigures the sexual tension that underlies the sentimental depiction of the end of the prose section and that permeates the character's song throughout the eclogue.

The audience's reaction is recorded at the opening of the following chapter, and the reaction is, predictably, one of great pleasure on the part of the shepherds. The narrator even hypothesizes which one of the fair maidens might be the lady in question. Even the unconscious and spontaneous expression of love is an opportunity not only for performance on the part of the shepherds who seem to be inspired by their very being to sing their sentiments, but for a reminder to the reader of the act of composition. Further, love and sentimentality, even melancholy, cannot be hidden in Arcadia, nor do the characters really desire such a capacity. The resulting effect, however, is that there is no privacy in pastoral, no time for a personal moment without an audience surrounding. While self-imposed alienation does occur, for example with Ergasto, complete solitude is not an option due to the communal nature of the pastoral way of life. The shepherds share their feelings with each at every instance, consciously and willingly, or otherwise.

Nymphs figure prominently in the iconography of pastoral and are often linked with desire and pleasure. In the instance of the first painting, or series of paintings—those depicting the nymphs—the narrator's pleasure is unified with peril, lust, and threat on the part of the

masculine directed at the feminine. This iconographic pastoral scene is transformed by darkness and the threat of violence. These indications that Arcadia's landscape is perturbed by a dark shadow in the mind of the narrator create a dissonance in the first eclogue in the form of Ergasto at odds with his pastoral surroundings. The natural disturbance points to a lack of harmony and a disruption of the idyllic peace, the first demonstrated in the performative element, the latter in the visual element. Moreover, that the feminine is threatened by the masculine reminds the reader of the threat to the shepherdess in the pastourelle and the same flight that Boccaccio's nymphs undertook in the *Ninfale fiesolano*, whose escape is not as successful.

The dark shadow lurking in Arcadia resurfaces in the fifth chapter with the Tomb of Androgeo, evoking the motif of the tomb in Arcadia, not used in pastoral since Virgil's *Eclogues*³⁵. Damiani and Mujica affirm, "Death, violence, discontent and conflict permeate *Arcadia*, generating a rich array of rhetorical and symbolic expressions" (5-6). Ergasto sets the tone of *Arcadia* from his first lament of unrequited love in the first verse section. The juxtaposition of life and death supplies the ultimate contrast and aligns Arcadia and the pastoral realm with reality where the shadow of death also looms. In death, the visual and the performative are unified. Interestingly enough, in this segment that introduces death into the Arcadian landscape, it begins in a celebratory fashion describing the shepherds' return to the village and their cheerful and friendly athletic competitions on the path home. Twice the reader is assured how pleasurable the narrator and shepherds find the return home where, upon arriving, they feast and celebrate further and then go to sleep. The epicurean, the joy of pleasure and the importance of finding pleasure in all that one does, is a constant throughout the description of the shepherds.

³⁵ In *Eclogue* V, 42 ff., two shepherds sing of Daphnis' death and call for the construction of a tomb: "And build a tomb, and on the tomb place, too, this verse: 'Daphnis was I amid the woods, known from here even to the stars. Fair was my flock, but fairer I, their shepherd'" (57, vv. 42-44).

The next day dawns and, as the shepherds depart with their herds, the quest for pleasure is resumed. Spurred on by the promise of a most pleasing space to occupy with the flock during the day by one of the older shepherds, the shepherds pause momentarily by a stream when they hear a commotion of music and shouts from nearby:

Per che alzatine da sedere, rattissimi verso quella parte del monte onde il rumore
si sentiva ne drizzammo, e tanto per lo inviluppato bosco andammo che a quella
pervenimmo. (98)

What they find surprises the reader: it is a tomb, that of Androgeo, another shepherd for whom the funeral rites are being performed:

Ove trovati da dieci vaccari che intorno al venerando sepolcro del pastore
Androgeo in cerchio danzavano, a guisa che sogliono sovente i lascivi satiri per le
selve la mezza notte saltare aspettando che dai vicini fiumi escano le amate ninfe,
ne ponemmo con loro insieme a celebrare il mesto officio. (98-9)

The narrator describes the funeral rites in detail. Ten cowherds dance around the tomb in a fashion that reminds the narrator of satyrs waiting for the nymphs to issue forth from the nearby stream. Tones of Dionysus resonate in this ritual. The description evokes a pastoral Bacchanalia, only the wine has been replaced by milk and the erotic fervor has been sublimated by spiritual worship. Distinguished from the other shepherds present is the ~~p~~riest,” described as one ~~p~~iu che gli altri degno” (99), standing in the center of the dance near the tomb and next to an altar ~~f~~atto di verdi erbe” (99). Here he follows what the narrator describes as ancient custom (~~a~~ntico costume”), a bit of information that leads the discerning reader to wonder how, if this first-person narrator is Sincero, as identified in chapter VII, does this newcomer know the ancient

customs? Perhaps a slip of the author's voice penetrates here. The shepherd-priest's ritualistic process is described in detail:

[...] spargendo duo vasi di novo latte, duo di sacro sangue e duo di fumoso e nobilissimo vino, e copia abondevole di tenerissimi fiori di diversi colori, e accordandosi con suave e pietoso modo al suono de la sampogna e de' naccari, cantava distesamente le lode del sepolto pastore [...] (99)

One might think that with these lines the eclogue is introduced but, on the contrary, the shepherd-priest's song is recorded in prose. The sacred performance continues, focused on the shepherd-priest's eulogy. The musical eulogy is characterized by a series of questions addressed to Androgeo, underscoring the dissonance created by his death. The priest believes Androgeo's spirit is present and witnessing the rites being performed: "Certo io creggio che la tua graziosa anima vada ora a torno a queste selve volando, e veda e senta puntalmente ciò che per noi oggi in sua ricardazione si fa sovra la nova sepultura" (99). The activities that characterize Androgeo's spirit could also be read to characterize the reader. Such a consideration provokes a new vision of the use of death in the pastoral not as merely a reminder of the shadow that touches everyone everywhere but as a metaphysical representation of the shadow of the reader, ever present in the fictional work in the mind of the author but always silent, a reflection of the interior process of reading. The author's desire for an answer from the reader is paralleled by the shepherd-priest's longing for an answer from Androgeo, one which ultimately neither will ever actually receive: "La qual cosa se è pur vera, or come può egli essere che a tanto chiamare non ne risponda?" (99). The latter is confused as to the spirit's silence but it is clear that the shepherd is missed. Androgeo was a peacekeeper amongst the shepherds but now, in death, he has left the shepherds "dubbiosi e scontenti" (100). Once more the narrator hints at a fundamental discord and lack of

harmony in Arcadia. The many questions posed by the priest elucidate the uncertainty and profound loss the living experience at the death of a beloved member of the community, a sentiment not unique to Arcadia. What is unique to the pastoral realm is how nature reflects the loss and dissonance experienced by the shepherds: —E quante volte dopo avemo fatto pruova di seminare il candido frumento, tante invece di quello avemo raccolto lo infelice loglio con le sterili avene per li sconsolati solchi; e in luogo di viole e d'altri fiori sono usciti pruni con spine acutissime e velenose per le nostre campagne” (100-1). Just as the shepherds sing of Androgeo so will the trees: —E questi pini e questi cerri e questi piatani che dintorno ti stanno, mentre il mondo sarà susurreranno il nome tuo” (101). Nature does not seem transformed to the shepherds because of their sentiments of grief—it *is* transformed, a reflection of their emotional and mental state, in a lens magnifying their interiority for all to see.

Once the shepherd-priest has finished his lament, he begins to play his cornemuse and Ergasto steps forward to sing his own lament and this is indeed the eclogue. He praises the deceased shepherd as he cries over the tomb, mimicking the priest's mode of address—he, too, directs his remarks to Androgeo. Ergasto repeats the priest's affirmation that both the natural and the divine lament Androgeo's death:

Pianser le sante dive
 la tua spietata morte,
 I fiumi il sanno e le spelunche e i faggi;
 pianser le verdi rive,
 l'erbe pallide e smorte,
 e l sol più giorni non mostrò suoi raggi;
 né gli animai selvaggi

usciro in alcun prato,
 né greggi andâr per monti
 né gustaro erbe o fonti,
 tanto dolse a ciascun l'acerbo fato;
 tal che al chiaro et al fosco
 --Androgeo, Androgeo!—sonava il bosco. (104, vv. 40-52)

The extremely descriptive song in the prose, rich in imagery, is mirrored and exceeded in verse. Both performances are witnessed not only by the shepherd audience but by the reader as well. Moreover, to this combination of visual and performative is added the awareness of the writing process. At the beginning of chapter VI, the narrator describes Fronimo, a shepherd of Ergasto's company, copying down Ergasto's song as the latter composes it: —~~M~~entre Ergasto cantò la pietosa canzone, Fronimo, sovra tutti i pastori ingegnosissimo, la scrisse in una verde corteccia di faggio; e quella, di molte ghirlande investita, appiccò a un albero che sovra la bianca sepoltura stendava i rami soi” (106). Fronimo is praised as more intelligent or talented than the other shepherds. The creative process is put on display here for the reader to recognize: inspiration comes, the words are recorded, and then the work is shared with others. There are several conventions present that maintain the pastoral mask—the writer records what he actually hears and witnesses, the songs are sung by shepherds, and the work is meant to be displayed for a restricted, privileged, pastoral audience. The latter implies that the reader, in reading, enters into a contract with the author, taking on the pastoral disguise and agreeing to follow the laws therein described.

Fronimo records the song on tree bark and the song is then attached to the tree above the tomb. The natural participates in the event, providing not only the means by which the song is

recorded but the way in which the song can be shared with and appreciated by others. The renewal of the act of writing in conjunction with the performance and the supposed oral enunciation of the song prepares the act of reading and reminds the reader of the nature of the text. It is a fiction and herein we encounter the structure of a fiction within a fiction: the song composed within the Arcadian frame that is then recorded and left to be read by other passersby, as is the book itself. In this instance where reality and Arcadia coincide in death, the reader finds her or himself reminded of the true nature of the work. Just as Arcadia opens a small view into the reality of the sentimental experience, reality reciprocally demonstrates the nature of the work and the writing process.

These elements—the visual, the performative, death, and the metaliterary awareness of the author—coincide again at the other tomb of Arcadia, that of Massilia in chapter X. Coincidentally, the combination corresponds to a sacred performance: a shepherd-priest is present, guiding the shepherds through the sacred cave of Pan and describing rituals that could cure Carino of his melancholy, whether it be by forgetting his beloved or forcing her to feel his pain and love. The rites described are complex and unusual, mixing elements of magic and nature to create a unique recipe to remedy one's lovesickness. The description, of course, pleases the shepherds to no end, but it is just that which pleases them: the description. They do not accept the shepherd-priest's offer. Rather, they leave, and ask Selvaggio to sing to them. The tried and true remedy—music and poetry—is recalled, assigning the act of composition a privileged place above the ritualistic and magical.

Chapter X is one of the longer, more complex entries in *Arcadia*. The opening, describing the shepherds' approach of the altar and wood carving of Pan, underscores the importance of the visual element and the setting: —Et entrati nel santo pineto, trovammo sotto una pendente ripa, fra

ruinati sassi una spelunca vecchissima e grande, non so se naturalmente o se da manuale artificio cavata nel duro monte [...]” (166). The setting evokes chapter III and the description of the temple. This sacred grove and the cave that is at once natural and artificial, because the narrator tells the reader that he cannot distinguish the difference, epitomizes the duality and repeated juxtapositions that resonate throughout the work. There is a solemnity in the air as the shepherds enter the cave and as he looks at the altar that the narrator recognizes as being made by ~~r~~ustiche mani di pastori” (166) he notices a wooden carving of Pan and the narrator/author utilizes ekphrasis again to underscore the importance of the visual:

[...] e dentro di quella, del medesimo sasso, un bello altare, formato da rustiche mani di pastori; sovra al quale si vedeva di legno la grande effigie del selvatico idio, appoggiata a un lungo bastone di una intiera oliva, e sovra la testa avea due corna drittissime et elevate verso il cielo, con la faccia rubiconda come matura fragola, le gambe e i piedi irsuti né d'altra forma che sono quelli de le capre. Il suo manto era di una pelle grandissima, stellata di bianche macchie. (166)

The divine is present in the pastoral world through artistic representations that are described for the reader to recreate mentally. The description, though less extensive perhaps than that in chapter III, is detailed and conveys not only a sense of life, texture, color, and realism in the form, but also the wonder and awe of the shepherds who behold the sight.

