Pastoral Paradigms and Displacements, with Some Proposals

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W. W. Greg's study of Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama (1906) begins with a denial that "a priori guidance" through "the maze of historical and aesthetic development" is available to any student of pastoral. The field, Greg wrote, has no "cardinal point affording a fixed center"; there can be no "Ariadne's thread" through the maze.1 The "modern historical school of criticism" undertook to refute the a priorism of Pope and Samuel Johnson: "The one fixed idea which runs throughout these criticisms is that pastoral in its nature somehow is, or should be, other than what it is in fact." For, Greg concluded, "pastoral is not capable of definition by reference to any essential quality."2

I

As long as people recall that pastor means shepherd, the term pastoral will unavoidably evoke a theory of its own meaning. Thus, "Strictly speaking, pastoral requires shepherds and their sheep," as Paul Fussell puts it.3 In the more common current usage, the word is loosely equivalent to what we may call the rural-euphoric. Here in effect are two separate theories of pastoral, perhaps more compatible than they seem if we allow for figurative as well as literal shepherds in the pleasant rural places of pastoral. Richard Hardin proposes to define pastoral by the sophistication and malaise of its originating intelligence, the pastoralist.4 The problem has been increasingly interesting ever since William Empson, in Some Versions of Pastoral, advanced such provocative notions as "I think good proletarian art is usually Covert Pastoral"; and "child-cult . . . is a version of pastoral."5 Current theory adds primitivism,6 suggesting a triad of shepherd surrogates to be expected in displaced pastoral: the folk, children, and primitives. Because pastoral so regularly carries connotations of a quite special kind of good feeling, the Empsonian "versions" readily clash with our conviction that shepherd or at any rate rural well-being lies at the heart of the matter. Denying the Gregian denial, Empson raised questions of theory which Greg could not well have foreseen. The strong continuing vitality of a tradition long
ago understood to be moribund may be something more interesting than a function of shifting and apparently inconsistent word usage.

I wish to approach these problems through a provocative remark by Paul Fussell on the incidence of pastoral themes and fictions in the writings of the English poets of World War I: "There seems to be no action or emotion of the line that cannot be accommodated to some part of the pastoral paradigm." It is not clear that Fussell conceives a singular pastoral model or other structure when he evokes the idea of a paradigm; we may feel safe enough, however, in linking a number of familiar structures to pastoral, indicating what may usefully be understood by his term. A paradigm may be a kind of archetype, like the idealized shepherd and the emblematic sheep; or a significant pattern of action like the retreat and return of the pastoralist; or a metaphor, like the shepherd-poet or the shepherd-priest (Virgil as Tityrus, Milton’s Edward King as Lycidas); or an array of data as in a grammar—for example, the loose code of the proper names so frequent in pastoral (Daphnis, Strephon, etc. / Chloe, Phyllis, etc.), and calendars, and time tables; or it may be a map, a diagram, or a blueprint. A paradigm as thus understood is a visual equivalent of a significant compound of ideas, displaying particularly a scheme by which the ideas may be organized. Modest paradigms, moreover, may be assembled into larger ones. Thus the array of Greek shepherd names, above, may be linked to a second array which will take into account the English Hobbinol and Cuddie and their friends. Then, following the cue of the shepherd names, we could add the usual dramatis personae (nymphs, satyrs, the wise old shepherd, shepherdesses), and a map of Arcadia, and next, perhaps, a compilation of the typical dramatic actions of pastoral. By further addition of this kind we could arrive at a structure of great complexity. Fussell’s “pastoral paradigm” might be of this sort—a prop-room and tool-chest for writers of pastoral and something of a master paradigm. Literary theory, like the work of grammarians, constantly seeks to bring to light the structures which govern practice. It thus traffics in paradigms; and as it is ambitious it may seek master paradigms. One such quest at the start of the eighteenth century produced a valuable example.

In his “Discourse on Pastoral Poetry,” reportedly written in 1704 (published 1717), Alexander Pope addressed the problem as follows:

There are not, I believe, a greater number of any sort of verses
than of those which are called pastorals, nor a smaller than of those which are truly so.  

For Pope's most basic idea of correct pastoral we inevitably look to the four "Pastorals" he published in 1709. Three of these four poems exhibit the unusual structural complexity to be found in three of the poems of what he considered the sole canon, the idyls of Theocritus and the eclogues of Virgil. These were Theocritus VI and Virgil VI and VIII. Pope's last pastoral imitates a simpler model more commonly found in the same body of works. From his first three pastorals and the three complex canonical poems a useful paradigm may be derived.

All six of these poems begin with introductory discourse (D) in the voice of the pastoralist (scene-setting, addressing a friend, invoking the muse, etc.). The pastoralist then may turn to modest narration (N) which introduces shepherds conversing informally in mime fashion (M). This dialogue leads up to a shepherd performance (P) or "musical offering," as Rosenmeyer calls it. The mime (M) resumes briefly; and the pastoralist returns to complete the narration (N). This sequence is not average or typical, but paradigmatic: the complex form from which simpler forms may be derived, in this case, by subtraction. As a blueprint it may be represented as follows: D/N/M/P/M/N. Pope approaches it most closely in his "Spring": D/N/M/P/M (cf. D/N/P for "Summer" and N/D/N/P/N/P/N for "Autumn"). The models, as shown by "Autumn," could be complicated by the presence of two separated shepherd performances: D/N/P/N/P/N (Theocritus VI) and D/N/P/N/P (Virgil VIII); and Virgil VI presents another variant: D/N/P (indirect discourse)/N. The models and imitations thus relate to the blueprint mainly by truncation, preserving the order of the segments. In the canonical models, and especially in Spenser, the most favored form is M/P/M or N/P/N; Pope uses the former for his "Winter." Inspection will show, then, that the performance is normally sandwiched between segments of mime or narration, producing the effect of a frame or a nest. The resulting impression that the poem exists for the sake of the performance may be strengthened by expressions of anticipation preceding the performance and words of praise following. The canonical poems also authorize truncation down to a single segment. Virgil's important first eclogue is pure mime (M). And English pastoral lyric as represented in Englands Helicon (1600) had little use for framing, displaying an overwhelming preference for pure shepherd performance (P),
with a few specimens of shepherd narrative (N) and mime (M). Of Elizabethan pastoral, with its great variety of projects and accomplishments and the warm vitality of much of its shepherd poetry, Pope probably knew little or nothing.\(^{13}\)

As Pope's proposals thus involve us with the still current sense of a disreputable older pastoral cursed by cumbersome and useless apparatus, not to mention dullness, insipidity, and triviality, his theory requires further treatment. First, the "Discourse" offered precepts for the substance and decorum of pastoral poetry, supplementing and partially clarifying his practice. A pastoral poem was to imitate "the action of a shepherd, or one considered under that character." This shepherd was defined as a sedentary person blest with leisure; the miseries of his life were to be concealed. The poem was to exhibit simplicity, delicacy, and brevity (Pope apparently aimed at a hundred lines); and it was to be enlivened by variety. "... Pastoral is an image of what they call the Golden Age," Pope wrote. It is inviting as it displays "the tranquillity of a country life." The shepherds of pastoral "celebrate their own felicity" in terms as "humble, yet as pure as the language will afford." In obedience to his theory Pope produced a variety of what we may call utopian or Golden Age pastoral which almost all readers have agreed in finding unsatisfactory. It is too "pure," too much confined to a single register, too monotonic.

There is a poetical wisdom which says, with Thomas Campion,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{These dull notes we sing} \\
\text{Discords need for help to grace them.} \\
\text{("Rose-Cheeked Laura")}
\end{align*}
\]

In Pope we miss the discordant; there was indeed a certain timidity in his prescriptions for variety. The subjects of shepherd dialogue were to "contain some particular beauty . . . different in every eclogue." In each "a designed scene or prospect . . . should likewise have its variety." "Frequent comparisons," apostrophes, "beautiful digressions," occasional insistence "a little on circumstances," and "elegant turns on the words" were recommended. "The thoughts are plain, yet admit a little quickness and passion" —but certainly not much, after all, in a Golden Age world. We notice that, in case dissonance threatened, it was likely to be muted by "the numbers . . . properly of the heroic measure . . . the smoothest, the most easy and flowing imaginable."\(^{14}\) In composing demonstration poems (which inci-
dentally followed the canonical practice of celebrating localized arcadias), Pope followed his own precepts well enough:

First in these Fields I try the Sylvan Strains,
Nor blush to sport on Windsor's blissful Plains:
Fair Thames flow gently from thy sacred Spring,
While on thy Banks Sicilian Muses sing . . . .

But this fantasy had limited interest even for Pope's contemporaries. The vigorous principles of variety to be read in Theocritus and Virgil were for the most part lost on Pope.

The Popeian paradigm developed above perhaps tells us more about the tradition than either Pope's poems or his precepts. Thus, the D, M, and P of the paradigm designate the three basic voices of pastoral: the pastoralist, the shepherd in dialogue, and the shepherd as skilful, unsophisticated artist. Colloquial shepherd speech raised a problem for English poets. No dialect, Pope observed, has the "secret charm" of the Doric speech in Theocritus; Spenser's country dialect was "inferior," smacking of the obsolete, the low, and the clownish. Pope's pastorals accordingly use a single voice for the shepherds and the same voice for the pastoralist as well. The paradigm also displays the four literary modes which found a compact home in pastoral from the start: poetic discourse, narration, drama, and lyric or song. These further opportunities for variety, richly exploited in the canonical pastorals, were perhaps not advantageously noticed by Pope. Pope's paradigm is thus more illuminating than his practice.

One final feature of his theory demands attention. In adapting Spenser's calendar pastoral to a pastoral of four seasons he promised, in a way, to survey variant phases of the more general mood, the rural-euphoric. An exuberant pastoral of springtime and morning is common enough in Elizabethan lyric. But the pastoral Pope wrote stayed within the guidelines of the quiet, quintessential pastoral prescribed in his "Discourse." Simplicity, tranquillity, rurality, felicity, and verbal music "the smoothest, the most easy and flowing imaginable," are the terms he supplies. Pastoral of this central kind accounts for the emotive use of the term noted at the beginning of the present study. Its associations are summer, noontide, and afternoon languor, and it contrasts with morning pastoral as a balm contrasts with a sweet tonic. Pastoral in its wider sense may embrace a broad range of rural experience; but the pastoral in question is widely felt to be pastoral proper.
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Pope’s “Pastorals,” as I read them, seem to say that, as such pastoral is the most beautiful register within the rural-euphoric, a pure and single-register pastoral will be the most pleasing. The notion seems inevitable as it is unsatisfactory. We must now be concerned to clarify and validate as convincingly as possible the concept of a quintessential pastoral.

II

Pope’s paradigm is expressly literary. Since pastoral from the start showed powerful affinities to music and painting, the discussion may properly take other arts into account. Western music down to the present has been rich in overt pastoral, from Renaissance madrigals and operas through nearly all the major composers (Bach, Handel, Beethoven, Brahms) and figures of the present century (Debussy, Ravel, Poulenc, Vaughan Williams). Exemplary musical pastoral creates the singular and recognizable mood (“tranquillity,” to employ Pope’s mood word, with the flavor of the rural) which we recognize as quintessential; and it suggests a paradigm. The favored instruments are flutes and oboes; the sound is quiet, harmonic tensions are minimal; ideas of innocence, simplicity, and sweetness help explain the effect. And, an important theoretical matter, European musical convention in compositions of any length almost always guarantees an escape from the risk of single-register pastoral. For while the main musical material will evoke placid shepherds and sheep, there will be heavier material proposing dissonance, threat, a complementary energy, or some other contrast. A well-known model, Bach’s “Sheep May Safely Graze,” begins with a sheep theme—a slow, quiet flute duet supported by harmonies closely anchored to the tonic chord. The contrasting shepherd theme, played against more complex harmonies, is carried by strings suggesting a solo voice of authority and reassurance. The two themes alternate, and are also played contrapuntally to set sheep and shepherd in a trio of complex texture. “Pure” pastoral structures are certainly possible in music; but the counterposing and mingling of contrasted thematic materials is so normal that a Popeian theory of a single-register pastoral as a rigid prescription could hardly occur in musical theory. We note in passing that the “impure” pastoral of music, being inevitably programmatic, is firmly in touch with some of the familiar dualities of pastoral: feckless sheep/protective shepherd; human/divine; vulnerable/sturdy; simple/complex; innocent/sophisticated.

But structural concerns have greater present interest. The brief composi-
tion by Bach described above in an oversimplified way actually has this structure (where P stands for pastoral, N for non-pastoral): P/N/PN/N/P/N (minor)/P (minor, under the influence of N)/N/PN/P . . . P. In other words there is much equal counterpointing in addition to alternation of the two themes. The N material is imposing, the P even more so, evidently, for it has the last word and more of a quantitative share in the structure; and it is undoubtedly the key to the special memorability of this composition. The Vicar of Wakefield, a deservedly popular pastoral novel, has a brief prologue and a briefer epilogue which are not pastoral; and the main fabric at the halfway point admits a great deal of non-pastoral material which grievously and most entertainingly threatens and nearly destroys the pastorality. The structure may be simply represented as n/P/n. The extremely frequent occurrence of pastoral episodes in prose fiction has a general structure N/p/N, the pastoral being most often quantitatively negligible although important enough as relief and sometimes thematically pivotal.

Goldsmith's novel forces us to make distinctions. The non-pastoral comes in many forms which can serve pastoral well in counteracting its chronic proneness to insipidity. If we consider that the pastoral flavor is somewhat bland, like vanilla, the poems of the single register are, as we say, unflavorful. There is some of the distinctiveness that we expect from a flavor in Pope's "Summer," when he admits a seasoning of whimsy:

Where-e'er you walk, cool Gales shall fan the Glade,
Trees, where you sit, shall crowd into a shade . . . (ll. 73-74)

But seasoning is not the whole of it. The non-pastoral may be classified in three varieties which I shall arbitrarily christen the quasi-pastoral, the unpastoral, and the counterpastoral. The first, exemplified by the birds and named trees which supply seasoning in Theocritus VII, are quite dominant in the general pastoral of the rural-euphoric. The quasi-pastoral can easily generate the whole range of happy rural moods. But insofar as miscellaneous natural and rural images are presented merely for their pleasantness or their expression of vital energies, they belong to rural or nature poetry, not pastoral.

The unpastoral in pastoral poetry occurs characteristically in the shepherd's performance, for example, his recounting of a myth. As the shepherd employs such material, it emerges as it were from the pastoral medium embodied in the framing material; but read out of context it may prove
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surprisingly free of pastoral coloration. The counterpastoral on the other hand has obverse pastoral quality, embracing the whole realm of the significant contraries of pastoral, beginning with the pastoralist and his malaise. As pastoral presumes a pastoralist, the counterpastoral needs not be explicit in pastoral poetry. But in fact it makes its first overt appearance in the tradition exactly in the first idyl of Theocritus, with that poem's motifs of violence, death, grief, and vengeance. If the ancient pastoral elegy and the Theocritean framed musical offering may be proposed as the norm, it might follow that the characteristic pastoral literary structure employs pastoral as the ground against which typically a counterpastoral or unpastoral figure makes a commanding appearance; that the perennial weakness of pastoral has been to forego the opportunity to contrast figure and ground by putting pastoral materials at the center of attention as well as in the background without supplying compensating elements of interest; and that pastoral, while determined by a subject matter, is more centrally a medium—an environment and determinant of perception for poet and reader—than a genre. In the works we willingly call pastoral we may be fascinated and charmed by the power of shepherdly contentment to modify the impact of strongly counterpastoral materials such as grief, physical conflict, and squalor on one hand, or passion, ecstasy, or even rational discourse on the other. The pre-Theocritean Phaedrus of Plato, with its setting “Under a plane-tree, by the banks of the Illissus,” is a gratifying demonstration of that power. We note pastorality with pleasure and perhaps in a spirit of discovery in such cases; the absence of the kind of dissatisfaction created by the experience of a purer pastoral, as in Pope, strongly suggests that we like our pastoral best in the compounds it forms with other kinds of writing.

This section began with a presentation of a musical paradigm for pastoral, following a treatment of a literary one. The discussion suggests a search for a pictorial paradigm, and we do not have far to look. It is hard to believe that any tolerably educated person within western civilization is unacquainted with the comely, youthful, faceless shepherd of traditional pastoral. In our mental image of the Biblical Abel we recognize his well-favoredness and his vulnerability; in young David we see him elevated to unpastoral heroic stature. We find him in Homer as well, when Athena appears to Odysseus on his arrival in Ithaca:

Likening her body to a young man's, a feeder of sheep,  
All tender, the way the children of rulers are.18
The image is plainly permanent and archetypal, or stereotypal, we might say, in its lack of dependence on and its resistance to the experience of actual working shepherds. The archetypal, emblematic sheep is equally independent of experience. And wherever we see shepherds, we expect sheep: the first archetype attracts a second, and a powerful paradigm begins to emerge. We know its power because within our own culture the image of sheep and shepherds continues to carry such a heavy freight of powerful feelings and ideas, both pagan and Christian.

Richard Eversole's essay presents evidence that 18th-century pastoral was haunted by the sheep-shepherd image augmented by a shade tree. As Richard Hardin demonstrated, the first eclogue of Virgil, with its formula *lentus in umbra* ('relaxed in the shade') was basic to this tradition. And the first idyl of Theocritus contains this scene-setting:

So let's come and sit yonder beneath the elm, this way, over against Priapus and the fountain-goddesses. . . .

Spenser begins his "December" with a turn recalling the end of Virgil's last eclogue:

The gentle shepheard sat beside a springe,
All in the shadowe of a bushy breere . . . ;

and the engraver of the early Spenser woodcuts took pains to supply most of the illustrations with shade trees as well as emblems of wilderness and of habitations, as if to affirm again and again the middle zone which pastoral shepherds occupy. The 1654 London edition of Virgil's works, translated by John Ogilby, contains engravings for the ten eclogues many of which, again, feature a shade tree, an emblem of wilderness at a distance, and handsome, youthful shepherds lightly clad in unmistakably Mediterranean costumes.

It seems impossible that the rapidly developing picture should be widely known except to people of some literary or artistic culture, although it has the properties of a convincing archetype. The mind forms it easily, as if prepared for it; it has considerable stability and, one feels sure, a definite and strong communal currency. Thus: comely, relaxed, gracefully garbed shepherds, sheep, a shade tree (implying bright sunshine and warmth), a spring or brook, a shrine to a minor rural deity. The time is noontide, or, in practice, most of the afternoon. And we are free to add a simple musical instrument (flute, shepherd pipes), and a carved bowl. As a picture
the scene is mute; but given a sound-track to accommodate the shepherd music or song, we will detect a range of quiet country noises: rustling leaves, murmuring waters, cicadas, the sounds of grazing, and, at a distance, birdsong and the lowing of cattle. The Spenserian and Virgilian illustrations authorize us to add emblems of wilderness close by—perhaps stony land or brambles along a mountain slope. This last particular identifies the location as the most important _locus amoenus_ of pastoral, the pleasance of the shepherds. It is in the high country at the edge of Arcadia where shepherds may be joined occasionally by goatherds from above and neatherds from below, and, no doubt, an occasional visitor from the city engaged in a pastoral quest. If the former appear in the picture, they will be indistinguishable from the shepherds. The pastoralist, important as he may be to the idea, is not admitted to the picture at all.

The conjuration of this picture may remind us that early tradition offers a relevant fable of origins. The narrator of _Daphnis and Chloe_ informs us at the outset that his imagination was first kindled by a painting, a complex and captivating "picture of a tale of love" made up of separate scenes: infants nursed by sheep and cared for by shepherds, young lovers, an incursion of pirates, and other details. Our picture of the shepherds in their pleasance focusses some of this material at the place and time of a musical offering, and the frame prominent in the Popeian blueprint evidently belongs to it. That frame imposes narrow bounds, affirms value, and proposes the work of art as a composed and beautiful object. As I read the evidence of Thomas Rosenmeyer's wonderful book on Theocritean pastoral, the "framed picture" of the shepherd pleasance has been something like a natural emanation of pastoral poetry from the very beginning.

III

The shepherd pleasance has its place in the mind as a gestaltic formation—a stable and unified picture composed of a small number of data in determinate relations to each other and assembled by their affinity to the idea of relaxed shepherds. The mind effortlessly identifies those data as the significant recurrent features of pastoral. In the two-way mental traffic characteristic of gestaltic activity, experience with pastoral art constantly nourishes and reinforces the Gestalt, while the Gestalt stands in readiness to identify pastorality in art or mundane perception. As a Gestalt, the picture must first be understood as a matrix for variation, for it is the constant
which lends a comfortable and sufficient familiarity to the uniqueness of any pastoral experience. Second, as a Gestalt, it tolerates a large range of variation in its details and their relations. Thus, the shepherds may be solitary or in pairs or trios, and they may lounge, or sing, or play on their pipes. Third, it carries a large freight of potential themes, feelings, and synesthetic content (especially implied sounds and bodily sensations). Its fullness and wholeness exist in no single experience of pastoral, but in the mind. Mundane or artistic pastoral experience results from the power of its details—relaxed shepherds, the sound of oaten pipes, or just a certain rural mood—to evoke the whole even when encountered singly. Because the rural in art and life can put the Gestalt into a state of referential readiness, pastorality can seem to loom in the background of all such experience. The currency of the picture being uncertain, we are not free to regard it as a widely operative paradigm today. But it has probably always been a potent and central paradigm, and we may regard it as a model for the operation of all the other Gestalts the mind may summon up in identifying pastorality.

The deceptive simplicity of the pleasance paradigm demands further attention. We note first that the image is something less than a picture, being a schema from which more interesting pictures are easily constructed, and again, more than a picture, for it is within its frame that the very modest dramatic actions of idyl and eclogue take place. The frame is thus as indeterminate as the picture, alternatively suggesting a proscenium arch defining a tiny theatrical space and tending to identify the shepherd actions as very small-scale stage spectacles, like the Alexandrian mimes from which they may be derived. Frame and content in this protean paradigm function in tandem. The frame in another mode suggests a window into the domain of pastoral, like a mirror containing a looking-glass world which we can know by having accepted the invitation of pastoral literature to live there in imagination. We may be sure about this kind of experience on the evidence of our experiences with novels and movies. Our effortless indwelling in the worlds proposed by such complex narrative structures makes it clear that we are more than spectators of such actions. In part we wholeheartedly live them. The familiar idea of ‘the world of a book’ reminds us of the kind of habitability an imaginary world can have. Because it has been possible to live in Arcadia ourselves, we know a good deal about it: how the sounds, the comfortable warmth, and the breezes all matter, and how along with many other particulars they help acquaint us with the
pastoral mood—tranquillity, innocence, simplicity, and a sense of things in order. Having lived this quintessential pastoral, we have felt languorous, contented, and free along with the shepherds. Sheep, shepherds, and pastoralist, like ourselves, share in the ambience and mood; and the scene as backdrop, without the animate figures, emits the ambience on its own with considerable constancy and power. The sorrows of a lamenting shepherd can lose most of their pathos in this force field.

The *locus amoenus* of the shepherds conceals what may be taken as a revealing joke. Here, in the high pastures of Arcadia, we are invited to enjoy not invigorating fresh air, or sublime panoramic vistas, or the confrontation of a strong ego with nature and the universe. Instead, we respond to emblems of protection in the shade tree, of nature in a close, cozy, harmonious relation to man, and of ego-cancelling community in the companionable second and third shepherds. Nature here is tamed and bountiful; sheep and shade tree as emblems of food, clothing, and shelter almost effortlessly available contribute the foundation for some of the important inherent themes of pastoral. The shepherd pleasance has the safety of a nest, the euphoria of a dream, and the comfort of a reliable, reassuring, frictionless community.

The framing and nesting effects within pastoral came to attention earlier, in the discussion of the Popeian paradigm. The indeterminacy of the frame and the modes of being it can contain allow us to see, finally, the elements of the shepherd picture as the precious innermost contents of a Chinese box or of that “greene cabinet” which is the abode of the god Pan, according to Spenser’s last aeglogue. The joke now comes to a point as we note that the frame is readily interpreted as a womb and the picture as a fantastic, profoundly attractive womb-world open to light and air. We may put the matter differently by considering the redundant function of the shade tree. The shepherds in their own *locus amoenus* at midday, an archetypal place and time, enjoy not ecstasy but a definable euphoria of a lower order, timeless and blissful enough while it lasts. The transcending happiness of Marvell’s “Garden” cannot be read from the picture; Wordsworthian joy is not promised; the shepherds trail no clouds of glory. In innumerable ways the picture says something else.