The visual combines with the written here in this sacred ~~t~~emple” and with law; pastoral law, that is:

Da l'un lato e da l'altro del vecchio altare pendevano due grandi tavole di faggio, scritte di rusticane lettere; le quali, successivamente di tempo in tempo per molti anni conservate dai passati pastori, continevano in sé le antiche leggi e gli

ammaestramenti de la pastorale vita; da le quali tutto quello che fra le selve oggi si adopra, ebbe prima origine. (166)

The written element here is not a song but rather the root of the foundation of pastoral life. The author thus offers evidence of his authority—he has seen and set down, in minute detail, the laws that govern Arcadia and pastoral life. They are agricultural in nature, concerning forecasting the weather, the phases of the moon, how to rear livestock, and medicines for both shepherds and their animals. It is a comprehensive catalogue of the basics of pastoral existence, all relatively benign but focused on nature, on how things function in nature. The manner of their display recalls the Ten Commandments on two tablets rather than on two scrolls. Indeed, their placement in the sacred cave of Pan next to his image underscores their divine provenance and the privileged position of the narrator to be able to witness and report these sacred laws to the reader.

Music returns also with the description of Pan's "sampogna", displayed outside the cave, hanging from a pine, "[...] una grande e bella sampogna pendeva, fatta di sette voci, egualmente di sotto e di sopra congiunta con bianca cera, la cui simile forse mai non fu veduta a pastore in alcuna selva" (168). The introduction of Pan's sampogna prepares Sannazaro's account of the literary origins of pastoral, reported by the shepherd-priest. The priest tells the shepherds that this instrument, created by Pan in memory of his beloved Syrinx (another tale of love unrequited through metamorphosis) from seven reeds, inexplicably fell to the hands of "un pastore siracusano, il quale, prima che alcuno altro, ebbe ardire di sonarla, senza paura di Pan o d'altro idio, sopra le chiare onde de la compatriota Aretusa [...]" (168). This shepherd of Syracuse is none other than Theocritus. Sannazaro's genealogy of pastoral literature continues with Virgil:

Il quale [Theocritus] poi, da invidiosa morte sovraggiunto, fe' di quella lo ultimo dono al mantuano Titiro, e così col mancante spirto, porgendogliela, le disse: _Tu

sarai ora di questa il secondo signore; con la quale potrai a tua posta riconciliare li
discordevoli tauri, rendendo graziosissimo suono a li selvaticchi idii. (169)

Through the attribution of this literary history to the priest, the genealogy takes on the aspect of holy scripture and allows the author to insert himself and his own work in direct lineage from the two masters of pastoral literature because the instrument was left there by Virgil and the narrator is, presumably, the first to see it since Virgil's time. The author's reference to the pastoral literary tradition, albeit in veiled terms, discloses two important elements to the reader. The first: the reader is expected to be familiar enough with the literary tradition to understand the references. The second: the author demonstrates not only his intertextual prowess but his metaliterary awareness as he coyly guides the reader to understand *Arcadia's* place in the literary tradition. The sampogna and music are emblematic of the pastoral mode, a relation that Sannazaro establishes clearly here.

After this highly literary episode, underlining the creative process, the author returns to the motif of the tomb in Arcadia and the presence of Death, uniting musical composition with the visual and creating thus an intricate web linking death, the visual, the performative (music), and the written as key constituents of the pastoral mode. As the shepherds are leaving the sacred grove they ask Selvaggio to sing in order to pass the time and entertain them as they walk. Just as he is about to begin, he looks away and sees the tomb of Massilia, the mother of Ergasto and a popular figure of pastoral harmony and peace for the shepherds. Selvaggio proposes they go visit the tomb and so they move towards the tomb. Ergasto weeps as they move in that direction and the others attempt to console him as they go. Upon arrival at the tomb, the narrator emphasizes that before them is a veritable feast of the eyes and he asks the reader to *listen* to the description:

—Ove giunti, avemmo tanto da contemplare e da pascere gli occhi quanto da pastori in alcuna

selva si avesse giamai; *e udite come*³⁶” (178). The narrator breaks the fourth wall, directly addressing the reader whom he commands to listen. The reader’s attention is focused upon the description of the tomb, indicating that this passage holds particular importance in the author’s (or narrator’s) mind.

The tomb is described as a beautiful pyramid, situated between “due fontane di acque chiarissime e dolci” (178), and decorated on all four sides by paintings that Massilia herself commissioned during her life: —si potevano vedere molte istorie di figure bellissime, le quali le medesima, essendo già viva, aveva in onore de’ suoi antichi avoli fatte dipingere, e quanti pastori ne la sua prosapia erano in alcun tempo stati famosi e chiari per li boschi, con tutto il numero de’ posseduti armenti” (178). The temple of Pales, the goddess of the shepherds, is again evoked here in this description, more so even than in the earlier description of Pan’s cave. The paintings recall the earlier vignettes, yet here Massilia had painted her own family history rather than the iconographic minor divinities of pastoral. And yet, Massilia’s paintings are no less pastoral than those gracing the temple of Pales. The two instances of ekphrasis illustrate for the reader the two sides of pastoral Arcadia: the divine and the earthly, both described in sublime fashion. Aligned with the iconography is the feminine. Massilia’s paintings are the only instance of female-driven creation in *Arcadia*, and it is a rare step in pastoral literature. Massilia was not a minor divinity like the nymphs of the *Ameto* that tell stories; on the contrary, she was the mother of a shepherd. Through the instances of ekphrasis, Sannazaro aligns certain instances of the visual with the feminine, creating a nuanced dynamic that emphasizes the image of the woman over the substance. She is not given a clear voice—she speaks only through the images she leaves behind. The first instance of ekphrasis in *Arcadia* depicted the raw sexual undertones of the pastoral contemplation of love, demonstrating one side of man’s view of woman: that of the sexual object

³⁶ Italics are mine.

to be dominated. This instance is much softer, emphasizing family and honor, a representation of the other traditional role of women: that of mother and nurturing force. The representation of the feminine is thus double, at once mother and objectification.

The motif of the tomb in Arcadia appears with great force one last time in the final chapter, chapter XII. After the celebrations of the day, the shepherds return home to sleep, including Sincero. During the night, however, he is disturbed: —Quando io (non so se per le cose vedute il giorno o che che se ne fusse cagione), dopo molti pensieri, sovrappeso da grave sonno, varie passioni e dolori sentiva ne l'animo" (212). Sincero experiences conflicting passions and sorrows. This dream-like state is the culmination of the juxtapositions described throughout the work. Ultimately, they are the expression of the narrator's troubled mind. Immediately after this moment of confusion and pain, Sincero is frightened by the vision he sees:

Però che mi pareva, scacciato da' boschi e da' pastori, trovarmi in una solitudine da me mai più non veduta, tra deserte sepulture, senza vedere uomo che io conoscessi; onde io volendo per paura gridare, la voce mi veniva meno, né per molto che io mi sforzasse di fuggire possea extendere i passi, ma debole e vinto mi rimaneva in mezzo di quelle. (212-3)

The narrator/author is surrounded by a veritable graveyard, alone, and unable to escape. The imagery provokes a dual response in the reader. The rest of the chapter describes Sincero's return to Naples, accompanied by nymphs through the water and next to streams, including the Sebeto that runs through Campania. Sincero's description mimics death, and so the narrator/author must die in Arcadia in order to be reborn in Naples. The water element hints at baptism. The secondary response hints at aspects of the empirical author's life. Given the textual references to

the orange tree, which Scherillo suggests refers to the Aragonese dynasty³⁷, and Naples, I believe Sannazaro wrote this chapter in all likelihood near the time of its publication, during his exile from Naples in France. If this is the case, he might be referring not only to the death of his childhood sweetheart, Carmosina, a death that is revealed later in the chapter by the nymphs, but to the death of the life he knew in Naples, the death of the Aragonese dynasty with Frederick III's death.

Upon his return to Campania, Sincero hears three local shepherds singing and while he distinguishes their song from that of the Arcadian shepherds, he still records it in the eclogue, and it is pleasing. Once again, it evokes death, this time the death of Phyllis (Filli), Meliseus' beloved. Barcinio and Summonzio begin the song, describing Meliseus' words and plight: *–Qui cantò Meliseo, qui proprio assisimi, / quand'ei scrisse in quell faggio: --Vidi, io misero, / vidi Filli morire, e non uccisimi. –*" (224, vv. 1-3). The structure mimics the play within the play: the shepherds retell Meliseus' experience, singing his song, describing his conduct and despair, and writing down all that they say:

SUMMONZIO Deh, se ti cal di me, Baricinio, scribili,
a tal che poi, mirando in questi cortici,
l'un arbor per pietà con l'altro assibili.
Fa che del vento il mormorar confortici,
fa che si spandan le parole e i numeri,
tal che ne sone ancor Resina e Portici. (234, vv. 244-49)

³⁷ Erspamer points out that Scherillo identifies in *–arancio*" an anagram for *–Aragoni*" (213, fn.7) and references the failure of the dynasty in face of the French occupation.

The act of writing intermingles with the oral, the performative, and death. Through the performative, the visual becomes a focus, and the point of focus is the description of Meliseus at her tomb and the inscription on the stone:

BARCINIO Un lauro gli vid'io portar su gli umeri,
 e dir: --Col bel sepolcro, o lauro, abbracciati,
 mentre io semino qui menta e cucumeri.
 Il cielo, o diva mia, non vuol ch'io tàcciati,
 anzi, perché ognor più ti onori e celebre,
 dal fondo del mio cor mai non discacciati.
 Onde con questo mio dir non incelebre,
 s'io vivo, ancor farò tra questi rustici
 la sepoltura tua famosa e celebre.
 E da' monti toscani e da' ligustici
 verranno pastori a venerar quest'angolo,
 sol per cagion che alcuna volta fustici.
 E leggeran nel bel sasso quadrangulo
 il titol che a tutt'ore il cor m'infrigida,
 per cui tanto dolor nel petto strangulo:
 _Quella che a Meliseo sí altera e rigida
 si mostrò sempre, or mansüeta et umile
 si sta sepolta in questa pietra frigida.''' (234-5, vv. 250-67)

The motif of the tomb in Arcadia is transposed to Campania, and thus the author transposes the pastoral from elsewhere to the present. Scholars affirm that this eclogue is a reference to one

Pontano wrote at the death of his wife, Adriana (Erspamer 224, fn. 3). Aligned with the death is the resolution to write and sing about Phyllis, to make her famous. A different depiction of the feminine arises here, one that looks beyond the object and sees the person. Sincero is pleased to hear the song of the local shepherds:

Ma rivolgendomi ora per la memoria il lor cantare, e con quali accenti i casi del misero Meliseo deplorasseno, mi piace sommamente con attenzione avergli uditi, non già per conferirli con quegli che di là ascoltai, né per porre queste canzoni con quelle, ma per allegarmi del mio cielo, che non del tutto vacue abbia voluto lasciare le sue selve; le quali in ogni tempo nobilissimi pastori han da sé prodotti, e dagli altri paesi con amorevoli accoglienze e materno amore a sé tirati. (223)

The narrator/author draws attention to those who, like himself, sing in the pastoral vein.

Moreover, he indicates that Campania and southern Italy draw pastoral authors from other countries and welcomes them with “amorevoli accoglienze e materno amore,” nurturing the pastoral experience. Sannazaro indicates that southern Italy is a pastoral haven, a place for pastoral literature to flourish, a characteristic underlined in the introduction to this study.

In addition to asserting the presence of pastoral in southern Italy, the “author” (the projected author) explicitly places his *Arcadia* within the literary tradition in the epilogue, his own final address to the sampogna, Pan’s instrument, thus inserting himself and his work into the literary tradition he describes in chapter X:

Benché a te [a la sampogna] non picciola scusa fia lo essere in questo secolo stata prima a risvegliare le adormentate selve e a mostrare a’ pastori di cantare le già dimenticate canzoni. Tanto più che colui il quale ti compose di queste canne, quando in Arcadia venne, non come rustico pastore ma come coltissimo giovane,

benché sconosciuto, e peregrino di amore, vi si condusse. Senza che in altri tempi sono già stati pastori sí audaci che insino a le orecchie de' romani consuli han sospinto il lor stile; sotto l'ombra de' quali potrai tu, sampogna mia, molto ben coprirti e difendere animosamente la tua ragione. (241)

The reader is made aware of the author's metaliterary conscience and the latter's awareness of his creation. The "author" repeats his prologue, emphasizing the rural and rustic over the courtly, even telling his sampogna (which stands as a metaphor for *Arcadia*) to avoid the "alti palagi de' prencipi, né le superbe piazza de le popolose cittadi" in favor of remaining "tra questi monti essere da qualunque bocca di pastori gonfiata, insegnando le rispondenti selve di risonare il nome de la tua donna e di piagnere amaramente con teco il duro e inopinato caso de la sua immatura morte [...]" (239). Is the "author" truly asking that his audience be rustic, not courtly? Of course not, for that would not have been realistic given the time. So what is the "author's" intention? I propose he hopes to transform his audience. Through the juxtapositions between the rustic and the urban, the author values nature and the rustic and implies that the reader should as well. Ultimately, *Arcadia* is a transformative experience not only for the characters but for the reader. The author invites the reader to take up the pastoral disguise and to live in a manner that reflects that disguise, foregoing the conceit and artificiality of the urban in favor of the natural authenticity of the pastoral.