From what we can see in it, it is fully and exclusively pastoral. We know it is involved with the unpastoral in some way because of the typical content of the shepherd performances in Theocritus and Virgil; but that content is
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not manifest in the picture. The emblem of wilderness is locational rather than counterpastoral. Thus nothing of the non-pastoral is in view; the picture is of the Golden Age. However, we happen to know this picture in a different way for, as noted, it is a space we ourselves have inhabited through vital contact with pastoral art. We know the shepherd's state of being within his pleasance because we have shared it. The inferences we are able to make by virtue of this knowledge add up to an entire system of the counterpastoral as a strict correlative of the pastoral.

Thus we know that the shade of the tree guarantees the shepherd's comfort at the threshold of discomfort on a summer afternoon. The sounds range from the softness of shepherd music to the near-inaudibility of rustling leaves and murmuring waters. The rustic shrine in the background signals the minimal, unforced piety of pastoral life. The scattered, contented sheep tell us that a shepherd's duties, at least in a summer noontime, are the lightest possible in the world of human work. And, as already noted, the wilderness in view locates us at the edge of civilization. Arcadia, and particularly the *locus amoenus* of the shepherds, is not a garden, or a wild paradise, or a Land of Cockaigne. It begins to seem consistent and sophisticated in conception, as a place of genuine but expressly minimal bliss quite close to the margin separating various goods from their corresponding evils: minimal civilization just this side of barbarism, minimal piety bordering on an empty atheism, minimal comfort under a cruel sun, minimal sounds redeeming silence. Fontenelle assessed the life of Arcadian shepherds as ideally lazy; and indeed it borders on idleness and irresponsibility little short of inertness and stupor.

The shepherds are emblems of several other kinds of minima. They are young men in late adolescence, too young to be sheepmen. Spenser significantly uses the term "shepherds' boys." The protagonists of *Daphnis and Chloe* make us smile with their confused, immature eroticism, for at the beginning of their story they are at the threshold of adolescent sexuality. If our picture includes one shepherd only, he enjoys his solitude instead of regretting his loneliness; if two shepherds appear, they illustrate the minimal community of friendship. If they compete in song, their rivalry is genial; a third shepherd will raise no rancour by naming a winner, and often enough both shepherds win. Their art is limited by their simplicity, for whether happy or melancholy, the topics of their songs are few; their gift objects reflect their happy commerce with minor art; their language is plain; their
knowledge is small. But in the light of the present discussion it is abundantly clear that these shepherds are true artists, functioning, as was to be expected, on the right side of that margin which separates simple, beautiful performance from drabness and clumsiness.

The peculiar euphoria of the shepherd pleasance apparently is determined by the close proximity of unwelcome, undesirable, or downright unpleasant states. Boredom looms; untamed nature is close at hand; heat threatens. With very small shifts the shepherds could be imagined as inadequate children, clumsy rustics, barbarians without art, and victims of loneliness; small shifts in another direction would threaten them with the risks and sorrows of adult responsibility, mature sexuality, and the complex demands of normal human society. In the golden moment of the picture the shepherd is securely a person within culture. The futurity in which he must expect to lose his innocence and blessedness is no more visible than the other Silver Age features of Arcadia: toil and the daily and seasonal cycles. But these darker matters are referred to with some candor in the oldest pastoral poetry and are therefore tacitly present. These complications will be treated later. Meanwhile there is more to be said of the system of margins and minima to be read from the shepherd picture.

As noted earlier, the shepherd performance took place within the tiny confines of that frame which could be interpreted as a picture frame or a proscenium. The term idyl derives from idyllion, a “small framed picture” as many English dictionaries have defined it. Nothing like interesting drama can transpire in this restricted space; indeed the usual musical offering and its modest preliminaries (discourse, narrative, mime) partake almost, but not quite, of immobility. The minimal character delineation and the always simple definition of any conflict between its shepherds further block the development of dramatic action. The character of tensions in the eclogues of Virgil, extensively outlined at the beginning of Toliver’s Pastoral Forms and Attitudes, relates both to dramatic conflict and the pairings of opposed ideas congenial to pastoral. Toliver demonstrates, I think, that both dramatic and ideational tension in this central case are again minimal. Indeed they are often just barely interesting. We would never say that the conventional sorrows of shepherds—wolves, bitter weather, disappointed love, the death of companions—are negligible. But, given the undeveloped character of shepherds, their facelessness as they appear in the framed picture, they fall short of tragic possibility. Moreover, their misfortunes invariably
take place off-stage, that is, outside the frame of the picture, and their faces betray no grief.

Rosenmeyer deflates the lovelorn swain of Theocritus’ third idyl in his discussion of “The Humor” of pastoral:

... His unsuspecting simplicity, his lack of insight into his own defenselessness, is characteristic of many other Theocritean herdsmen. We laugh at the self-dramatizing, the air of suffering; nevertheless we are refreshed by the thought that the suffering cannot be profound, and that the zest of living and the penchant for pleasure will win out.81

But the enfeeblement of the counterpastoral elements in Theocritus and their invisibility in the shepherd pleasance must not mislead us. It will be possible later to demonstrate the power of the pastoral balm to overcome the counterpastoral in virulent forms, yielding delicious late-afternoon moods of pleasing melancholy or consolation within the range of the quintessential pastoral we associate with the shepherd pleasance.

The most significant minima in pastoral have to do with the freedom enjoyed by shepherds. There is no threat of anarchy. Exuberance is keyed down.82 All is temperate. The shepherds are not so much free as carefree. They enjoy, as “a gift of the natural world,”83 a system of exemptions from the hardships incident to life where civilization is concentrated, particularly in cities and courts; and these hardships merge with the burdens of maturity experienced in any social order. Shepherds first enjoy freedom from the physical and moral squalor of crowded societies—from grime, noise, congestion, and confusion on one hand, and from intrigue and anxieties centering in money and status on the other. “Foremost among the passions that pastoral opposes and exposes,” says Poggioli, “are those related to the misuse, or merely to the possession, of worldly goods.”84 Arcadia is presented as having a spare, simple, self-sufficient economy based on sharing and generosity. The neatness, the quiet, the lack of material and human clutter in a pastoral locus amoenus all contrast with the conditions of city or court life.

The more universal dream of freedom from the responsibilities of adulthood, from the burdens of self, and from societal demands of all kinds, is surely more striking. Shepherds within their pleasance do not appear to have wives, parents, children, employers, or landlords; there are no masters or slaves in Arcadia. The choicest delicacy is cheese: shepherd life is not
complicated by any craving for fancy foods or wine. And then, for all the juvenile infatuations of shepherds, sex is all but invisible. The innocence and simplicity of arcadian life are seen most clearly here. The shepherd enjoys general exemption from change, instability, and significant conflict with fellow shepherds. His simplicity carries the charm of youthful inexperience and ignorance. He does not know the demands of consecutive thought or discourse; he is innocent of ideas; his elementary religious development has not involved him, so far as we can see, with the complexities and anxieties of important ritual; his skills in music and poetry are unforced and often untrained; he has only smatterings of knowledge.

The little picture of the shepherd pleasance is thus a remarkably redundant system of objects and relationships. Its centrality within pastoral is plain enough, and it has philosophical bearings as well. Rosenmeyer demonstrates the extensive relations of the oldest pastoral to the teachings of Epicurus (341-270 B.C.), a slightly older contemporary of Theocritus. The moderate, even austere hedonism of this "valetudinarian's philosophy," as Bertrand Russell called it, can be read straightforwardly from the shepherd picture, for pleasure grounded on the most modest material premisses is the source of the natural and wholly unreflective hedonism, the special kind of bliss, which shepherds enjoy within the pleasance. Pastoral, Rosenmeyer says, "is Epicurean by persuasion."

For Epicurus the gods lacked interest in or influence on human affairs. The good therefore had to be founded on pleasure. "Pleasure is the beginning and end of the blessed life," Epicurus said. "... Beauty, virtue, and the like are to be valued if they produce pleasure; if not, we must bid them farewell." According to Diogenes Laertius, Epicurus taught that pleasure meant "quiet of mind and absence of pain." The innocent and limited sensuality of the pleasance is consistent with this modest definition. "I know not how I can conceive the good," Epicurus said, "if I withdraw the pleasures of taste and withdraw the pleasures of love and those of hearing and sight." But Epicurean pleasure stands at the threshold of asceticism. "Send me some preserved cheese," Epicurus wrote to a friend, "that when I like I may have a feast." Elsewhere he wrote: "I am thrilled with pleasure in the body when I live on bread and water, and I spit on luxurious pleasures, not for their own sake, but because of the inconveniences that follow them." Passion was to be avoided at all costs. "Sexual intercourse has never done a man good, and he is lucky if it has not harmed him." Friendship, too, has
risks. But according to Cicero, Epicurus taught that "friendship cannot be divorced from pleasure, and for that reason must be cultivated"; and indeed "friendship is desirable in itself." Epicurus and his followers gathered in a private garden near the Dipylon in Athens, like a fellowship of shepherds in a proto-Arcadia. If the paradigm of the shepherd pleasance is as basic as the present essay contends, we might expect that some of what we find pastoral in pastoral is the unworldliness of a perennial Epicureanism.

IV

The Popeian paradigm, the musical paradigm, and the paradigm of the shepherd pleasance share a common theme of artificiality. The true home of pastoral, they all affirm, is in the realm of art and imagination. What we deem pastoral in mundane experience is that which reminds us of pastoral art. Further, the themes of the pleasance largely express the humble hedonism of Epicurus which Rosenmeyer identified as the spirit of Theocritean pastoral. On the other hand, whether casually or all too convincingly, pastoral wears a Golden Age disguise. The utopian theme emerges when the disguise is mistaken for the essence; and as the manifest content of the pleasance paradigm before interpretation, we may attribute it to a natural gestaltic function of the human brain. Art and artificiality, Epicurean hedonism, and the Golden Age: these three themes are native to pastoral in the sense that they are readily derived from the three paradigms. In search of a strict-constructionist understanding of pastoral applicable to contemporary and older usage alike, the approach through paradigms evidently has much to recommend it. The three which I have developed above apparently comprehend an impressive fraction of the lore of pastoral which a contemporary Anglo-American is likely to be aware of; and my primary concern for current understandings of pastoral was made clear at the outset. As for the themes derived from the paradigms, their character raises such questions as demand some narrowing of the idea of theme, and a real option to subordinate thematic studies to others on grounds of general unmanageability.

Thematics is a technical and perhaps confusing concept. I shall treat it here as that discursive aspect of literary texts which affirms significant and contestable general propositions. Contestability is based on awareness of alternatives, typically expressible in simple oppositions. Much of this content in literature is, or can be made to seem trivial. Thus, the primary theme of
pastoral, that country life is blessed in various ways, carries a latent opposed theme affirming the undesirability of life in the city or the court. But pastoral as centered in lyric poetry requires some forcing if we are to credit it with a discursive aspect. Is the Epicurean sense of happy being at a threshold between contraries a theme? Is a daydream of a rural utopia a theme? Is art a theme? Rosenmeyer, with his eye on Theocritus, calls attention to "the recalcitrance of the pastoral topoi to take on meaning"; and Reuben Brower observes that in Pope and his models "Pure sound very nearly holds the place of sense." We may thus protest that the string of pastoral qualities so often mentioned—simplicity, innocence, tranquillity, contentment, etc.—appear in the pleasance paradigm not as themes but as atmospherics. It happens that we can match this group, term for term, with the pastoralist's schedule of discontents; for it is the complexity, the corruption and hypocrisy, the constant busyness, the tension, etc., that characteristically account for his need to retreat. The pastoralist presence thus can liberate some of the thematics latent in the atmospherics, yielding oppositions like simplicity/complexity, innocence/corruption, and so on. To be sure, that presence, apparently guaranteed by the rule which decrees that pastoral neither quotes nor is written by actual shepherds, may be implicit in almost every case. But even when the pastoralist announces himself, as in Pope, does he automatically evoke the oppositions? Quite regularly his primary urge is to celebrate shepherd life, to bask in the ambience, to take a holiday from thought. In the background is his conviction that life in court or city is harsh, bruising, intractable, and generally hard. Pastoral is correspondingly soft—that is, gentle, indulgent, and undemanding. The pastoralist thus underwrites the pastoral softness; but this does not by itself lead him to any strong interest in pastoral themes.