Chapter 3:

The Protean Nature of Pastoral: Love, Death, and “Le jeu de miroirs”³⁸ in Tasso’s *Aminta* (1573)

Proteo son io, che tramutar sembianti
e forme soglio variar sì spesso;
e trovai l’arte onde notturna scena
cangia l’apetto; e quinci Amore istesso
trasforma in tante guise i vaghi amanti,
com’ogni carme ed ogni storia è piena.
Ne la notte serena,
ne l’amico silenzio e ne l’orrore,
sacro marin pastore
vi mostra questo coro e questa pompa;
né vien chi l’interrompa,
e turbi i nostri giuochi e i nostri canti. (56, vv. 1-12)

This is the first intermezzo in the *Aminta*, perhaps the most famous and certainly the most influential pastoral play of the Italian Renaissance. It was first performed in 1573 for the court of Ferrara where its author, Torquato Tasso (1544-1595), was in the service of Duke Alfonso II d’Este. Born in Salerno in southern Italy (again, pastoral innovation is influenced by an author

³⁸ Daniela Dalla Valle observes a mirroring in *Aminta* that she terms the “jeu de miroirs” in her article, “Aspects de l’influence de l’*Aminta* en France: Les relations entre la pièce, son public et son milieu” (1983).

with ties to southern Italy), Tasso moved around a good deal in his youth following his father to various court appointments before being taken into the service of Cardinal Luigi d'Este in Ferrara. His play, although first performed in 1573 was not published until 1581. The speaker of this monologue identifies himself as Proteus, the prophetic sea god who could assume different shapes so as to escape capture. He often shepherded Poseidon's "flock" of seals. One might ask what this sea god is doing in the midst of a pastoral play, but he possesses two characteristics that provide the answer: he is at once a shepherd and one who can wear different masks, thereby transforming his aspect into something new and unfamiliar. While Proteus appears only once (in this intermezzo, in fact), his appearance and brief speech establishes a core theme of the *Aminta*: disguise. The setting, the characters, and the structure and nature of performance all exhibit a duality in which one "truth" is disguised by another; fiction masks fiction and reality at once. This chapter proposes to examine the protean nature of the *Aminta*.

Tasso introduces the theme of disguise from the outset in the opening prologue, spoken by Amore, god of love (Cupid). The stage directions indicate that he is dressed as a shepherd ("*in abito pastorale*" (4)). Amore has decided to rebel against Venus, explaining that he has grown weary of the overbearing demands of his mother:

Io da lei son costretto a fuggire
e celarmi da lei perch'ella vuole
ch'io di me stesso e de le mie saette
faccia a suo senno; e, qual femina, e quale
vana ed ambiziosa, mi respinge
pur tra le corti e tra corone e scettri,
e quivi vuole che impieghi ogni mia prova,

e solo al volgo de' ministri miei,
 miei minori fratelli, ella consente
 l'albergar tra le selve ed oprar l'armi
 ne' rozzi petti. (4, vv. 12-23)

Amore is tired of being constrained to work at the courts by his ambitious and vain mother. In this way, Tasso introduces through his character mention of the court and that Amore wishes to escape the court and his mother, to go on retreat in the pastoral world—note the use of the word “fuggire” (meaning “to flee; to run; to fly; to escape”). The theme of retreat is tied to that of disguise:

Chi crederia che sotto umane forme
 e sotto queste pastorali spoglie
 fosse nascosto un Dio? [...]
 In questo aspetto, certo, e in questi panni
 non riconoscerà sì di leggiero

Venere madre me suo figlio Amore. (4, vv. 1-3, 10-12)

The thematic of disguise and transformation of the self is thus incited from the beginning and will repeat throughout the play. Amore is a god hidden in the garb of a humble shepherd. This willing acceptance of the pastoral mask on the part of the god of love hints at an implicit secondary disguise: the characters are members of the court of Ferrara, who wear pastoral “masks” in this play. The pastoral disguise is ennobled by the fact that Amore himself willingly takes it up. I will return to this argument.

The prologue provides the spectator with a key to the work, introducing the major themes and justifying the presence of Amore himself amongst the shepherds: “voglio dispor di me come

a me piace” (v. 25). The pastoral setting affords freedom to do as one pleases, a reminder of the Epicurean nature of the mode, regardless of its formal manifestation. Amore’s plan is to assume the pastoral mask, to mix in with the other shepherds, and, in this costume:

far cupa e immedicabile ferita
 nel duro sen de la più cruda ninfa
 che mai seguisse il coro di Diana.
 Né la piaga di Silvia fia minore
 (che questo è l nome de l’alpestre ninfa)
 che fosse quella che pur feci io stesso
 nel molle sen d’Aminta, or son molt’anni,
 quando lei tenerella ei tenerello
 seguiva ne le caccie e ne i diporti. (6, vv. 53-61)

Amore explains to the audience the essential information of the plot: Aminta, a young shepherd, loves Silvia, a nymph and follower of Diana who is cruel because she does not return Aminta’s affection. It is depicted as a bit of unfinished business for Amore since he struck Aminta with his arrow many years ago. The presence of the god of love himself rather than the minor deities normally sent to play amongst the rustics perhaps provides an explanation for the deep passion exhibited on the part of Aminta. Amore’s insertion among the shepherds constitutes the crux of the play: according to his plan, Amore suggests that Silvia’s resistance will be conquered through a difficult situation, one that Amore announces, without clarifying, in the following verses:

E, perché il colpo mio più in lei s’interni,
 aspetterò che la pietà mollisca

quel duro gelo che d'intorno al core
 l'ha ristretto il rigor de l'onestate
 e del virginal fasto; ed in quel punto
 ch'ei fia più molle, lancerogli il dardo. (8, vv. 62-67)

Thus, Amore foreshadows Aminta's ~~death~~. According to Amore, the play's purpose is to demonstrate that in matters of the heart, there is no social difference between the powerful and the humble shepherds:

Spirerò nobil sensi a' rozzi petti,
 raddolcirò de le lor lingue il suono;
 perché, ovunque i' mi sia, io sono Amore,
 ne' pastori non men che ne gli eroi,
 e la disagguaglianza de' soggetti
 come a me piace agguaglio' e questa è pure
 suprema gloria e gran miracol mio:
 render simili a le più dotte cetre
 le rustiche sampogne [...]. (8, vv. 80-88)

Amore's speech reveals characteristics of the empirical author: his great ~~miracle~~" and ~~supreme~~ glory" is to make the rustic bagpipes (~~sampogne~~) equal to the learned lyres (~~dotte cetre~~).

Amore introduces the concept of varying levels of composition, a juxtaposition that Sannazaro plays with extensively in *Arcadia*. Sannazaro, however, maintains a tension between the humble and the noble, whereas Tasso seeks to amalgamate the two, ennobling the rustic by virtue of his verse. The empirical author lurks behind the voices of the other characters, encouraging his audience to recognize the signs of his metaliterary consciousness.

The play lays out a dual concern of the psychological and social implications of love, and the characters play an important role in the development of the duality. For this reason, nature is represented as the “voice” of Amore’s supreme law, immediately illuminated in the opening scene of the first act in which Dafne urges Silvia to give in to love’s demands:

Vorrai dunque pur, Silvia,
dai piaceri di Venere lontana
menarne tu questa tua giovinezza?
Né l dolce nome di madre udirai,
né intorno ti vedrai vezzosamente
scherzar i figli pargoletti? Ah, cangia,
cangia, prego, consiglio,
pazzarella che sei. (1:1, v. 1-8)

It is unnatural, in Dafne’s eyes, not to desire children, not to follow love’s calling. The final line, “Ah, cangia / cangia, prego, consiglio, / pazzarella che sei,” is repeated three times by Dafne throughout this scene. The exhortation to change and the association between madness and chastity is a provocative combination. The fundamental problem to be resolved is not to check one’s passions but to encourage them in another, to transform the lady into an amiable and receptive other rather than a staunchly denying force who stands in the way of the Epicurean rule that governs the pastoral realm, an assertion stated clearly in the first chorus at the end of Act I:

ma sol perché quel vano
nome senza soggetto,
quell’idolo d’errori, idol d’inganno,
quel che dal volgo insano

onor poscia fu detto,
 che di natura _l_ fœo tiranno,
 non mischiava il suo affanno
 fra le liete dolcezze de l'amoso gregge;
 né fu sua dura legge
 nota a quell'alme in libertate avvezze,
 ma legge aurea e felice
 che natura scolpì: *S'ei piace, ei lice*. (I.2, vv. 322-344)

The choral song prepares the opposition between society and honor (encouraging chastity and imposing an unnatural law that brings no joy upon humanity) on one side and freedom and love on the other. Honor is an urban construct that has no place in the pastoral realm and it is the unnatural presence of honor in the character of Silvia that causes the conflict and tension of the play.

To Dafne's exhortations, Silvia responds that she is happy in the art of the hunt. Dafne insists that living is not worth the trouble without experiencing the joys of love. Silvia retorts with an illustrative adynaton, underlining the impossibility for her ever to be sincerely interested in love:

Quando io dirò, pentita, sospirando,
 queste parole che tu fingi ed orni
 come a te piace, torneranno i fiumi
 a le lor fonti, e i lupi fuggiranno
 dagli agni, e _l_ veltro le timide lepri,
 amerà l'orso il mare, e _l_ delfin l'alpi (I.1, vv. 41-6)

Here nature takes on the role of illustration; nature does not speak as in the *Arcadia*, functioning as witness. Rather, nature provides the means by which to illustrate behavior and sentiment, either underscoring contrast or reinforcing a declared emotional state. For example, one of Dafne's monologues in I, 1 utilizes a series of questions and descriptions of nature and animals to clarify the role love plays in nature:

Stimi dunque nemico
 il monton de l'agnella?
 de la giovenca il toro?
 [...]
 Odi quell'usignolo
 che va di ramo in ramo
 cantando: *Io amo, io amo*; e, se no l sai,
 la biscia lascia il suo veleno e corre
 cupida al suo amatore;
 [...] amano ancora
 gli alberi. Veder puoi con quanto affetto
 e con quanti iterati abbracciamenti
 la vite s'avvicchia al suo marito;
 [...]
 Quella quercia, che pare
 sì ruvida e selvaggia,
 sent'anch'ella il potere
 de l'amoroso foco[.] (I.1, vv. 122-4, 140-44, 150-3, 157-60)

All the natural world loves except for Silvia. Even the violent and crude Satyr who attempts to rape Silvia feels love's influence: —*“Oimè, che tutte piaga e tutte sangue / son le viscere mie; e mille spiedi / ha ne gli occhi di Silvia il crudo Amore”* (II.1, vv. 11-13). Love metamorphoses into various forms in Dafne's monologue and throughout the play in the form of various characters (Tirsi, Dafne, Aminta, Satiro—each endeavors to explain an aspect of love to the nymph) in an attempt to reach Silvia, thus the protean nature of love. Silvia, however, remains obstinate in her refusal to understand or concede.

Images of life and nature have no effect on Silvia's cruel and cold heart, so Amore must find another way. Amore is never seen again after the prologue but, given that he can hide among the shepherds due to his disguise, Tasso prepares the discerning spectator to understand that love is not always visible, that he transforms, taking on different forms in order to further his will. In order for Silvia to modify her hostile and averse attitude towards love, an extraordinary event must take place. When life and peace have no hold on Silvia, death and violence seem the only options. In Act II, Tasso introduces the pathetic figure of Satiro who loves the heartless nymph. He resolves to use those weapons that Nature granted him in order to force himself on her:

Usa ciascuno
 quell'armi che gli ha date la natura
 per sua salute [...]
 io, perché non per mia salute adopro
 la violenza, se mi fe' Natura
 atto a far violenza ed a rapire?
 Sforzerò, rapirò quel che costei

mi niega, ingrata, in merto de l'amore [...]. (II.1, vv. 72-3, 78-82)

The attempted rape is not shown to the audience; rather, it is described by Tirsi in Act III (III. 1, vv. 44-71). This episode would seem gratuitous were it not for its importance for the development of the play: the attempted rape is the episode that sets in motion the action of the rest of the play. The first two acts function primarily as description and explication, introducing the characters to the audience, setting up the dramatic tension and the problem to be resolved, and elaborating the themes to be examined. Action does not actually move forward until the third act and, contrary to what one might think, propels the future romantic liaison between Aminta and Silvia. Aminta, seeing his Silvia in danger, is transformed by love from the timid, lovelorn shepherd to a warrior and the description offers a view into the psychology of adolescent love, at once vigorous and modest, bashful even:

Come la fuga de l'altro concesse
 spazio a lui [Aminta] di mirare, egli rivolse
 i cupidi occhi in quelle membra belle,
 che, come suole tremolare il latte
 ne' giunchi, sì parean morbide e bianche.
 E tutto l vidi sfavillar nel viso;
 poscia accostossi pienamente a lei
 tutto modesto, e disse: \ominus bella Silvia,
 perdona a queste man, se troppo ardire
 è l'appressarsi a le tue dolci membra,
 perché necessità dura le sforza:
 necessità di scioglier questi nodi;

né questa grazia che fortuna vuole
conceder loro, tuo mal grado sia. (III. 1, vv. 72-85)

Silvia's behavior after Satiro's attempted rape provides the motivation for the rest of the play—all the action stems from her rejection of Aminta's timid and patient offer of help and love. The audience, like the Chorus, expects Silvia to express gratitude because, as the Chorus states, Aminta's words are *“Parole d'ammollir un cor di sasso”* (III. 1, v. 86). The Chorus asks Tirsi, *“Ma che rispose allor?”* reflecting the audience's own desire to know what happened next. Rather than thanks and kindness, Silvia is upset that her nudity has been exposed before Aminta's loving gaze and tells him coldly, *“Pastor, non mi toccar: son di Diana; / per me stessa saprò sciogliermi i piedi”* (vv. 105-6). Silvia's words are reported by Tirsi, underlining the orality and recalling the pastoral texts that were not plays. The audience's reaction is guided by that of the Chorus: *“O tanto orgoglio alberga in cor di ninfa? / Ah d'opra graziosa ingrata metro!”* (vv. 107-8). The poet underlines Aminta's modesty and respect for Silvia: he immediately steps aside:

Ei si trasse in disparte riverente,
non alzando pur gli occhi per mirarla,
negando a se medesimo il suo piacere
per tôrre a lei fatica di negarlo. (vv. 109-112)

Silvia, once free, runs away and Aminta, in despair, attempts to commit suicide but is stopped by Dafne who assures him that Silvia fled for shame: *“sola vergogna fu, non crudeltate, / quella che mosse Silvia a fuggir via”* (III.2, vv. 12-13).

Aminta's desperation and melancholy often find expression in his desire to commit suicide in order to escape the torment of his unrequited love. Death, or the threat thereof,

becomes a recurring theme from this point on in the play. Just as Dafne is attempting to console Aminta, Nerina, a friend of Silvia, runs onto the stage, saying that Silvia is dead, believing her to be devoured by wolves. The wolves' attempt to devour Silvia (unsuccessfully, although the audience does not know this at the time) echoes the satyr's failed rape, his attempt to "devour" her sexually. As proof of her death, Nerina shows Aminta Silvia's bloody veil. That the veil is the evidence of death hints at a repetition of the theme: this death is disguised, it is not true. The veil hides the true nature of the episode from Nerina and Aminta who, distraught, asks Nerina for the veil as a reminder of Silvia:

Ninfa, dammi, ti prego
 quel velo ch'è di lei
 solo e misero avanzo,
 sì ch'egli m'accompagne
 per questo breve spazio
 e di via e di vita che mi resta,
 e con la sua presenza
 accresca quel martire,
 ch'è ben picciol martire
 s'ho bisogno d'aiuto al mio morire. (III.2, vv.121-130)

A veil is a fitting reminder of Silvia whose beautiful appearance conceals a cold and unforgiving heart. It also prompts the audience to recall the hidden presence of love in everything, even when not immediately clear. Aminta's request is beautiful and moving, characterized by sacrifice, the abnegation and self-denial of love. Tasso contrasts through Satiro and Aminta the two sides of love, sexual desire and true love. Satiro is the reverse image of Aminta. This is not to say that

Aminta does not desire Silvia sexually; when he sees her bound to the tree, naked, he is certainly aroused, but he is ever respectful of her and frees her without taking any liberties. He represents the honorably, courtly, honest love that is criticized by both Tirsi and Dafne. It is this joining of the pastoral with the courtly conception of love, however, that will provoke the metamorphosis in Silvia's cold heart and will elicit pity. The news of Silvia's "death" leads Aminta to resolve to commit suicide himself and he departs the stage, never to return, and in fact he does not.

Between the third and fourth act there is an intermezzo in which the poet imagines that the gods of Olympus enjoy the spectacle of the human misadventures in the "teatro del mondo":

...in questa bella imago
 de l teatro de l mondo;
 dove facciamo a tondo
 un ballo nuovo e diletto e vago,
 fra tanti lumi de la notte oscura
 a la chiara armonia de l suono alterno. (vv. 6-11)

The author speaks here through his characters and through self-conscious narration makes a metaliterary reference that divulges the author's and the characters' awareness of the fictional work and crosses the fourth wall. This image of the gods who watch the world's play recalls the first intermezzo. Proteus promises that —vi mosta questo coro e questa pompa" (v. 10). Is the audience to be understood as the gods watching the performance? Or perhaps the fact that the gods find it pleasing should guide the audience's reception of the play. Both are possible explanations. Either way, emphasis is given to performance and spectacle, envisioning the world as a stage, a concept made famous by Shakespeare's *As You Like It* (c. 1599-1600) and Jaques' monologue in the second act:

All the world's a stage,
 And all the men and women merely players;
 They have their exits and their entrances,
 And one man in his time plays many parts,
 His acts being seven ages. (II.7, vv. 139-142)

It is significant that this monologue is in Shakespeare's experiment with pastoral where the members of Duke Senior's court, including the duke himself, are banished to the Forest of Arden and live part of the play as shepherds. The spectacle and performative are emphasized in Tasso's *Aminta*, revealing another level of metaliterary awareness given the nature of the text itself. By mention of the deities, the audience is reminded of Proteus' soliloquy and his figure as emblematic of the metamorphoses possible through love. The changes that the characters undergo mimic those of the actors taking on a role, and so once more the nature of the work itself is highlighted. Moreover, the announcement of the "teatro del mondo" in the intermezzo precedes Act IV and the revelation that Silvia lives. Further, in Act IV we have news of Aminta's "death" and these episodes introduce the concept of fiction within real life: things are not always as they seem. Silvia seems to be dead by all accounts and then it is revealed to the audience that she lives. Tasso hints that there is a certain amount of spectacle even in life—consider the life at court, revolving around appearance, sometimes regardless of substance.

At the beginning of Act IV, Silvia returns and Dafne tells her of Aminta's death. Silvia does not believe it at first, and remains callous, but slowly grows uneasy in the face of Dafne's assurances that he has, indeed, left to take his own life. Her behavior changes and she begs Dafne to accompany her to search for Aminta and prevent him from his rash decision: —*Ohimè, cerchiamo, andiamo, / che poi ch'egli moria per la mia morte, / de' per la vita mia restar in vita*"

(IV. 1, vv. 97-99). This change in attitude is due to love's effect on the characters and its ability to transform even the hardest of hearts. The young lovers who are the play's protagonists change and develop, unlike the other characters like Dafne and Tirsi who remain static and around whom events develop and change.

Just as Silvia realizes that she loves Aminta, his death is confirmed by the arrival of Ergasto in the next scene. The choice of name of this character evokes in the discerning reader the memory of Sannazaro's melancholy shepherd in *Arcadia*. Whether the name is a coincidence or a conscious choice cannot be confirmed or denied. Why this issue of intertextuality has been left unanswered might be due to the divergence in various editions regarding the name of this character. As Jernigan and Jones note, "~~In~~ some editions this character is identified simply as *Messenger*" (179, note 31). The variance in the naming of the character might well account for the reticence in identifying this Ergasto with Sannazaro's shepherd. It is an issue that would merit further study. Nonetheless, Ergasto brings Silvia, Dafne, and the Chorus the false news of Aminta's death. He describes how Aminta, in grief and bemoaning Silvia's death, threw himself from a cliff, asking Ergasto to bring news of his death to the other shepherds. Ergasto tried to save him but without success. When asked by the Chorus what happened to Aminta's body, he confesses that he was so horrified by the event that he could not even look over to see the corpse, he merely left straightaway to tell of his death. The question posed by the Chorus regarding the body seems superfluous and unnecessary at the time, but the audience learns later that Aminta is not dead at all, and that this clarification contributes to the verisimilitude of the extraordinary events surrounding Aminta's ~~death~~ and ~~resurrection~~."

The question that this scene provokes in the audience, however, is why does the author include the scene at all? Silvia had accepted the news of Aminta's death at the end of the

previous scene. This scene is not like the revelation of Silvia's death which had to be reported by another party. Dafne is certain of Aminta's death and Silvia accepts her affirmations. An interesting theory presents itself to the spectator and reader familiar with pastoral literary tradition. Could this scene be another manifestation of the author's self-awareness and placement of his work within the literary tradition? Aminta is not only a character; it is the name of the play. The news of the false death of Aminta perhaps reflects a belief that pastoral literature is dead or that there are no innovations in the mode. The "resurrection" of Aminta suggests a parallel rebirth of the pastoral mode corresponding to the *Aminta*, a work that the author already distinguishes from tradition early through Tirsi's monologue in Act I, scene two, a veiled description alluding to Tasso's arrival at the court of Ferrara and his composition of the *Gerusalemme liberata*:

[...] ed in quel punto
 seniti me far di me stesso maggiore
 pien di nova virtù, pieno di nova
 deitade, e cantai guerre ed eroi,
 sdegnando pastoral ruvido carme.
 E se ben poi (come altrui piacque) feci
 ritorno a queste selve, io pur ritenni
 parte di quello spirito: né già suona
 la mia sampogna umil come solea:
 ma di voce più altera e più sonora,
 emula de le trombe, empie le selve. (I.2, vv. 296-306)

Tasso signals a new type of pastoral literature that he is creating, one that ennobles the humble mode, unfolding before the audience. He is reinventing the pastoral, resurrecting the form and transforming it into something new. Aminta embodies this transformation of the pastoral.

Silvia is completely grief-stricken by the news of Aminta's death and vows to search for his body and then to commit suicide herself. She bids all present farewell, including the woods and streams, and exits the stage, never to return. The audience might believe that the play would end tragically if it weren't for the Chorus' final speech:

Ciò che morte rallenta, Amor, restringi,
 amico tu di pace, ella di guerra,
 e del suo trionfar trionfi e regni;
 e mentre due bell'alme annodi e cingi,
 così rendi sembante al ciel la terra,
 che d'abitarla tu non fuggi o sdegni. (IV. 2, 194-99)

The Chorus provides an interesting comparison between Death and Love, indicating that Love will always triumph. The Chorus' speech provides hope for the audience that there might yet be a happy ending, a hope rewarded by the arrival of Elpino in the fifth act announcing the happy reunion of the two lovers, not in death, but in life. Aminta jumped, but landed on a ledge not far below. His wounds are being tended by love and Silvia:

Anzi è pur vero,
 ma fu felice il precipizio: e sotto
 una dolente imagine di morte
 gli recò vita e gioia. Egli or si giace
 nel seno accolto de l'amata ninfa,

quanto spietata già, tanto or pietosa;
 e le rasciuga da' begli occhi il pianto
 con la sua bocca. Io a trovar ne vado
 Montano, di lei padre, ed a condurlo
 colà dov'essi stanno; e solo il suo
 volere è quel che manca, e che prolunga
 il concorde voler d'ambidue loro. (V.1, vv. 37-48)

Love uses the menace of death to melt Silvia's cold heart and the two lovers end happily in each other's arms. Love exists because it has the capacity to transform itself and those under its spell. Through its capacity for change, the protean play of masks, Love conquers all. Similarly, Tasso transforms the pastoral mode into a noble play that exceeds the humble style to which pastoral until this play always belonged. Structurally, Tasso favors an Aristotelian tragic model but integrates a happy ending, thereby creating what Sampson identifies as a "tempered tragicomic structure" (71).