A second suite of qualities associate themselves with the softness but not at all strictly with the pastoralist. Such qualities include youth, amicability, and general prettiness (is there a better term?); and these atmospherics contain latent themes in form youth/maturity, friendship/complex familial and communal relationships, and prettiness/the grime and sweat of rural labor. These themes focus in the shepherd, calling attention to his offstage activity in a general rural community, in a family, and in the sheepfolds and shearing sheds. They are important themes indeed. Poggioli at one point treats them as central: "The function of pastoral poetry is to translate to the plane of imagination man's sentimental reaction against compulsory
labor, social obligations, and ethical bonds.\textsuperscript{48} No pastoralist is needed to evoke these themes, for they arise from the shepherd's participation in the general human condition. The same can be said for the shepherd's freedom, discussed earlier. But all the oppositional themes just discussed, pastoralist's and shepherd's alike, have the Epicurean cast and are therefore implications of the paradigm.

When Boccaccio in the fourteenth century recognized in pastoral a serviceable vehicle for allegory,\textsuperscript{49} foreshadowing the widespread deployment of pastoral in satirical, encomiastic, epistolary, dramatic, narrative, and other modes, the thematics of the genre took the turn which could make them indistinguishable from the total thematics of Renaissance culture. Toliver's "pastoral contrasts" (nature/society, nature/art, idyllic nature/antipastoral nature, nature/celestial paradise)\textsuperscript{50} can not readily be derived from the paradigms which have concerned us, and they do suggest the inexhaustibility of possible themes in pastoral. A strict constructionist interpretation of pastoral compatible with current usage can deal with these embarrassments by simply denying the importance of theme as a vital issue in pastoral theory; it certainly does not seem to be a manageable one.

If pastoral is a maze, as Greg said, we may imagine its point of entry as Theocritus and its end point the present. If the thematics of pastoral include a few threads which we can follow through that maze down to the present, we may yet have a limited use for the approach. And indeed, outside the range of the three paradigms, we recall Richard Hardin's theme—should we call it an action-theme, or a motif, or a recurrent pastoral action?—of the pastoralist's retreat and return. Themes of this special character include the exile from Arcadia and the destruction of Arcadia. They trace to Virgil I, a dialogue involving a shepherd who has been dispossessed, and Virgil IX, which is set in a war-ravaged countryside. These themes, as Paul Fussell has shown, are prominent in the poetry of the Great War, when young soldier-shepherd poets lamented their sad lot in the ruined Arcadia of France and voiced their longing for the English Arcadia. It must never be forgotten that the fragility of Arcadia was always known and has always contributed to its aura of preciousness. We depart from Greg in this proposal by imagining the kind of maze which has many dead ends but at the same time many routings and some use, therefore, for several Ariadne's threads. Alternatively, we may imagine the corpus of pastoral as a tangled skein extending from Theocritus down to the present and remarkable for
the constant ravelling, unravelling, and reravelling of threads evident in every pastoral work. We may identify these threads as the principal strains of pastoral.

I can only suggest the general idea of this strategy for untangling the fabric. It must begin with a naming of the strains, and I shall have to rely upon my sense of an important few which have flourished through much or all of pastoral history. We may begin with Pastoral of the Pastoralist, a permanent strain guaranteed by the definition of pastoral but perhaps not quite indispensable to one of the other strains. Pastoral of the Apparatus (the "artificialities"), important to Pope, prominent in Virgil and Theocritus and embracing the well-known older conventions of form, diction, topoi, and so on. Utopian Pastoral, treating Arcadia as a Golden Age domain, employing the single register. It is not strictly derived from the basic canon but from paradigms operative at an early stage; it can be the focus of pastoral daydream and delusion. Pastoral of the Rural-Euphoric, an independent double thread running one important course outside pastoral and another within the maze, joining its fullest forces with pastoral after the eighteenth century. Arcadian Pastoral, a thread of two strands rendering the Rural-Euphoric in terms supplied by the Apparatus. Pastoral of the Mood, that is, quintessential pastoral: pastoral of the "noontide peace" and the warm afternoon, of the shepherds in their pleasance, of the string of pastoral qualities (simplicity, innocence, tranquillity, and the rest). Shepherd Pastoral, the literary and artistic matter of sheep and shepherds, including Christian Pastoral. This thread came unravelled from the more general herdsmen pastoral of the ancients. When not associated with the Rural-Euphoric and Pastoralist threads its pastoral quality becomes questionable. Displaced Pastoral, employing settings and personages other than the Arcadian but with significant metaphorical connection to shepherds and other elements, and necessarily associated with pastoral Mood and the Pastoralist.

The alleged demise of pastoral during the eighteenth century affected only literary pastoral and, expressly, the production of important and durable pastoral writings as opposed to incidental or thematic pastoral effects. The latter have been continuously useful to novelists, dramatists, and in our time, film-makers. What actually died is a little hard to make out in the light of the present proposal. The unaccountable fads of pastoral across a range of three or four centuries probably had their great strength in the courts and among the literary aristocracy and so died symbolically with Marie An-
toinette, famous for her shepherdess pastimes in the gardens of Versailles. The fad had run its course long before in England, to be largely replaced by a spurious pastoral of country gentleman cast. The general but incomplete abandonment of the Apparatus was involved in the demise; the pastoral daydream no doubt lost nearly all its power. For many poets of the time the dying pastoral meant Shepherd Pastoral. Collins in his *Persian Eclogues* proposed to rejuvenate the genre (as Richard Eversole demonstrated) by dealing with authentic contemporary shepherds in a far-off, sufficiently romantic place; and at the turn of the century Wordsworth's "Michael: A Pastoral Poem" undertook to reform it by insisting in plain words on the grim realities of shepherd life. But the thread of Shepherd Pastoral has not reached a dead end even today; the rumor of its demise has been credited in the face of strong contrary evidence including such monuments as Shelley's *Adonais* and Arnold's *Thyrsis*, and poets like William Barnes, the pastoralists of the First World War, R. S. Thomas, and contemporary poets in large numbers writing in a tradition which admits the experience of older literature as a subject matter.

It is not possible here to explore the implications of the foregoing proposals. But at least one general principle emerges: that most of the writings we generally agree to call pastoral will occur at the ravelling point of two or more threads, one of them necessarily that of the Pastoralist. The proposal does not confront the problems raised by the occurrence of strong counterpastoral elements in writings within any of these strains. We identify pastoral without disagreement when the pastoral balm is successfully applied to sweeten and dissolve disappointment and grief; when that operation is not wholly successful, the pastoral Mood may still be abundantly present. And even when a pastoral action culminates in total disaster, the pastoral music in the background may contribute pathos or bitter irony to produce a distinctive effect. We can discuss works in terms of the incidence and dominance or lack of dominance of pastoral feeling without being forced to pigeonhole every case of putative pastoral; we are, in fact, prepared by now to see that generic purity is no more commonplace or mandatory in pastoral than anywhere else in the arts.

Displaced pastoral might be discovered at many points in literary history. It became an active idea rather early. Swift took credit for advising John
Gay to write "a Newgate pastoral," a suggestion which led to the composition of the not very pastoral Beggar's Opera. And in 1735 Pope told Joseph Spence of a similar project: "It might be a very pretty subject . . . to write American Pastorals, or rather pastorals adapted to the manners of several of the ruder nations as well as the Americans. I once had a thought of writing such, and talked it over with Gay . . ."55 Whether Pope had Indians or colonists in mind is not clear. But the moderately displaced versions of pastoral of Robert Herrick and Isak Walton have long been honored as pastoral achievements.

We may test the force of the paradigms and the crossing of various pastoral threads in a striking and somewhat famous specimen of conscious displacement, Herman Melville's account of whales quietly feeding amid "vast meadows of brit," "like boundless fields of ripe and golden wheat."

As morning mowers, who side by side slowly and seethingly advance their scythes through the long wet grass of marshy meads; even so these monsters swam, making a strange, grassy, cutting sound; and leaving behind them endless swaths of blue upon the yellow sea. (Moby Dick, LVIII)

The fact that we willingly accept Melville's arcadian metaphor for such an unlikely specimen of displaced pastoral would seem to demonstrate the primacy, at least for our time, of Pastoral of the Mood. Here, that mood is by no means free-floating. The quiet grazing sounds, the sense of extremely beautiful, tamed nature (a calm seascape), benign herd animals expressly beneficial to man, all amount to pastoral metaphors which the text invites us to discover; and the atmospherics are right: tranquillity, contentment, slow motion, quiet and rhythmic natural sounds, and so forth.56 Moreover the speaker of the piece, Ishmael, conveys the true sense of pastoralist gratification in a moment of respite from the feverish excitement and the hard labor of life on the Pequod. The sensory content of the experience, the ambience of the scene, and the induced mood, are all of a piece, and all add up to pastoral. We may take Melville's set-piece as a model of displaced pastoral testifying impressively to the durability of undisplaced traditional pastoral in literary imagination and to its three durable strands: the Mood, the Pastoralist, and the metaphoric presence of traditional Apparatus—a local Arcadia, reaper-sheep, and the pastoralist's retreat. In Melville's protagonist, as in several of the early travelers cited in Roy Gridley's study, we may note
also the special response to a certain pleasing experience in nature which leads a pastoralist to resort to distinctly literary language—to “wax literary,” to be poetic or would-be poetic. The trick, as it seems, has always been an easy one, “easy, and vulgar, and therefore disgusting” as an anti-pastoralist of note once declared. In a sense, the pastoral in pleasant nature is that which can impel some of us to think or be literary.

For William Blake pastoral had a different and larger importance. We could not wish for a clearer example of covert pastoral (supporting counter-pastoral ideas) than Blake’s “The Little Black Boy.” “My mother taught me underneath a tree,” said the boy; and what she taught him was to look on the sun directly, “to beare the beam of love,” to hear God’s voice. The white “little English boy” needs his help: “Il shade him from the heat till he can bear / To lean in joy upon our fathers knee.” Then the Father will say “come out from the grove . . . / And round my golden tent like lambs rejoice.” Overt pastoral occurs only in this lambs/children simile. But reflecting on the text, we note the tree and the sense of a shepherd as redundant principles of protection and security for the vulnerable creature. One of Blake’s two engraved illustrations for the poem brings the covert pastoral content fully to light. It shows the Good Shepherd seated beneath a tree, with a crook in his hand, receiving the naked white boy, with the black boy standing behind like a sponsor. A flock of indistinctly rendered sheep can be seen in the background. The Black Boy has been a kind of shepherd to the white boy; the Good Shepherd has a similar relation to both, and to the sheep as well. Needless to say, this pastoral has little of the Epicurean flavor.

Blake’s engraving, however, links the Christian with the Theocritean iconography in a way that enriches, without exactly clarifying, the suggestions of the poem. The Good Shepherd in Christian art typically stands in a posture of protection among his sheep in a wild, brown wilderness pasture which we would hesitate to call a pleasance. This picture, with its Palestinian barrenness, no doubt influences our convictions about the shepherd pleasance paradigm as we conceive it to picture a brown, Mediterranean place rather than a green, northern European one. The burden of the Christian picture is sacred and allegorical, and the allegory does not call for a shade tree or any other evocation of warmth and languor. The Christian and Theocritean pictures, in other words, are not strongly harmonious. To complicate matters, Blake’s engraving is by no means faithful to his text.
Among other things, the deity of the text is a principle of joy, not protection: "...Come out from the grove my love & care / And round my golden tent like lambs rejoice."

Thus the "child-cult" of *Songs of Innocence* exploits two kinds of pastoral: the pastoral of tranquillity and safety within the pleasance, and the less special variety I have associated with morning and springtime. The latter is distinguished by exuberance and energy. When the high spirits are excessive, as in Blake, we may call them counterpastoral; the Joy in "The Little Black Boy" is thus something beyond pastoral. "Piping down the valleys wild," the piper of the "Introduction" launches the *Songs of Innocence* in a morning mood. He is defined as a shepherd-poet of the pastoralist variety through his response to the cloud-child's request ("Piper, sit thee down and write / In a book that all may read"); for he "made a rural pen" to write the ensuing *Songs* as an urban poet would find it necessary to do. Thereafter he engages intermittently with shepherds and sheep and particularly lambs, and with pastoral tranquillity, and with a great deal of pastoral convention. *Songs of Innocence* thus have strains of the Pastoral of the Pastoralist, the Mood, the Rural-Euphoric, the Apparatus, and the Shepherds; the Christian Pastoral strain and Displaced Pastoral are even more prominent. The displacements include those mentioned at the start of the present study: to children ("child-cult"), to the folk of a village community, and to the primitive as represented by wild places. Displacements to Empson's "proletarian" category and to animals are also present. As a traditional pastoralist Blake celebrates his blessed world under the rubric of innocence and the suite of pastoral qualities (simplicity, innocence, tranquillity, contentment, etc.). But this pastoral has nothing to do with a timid Epicureanism. The poet who declared that "Exuberance is beauty" and "The road of excess leads to the Palace of Wisdom" honored pastoral by, in effect, exploring it thoroughly, marking its extensions and its boundaries, and taking it beyond itself into a desirable counterpastoral. The *Songs* thus may mark an important early stage in Blake's understanding of the human condition.