As I have noted, duality characterizes the characters and setting of *Aminta*. In Act II, Satiro elucidates the dichotomy between Silvia's beautiful, lovely appearance and her cold interior, aligning her description with a list of the fearful beasts of the forest:

Celan le selve angui, leoni ed orsi
 dentro il lor verde: e tu dentro al bel petto
 nascondi odio, disdegno ed impietate:
 fere peggior ch'angui, leoni ed orsi:
 che si placano quei, questi placarsi
 non possono per prego né per dono. (II.1, vv. 17-22)

The exterior is deceptive, concealing a contrasting interior that does not align with the mask. The duplicity that Satiro notes in Silvia's character echoes the duality of the other characters, functioning beyond their role as character to mirror of society. Daniela Dalla Valle notes that there is a close link between the pastoral play and the court of Ferrara:

Il s'agit d'une relation très étroite, le texte étant extrêmement riche en allusions au contexte, jusqu'à atteindre le niveau de l'allégorie ; on pourrait même parler d'une relation spéculaire, dans ce sens, que le Tasse propose une intrigue dramatique où agissent des personnages qui «réfléchissent» quelques-uns des membres de cette cour [...]. (306)

The court members wear pastoral masks assigned by Tasso. Tirsi is Tasso's own disguise. Elpino, the wise shepherd, is Pigna, the secretary of Duke Alfonso II. Other characters, like Mopso and Licori, are also recognizable figures behind the pastoral mask (Sperone Speroni and Lucrezia Bendidio, respectively). Dalla Valle suggests, like others, that the court of Ferrara is transposed to the pastoral realm in *Aminta*, loosely disguised but still recognizable to the audience:

[...] pour les spectateurs-courtisans l'identification était évidemment plus facile, amusante, l'effet obtenu devant être la sensation d'une implication totale de ce public, non pas dans la pathétique histoire d'Aminta et de Silvia—personnages tout à fait imaginaires—, mais dans le milieu idyllique où cette histoire se déroule, dans ce lieu-non-lieu, dans ce pays d'Utopie qui est, en même temps, l'Arcadie classique et la cour de Ferrare, l'éden primitif et l'île de Belvédère. (306)

The duality or theme of disguise is not limited to those shepherds representative of the courtly assembly. Even the fictional inventions of Tasso, in particular Silvia and Aminta, participate in the duality. Silvia's duality has already been noted. Both Aminta and Amore express a dual meaning attached to their names. Aminta is at once the shepherd and the dramatic work itself, and the events that unfold around the shepherd can be read as a metaphor for the pastoral work as a whole. Amore is at once a character and a concept that permeates the entirety of the work, ever-present. The audience is mirrored in the Chorus who witness the events much as the audience fulfills the role of spectator. Maria Galli Stampino notes that Tasso actively pursues the mirroring in *Aminta* as a means of illustrating the representational nature of the court: "[...] with *Aminta*, he [Tasso] aims at embodying the court's defining ideology: what I would call "representativity," i.e., the tendency of everything at court to stand for and represent something else" ("Space" 12), underlying the court as a microcosm of the universe and invoking the concept of the "teatro del mondo" that Tasso evokes in the third intermezzo.

Even the setting is dual, representing at once an undefined pastoral world and the court of Ferrara. It is never specified where the events of the play take place—never is Arcadia mentioned. Dalla Valle notes that the landscape mentioned could easily be identified with the gardens of Ferrara: "La scène où l'on joue l'*Aminta* apparaît ainsi comme une espèce de miroir, où se reflètent—mise en abyme—l'une ou l'autre partie, l'un ou l'autre personnage de la cour de Ferrare, et où les membres de cette cour finissent tous par se reconnaître en tant que groupe, en tant que société fermée et privilégiée" (306). Lisa Sampson also notes the ambiguity of setting in the *Aminta* in relation to the theatrical tradition in Ferrara: "While earlier Ferrarese plays take place in a remote fictional Arcadia (though still obliquely reflecting the values of the courtly audiences), *Aminta* lacks a clear sense of place" (63), however she proposes that such a choice

might have been linked to the actual circumstances of performance—originally, it was performed outside, making the clear identification of the setting ~~unnecessary~~.” Sampson notes that Tasso, like other pastoral authors, draws on the thematic of self-recognition which requires an ~~initiated~~ audience to perceive the underlying reality” (64-5). The pastoral disguise underscores the ludic aspect of pastoral where the author plays with his audience.

Maria Galli Stampino has studied the early performance history of the *Aminta*, establishing that the premiere took place on the island of Belvedere, in the Po River, one of the Este hunting villas and summer retreats (~~delizie~~) that were built between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries (~~Performance~~” 353). Stampino remarks that the audience’s reception of the play is indissolubly linked with the performance space (~~Space~~” 18). The play’s first performance was very popular, a reflection of the ~~initiated~~ audience to which Sampson refers and the spectators’ self-recognition and appreciation of the play as a whole. Stampino notes, however, that the play becomes less popular as a whole in later performances and what becomes more successful and greater appreciated are the intermezzi and the chorus. Discussing a performance at Parma in 1628, Stampino affirms:

What attracted the attention of the various spectators who left written testimony of that evening is not *Aminta*, but rather its prologue and the five intermezzi performed with it. Each one of these was set to music (by no less a composer than Claudio Monteverdi) and sung by the performers; availed itself of frequent changes of opulent scenography and theatrical machinery; and was related to the occasion of the festivities, hence favoring the game of interpretation and recognition on the part of the audience. Essentially, *Aminta* was an excuse for the performance of the intermezzi [...]. (~~Performance~~” 355)

The Epicurean pleasure is found not only in the final happiness of the young lovers but in the viewer's experience, due in large part to the ludic and the use of spectacle.

In *Aminta*, Tasso reinvents the pastoral, capitalizing on its metaliterary nature and characteristic duality to introduce innovation in structure and characterization. Orality and spectacle form the basis of this new tragicomic structure that challenges the humble stylistic roots of pastoral and ennoble the mode beyond its previous metamorphoses. The dark shadow of death looms more heavily in the *Aminta* than in any of the works examined so far. By juxtaposing death with love and life, the poet examines the nature of human existence in a way that resonated with audiences, in particular in those moments where the Chorus or another character stepped out of the action of the play and addressed the audience directly. Tasso demonstrates a keen awareness of not only the literary tradition that he reinvents but of the way in which the spectators and even readers will receive and interpret the work. Through the play of masks and disguise, the poet invites the spectator into a ludic contract that incites the latter to interpret the work, to be active rather than passive.

Sannazaro's *Arcadia* and Tasso's *Aminta* are the two best known and most influential pastoral works of the Italian Renaissance. Their influence was felt in France, in particular by Honoré d'Urfé, author of the *Astrée*. The next chapter seeks to explore not only the correlation between these three works but the metaliterary and performative characteristics that form, in my opinion, the basis of pastoral literary design.

Chapter 4

The Diurnal, the Nocturnal, and the Reader in Honoré d'Urfé's *Astrée*

“[L]e premier grand roman français depuis le Moyen Age” (7): that is how Gérard Genette characterizes Honoré d'Urfé's *Astrée* in his well-known essay prefacing his abridged edition of the novel, “Le Serpent dans la bergerie” (1964). Finding sources of inspiration in various traditions, the *Astrée* mimics the *Aminta* in its “~~m~~ariage” of pastoral literary tradition with the courtly, chivalric, epic tradition of the Middle Ages and Renaissance: the novel is a “singulier mariage de nymphes et de chevaliers, de houlette et de Graal, de Table Ronde et d'Arcadie: le Roi Arthur chez le dieu Pan” (Genette, *Serpent* 8). Tony Gheeraert, author of the comprehensive introduction to *L'Astrée, Saturne aux deux visages* (2006), hails the work as “le premier des romans modernes” (22). Both complex in plot and rich in allusion, Kathleen Wine characterizes d'Urfé's romance as, “an early ‘best-seller’ whose impact outstripped that of the most revered classics of seventeenth-century literature” (14); and yet, despite this acknowledgement of d'Urfé's pastoral romance, the novel, while recognized as important, has not retained its original popularity. The reason is stated succinctly enough by Louise Horowitz: “Above all else, *L'Astrée* is a very long book. Massively verbose, it is eminently proud to highlight that very fact” (225). Esthetically, the novel challenges the modern reader who is already hesitant to embark on a pastoral journey—the mere mention of the 5,000 pages of the *Astrée* with its hundreds of characters does not further encourage such a pursuit. Nonetheless, studying d'Urfé's work is important for two reasons: firstly, the novel played a significant role in

the literary and cultural history of the seventeenth century; and secondly, *L'Astrée* marks not only the apex of pastoral expression but the reinvention and extension of the mode in its entirety.

Honoré d'Urfé was born in Marseilles in February 1567. His family, ~~une~~ "une ancienne dynastie seigneuriale" (Gheeraert 13), ruled Forez, the region where the family castle (la Bâtie) and lands were located, between Lyons and Saint-Etienne, near Montbrison, from the twelfth century on (Gheeraert 13, 18). An educated man, d'Urfé served in the wars of religion on the side of the Church, a choice he would later have to atone for by making peace with Henry IV. Honoré could be characterized as having two distinct sides, one eager for military conquest, a veritable man of the sword; and the other desirous of pastoral peace, love, and contemplation, a man of letters. The stark contrast of his life, the opposing traits, evoke the ~~nocturne~~ "nocturne" or nocturnal (the assimilative tendency, associated with night, the tomb) and the ~~diurne~~ "diurne" or diurnal (the oppositional tendency, represented in elements such as the sun, the hero, arms and combat), the two opposing poles that alternate prevalence, at times paradoxically, both manifest in the baroque literary aesthetic (Wunenburger 90-1).

The duality of the man is echoed in the work. Hailed as a pastoral romance, d'Urfé extends the boundaries of pastoral in *Astrée* by introducing not only the idyllic world of the shepherds and shepherdesses of Forez, a land untouched by the Romans, but a chivalric world of the court, juxtaposed with the adventures in love of the shepherds and shepherdesses. D'Urfé sets his monumental work in the fifth century A.D. at a time when Gaul was held by the Franks and right before the fall of the Roman Empire. Forez, the pastoral land that d'Urfé proposes as a substitute for Arcadia, is his own native land, a Gaulois island, untouched by the outside world, pure. The novel, however, extends beyond the pastoral milieu, including episodes, adventures, and intrigues at the courts in Lyon, Toulouse, Paris, Reims, Constantinople, Ravenna, and

Rome³⁹. *L'Astrée* is more than a pastoral novel: Gheeraert classifies it also as a “roman d'aventures” and a “roman psychologique” (16). Eglal Henein approaches the work as a detective novel whose conclusion has been left tantalizingly incomplete (9). Either way, d'Urfé examines not only the pastoral existence in Forez but juxtaposes it with the epic. At times he transforms the pastoral into epic, depicting chivalric life at the court, and so an inherent duality appears in the work that recalls the baroque literary aesthetic:

L'Astrée hésite entre deux types d'écriture : d'une part, c'est un roman guerrier mettant en scène des chevaliers ardents à la bataille, dont le souci principal est la prouesse héroïque, et qui se réclament de l'éthique féodale [...] d'autre part, *L'Astrée* est aussi un roman pastoral qui représente des bergers dont le principal souci est l'amour. (Gheeraert 65)

The courtly is characterized by military exploit, knights in battle, epic and political scenes in the court and is ultimately diurnal in character whereas the pastoral side that attempts to be assimilated by love and nature, that flirts with suicide and death speaks of the nocturnal tendency (Gheeraert 66). These worlds do not remain separate, however. They meet and intertwine and the pastoral undermines the medieval courtly code because it is the pastoral world alone that has escaped the onslaught of outsiders. Forez has remained French, and provides a foundation myth for France: —Honoré d'Urfé nous donne à lire, sous le masque de la pastorale, l'exaltation des débuts de l'aurore d'un pays” (Gheeraert 52). Just as Virgil established Rome's origins in the *Aeneid* so d'Urfé elaborates the French origins which are not epic but pastoral in nature: —[...] la chevalerie a cessé d'être la plus noble et la plus élevée des éthiques” (Gheeraert 67). D'Urfé uses pastoral as a means of establishing a foundational myth, and this choice points to the heightened

³⁹ Servais Kevorkian provides an excellent, concise overview of the characters, settings, and themes in *Thématique de L'Astrée d'Honoré d'Urfé* (1991).

literary consciousness on the part of the author of the pastoral's capacity to extend beyond its traditions and express something new. The originality in concept is mimicked by structural innovation.

The novel is comprised of five volumes published in 1607, 1610, 1619, 1627, and 1628, respectively. Genette identifies in the *Astrée* a link with classical theatre, structurally at least: "À vrai dire, le lieu de *l'Astrée* (comme diront les théoriciens du théâtre classique) est à double entente" (*Serpent* 9), at once real and imagined, echoing the duality inherent to the work. The five act structure echoes that of French classical theater. There are serious doubts, however, as to the truly theatrical conception of the structure in its entirety. The last two volumes were published posthumously, and the last one was actually written by d'Urfé's secretary, Balthazar Baro, who claimed that d'Urfé had instructed him carefully how the novel was to end and that he, Baro, was merely completing what d'Urfé had designed (Gheeraert 16). Naturally, authorship comes into question for the last volume in particular. Some scholars, like Laurence Plazenet, remain skeptical of the authenticity of the text in its entirety:

L'Astrée telle qu'elle est couramment envisagée n'est donc qu'un assemblage d'éléments disparates élaboré par des éditeurs dont les préoccupations furent fort matérielles. Le montage fait néanmoins significativement du roman un texte achevé et pourvu d'une conclusion heureuse. L'œuvre ainsi définie s'est imposée jusqu'à nos jours en dépit de sa nature composite. C'est elle que reproduit l'édition H. Vaganay. Elle qui sert de support à la production dramatique qui s'inspire de *L'Astrée* au XVII^e siècle (66).