In the *Songs*, considered as Displaced Pastoral, the child is indifferently a sheep or a shepherd surrogate. We see the child in rural surroundings but also in the context of a happy and nurturing village community, and in a magical wilderness where "Leopards, tygers play / . . . / While the lion of old / Bow'd his mane of gold" ("The Little Girl Lost"). The Peaceable
Kingdom in this last case suggests a displacement to primitivism, while the animals point to still another displacement. The proletarian displacement occurs in “The Chimney Sweeper” and “Holy Thursday.”

Each displacement comes to focus in its own locus amoenus. When night falls on “The Ecchoing Green,”

Round the laps of their mothers  
Many sisters and brothers,  
Like birds in their nest,  
Are ready for rest . . . .

Similarly, the angels in the poem “Night” “Look in every thoughtless nest / Where birds are covered warm.” This poem, like “The Little Girl Lost,” evokes the Peaceable Kingdom imagery. And we note that the leopards and tigers of the other poem are somewhat shepherd-like as they convey the sleeping girl “to caves.” We have glimpsed the shade-tree of the pleasance in “The Little Black Boy”; an oak tree shelters the old folk in “The Ecchoing Green.” Trees, a mother’s lap, caves, nests—the motif of a safe, protected place, an enclosure of some kind, appears to be a constant in Blake’s pastoral.

The more important Christian idea for Blake identifies the Good Shepherd with God as Light, the Lamb with the trusting and joyful child. The “golden tent” where the children will “like lambs rejoice” (“The Little Black Boy”) is a sun symbol for the divine abode. This counterpastoral can be confused by the shepherd apparatus used directly, as in the engraving described earlier. The apparatus used obliquely, however, can also enrich the conception. In the light of its companion poem in Songs of Experience we readily detect the false-shepherd character of those “Grey-headed beales” of “Holy Thursday,” those “wise guardians of the poor” with their “wands white as snow,” like shepherd crooks. And the picture of the thousands of charity children, like “multitudes of lambs,” evoked by the poem, places the innocents in the high choir stalls of St. Paul’s, while “Beneath them sit the aged men.” These “lambs,” then, on a certain holy day, are exalted above their worldly shepherds. And “like a mighty wind they raise to heaven the voice of song, / Or like harmonious thunderings the seats of Heavens among.” The technically enclosed place bounded by “the high dome of Paul’s” directly suggests the “golden tent” and indirectly the
boundless locus amoenus of Christian Light and Joy which is not a place but an everyplace.

The engraved picture for "Holy Thursday," with its regimented children led two-by-two by the elders, of course points us to a more sinister interpretation. And the darks of another poem, "The Chimney Sweeper," echo the other poems in odd ways: the shaving of Tom Dacre's white hair "that curl'd like a lamb's back"; the soot-blackened skins of the sweeps; and the daily sorrow of the laboring boys whose street cry was "'weep! 'weep!" The enclosed place, the ironic locus amoenus of the poem, appears in Tom's dream:

That thousands of sweepers, Dick, Joe, Ned, & Jack,  
Were all of them lock'd up in coffins of black.

An angel comes and sets them free in unbounded space:

Then down a green plain leaping laughing they run  
And wash in a river and shine in the Sun.  
Then naked & white, all their bags left behind,  
They rise upon clouds and sport in the wind.

The first child encountered in Songs of Innocence appears to the piper of the "Introduction" on a cloud. First he is laughing; then he weeps with joy at the piper's "songs of happy cheer." "Joy" is his name, we guess, for that is the child's name in "Infant Joy." He also

... calls himself a Lamb.  
He is meek, & he is mild;  
He became a little child.  
I a child, & thou a lamb,  
We are called by his name. ("The Lamb")

Blake thus brings both counterpastoral and pastoral symbols to the Songs: Sun (Light, golden tent, deity), Child (Joy, cloud-child), Shepherd (Good Shepherd, protective deity, teacher), and Lamb (innocence, vulnerability, child, Jesus).

Blake's Christian pastoral rings many changes on the central Good Shepherd archetype, with strong emphasis on the partly unpastoral archetype of the Lamb as, alternatively, Jesus and the humans He exalted most ("Suffer the little children..."). The shepherd pleasance paradigm is present to this
conception, as the illustration to “Little Black Boy,” with its redundant shade tree, demonstrates. But the Christian counterpastoral of Light and Joy has no use for the shelter of the pleasance. Light and Joy have their domain above the shade tree, in the open air, on a cloud, and indeed in the unbounded space of perfect freedom and full Light. Nevertheless, the Songs lay much of their stress on pastoral innocence as vulnerable and unready. The illustrations for *Innocence* show figures sheltered by trees in seven instances and by a cave in another; there is a child with lambs enclosed by a grassy frame; another engraving shows a child in a cradle, and another, a mother leaning over a child in her lap. As pastoral, then, *Innocence* expresses the preciousness and need for protection which children symbolize in their character as lambs.

In Blake’s own system of archetypes, developed a few years later, the shepherd-Zoa named Tharmas, tragically separated from his three fellow Zoas in Blake’s version of the fall of man, stands for the sensory faculty, the power represented by the five senses. He is cut off from the plowman Urizen, standing (loosely) for intellect, from the weaver Luvah, standing (loosely) for the emotions, and from the blacksmith Urthona (Los), standing for the creative faculty. Thus in the shepherdly occupation of Tharmas Blake seems to employ and assess traditional pastoral in a recognizable way, discounting the minds, the loves, and even the creativity of its shepherds. Sensory pleasures indeed prevail in the enclosed and protected Theocritean pleasance. By intimation, the institution of pastoral art would be one of the characteristic crippling institutions misguidedly developed by man in his fallen state as Blake understood it.

Enclosure as a central and, in Blake’s view, horrifying human activity was later to be assigned to the plowman-limiter Urizen (*Book of Urizen*, 1794). But about the time the *Songs of Innocence* were completed Blake was still coping with the theme in terms of covert pastoral, when his critique of the tradition took a peculiarly cogent form. The Har and Heva passages of *Tiriel* (written about 1789) confront the protagonist with his inane, stupefied, aged parents whom we readily associate with a conjectural Adam and Eve as they might have evolved in the Garden without the grace of the “fortunate fall” into the full human condition. Tiriel comes upon the aged couple in “the pleasant gardens of Har” where, “like two children, [they] sat beneath an oak.” They try to detain Tiriel:
"Thou shalt not go," said Heva, "till thou hast seen our singing birds,  
"And heard Har sing in the great cage & slept upon our fleeces."

We are by now fully alert to the pastoral signals—the shade tree, the music, the fleeces. "And after dinner," Heva promises, "we will walk into the cage of Har." The "greene cabinet," the Chinese box, the sheltered safety of the nest, have been encountered before. Let us face the fact, Blake seems to say: the proper term is "cage." From the quite different perspective of Richard Hardin's pastoralist we saw much the same thing—that pastoral is a place of retreat, nurture, and rejuvenation only; it is a mistake to adopt it as a lifetime abode.

VI

The displaced pastoral of child-cult can be derived from the paradigm of the shepherd pleasance. The shepherd as we find him there is not an adult, although at the threshold of physical maturity. We can derive the displacement to the folk from the shepherd's necessary membership in a miscellaneous rural community, and the displacement to the proletariat from his standing as a laborer, though perhaps the least hard-working we can imagine. Reading in the shepherd picture a simple culture based partly on the herding of animals evokes the neolithic era during the "childhood of the race," and by implication the cultures of many tribal peoples still extant. The displacement to primitivism can thus follow. A vision of creatures, human and animal, in happy harmony with nature has always been visible in the picture, hence the displacement to animals noted in Blake's "Little Girl Lost." Reading a certain vacancy of mind and abeyance of ego and will as components of pastoral contentment suggests a possible additional displacement to drug-cult. In all cases it must be understood that, as pastoral is not found universally in the literature of shepherds, it is far less commonplace in the subject matters suggested by the displacements. Indeed it is only a possibility within primitivism, child-cult, folk-cult, and the rest, and perhaps a rare one within drug cult.

The displacements are after all determined by the pastoralist. Pastoral is where he finds it. And his disposition to make pastoral discoveries is determined by the special character of his malaise. He is dissatisfied both with civilization and with the personal adjustments he has not quite happily made to it. Typically, he believes that his life is a hard one because of all
kinds of overdevelopment—of civilization in the first place, of self through aging and endlessly adjusting, of his private world with beginnings in a childhood community conceived as simple and harmonious, of consciousness, of the land, and perhaps many other things. And the pastoralist recourse for what sounds very much like the alienation of modern man, though its expression is at least as old as the idyls of Theocritus, is a special and peculiar one. Apparently in every case he finds his pastoral among his inferiors, whether shepherds, children, workers, the folk, and so on. Empson tells us this was an old observation about pastoral; and a Marxist will make us sharply aware of the component of envy, patronization, and insincerity in the pastoralist posture.

The pastoralist must not be treated so harshly, although his sophistication may be flawed. His pastoral rose-colored glasses make him sincerely happy and pleased with his shepherds. If he forgets that they may be very unfortunate in the life they are doomed to lead, it is natural as well as convenient for him not to know or conveniently to ignore such considerations in the euphoria of a pastoral encounter. And then, last, he is not much concerned with fact. He accepts no obligation as a pastoralist to be well informed about shepherds, much less the folk or primitive peoples. The subject matter of literary shepherds is after all generally understood to be quasi-mythic. On the other hand, the larger matter of enviable inferiors is constantly embarrassed by factual considerations. Primitivism in particular, the rather uncommon friendly disposition toward native peoples, has been especially vulnerable to attack. Its usually uncertain grasp of anthropological fact down to the present has exposed it to charges of sentimentalism which may actually promote subtle racism among otherwise sophisticated people. Empson's term “child-cult” might well be the model for all the terms of displacement: folk-cult, primit-cult, prole-cult, etc.

The currency of displaced versions in large measure out of touch with traditional pastoral and its paradigms but nevertheless pastoral in some way suggests a very wide subject matter field which might not be centered in shepherds at all. We may attempt to restructure the field so as to make primitivism the key term. “The Primitive,” William Barrett has written, “is the primal, and the validity of Primitivism is the search for the primal.” Our project receives welcome support from the Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics, where a primitivist is defined as a man who dreams of a superior existence modelled on the life of ancient cultures, or of “the less
sophisticated classes within his own society,” or of contemporary native peoples, or of the experiences of “his childhood or youth,” or of “a psychologically elemental (sub-rational or even subconscious) level of existence.” Shepherds enter this definition most readily as members of the “less sophisticated classes.” Putting primitivism at the center is thus conceptually plausible. Child-cult makes an equally valid center for a structuring of the pastoralist’s interest. We may define it as the dream of what has been lost through processes of social and personal adjustment in the achieving of adult function; or, pejoratively, we may call it the pastoral dream of regression: to simpler worlds in ancient times or remote places, to the simpler social and mental worlds remembered from childhood or posited for the “good old days,” to mental states produced by certain drugs, and so on. The proposal again seems valid, and we could test the other displacements with an expectation of similar results.

The intimation that pastoral is merely shepherd-cult poses a problem. If pastoral and its displacements have such conceptual parity that each can validly stand at the center, it follows that we have been tacitly understanding the cults as defined and limited by pastoral ideas: to the pastoralist and his malaise of course, to the fragility of the traditional and metaphoric arcadies, to the sweetness, vulnerability, and inferiority of the shepherd and his surrogate, to the suite of pastoral qualities as its terms are shared by the displacements, and more—or less. In this light, shepherd-cult would seem to be the narrowest and least relevant to human concerns of all the cults. If we accord it centrality, we do so partly in recognition of the unique massiveness, complexity, and durability of the pastoral institution within the arts. And the notion of a covert pastoral of displacements and “versions” reduces the displacements to the status of satellites revolving around a luminous archetypal center. As metaphors the principal counters of pastoral can supply a permanent reference system for detecting and assessing pastorality wherever it may be found. But I believe that the mood of quintessential pastoral must be present to put us on the scent. The more general pastoral of the Rural-Euphoric has little diagnostic value in our attempts to identify instances of displacement, for such instances, usually lacking the trappings of rurality, have little else to signal us for pastorality. However loosely we may sense pastoral in rural contexts, we hardly sense it at all elsewhere except in the special mode I have called quintessential. It would seem that the acceptance of the displacements forces us either toward strict con-
structionism or toward theories of pastoral at odds with our elementary feelings.

The displacements have another interesting consequence in pastoral theory. Each can be interpreted as conferring a powerful cardinality on one or more of the pastoral qualities. Thus the child-cult pastoral of Blake, stressing innocence and vulnerability, has a beauty and persuasiveness which lures us easily into a monistic position: Pastoral is the literature of innocence. Prole-cult, important to Empson, attaches importance to the presumed decency, unsophistication, and above all simplicity which are presumed to characterize unprivileged workers. It can follow that: Pastoral is the literature of simplicity. Folk-cult would seem to value the unsophistication, the communal warmth, and the wholesomeness commonly postulated for backward communities. Its frequent theme of "the good old days" yields another proposal: Pastoral is the literature of nostalgia. The cited definition of a primitivist brought to focus the fact that shepherds in their pleasance enjoy a distinctive and happy state of reduced consciousness. Whether or not we admit drug-cult as a displacement, we are able to frame still another persuasive proposition: Pastoral is the literature of an altered consciousness, distinguished by the abeyance of intellect, ego, and will.

The strength of such proposals taken individually obliges us to conclude that if pastoral is subject to monistic definition, it can not be so in terms of its qualities; for the qualities so far as we can name them form an overlapping suite of equally important ideas bound by a specific affinity.

While this phase of the discussion began with a treatment of primitivism, we have not been free to adapt the cardinal ideas of primitivism to pastoral. Pastoral is no such ambitious thing as the quest of the primal (Barrett) or the search for superior orders of existence (Princeton Encyclopedia). Indeed, as a displacement of pastoral, primitivism would seem to be quite problematic. Thomas O'Donnell's treatment of Tristes Tropiques discussed the strongly pastoralist character of a contemporary anthropologist and his generally unpastoral experiences and findings. The pastoralist impulse which seeks comfort somewhere among the unimaginable variety of some thousands of primitive tribal orders can hope to discover only dim suggestions of pastorality. The other displacements de-emphasize the rural flavor of pastoral as their locations shift toward the village and the city. Primitivism on the other hand seeks expression outside the culture of the pastoralist and among peoples who appear to have found durable social ar-
arrangements in the remote past to guarantee stable, happy relations with nature, fellow man, and self. Without attaching importance to the innumerable erroneous beliefs to be found within primit-cult, we should be alert to the remarkable unpastorality of most of the primitive cultures which have seemed admirable or enviable. The courage, the endurance, and the high sense of personal honor of, for example, North American Indians as reported by early sympathetic observers, form the basis for a “hard” primitivism at odds with the spirit of pastoral. The utterly unanticipated complexity of the many primitive societies deserving to be called learned or even pedantic sets primitivism at odds with the intellectual and cultural unpretentiousness of shepherd life. The easy and utopian sensuality reported among Polynesians ever since Captain Cook has no place in pastoral. Pastoral may be taken as a branch of primitivism, but only if the latter term is understood in a very general way—as a question of a generalized primitive euphoria, for example. On the whole primitivism as it involves the pre-literate tribal peoples of the world has very little room for displaced pastoral. If we admit the animals and landscapes of primitivism, however, or in other words if we omit the shepherd surrogates who are so reluctant to materialize and admit the postulated wilderness or place beyond the pale of civilization which is the scene of primitivity, we find room for the displaced pastoral of the Peaceable Kingdom already encountered in Blake and Melville, and the American Arcadia treated in the essay by Roy Gridley.

The locus of pastoral is at the margin of civilization. Except for primitivism, the other displacements are sited closer to the center. If the malaise of the pastoralist is a form of alienation, the drive that makes primitivism seem inviting may be a radical form of that malaise. Alienation may be understood as a profound failure of adjustment in a person’s relation to the world he lives in. His being-in-the-world, which is the phenomenological subject matter of consciousness, is profoundly disordered; the world he is condemned to is not his home. For pastoral in general, the necessary remedy is, if not close by, nevertheless accessible. Primitivism reaches out beyond the margins of civilization to the inaccessible, as if an extreme alienation can seek its proper home only in the unknown regions of the extremely alien. Lévi-Strauss confessed the failure of his own primitivist quest. It happens that human adjustability can in fact sometimes find terms with the radically alien. The scandal of “going native” has a history in North America dating back to the earliest years of the Spanish conquest and in Australia extending
into the present. But as I interpret one of Richard Hardin’s observations, going native (the pastoralist’s decision to remain in the retreat permanently) is without pastoral content.

Perhaps the displacements will seem less important as we note the contemporary currency of a sober, serious, and often beautiful pastoral clearly within the ancient tradition yet responsive enough to major changes in the world. Reasonably traditional pastoralists may be more numerous than ever today. If we happen not to know about the environmental havoc caused by sheep, we can readily read a message of an ecological Paradise Lost in the traditional vision of Arcadia. Not that the ancient writers put it there; but as the evils and discontents of advanced civilization lie in the background of pastoral, we might expect to find newly understood evils anticipated in the paradigmatic data of the older literature.

VII

I wish to conclude the discussion with an analysis of an important recent film which students of literature might judge to be fully pastoral in the same sense as many older pastoral novels and romances. It must be understood at the outset that we can hardly have extended pastoral fictions without violence and other strongly counterpastoral elements. Such fictions rather readily confute the rumor that extended pastoral is insipid and tranquillizing; and successful marshalling of the pastoral power against imposing forces of counterpastoral can augment the interest produced by the latter with a continuous irony. The pastoral power to sweeten and dissolve grief, and to cure and rejuvenate was demonstrated at the outset by Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus in pastoral elegy. We expect of pastoral narrative that it shall be dominantly, not exclusively pastoral.

The film *Days of Heaven* signals its pastoral intention directly in its title and indirectly by having a brief prologue establishing three of the four principal characters as members of the urban proletariat and showing the miseries and horrors of life in the homes, streets, and factories of a megalopolis (Chicago). A brief epilogue returns two of the characters to civilization. The pastoral body of the film takes us through a year in the wheatfields of the Texas Panhandle. The pastoralist, so often invisible in pastoral, is strongly present throughout as a youthful narrating voice on the sound track, earnest and amusingly ingenuous despite the confident urban accent. Because the maker of this film is well known as a person of intelligence,
seriousness, and skill, we become aware of him as the true, invisible pastoralist, the sound-track voice as a naive pastoralist. The device, reinforced by emphasis on the railroads which connect country to city and seem native to both, lends a continuous urban overtone to the dominant pastoral music.

Pastoral art is sponsored, we might say, by daydream, by literary convention, or by other inspirations. The pastoral of *Days of Heaven* is sponsored by memory. The narrating voice recites what sounds like a memoir of an unforgettable happy year. That the recounted events include a murderous assault, bigamy, petty larceny, a murder, a shoot-out, and the destruction of an arcadia means that this specimen of pastoral, besides being entirely engaging, demonstrates the well known power of memory to sweeten the past. Here it performs the pastoral operation of softening and dissolving grief, mitigating questionable behavior, poeticizing hard work and mundanity, muting the harshness of machines such as motorcycles and steam-powered threshers, and generally, of converting melodrama and tragedy into the data of a remembered “Heaven.” My necessarily brief treatment will first explain the basic sense of the film with emphasis on narrative considerations in the plain counterpastoral terms they invite. And it will proceed with an explanation of the abundant pastoral apparatus which so impressively effects the pastoral conversion. We may guess that the guiding intelligence of the film was grounded in appreciable literary experience; but it seems quite clear that strong and independent pastoralist sensibility, quite capable of discovering means of evoking the pastoral power on its own, governs the conception.

The narrative of *Days of Heaven* takes us through the round of the year and many days and nights, from the start of one wheat harvest to the onset of the next. The locale is Texas; the time is 1916-17. In the background are the onset of war, urban poverty, the misery of urban migratory laborers, and the sense of the American ‘melting pot’ evoked by shots of a Chinese laborer who reads in his off hours, foreign accents, a game of bocce, and a cut-in sequence from Charlie Chaplin’s “The Immigrant.” The mundane realism pervading the film blends with the realism of bizarre and pointless randomness in American experience exemplified by the Chinese laborer. The workers are of all ages, many nationalities, and both sexes. Their faces make little registry; they are unimportant people. Their quarters are in a bunk house down the hill from the farmer’s huge, grotesque Victorian clapboard house at the highest point—hardly a hill—on
the property. The house is off-limits to the workers, who receive a small
daily wage and are subject to having their pay docked by work super-
visors. They don't need us, the sound-track voice notices; if they don't like
us they'll get somebody else. The germ of social protest is present in the
contrast between the indigence of the laborers and the wealth of the solitary
young farmer who has inherited the property. But the harvesters with their
Sunday and evening pastimes of swimming, hiking, ball games, singing,
dancing, and talking, manage to appear happier than the somber young
owner. There are machines in this garden: the railroad not too far away,
the locomotive-like threshing machines, a small mobile infirmary, an adding
machine, a gun, an anemometer, a windmill, a motorcycle, two small flying
machines.

“All good stories are long stories,” Thomas Mann said. This one, un-
folding slowly and casually, begins in the city with young Bill, his sweet-
heart Abby, and his thirteen- or fourteen-year-old sister Linda, whose confi-
dent voice we hear in the sound-track narration. A fugitive following a
murderous assault on a foundry foreman, Bill asks Abby to conceal their
connection as the trio join a group of urban migratory laborers riding the
freight trains bound for Texas. Abby, perhaps a little desperate about her
attachment to a violent and devious man who may also be dangerously
ambitious, takes on a quiet watchfulness. The three join the harvest force
as a little family—a brother and his two sisters. The farmer, handsome,
wealthy, and solitary in his great house, is unaccountably sad. Bill, pilfering
some aspirin from the hospital van one day, overhears the doctor's predic-
tion that the young employer has hardly a year to live. The farmer now
begins to notice Abby. He makes courteous inquiries about her family,
discounts her diffidence as he shyly courts her, and rather quickly proposes
marriage. Bill with his secret knowledge presses her to accept. The harvest
ends, the marriage takes place, and the farmer, now a fourth member of
the little family, invites Bill and Linda to live in the great house during the
river journey which is his honeymoon. On the return the little family enjoy
many happy days. They take to an outdoor pavilion for their meals and
clown for each other. The rancher privately tells Abby: “I feel like I've
come back to life.”

Bill enjoys these developments less and less. On a pheasant shoot he
expresses his resentment against the farmer by discharging his gun at the
ground after the latter has shot out of turn. Bill and Abby have a secret all-
night tryst along the river; the steward notices things and pronounces the urban trio “a bunch of con artists”; the rancher wonders; Bill leaves the farm. The year moves around: snow, spring plowing, flowers sprouting, green wheat fields, a July 4 celebration. The harvest is imminent, and city laborers again arrive, riding the roofs of a train. Bill also returns, riding a motorcycle. From the top of the house the farmer spies on an equivocal transaction between Bill and Abby. We guess that Abby says no to Bill and the meeting ends with gestures of genuine innocent friendship. The rancher, misconstruing, becomes insanely jealous. About this time locusts appear. Their maddening sound crescendos as they fly overhead in great clouds. The laborers are enlisted to fight them off by waving flags across the wheat, collecting them in baskets and burning them, and frightening them with sirens. They work all day and into the night. Bill, doing his share, suddenly catches the attention of the farmer, who recklessly accosts him, dropping a lantern into the ripe wheat and starting up a total conflagration. Next morning we see ruined, smoking threshing machines amid desolation. At a distance from the house Bill is doing repairs on his motorcycle preparatory to departure. The rancher approaches on horseback, dismounts, and approaches Bill, gun in hand. Bill, expecting to be murdered, stabs him fatally with a screwdriver. With Linda and Abby he flees the ranch and takes to the river on a stolen boat. Pursuers gun him down as he is wading across the river. Linda and Abby retreat to a small town, and eventually Linda is abandoned. Some day she will write the story as we have seen it, for it is her story.