Eglal Henein questions the authenticity of not only the fifth volume but the fourth as well, suspicious of both works that appeared after the author's death in 1625 (12). It is not the purpose

of this study to examine the authenticity of the *Astrée* as Vaganay presented it (the only complete print edition of the five volumes). The focus of this section is to examine the nature of pastoral, as conceived by d'Urfé, and the metaliterary awareness of the author as it is manifested in the structure, the prologues (in particular I-III since we can be sure of the authorship of these prologues), and in selected episodes.

The primary story is the love story between Celadon and Astrée and the trials and tribulations they undergo in order to be together. Interwoven into this main sequence, however, are a number of intercalated stories told by various characters that interrupt the narrative flow. Additionally, d'Urfé inserts various poems and letters composed by the characters. The insertion of letters reflects the increasing popularity of epistolary style in the seventeenth century (McMahon 95). This manner of intercalating stories that are recited orally by the characters as well as poetry and letters supposedly written by the characters enhances the literary ambiance of the *Astrée*. The presence of writing is prevalent, for example, in the scene between Lycidas, Celadon's brother, and Astrée just after Celadon has thrown himself into the river and the shepherds and shepherdesses believe him dead. Lycidas reproaches Astrée strongly for not having faith in her Celadon who was always faithful. He blames her for his death, telling her how horrible it had been for Celadon to pretend to love another at her request, —Et àa verité ce luy estoit une contrainte si grande, que toutes les fois qu'il revenoit du lieu, où il estoit forcé de feindre, il falloit qu'il se mit sur un lict, comme revenant de faire un tres grand effort" (I, 19⁴⁰). In order to further convince Astrée, Lycidas chooses two instances of Celadon's writing as proof: a madrigal he carved into a tree and a letter sent to his brother when Lycidas was away. Writing thus functions as witness in the absence of the author. Through the shepherd's writing he can be

⁴⁰ All citations refer to the edition by H. Vaganay, Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1966. Textual citations will be followed by a reference to the volume in roman numerals and the page number in the Vaganay edition in Arabic numerals.

present and speak, thereby indicating that the act of writing is highly individual and can serve as a form of identification, a double of the self. Lycidas underlines the individuality of writing by exhorting Astrée to look at the tree, indicating that she will recognize his brother's manner of cutting into the tree: *†...]* si vous y daignez tourner les yeux vous remarquerez que c'est luy qui les y a coupez car vous reconnoissez trop bien ses caracteres si ce n'est qu'oublieuse de luy et de ses services passez, vous ayez de mesme perdu la mémoire de tout ce qui le touche" (I, 20). The madrigal that Celadon carves into the bark far exceeds the type of name carving that has been discussed in earlier pastoral works. Rather than the scribbles of a lovesick shepherd, carving his beloved's name, this is a complete poem, refined and pleasing to the reader although, again distinguishing itself from tradition, the act of song composing in this instance does not bring pleasure to a group of listening shepherds but serves as an echo of a former event. Writing is at once past and present: written in the past, the solo voice echoes from beyond the ~~grave~~ and touches the present:

Je pourray bien dessus moy mesme,
 Quoy que mon amour soit extresme,
 Obtenir encor ce point,
 De dire que je n'ayme point.
 Mais feindre d'en aymer un'autre,
 Et d'en adorer l'œil vainqueur,
 Comme en effet je fay le vostre,
 Je n'en sçaurois avoir le cœur.
 Et s'il le faut, ou que je meure,
 Faites moy mourir de bonne heure. (I, 20)

The young shepherd's poem foreshadows his own "death" caused by this dangerous game of pretend that Astrée has forced him into. The allusion to death in order to underline the love experienced by the shepherd for the shepherdess is not a new occurrence, nor is the false death. One need only recall the plight of Aminta to recognize similarities with Celadon's situation. The act of writing is magnified here, providing a text within the text that not only further elucidates the situation for the reader but also attempts to speak the truth to the characters.

As further evidence of Celadon's innocence, Lycidas shows Astrée a letter he received from his brother recently when Lycidas was away (how the letter was delivered is anyone's guess; the author hopes the reader does not focus on such minor details). In reading the letter to Astrée, Lycidas tells her that she must surely recognize Celadon's innocence if she is honest. Astrée functions as the reader's double in these two written encounters. She, like the reader, is learning new information that deepens our understanding of Celadon's character. Lycidas reads the letter to her, transforming the written event into an oral event, just as he recited the madrigal to her, thereby reminding the reader of the inherent orality of the mode to which d'Urfé pays homage and then transforms by heightening the reading experience. The letter reiterates the difficult situation in which Celadon is trapped:

Ne t'enquiers plus de ce que je fais, mais sçache que je continue tousjours en ma
peine ordinaire. Aimer et ne l'oser faire paroistre, n'aimer point et jurer le
contraire : cher frere, c'est tout l'exercice, ou plustost le supplice de ton Celadon.
On dit que deux contraires ne peuvent en mesme temps estre en mesme lieu,
toutesfois la vraye et la feinte amitié sont d'ordinaire en mes actions ; mais ne t'en
estonne point, car je suis contraint à l'un par la perfection, et à l'autre par le
commandement de mon Astre. Que si ceste vie te semble estrange, ressouvien

toy que les miracles sont les œuvres ordinaires des dieux et que veux tu que ma déesse cause en moy que des miracles ? (I, 20-1)

The letter functions as a *mise-en-abyme* of the text as a whole that examines love and its complications, whether love is disguised, unrequited, or forbidden. The epistolary text highlights the author's awareness of the pastoral literary tradition and the versatility of the mode itself. As Louise K. Horowitz states, —~~B~~ providing plaintive, wailing missives alongside islets of verse and —~~eh~~ansons,” the author of *L'Astrée* creates within the boundaries of his own textual universe the very genesis of the novel itself, and thereby both salutes and mirrors the centuries of creativity which preceded him” (224). She argues that the source of this epistolary tradition comes from the Spanish pastoral novel wherein the use of letters was seen as a —~~n~~arrative ornament” (225), however the layering of multiple types of text within text in relation to pastoral is one that was already in use in Italian literature (exemplified by Boccaccio and Sannazaro) prior to the *Diana* and the *Galatea*. Indubitably, both traditions play an important role in d'Urfé's creative conception. Either way, the letters act as reminders to the reader of the act of reading, voices that at once melt into the narrative voice and stand apart, guiding the reader to consider what he or she is reading, and thus its purpose is dual: —~~T~~he epistolary text which d'Urfé weaves may be seen, then, as simultaneously a reflection of and a generator of the fundamental text” (Horowitz 226). Evocative of this process, Celadon's letter serves as a reflection in miniature of the core problematic that challenges the characters in the *Astrée*: the ability or inability to recognize fiction.

The focus on fiction, on the capacity to disguise the truth, to trick the other and misrepresent the meaning of acts and words, recalls the nature of the fictional work. Fiction represents a situation that may or may not be true. Here, pastoral misrepresents the truth in order

to encourage the characters and the readers to search for that truth, to actively pursue the meaning. The prevalence of the epistolary text and its significance is underlined by the author himself in his prefaces: —‘Autheur à la bergère Astrée,’ —‘Autheur au berger Celadon,’ and —‘Autheur à la rivière de Lignon.’ I choose the prefaces to the first three books only for two reasons: firstly, neither the fourth nor the fifth contains a preface that follows the style of the first three—the fourth is a notice to the reader signed by Baro explaining briefly d’Urfé’s death while the fifth is also written by Baro although it feigns continuity by addressing once more Astrée. Had d’Urfé been able to write the last two prefaces we might have had a very interesting development. As it stands, I propose to examine these three prefaces of which the authorship is certain. As I have demonstrated in both Tasso and Sannazaro, the preface guides the reader through the author’s interpretation of the pastoral realm, giving important insight into the creative process and the unspoken contract that the reader implicitly agrees to when picking up the book. The preface is the key to the work; authors include them for a reason, as Gérard Genette points out in his study, *Seuils* (1987).

My approach has been informed by Genette’s theories regarding the importance and function of the paratextual material. While it might seem that these prefaces, given their titles, should be qualified as dedicatory epistles, Genette argues that they function more along the lines of a preface:

Certaines oeuvres de fiction sont dédiées, par métalepse, à l’un de leurs personnages: la première partie de l’*Astrée* comporte une épître dédicatoire à l’héroïne, la second au héros Céladon, et la troisième à la rivière du Lignon, qui les unit et les sépare. A vrai dire, ce sont plutôt là des préfaces en forme d’épître,

les véritables dédicatoires étant en 1607, le roi Henri IV comme restaurateur de la paix en Europe et, en 1619, Louis XIII comme digne successeur. (*Seuils* 124-5)

I, too, find that their function follows more closely that of a preface than a dedication; it is interesting to note, however, that from the outset the author fully immerses himself and the reader into the fiction. More on this point will follow.

Utilizing Genette's categorization of prefaces, d'Urfé's first three prefaces are *préfaces autoriales authentiques assumptives originales* (original assumptive authentic authorial prefaces) meaning that the prefaces were written by the author, the same author as that of the text (even if unsigned, we assume that the author is the same because it is evident from the preface text itself), and is original to the book, having been composed for release with the original text at first publication. The primary function of a *préface autoriale assumptive originale*, henceforth original preface, is "assurer au texte une bonne lecture" (*Seuils* 183). Genette points out that such a goal is completed in two actions, the first being to obtain a reading and the second to obtain a good reading. The preface often explains to the reader why and how the text should be read (*Seuils* 183). The preface can then fulfill several of a variety of secondary functions, including the importance of the text (for example, the *utilité morale* or *documentaire*), the originality of the work in face of tradition, and the *veridicité* (or veracity) of the text. Even fictional works keep in mind this last concept of veracity; some authors propose that they are merely scribes, recording events of which they are witness or of which they have second-hand knowledge. At times, the reader is not privy to how the author came about the information; the author, however, assures the "gentle reader" of the truth of the tale.

With respect to the prefaces of d'Urfé, there are two secondary functions in particular that, in my opinion, come to the surface. The first is the importance of the choice of reader

(~~le~~choix d'un public"): ~~Guider~~ le lecteur, c'est aussi et d'abord le situer, et donc le déterminer. Il n'est pas toujours prudent de ratisser trop large, et les auteurs ont souvent une idée assez précise du type de lecteur qu'ils souhaitent, ou savent pouvoir toucher ; mais aussi de celui qu'ils souhaitent éviter [...]" (Genette, *Seuils* 197). The choice of the reader is linked to the ~~le~~destinataire" or addressee of the preface: ~~le~~ destinataire de la préface est le lecteur du texte" (180). At times, the reader is reached by way of a representative ~~le~~destinataire-relais," and such is the case with the three prefaces of the *Astrée*. The author addresses Astrée, Celadon, and the river Lignon, but subtextually he is speaking to the reader, and not necessarily any reader, but an ideal reader who acknowledges the instructions the author provides on how to approach his text. Such instructions include, in the first preface, a warning to the reader not to attempt to identify any characters with real people, a characteristic of the *contrat de fiction* (Genette, *Seuils* 200) that d'Urfé exhorts his reader to observe.

Along with the cardinal concern for how to read the *Astrée*, these last two functions (the choice of reader and the contract of fiction) form the primary basis of my reading of the prefaces, a reading focused on the addressees. Each of the prefaces to the first three books of *Astrée* addresses one character in particular. The first addresses Astrée, the second Celadon, and the third the river Lignon. The writer/speaker purports to be the author. I use the term ~~speaker~~" because there is an inherent orality in the mode of address that evokes a virtual dialogue in which the reader is privy to only the author's responses. The most complex of the three is the first one, addressed to Astrée, and so I will return to the first prologue after offering a few remarks on the second and third. D'Urfé, in addressing the third to the river Lignon, aligns the setting with the protagonists, Astrée and Celadon, attributing equal importance to the river as to the pastoral couple. The third preface, however, contrasts greatly with the first and second. While I and II

address the young protagonists and adopt a parental tone, the III is an ode to the river, the only element that is at once real and fictional, a protagonist clearly linked with reality and yet evocative of the fictional pastoral realm. I say protagonist because d'Urfé personifies the river, praising its beauty and grace, thanking it for its guidance and companionship, and, most importantly, charging the river to tell the stories of the *Astrée*: —Esi la memoire de ces choses passes t'est autant agreable que mon ame ne se peut rien imaginer qui luy apporte plus de contentement, je m'asseure qu'elles te seront cheres, et que tu les conserveras curieusement dans tes demeures sacrées, pour les enseigner à tes gentilles Nayades, qui peut-estre prendront plaisir de les raconter quelquesfois [...] (III, 6).” The river tells the nymphs who then tell the stories to others... the image serves as a metaphor for the reader who, dipping into the pastoral stream, will then, ideally, share with others the stories that provided such pleasure.

Memory plays an important role in the prefaces. In the third d'Urfé evokes happiness and pleasure associated with sweet memories and his time spent with the river whose banks ~~ont~~ été bien souvent les fideles secretaries de mes imaginations et des douceurs d'une vie si desirable [...]” (III, 6). In both I and II, d'Urfé exhorts Astrée and Celadon to remember the advice he has given: to Astrée, ~~m~~ets bien en ta memoire ce que je te vay dire” (I, 6); and to Celadon, ~~t~~...] mets en ta memoire ce que je te vay dire” (II, 5). Each time that the author utters this phrase, he instructs the character (emblematic of the book) how to react to different types of reception on the part of the author, mostly if the reader reacts negatively. In preface II, for example, d'Urfé highlights the seemingly old-fashioned approach to love that Celadon adopts in the *Astrée* and indicates that it may not be well-received by the contemporary reader. The author encourages Celadon not to hide this characteristic but to affirm it: —Accorde leur d'abord sans difficulté, que veritablement tu aimes à la façon de ces vieux Gaulois qu'ils te reprochent [...]” (II, 5). He

paints a very positive portrait of the “bons vieux Gaulois,” people of honor and of their word, honest and loyal. The characteristics d’Urfé highlights are all the best traits of humanity; by attributing them to the Gaulois, the ancestors of France, he provides a new model for the reader to imitate: —“Que s’ils veulent aimer comme ceux qui t’ont instruit, tu leur serviras de guide tres-assurée” (II, 5). To further underscore the positive characteristics to be admired and imitated, d’Urfé points out that if the reader does not agree then she or he can simply do the exact opposite of what Celadon does and thus —“Ils pourront tirer de cest sorte un parfait patron de leur imperfection” (II, 5). Celadon serves as a model for the reader regardless of how the reader perceives Celadon. The significance of memory is not lost upon the reader who must recall the adventures read and the advice given in the prefaces as guides through the pastoral realm. In evoking memory, the author again exhibits an awareness of the act of reading.

The first preface, —“L’Auteur à la bergère Astrée,” exemplifies a keen awareness of the act of reading and situates the novel clearly within the pastoral literary tradition as conceived by the author. The preface echoes the epistolary form within the *Astrée*. It is addressed to the shepherdess, so from the outset the author has set up a system whereby the reader eavesdrops on the conversation, on the text, —“overhearing” the story being told. In point of fact, the orality of the letter, the numerous asides, mimic the theatrical dialogue, invoking a response from, supposedly, the shepherdess. It is not the shepherdess’ response, however, that the author expects—it is the reader’s. Due to the structure and the asides, the reader is given to understand that there has been an ongoing discussion between the author and his literary creation, Astrée. He speaks to her in the tones of a father addressing a favorite daughter who wishes to leave home. He warns her of the outside world—harsh, cold, unforgiving, and uninterested in truth, liable to misconstrue or misunderstand (either accidentally or purposefully) Astrée’s story—and it is with

great reluctance that the author has decided to allow *Astrée*'s freedom. This prologue, begun in mid-dialogue much like the beginning of the novel, offers a wealth of discussion for the discreet reader, the one who looks beyond the supposed concern of the "father" and sees there, masked, a note to the reader instructing how the novel should be read, offering a set of guidelines that are not reported directly to the reader but are indicated, indirectly, through the fictive dialogue between the "author" and the character, a discussion, interestingly enough, where the Other is silent yet the author supposes answers on her behalf, modeling how he expects the reader to interact with the text.

The preface's beginning in mid-dialogue ("H n'y a donc rien, ma bergere, qui te puisse plus longuement arrester pres de moy?") echoes the novel's commencement *in medias res*. The shepherdess seems to want to escape "les recoins d'un solitaire Cabinet" where she passes her "age inutilement" (I, 5). The author describes the voyage that the shepherdess will undertake and suggests that she might be happier if she remained with her "père créateur":

Si tu sçavois quelles sont les peines et difficultez, qui se rencontrent le long du chemin que tu entreprends, quels monstres horribles y vont attendans les passants pour les devorer, et combien il y en a eu peu, qui ayent rapporté du contentement de semblable voyage, peut-estre t'arresterois-tu sagement, où tu as esté si longuement et doucement chérie. (5)

This preoccupation with the shepherdess' "voyage" serves a double purpose: it is meant on a fictional level to prepare *Astrée* within the novel's frame for the difficulties of love that await her. On a metaliterary level, d'Urfé prepares the reader for her or his own voyage into the pastoral realm, warning them to be ever mindful of the possible effect that the events described within the *Astrée* may have on the reader. The authorial preparation for this double voyage to be

undertaken by both character and reader hints at a third voyage, one already completed by the author himself who warns of “monstres horribles” and the mysteries of a voyage that await the beautiful young shepherdess. Such warnings would normally dissuade a young girl from undertaking the journey, however the very thing that might deter the shepherdess peaks the reader’s interest, and so the author achieves his dual role, that of “père créateur” and self-promoting author.

The preface prepares the reader for the fictional voyage (at once paradoxical, for the voyage will be made, but it is a journey of the imagination, of the mind and the heart, not the body), encouraging the reader to follow Astrée to Forez much as one follows Alice down the rabbit hole, however d’Urfé is careful to indicate some limits: the reader does not possess the ability to discern d’Urfé’s code completely—the pastoral disguise functions not only within the narrative frame but also at the reader’s level, hiding any hint of reality from the reader (for example, any possible model for the shepherds or shepherdesses is carefully concealed from the reader). The author also offers his shepherdess advice on how to communicate with the reader, advice that applies to the reader as well: —“Epour te laisser à ton despart quelques arrhes de l’affection paternelle que je te porte, mets bien en ta memoire ce que je te vay dire” (6). The shepherdess represents at once herself and the reader, allowing the reader to enter the narrative frame and read the secondary level of meaning that is addressed specifically to the reading public. The author composes a fictional letter in which the projected author/narrator addresses the shared creation of both the author at the textual level and the author/narrator within the preface frame. In this fictional space of the preface, the creation and the representation of the creator meet; similarly, the reader comes “face to face” with the author.

The author/narrator warns the shepherdess that she must beware of those who read. It is an interesting declaration that underlines the author's desire for his work to be appreciated and understood as it is. Astrée (both shepherdess and book) must guard the author's secrets. In particular she must be aware of the reader and the reader's intentions:

Si tu tombes entre les mains de ceux qui ne voyent rien d'autrui, que pour y trouver sujet de s'y desplaire, et qu'ils te reprochent que tes bergers sont ennuyeux, respons leur qu'il est à leur choix de les voir ou ne les voir point : car encor que je n'aye pû leur oster toute l'incivilité du village, si ont-ils cette consideration de ne se presenter jamais devant personne qui ne les appelle. (6)

The choice of "desplaire" to describe the possible negative reaction of the reader underlines the intended reception as conceived by the author: the book should please the reader. Once more the importance of pleasure in the reader's experience asserts itself.

The preface functions as a justification for the novel, a type of *raison d'être*, and as a set of instructions to the reader on how to approach the work. In addition to the metaliterary awareness of the author, the latter also takes the time to situate his work within the pastoral literary tradition. As sources, d'Urfé does not list the *Diana* of Montemayor⁴¹ or any French work, dating either from the Middle Ages or the Renaissance; he does not even make reference to Virgil's *Eclogues* or Theocritus' *Idylls*, two works recognized as *the* primary sources for pastoral. Instead, d'Urfé names two works from the Italian tradition: Sannazaro's *Arcadia* and Tasso's *Aminta*. Yet, whereas he cites the *Aminta* as a model of language and sensibility for his own work, he cites *Arcadia* as a counterpoint to his own choice of setting or, as he classifies it, "Theatre" (6). Instead of the Greek Arcadia of tradition (or the Italian Arcadia as I have

⁴¹ Many indicate that d'Urfé was influenced by Jorge de Montemayor's *Diana* (see <http://astree.tufts.edu/portail.html#english> for example) and tend to ignore the Italian influence despite the fact that the author himself names the Italian texts.

demonstrated), d'Urfé decides to situate his pastoral in his native Forez. He anticipates negative judgments from the readers because he distinguishes himself from tradition, but he justifies his choice by linking it to a desire to honor the shepherdess's and his own birthplace:

Que si quelqu'un me blasme de t'avoir choisi un Theatre, si peu renommé en Europe, t'ayant esleu le Forests, petite contrée, et peu connue parmy les Gaules, responds leur, ma bergere, que c'est le lieu de ta naissance, que ce nom de Forests sonne je ne sçay quoy de champestre, et que le pays est tellement composé, et mesme le long de la riviere de Lignon, qu'il semble qu'il convie chacun à y vouloir passer une vie semblable. Mais qu'outre toutes ces considerations encor j'ay juge qu'il valoit mieux que j'honorasse ce pays où ceux dont je suis descendu, depuis leur sortie de Suobe, ont vescu si honorablement par tant de siecles, que non point une Arcadie comme le Sannazare. (6-7)

Reverberating with this choice is the foundational myth of origins that he establishes simultaneously as he composes the pastoral tale. While both Arcadia and Forez offer the peace, tranquility, nature intrinsic to the pastoral realm, d'Urfé underscores the French countryside as inspiration. The first chapter makes this abundantly clear:

Aupres de l'ancienne ville de Lyon, du costé du soleil couchant, il y a un pays nommé Forests, qui en sa petitesse contient ce qui est de plus rare au reste des Gaules, car estant divisé en plaines et en montaignes, les unes et les autres sont si fertiles, et situées en un air si temperé, que la terre y est capable de tout ce que peut desirer le laboureur. (9)

The world is at once recognizable and foreign. The topography is French but the utopian element underlines the inherent duality of setting: —[.] le Forez astréen n'est pas essentiellement un

paysage vécu, c'est un lieu symbolique et privilégié, et plus encore qu'une Arcadie : un véritable Eden pastoral" (Genette 10).

Despite the construction of the French foundation myth, neither the landscape nor the author, escape entirely the Italian influence. D'Urfé's family had ties with Italy. Honoré's mother, Renée de Savoie, permitted Honoré to maintain relations with the court of Savoy at Turin and Chambéry. Honoré's grandfather, Claude d'Urfé, was the ambassador of Francis I to the court at Rome. The castle and grounds themselves were in the Italianate style. Claude d'Urfé designed the garden on the model of Italian gardens. Denise Péricard-Méa notes that Honoré was inspired by these gardens as setting for his novel (125). The sources of his sites, the *Arcadia* and the *Aminta*, also underscore the Italian influence on d'Urfé's conception of the pastoral. The choice of these works as precedents to his own composition conveys not only d'Urfé's understanding of what pastoral was but also indicates strongly that he believed the tradition was of Italian origin. The reference to sources signals certain messages to the reader: first, the author asserts his knowledge of literature and of what preceded him. This intertextual concern in pastoral dates back to Virgil's *Eclogues* and his allusions to Theocritus' *Idylls*. Secondly, the author anticipates a particular awareness on the part of the reader. D'Urfé mentions the works by name anticipating that the reader will be familiar with both and with their stories. That he cites the *Arcadia* and the *Aminta* is indicative of the popularity of these works within the French tradition and of their importance to that tradition. Thirdly, it underlines how the author views his work in relation to literary tradition. Honoré d'Urfé not only indicates that he will follow in this tradition; he asserts that he will move beyond it and create something new and innovative. In order to appreciate his innovation, it is important that the reader be aware of what preceded, of that from which the author is hoping to distinguish himself. It is almost as if he is pointing to the

books and instructing the reader to read them. One can hear him say in the subtext of his imaginary dialogue, “Read this. Understand whence I come.” A call such as this on the part of the author is hard to ignore.

Given the author’s awareness of the act of reading, it is only reasonable that he would provide a clear idea of the manner of reading, how the text was envisioned to be read. Interestingly enough, he values the oral over the visual: “[...] je ne represente rien à l’oeil, mais à l’ouye seulement [...]” (8). The reader must ask how literally one is to understand this assertion. The emphasis on the oral underlines the linguistic choices the author has made, language in both oral and written forms being privileged over the visual arts. All artistic representations (paintings, temples) in the *Astrée* are understood through ekphrasis. Celadon comes upon the cave of Damon and Fortune as he is walking one day with the nymphs in the garden of the palace of Isoure, evocative of the grotto of La Bâtie (McMahon 108, fn 7). The cave “sembloit belle et faicte avec un grand art” (I, 440) which foreshadows the art therein: six tableaux telling the story of the sad love affair of Damon and Fortune, tricked by the sorceress Mandrague and the bewitched fountain. Adamas, the Druid priest, arrives in time to tell them the story of the paintings, describing them for the reader. McMahon notes that d’Urfé is more adept in the description of the pastoral paintings than, say, the classical references such as the mural of Saturn eating his children (I, 2): “In the pastoral subjects [...] the author is more at ease. He is here dramatic and idealistic, the reader becomes a partaker in the unfolding of the action and is at the same time introduced into an unreal world” (107).