It is a good story, for it centers on a Hamlet-like young prince suffering from a mysterious and fatal malady, restored to health by a small duplicity, then betrayed by the false advice of a well-meaning steward. There is a brother who might have been a misguided avenger. But, as the narrator says, “It was like the devil was on the farm.” These are the doomed characters of Hamlet in a fresh Hamlet story which declines to be tragic. Twice in the film we see shots of a rather comic scarecrow. We may assess its symbolism against all the paradoxes and read a message: the story is fiction, the little family were straw people, story-book people. For better or worse, the film comes out of and belongs to literature, even if its events really happened. One would not press this esoteric reading on the innocent; but the highly sophisticated pastoralism expressed abundantly in the film
is surely in touch with a primary feature of pastoral, its inseparability from art and imagination.\footnote{74}

I have tried in the foregoing to present the narrative materials in their full counterpastoral character, leaving the validity of the title, *Days of Heaven*, fully unexplained. We are not much aware of traditional pastoral devices in this film, so we freely designate it as Pastoral of the Rural-Euphoric, trusting the title that far. We may guess also that it will be a pastoral of the reapers, authorized by Theocritus X, and obliquely validated in Melville's *Moby Dick*, as noted earlier; and we discern the pastoral action designated as the destruction of Arcadia. The three voices of pastoral are represented: the (naive) pastoralist; the rural folk in dialogue; and some musical offerings. The full assimilability of pastoral to a non-literary art form is demonstrated. Tastes may differ, but it is clear that this film undertakes to be as visually ravishing as possible in its pastorally limited register. The principle of pastoral margins and minima is carried out by the character of the naive narrator, for Linda falls short of mature understanding as she writes the memoir we hear; and the sound-track is as quiet as possible, aside from the long and spectacular crescendo beginning with the appearance of the locusts and ending with the infernal effects of the burning wheat fields.

The pastorality of *Days of Heaven* may conveniently be discussed in two parts: the people, and the setting. First we have the reapers with their work, introducing interesting complications at the start. As urban visitors they represent the displacement to prole-cult; projecting as honest and simple people of all ages, somehow naturalized within the rural setting, they demonstrate how closely related folk-cult and prole-cult can be.\footnote{75} They are presented as innocent, decent, and anonymous. Many appear to have elected to wear their Sunday clothes for their venture. At the harvest blessing they are shown standing reverently across a rather large area so that they suggest the congregation of a church, or a sober “field full of folk.” Religion is admitted to their reaper world in this one brief sequence only. They are a brotherhood in poverty. As reapers they are something less. Their hard work (*ponos*), as we are made aware of it, contributes some grittiness to the conception. But the presentation is governed by a pastoralist who has little feeling for arduous rural labor; we see the workers much of the time in a humdrum ballet merely walking in long rows carrying small sheaves of wheat from field to threshers. In the pastoral of reapers the arcadians
assimilate to the grazing function of the sheep, and sheep are not easily perceived as laboring.

As naive pastoralist, Linda determines our sense of an attractive pastoral fellowship at the center of the story. She is not alert to the passions which afflict the other three members of the little family. Her notion of the marriage and its aftermath is chaste and innocent; and pastoral youth, comeliness, and sweetness radiate from the faces of Bill, Abby, and the farmer. These three display an unfailing familial decorum when the younger Linda is with them. Linda is never made to feel excluded by any displays of the special feeling which develops between the others.

The farm is equipped with an open-air pavilion, like a small bandstand, where the little family dine and amuse each other. It is the *locus amoenus* for the pastoral fellowship. The narrative places severe strains on this pastoral center, for the governing pastoralism of the film is challenged to accommodate materials sharply alien to the brown arcadia of the reapers and the private arcadia of the little family. At the small cost of confusing our sense for the geography of the ranch, a number of additional locales are devised. The wedding takes place in a grove, a green place at some distance from the house. The honeymoon trip takes place on a large navigable river not too far away. Bill and Abby resort to the river for their nocturnal meeting. There is a green meadow for the pheasant shoot. Several intimate scenes, quite chastely conceived, following the marriage occur in the bedroom of the Victorian house (an emphatically unpastoral place); from the roof of the same unpastoral place the rancher spies on Bill and Abby in the yard below. The first signs of the locust plague are noticed within the house. The terminal chase involves the river and the river banks. At the time of final discovery the initial little family of three is to be seen camped in a green bower concealed from the river traffic. Pastoral instincts, and more general literary sense, are evident in these adjustments. Green places, if properly pastoral at all, go with morning or peasant pastoral; their ambience of natural energies and creative forces is a separate matter, as the film seems to tell us. As for the river and its symbolism of cleansing and guaranteeing innocence, the narrative needs something of the kind. There is more of innocence and joy than sensuality or sin when Bill and Abby with some filched wine resort to the river for their illicit meeting.

Such departures do not much disturb the very dominant ambience of sweetness and well-being which carry through a year in an arcadia. The
scene of action is established as a definite and demarcated place by the huge, grotesque wooden gate through which the workers pass on their way from the whistle-stop to the wheat farm. It is a vast rolling countryside carpeted in fields of ripe wheat with clear skies overhead. At a great distance we see towering, snow-covered mountains. The formula for an American pastoral is unmistakable:

O beautiful for spacious skies,
For amber waves of grain,
For purple mountains' majesties . . . .

The “noontide peace” of pastoral after all spreads across the afternoon on its way to close-of-day elegy.

In the Texas “Heaven” of the film the monotonous countryside has three prominent landmarks: the gate, the threshing machines, and the mansion. The steam threshing machines in this garden have an odd familiarity. They have steam whistles and smokestacks, and when they move across the fields they move slowly and cumbersomely, like “snorting, chugging iron animals.” The locomotive is surely the machine most completely and movingly assimilated to American pastoral. As for the unpastoral mansion, it serves in part to quarantine, as it were, such counterpastoral matter as marriage and eavesdropping. A family photograph gallery, an organ, signs of hobbies pursued on the roof (an anemometer, a telescope), and the wine before it is stolen, allude to counterpastoral themes of family, civilization, science, and luxury. The sense that such observations may be a little forced cannot be avoided. What a film maker does through a largely unverbalized sense for appropriate feeling or atmosphere scene by scene may be misrepresented by systematic application of a literary term to his work. I therefore mention without further comment the brief episode which establishes the rancher as, in effect, a shepherd king (played by the playwright Sam Shepard, incidentally). The scene is a small clearing in the wheat fields. A sofa and a table have been brought out of doors for business transaction. The farmer lounges on the sofa while his steward performs calculations on an adding machine which establish that we are seeing the richest wheat grower in the Panhandle.

The immense importance of the quiet sound track in supporting the pastoral ambience of Days of Heaven requires a final comment. The sound we hear is naive-pastoralist narration by Linda, somewhat coordinated with
the action but not so much so as to reduce the visual content to mere illustration; occasional synchronized dialogue, always quiet and undramatic, in character with the protagonists, and often lacking where we expect it, so that the effect of silent film-making is strong; country noises, on the model of Theocritean cicadas and browsing sheep, with no prejudice whatever against the quiet and rhythmic sounds of a windmill, an anemometer, or a threshing machine; and finally, the music, mainly based on the “Aquarium” section from the *Carnival of Animals* by Saint-Saëns. The last is by no means pastoral in mood. Rescored for full orchestra and heard early in the film, it carries a message of impersonal natural forces, of possibilities of flood, drought, locusts, and dangerous human passions. It supports, then, the narrative theme of destruction rather than the pastorality. Played as Saint-Saëns scored it, with its unearthly tinkling, it creates the sense of a magical world, like the underwater domain of fish where the laws of gravity and love do not function. We enter this transcendant mood for half a minute, at night, as the little family stands dwarfishly and dimly visible in a meadow by the railroad track watching a short train—a locomotive and a lighted passenger car—pass through the area. Pastoral makes contact with the cosmos in these moments, and with the heroic, for an unseen President Wilson rode that train. As a pastoral romance *Days of Heaven* finds a place, more or less, for the whole of the human condition. Thus, along with the reviewers, we understand this movie to be a variety of ambitious novel, whether romantic or melodramatic; pastorality is its dominant attribute, rather than its genre designation. It is as a serious, reflective, and well-made novel that we find *Days of Heaven* valuable. The pastoral features may thus seem quite secondary. But because they have so much to do with our sense of beauty and traditionality in the conception, we may feel them as guarantees of permanence, insofar as film can have permanence, and classic quality.

VIII

Literature of the rural can try to represent its subject matter realistically and truly, or religiously, or instructively, or just appreciatively. The pastoral way represents it pastorally. I have attempted in the foregoing to vindicate the specialness of pastoral by attempting to ground my own fairly broad and contemporary sense of the term in three complex paradigms derived from traditional pastoral, in a theory of the pastoral displacements and
perennial strains of pastoral, and in a recent example of complex art satisfactorily rooted in the paradigms and therefore admissible as evidence for the continuing vitality of pastoral in recognizably traditional expressions. The discussion incorporates the concepts of the pastoralist, adopted from Richard Hardin’s essay, of the fragility of Arcadia, and of a characteristic pastoral mood. If it cannot be fully convincing with respect to the last, we may at least entertain the fancy that the pastoral is exactly that mood which is the antidote for the malaise of the pastoralist; and the world of pastoral may be just that quasi-imaginary world which complements exactly the overbearing world of advanced civilization as the pastoralist perceives it. All the variations of mood and data would then originate with variations in pastoralists. Further, it has seemed possible to justify a limited strict constructionism by recourse to paradigms which locate pastoral within the rural rather than in general nature, which center pastoral firmly in the moods of afternoon and summer, and which distinguish specifically pastoral themes from the innumerable other themes to be found in pastoral literature.

Pastoral is for pastoralists. Theory is for those who love puzzles. W. W. Greg long ago posed a challenge:

It cannot be too emphatically laid down that there is and can be no such thing as a ‘theory’ of pastoral, or, indeed, of any other artistic form dependent, like it, upon what are merely accidental conditions. For better or worse, the tone of authority, however well-earned, and the flavor of dogmatism can rankle. We use the word pastoral confidently, as if we knew what it meant; and we cannot feel wholly mistaken. A decade earlier than Greg, E. K. Chambers laid down some propositions which Greg’s dicta have left quite undisturbed. “One must realize,” he wrote, “that pastoral is not the poetry of country life, but the poetry of the townsman’s dream of country life.” It enlists “the twin faculties of imagination and observation, the instincts, if you will, toward realism and idealism.” And its themes include the exaltation of simplicity and fragility and delight in natural beauty.

Greg’s remark calls for one more comment. It can only be misleading to call pastoral an “artistic form.” I have myself struggled throughout the preceding essay for a correct class term, resorting helplessly to the word genre on two or three occasions, for pastoral is not a genre, but rather the cause of many special genres. Frank Kermode calls pastoral a “kind,”
comparable to epic, tragedy, and satire. But usage forbids recourse to any such class term. My treatment of a pastoral movie established, I believe, that pastorality may be taken as an attribute of certain art works which it may seem eccentric to nominate as pastorals. At the same time, the old tendency of pastoral to spawn its own short-lived and permanent genres, many of which can be covertly reactivated, is evident in our freedom to call the same movie a pastoral romance, a pastoral of the reapers, and quite plainly, pastoral of the rural-euphoric. Again, pastoral is a “matter” like the old “matter of Troy” and the Arthurian legendry. Centrally, it has been the matter of the felicity of shepherds, a quaint notion indeed; and within pastorality the shepherd has been generalized to herdsman, to simple rustic, to the folk, and in the radical displacements, to any simple being. There is no end to such observations. The term pastoral is so employed that we readily understand it to mean a thing, an attribute, a system of genres, a subject matter, and still more, depending on the context in which we find it. The apparent confusions in such a situation are not much felt as we employ the term ourselves or encounter it in the discourse of others. We are sometimes told, not quite credibly, that words like pastoral achieve wide currency exactly because multiple meanings make for serviceability in a term. But it is also important that such words can prove richly fecund in the evocation of paradigms—of theme-bearing images yielding rich and complex idea systems exempt from the more stringent laws, particularly of consistency, which limit the systems of propositions we strive for in developing ordinary rational patterns of explanation.