Adamas begins the tale of Damon and Fortune with a reference to the *theatrum mundi*: —

Tout ainsi que l’ouvrier se joue de son œuvre et en fait comme il luy plaist, de
mesmes les grands dieux, de la main desquels nous sommes formez, prennent

plaisir à faire jouer sur le theatre du monde, le personnage qu'ils nous ont esleu. Mais entre tous, il n'y en a point qui ait des imaginations si bigearres qu'Amour, car il rajeunit les vieux, et envieillit les jeunes, en aussi peu de temps que dure l'esclair d'un bel œil ; et ceste histoire, qui est plus veritable que je ne voudrois, en rend une preuve que malaisément peut-on contredire, comme par la suite de mon discours vous advouerez. (I, 441-2)

The reference to the “theatre du monde” reminds the reader of the fictional nature of the text, highlighted by the fact that it is set apart, entitled “Histoire de Damon et de Fortune.” D'Urfé speaks through Adamas and the latter becomes a representation of the author. These “grands dieux” that “prennent plaisir à nous faire jouer sur le theatre du monde” refer at once to the gods and to the creative force, the author, who composes these scenes. Love is characterized as a contradictory force, responsible for reversals in fortune. This description evokes the duality of baroque aesthetic and in no tableau is the duality more evident than in the sixth. This last tableau depicts the last four actions of the shepherdess, Fortune: she dreams a dream that Mandrague forces upon her; she goes to the “fontaine des Veritez d'amour” inspired by the incubus to reassure herself; once there, she does not see Damon and so complains of his lack of loyalty; finally, she realizes he *is* there, dying, and she dies with him of a broken heart. In this single tableau are both the diurnal and the nocturnal. Adamas describes the scene where Mandrague is influencing Fortune's dreams and it is a purely diurnal representation: “Voicy le lever du soleil : prenez garde à la longueur de ses ombres, et comme d'un costé le ciel est encore un peu moins clair. [...] Voicy autour d'elle [Fortune] les demons de Morphée, dont Mandrague s'est servie, pour luy donner volonté d'aller à la fontaine des Veritez d'amour” (I, 451). The effect of *chiaroscuro* underscores the oppositional play of light and dark personified in the contrast of

Fortune with Mandrague. The sun exposes the treachery to the viewer (or reader) but not to the character in the moment—Fortune is still unaware that anything is amiss. Turning to the scene at the fountain, the setting is evocative of the assimilative elements of the nocturnal: the cave, the tomb, the dark—each of these elements incites unity, and so they dictate the resolution of the story: —*Ans*i ces fideles amans recogneurent l’infidelité de ceste fontaine, et plus asseurez qu’ils n’avoient jamais esté de leur affection, ils moururent embrassez: Damon de sa playe, et la bergere du desplaisir de sa mort” (I, 452). Adamas continues by describing the painting of the scene:

Voyez-les de ce costé. Voilà la bergere assise contre ce rocher couvert de mousse, et voicy Damon qui tient la teste en son giron, et qui pour luy dire le dernier adieu, luy tend les bras et luy en lie le col, et semble de s’efforcer et s’eslever un peu pour la baiser, cependant qu’elle, toute couverte de son sang, baisse la teste et se courbe pour s’approcher de son visage et luy passe les mains sous le corps pour le souslever un peu. (I, 452)

The final posture of the two lovers, entwined together, evokes tragedy and the nocturnal as they die in each other’s arms. The scene is theatrical in its depiction and Adamas’ style of narration suggests the author’s presence, not only describing but revealing meaning while disclosing the story. Ekphrasis serves as another reminder of the metaliterary consciousness of the author.

Theatre plays a significant role in the author’s aesthetic, returning through textual references that evoke the preface of Book I where the author/narrator justifies his refined linguistic choices for his shepherds by referencing pastoral theatre:

Mais ce qui m’a fortifié d’avantage en l’opinion que j’ay, que mes bergers et bergeres pouvoient parler de cette façon sans sortir de la bien-seance des bergers,

ç'a esté, que j'ay veu ceux qui en representent sur les theatres, ne leur faire pas porter des habits de bureau, des sabots ny des accoustremens malfaits, comme les gens de village les portent ordinairement. Au contraire, s'ils leur donnent une houlette en la main, elle est peinte et dorée, leurs jupes sont de taffetas, leur pannetiere bien troussée, et quelquefois faite de toile d'or ou d'argent, et se contentent, pourveu que l'on puisse reconnoistre que la forme de l'habit a quelque chose de berger. Car s'il est permis de déguiser ainsi ces personnages à ceux qui font profession de représenter chascune chose le plus au naturel que faire se peut, pourquoy ne m'en sera-t-il permis autant, puis que je ne représente rien à l'œil, mais à l'ouye seulement, qui n'est pas un sens qui touche si vivement l'ame ? (7-8)

Servais Kevorkian affirms in relation to the themes of disguise and pretend, “La feinte est une spécialité forézienne ; ces jeunes filles à l'apparence si douce et ces gentils garçons sont capables de mentir sans que nul ne s'en doute et d'imaginer des stratagèmes compliqués” (53). D'Urfé's use of disguise and make-believe suggests the theater. The shepherd's crook, for example, is discussed as though it were a prop on the stage. The speech of the shepherds evokes that of the actors. Core to the novel is the question of fiction, the nature of fiction, and how that fiction is represented to the reader. As Steven Rendall notes :

[Verisimilitude arises] from the development of the idea of fiction and from reflection on the problematic relations between the fictive and the true. It seems clear that both the ideological and the aesthetic functions of narrative depend upon its ability to induce a reader to “suspend disbelief” in some sense. Contrary to what one might expect, *Astrea* frequently acknowledges the problems involved

in narrative credibility, and offers what amounts to metadiscursive commentary on them. (xviii)

The theatricality of the text was evident to seventeenth century aristocratic readers who designed their gardens to imitate the novelistic settings and provide a place to act out scenes. Many such gardens were inspired by the *Astrée* (Péricard-Méa 120). Even the mode of reading the *Astrée* evoked the theater:

[...] it was read aloud in fashionable gatherings, sometimes attended by nobles dressed as one or another of the characters, and this suggests that it offered these readers an image with which they willingly identified themselves. *Astrea* is a valuable indication of the way some members of the French aristocracy saw themselves—or wished to be seen—at the dawn of the seventeenth century.

(Rendall xv)

This aristocratic penchant for playing the role of the shepherd or shepherdess not only illustrates the “theatre du monde” but reinforces the connection between the character and the reader who, in voyaging to the pastoral realm, took part in the pastoral *theatrum mundi*. The seventeenth-century reader wanted to be assimilated into the pastoral realm, and d’Urfé happily obliged.

Conclusion

Pastoral literature offers its readers a unique possibility of dialogue with the author. The artificial and contrived nature of the mode permits the author a freedom of communication with the reader because the reader is familiar with the conventions of the text prior to reading it. Pastoral conventions are found in early foundation myths and continue to resonate in later manifestations of the mode. It is through the variations of individual authors that the reader may enter into a dialogue with the author and the text, a dialogue that the author has instigated through the choice of the mode. This approach is a novel one. To this end, in this dissertation, I sought to examine the theatrical elements of pastoral that contribute to what I term the metaliterary awareness of the authors of pastoral in a comparative mode. I offered six case studies in the vernacular: three in French (the pastourelles of Jehan Erart and Guiraut Riquier and Honoré d'Urfé's *Astrée*) and three in Italian (the vernacular pastoral works of Boccaccio, Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, and Torquato Tasso's *Aminta*). In addition to the performative quality of pastoral, I endeavored to establish the similarities shared between French and Italian pastoral from the thirteen through the seventeenth century. Furthermore, I offered an examination of the role of setting and the development of the concept of Arcadia, pointing to Southern Italy rather than Greece as the truer representation of this idyllic world. Finally, I noted the repetition of loss and death within the mode. In this conclusion, I will briefly review these goals and the significance behind the findings.

Arcadia offered a veiled imaginary world, one that was to be taken as a literary landscape but could be identified with Southern Italy from the origins of pastoral literature in

Theocritus and Virgil. The influence of Southern Italy in general, and Naples in particular, on pastoral was a continued reality in the thirteenth through sixteenth centuries. Adam de la Halle purportedly composed the first pastoral play, *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*, in Naples. Guiraut Riquier had ties with the Neapolitan court and there was a shared culture in Occitania and Italy. Boccaccio's pastoral works are inspired by his time spent at the court of Naples in his youth. Jacopo Sannazaro's descriptions resonate of the Neapolitan countryside. Arcadia was a literary creation, a figment of the author's imagination from its very origins. Virgil never visited the Greek mountain region. He was inspired by Theocritus, who set his *Idylls* in his native Sicily, and by his own experiences in Naples: the contact he had with the Neapolitan Epicurean School and the Greek cultural influence present in Southern Italy. Because Southern Italy provided a tangible model for the intangible realm, authors felt that they, too, could alter the pastoral setting, not in its bucolic description but in its geographical location. Rather than setting their works in Greek Arcadia, Boccaccio, Tasso, and d'Urfé chose their own surroundings as home to their pastoral worlds. Boccaccio described the countryside surrounding his native Florence. Tasso set the *Aminta* in an undisclosed pastoral wood that closely resembled the gardens of the Ferrarese court. Honoré d'Urfé establishes his native Forez as the true home of pastoral literature, offering a new beginning for the mode that is both distinct from yet inspired by his predecessors, and creating a French foundational myth true to pastoral's origins in foundation myths.

The artificiality of the mode allows for a more concrete contract with the reader. There is no masking the conventional nature of this remarkably popular mode of writing. The elements that make up pastoral—the presence of shepherds or shepherdesses who sing, the idyllic setting of “Arcadia,” and the thematic of retreat and return all underscore the conventionality of the mode. It is this very artificiality that permits the author to interact with the reader on a

metaliterary level. Because the mode is made up of such recognizable conventions, the discerning reader of pastoral is aware of the constituting elements of the form and of any variation from the norm. Through variation, the author can offer the reader a secondary concern.

The emphasis on the performative values within the mode stems from its origins that are rooted in orality and developed over time. Through the performance the dialogic model resonates for the reader, once more evoking the subtextual dialogue between author and reader and providing an illustration of the act of composition. The shepherdess who sings as the knight listens covertly in the *pastourelle* mimics the act of writing that the poet himself performs. As the shepherds sing in competition in *Arcadia*, the reader listens as does Sincero, and the author plays with levels of fiction, indicating that he, too, was actually present and merely transcribed the events, alluding to the supposed veracity of the account, a veracity that does not really fool the reader, nor is it meant to, but forms part of what Genette describes as the *contrat de vérité* (*Seuils* 192). The contract of truth is manipulated in the fiction to increase the verisimilitude of the work and persuade the reader not of its realism but of its usefulness. A lie acknowledged as a lie does not provide the reader with the same effect as a lie disguised as truth. The disguise of the fiction as truth is repeated in the characters themselves, often disguised nobles, as is the case in Tasso's *Aminta*. The noble shepherds who act more like aristocrats in disguise rather than peasants even inspired real-life aristocrats to dress up and perform pastoral scenes from the *Astrée*. Even Marie-Antoinette played at pastoral—consider the pastoral Hameau and pond at Versailles to which she escaped when the pressures of the court were overwhelming.

Disguise not only facilitated the metaliterary subtextual dialogue present in pastoral but encouraged the poetics of retreat from society. Pastoral is perhaps the earliest form of escapist literature, providing a means by which the reader could momentarily take on a role often socially

foreign to their true self yet still dignified and noble enough to permit the change. The use of disguise also encouraged the feigned veracity of the tale; the actions of the shepherds and shepherdesses, their passionate singing and free expression of love was, as Molière indicated in the *Bourgeois gentilhomme*, permissible because they *were* shepherds and shepherdesses, yet the emotions expressed were truly those of the aristocratic reader. Verisimilitude also enters the pastoral in the form of death, a reminder that it is the one truth from which no one, real or imagined, can escape.

This dissertation provides a methodology for interpreting pastoral works, a new way to approach the mode. As such, this approach can be extended to other works, both within the historical time frame of this study and beyond. Pastoral is a versatile mode of writing that by nature is intertextual and as such encourages comparative examination both within the mode and in comparison with other genres; for example, I am interested in the comparison of the female voice in the *pastourelle* and the *chanson de toile*. Furthermore, my methodology could be extended to other national literatures, an avenue of research that I am currently pursuing. Moreover, despite the perceived marginality of the mode, the concerns of pastoral are still current even today. This study has revealed the pastoral author's preoccupation with setting and the natural environment, a concern echoed in modern ecocriticism. While modern works may not depict a shepherd singing in the glen, "post-pastoral" works focused upon the concern for the natural world transform "Arcadia" into a protagonist and this development would also provide an interesting approach to the historical development of the mode. Pastoral is a rich and versatile literary mode that not only challenges the modern reader but also exhibits a startling modernity in its awareness of its literary nature.

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