The case of pastoral suggests that paradigms sustain bonds between apparently inconsistent definitions, support and augment each other, bind disparate ideas in tight and coherent compounds, and contain arrays of alternate possibilities in stable suspensions which relieve us of the compulsion to over-simplification. Thus the Popeian paradigm, developed early in the present study, proved to be a credible means of validating the already known affinity of pastoral for most of the fine arts and other features of pastoral as a system—its characteristic voices, its typical concern for beautiful, artistic performance, and that instability which so often from the outset invited it into combinations with non-pastoral materials in a variety of relations. This proclivity for combining appears equally in the musical paradigm; and musical pastoral of the past three centuries seems to offer a means of identifying and stabilizing the important and central pastoral emotion
somehow associated with the contented well-being of sheep and shepherds in their pleasance. The complex paradigm of the pleasance exudes this emotion, identifies and displays in their most primary relations a large number—perhaps all—of the most basic pastoral images, accounts for the coherence of the suite of pastoral qualities (simplicity, tranquillity, innocence, etc.), and displays the major potentials of pastoral—as picture, as stage spectacle, as fictive world to be lived in imaginatively—in a fully understandable suspension.

We may perhaps understand the main proposals of the present study most readily by resort to a metaphor of mental circuitry employing the useful (I hope not repellent) notion of the human brain as a computer. For the mind which attaches importance to pastoral, the circuitry depends first upon possession of the word and the constant accumulation of relevant data in its neighborhood. A vocabulary of pastoral develops about this center, and in close but inexact association, the varied imagery of happy rurality evoked by experience of that vocabulary. In a literary person, pastoral may amount to a whole mental province. Paradigms increase the degree of order in which the data assemble. A paradigm like the Popeian when freshly encountered may thus invite appreciable restructuring of the circuit. A concerned mind may snatch at such paradigms to increase the kind of understanding which results from felt improvement in ordering; but a misconceived or misapplied paradigm plainly will produce, in effect, bad theory. The musical paradigm advises us that within the pastoral circuitry there can be a dynamic element lending a special charge to the system; and as psychologists tell us that white rats have precisely sited fear and pleasure centers in their brains, susceptible to location and stimulation by electrodes as well as by more usual causes, so humans may have mental contentment centers which readily connect to the pastoral apparatus. Finally, we might like to believe that the Theocritean “little picture” and other paradigms are usually wired into the circuit. But it is important to emphasize the variability of such arrangements from one brain to another. When Paul Fussell avers that pastoral, “strictly speaking,” should involve shepherds and sheep, he tacitly recognizes the fact that many of our literary contemporaries have loosened or lost this tie; and indeed the commonplace current way of using the term pastoral is typically occasioned by experiences of rural calm and well-being with no more reference to shepherds and sheep than a strict constructionist might be pleased to detect as a metaphorical possibility.
Meanwhile we may marvel at the fact that pastoral, word or thing, has much currency at all in a mass society. The gentle hedonism of quintessential pastoral is a highly civilized affair. Its conflict with the ethic of work and with the tiresome moral posture of doctrinal realism in the arts lends it a flavor of the disreputable. The rumor of its escapism puts it at odds with the people who attach great importance to personal adjustment in terms set by the world; for the world at large, so far as it is aware of pastoral, has little use for it. And indeed the pastoral reason for appreciating the rural may be quite exceptional. On the whole city people resort to the countryside for picnicking, for light recreation, and for the somewhat primal pleasures of hunting and fishing and the like. The sensibility that finds profound satisfaction in rural calm, simplicity, innocence, and the rest is probably a fairly rare and sophisticated thing, smacking of the aristocratic.

For the word and the concept of pastoral so far as I know have little or no currency in Anglo-American mass culture. The class or tribe to whom the term is meaningful is proportionally a small one, however well represented by book and film reviewers, students of literature, art patrons, and artists. This tribe strongly resists naming, but is after all some kind of aristocracy, whether of culture, of sensitivity, of strong private concern in the face of alarming and dispiriting developments within advanced civilization, or merely of privilege. If we are surprised to find abundant pastoral in commercial movies, we should think again about the class-character of the contemporary film audience—its youthful discontents and its affluence. I do not happen to believe that present-day expressions of pastorality signal any burgeoning of serious high culture. Rather, contemporary pastoral seems to be what it has always been: a specialized, sophisticated, and by now highly traditional response to the fatigue and revulsion which life in the higher reaches of civilization can produce in certain temperaments.

Notes
4. Cf. Frank Kermode, English Pastoral Poetry from the Beginnings to Marvell (London: George C. Harrap, 1952), p. 14: “The first condition of pastoral poetry is that there should be a sharp difference between two ways of life, the rustic and the urban... that it is an


6. See Part VI of the present essay and the essays in the present collection by Richard Hardin, Richard Eversole, Roy Gridley, and Thomas O'Donnell.


9. Pope called the two poets "the only undisputed authors of pastoral" (Goldgar, p. 95). Pope's notes do not acknowledge Theocritus VI as a model.


12. Hugh Macdonald, ed., *England's Helicon* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1950). The original compiler of "that wonderful anthology" (Greg, p. 124) frequently extracted the shepherd performance from longer works, e.g., Spenser's "April" and "August," omitting the framing material. Kermode, p. 44, remarks on such tinkering, and elsewhere praises the Elizabethan achievement: "Hundreds of poets wrote Pastoral in one form or another, and the general level of achievement was almost incredibly high..." (p. 42).

13. Even major writers in the eighteenth century had little sense, so far as we know, of the wealth of Elizabethan pastoral lyric, or of that "freemasonry" of shepherd-poets which began with Colin Clout (Spenser), Astrophel (Sidney), Rowland (Drayton), and the Shepherd of the Sea (Raleigh) and perhaps included other poets (Greg, p. 113). The sense of grave games and jokes and fruitful poetical projects that gave vitality to the genre in the 1590's has largely been lost. See also Chambers, pp. xvi-xviii.

14. Goldgar, pp. 93-95. Pope's ironic intentions in *Guardian* No. 40 (Goldgar, pp. 98-104) prevent straightforward citation of its often cogent observations. It is easy to agree, given the premises of the "Discourse," that Virgil I and IX are not "true pastoral"; but Pope goes on to disallow all of Virgil's eclogues except V and VII (Goldgar, p. 98), and without falling into patent nonsense. Contemporaries were able to take the essay as fully serious.


16. Goldgar, pp. 95-96. The component of class feeling in English literature has generally tainted literary use of the dialects with overtones of contempt or clownishness. It is hard to judge the success of Spenser's attempt; but the definite achievement of William Barnes in making poetry of English rural speech is noteworthy as a triumph over prejudice.


19. Edmonds, p. 11.


22. See Note 29, below.

23. Rosenmeyer notes that "the pastoral lyric requires a sense of drama" (p. 11); it has "the extroverted dimension, the public character, that we associate with a staged performance" (p. 152). At the same time "the absorption of motion and commotion by the noon shade" keeps pastoral at the verge of "the heroic annihilation of drama" (p. 119).

24. The experience of narrative art can extend from a fairly pure spectatorship, in which the reader is firmly attached to his own separate space, to an indwelling effect whereby he loses this attachment and feels fully at home and somewhat mobile within the world of the fiction. The strength of the invitation to live imaginatively in Arcadia is attested by the pastoral daydream, by the delusion which confuses Arcadia with reality, and by the frequent action in pastoral literature which takes a pastoralist, sometimes disguised, on a visit with shepherds.

survivals of pastoral

27. "A Hellenistic pastoral poet, it seems, would have considerable difficulty convincing his listeners that the pastoral life and the Golden Age are one. Nor, on the other hand, could one fairly expect him to present herdsmen yearning for a Golden Age that is different from the pleasance in which they live" (Rosenmeyer, p. 219).

28. For the shepherd, as much as for the pastoralist, the pleasance is a place of brief sojourn, not an abode.


32. Rosenmeyer, pp. 69-103.
36. Rosenmeyer, p. 69.
37. Rosenmeyer, p. 47. "... The connections should be loose," Pope advised (Goldgar, p. 94).
38. Rosenmeyer, pp. 125-129.

40. Rosenmeyer, pp. 102, 280-281. The connection is a basic finding in Rosenmeyer's study. The present essay, heavily indebted to that work, connects Epicurus to a paradigm which later pastoral on the whole knew through its derivation from Virgil and which, probably, did not achieve its full centering on shepherds before the Renaissance. If Theocritus and Epicurus did not invent the paradigm, they made its invention possible; and human imagination took to it, as it later took to locomotives (below, Note 77).

41. Rosenmeyer, pp. 103-107, for the "pastoral fellowship" and for the Epicurean "true Society of Friends." Compare the Elizabethan "freemasonry" conjectured by Greg (above, Note 14) and comparable communities of quondam pastoral poets in England before 1928 (Fussell, pp. 235-243).

42. On the same principle, the picturesque is definable as the kinds of experience which remind us of pictures.

44. Rosenmeyer, p. 200. Brower, Alexander Pope, p. 23. Cf. Pope's characterization of his earliest poems: "Soft were my numbers; who would take offence / While pure description held the place of sense?" (Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot, ll. 147-148).

45. On the whole I have trusted the reader to supply the etceteras implied in innumerable similar lists of terms throughout the text.

46. In a parallel context, hard primitivism has been contrasted with soft. The former champions peoples notable for energy, courage, endurance, and similar traits (North American Indians, Vikings); the latter focuses on peoples thought to lead an easygoing life, like South Sea Islanders. There is a commonplace belief at odds with the pastoralist's that civilization destroys character and promotes sedentariness and effeteness. Its exponents can celebrate the rural as a theatre of honest labor, character building, and wholesomeness; they are not pastoralists in the special sense developed within the present study.

47. Traditional pastoral poetry seldom incorporates counterpastoral in this range of a shepherd's experience.

50. Toliver, p. 3.

51. Cf. Poggioli, p. 19: "... the critical mind can only treat as failures all attempts to Christianize the pastoral, or to translate pastoral into Christian terms." The paradigmatic emphasis of the present study discounts this finding.

52. The multiplication of terms could be unending. I have felt safe in omitting Allegorical, Encomiastic, Epistolary, Mythic (with Pan and the satyrs), and many other varieties of pastoral inviting such designations. Poggioli's "Pastoral of the Self," illustrated by the shepherdess Marcela in Don Quixote, has a place beyond the bounds of pastoral proper (Poggioli, pp. 168-174; Don Quixote, I.x-xiv). Happy rural poetry displaying unpastoral
energy and exuberance perhaps needs a special designation, like Peasant or Morning Pastoral. Rosenmeyer (p. 20-29) associates the celebration of rural toil (ponos) with the Hesiodic tradition. Strong emphasis on the grim realities of country life, as in Wordsworth’s “Michael” does not make the pastoral music. All these counterpastorals are closely related to pastoral as natural derivations from the paradigms.


56. Theocritus X admits reapers to pastoral without suggesting reasons we can use. As pastoral figures they can be analogues to the sheep, taming the countryside in their own way with graceful, necessarily picturesque motions if they are to seem pastoral, and making a characteristic noise like the grazing of animals. If we take them as strictly pastoral, it is because we notice the beauty of their activity and forget that they are toilers.

57. Toliver, p. 12: “to make ‘poetic’ is in part to ‘pastoralize’.”


60. The Illuminated Blake, David V. Erdman, ed. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1974), pp. 31-70; 76-78 (for “The Little Girl Lost” and “The Little Girl Found,” included in the Innocence poems in many of the original copies).

61. The little white boy will “lean in joy upon our father’s knee.” This is another Christian theme (“Leaning, leaning, safe and secure from all alarms”) alien to pastoral.


63. Empson, pp. 4-5, 11.

64. A poet may write as a sincere pastoralist or he may employ a pastoralist persona, the pastoralist being an essential part of the pastoral fiction. The literary use of personae is not in general mistaken for insincerity.


67. Empson, p. 23: “the pastoral process of putting the complex into the simple.”


70. Richard Hardin considers that the pastoralist who succumbs to permanent retreat, like Gaugin, becomes in effect a primitivist.


74. The film has been treated as a realistic conception in the reviews examined, and this approach readily discovers a subtextual parable (a variant of the destruction of an American dream) for which the dating of the action (1916), the shadowy appearance of President Wilson, and in the epilogue a sequence involving soldiers boarding a train on their way to the Great War point the way. The present treatment stresses the dominance of pastorality in the total effect; this dominance is after all promised by the title. Of course pastorality is obliterated in the climactic action. But it returns briefly in the pursuit sequence; and there is a note of pastoral fellowship in the epilogue. Polonius supplied some jargon to fit fictions of this kind:
"tragical-comical-historical-pastoral, scene indivisible."

75. The use of rustic disguise by city or court people is among the most remarkable of the traditional pastoral topoi. Cf. Kermode, p. 21, on Theocritus VII ("The Harvest Festival"): "city poets are playing at shepherds in this rich and authentic autumn setting."


77. For a defence of this contention against the treatment of railroads in Leo Marx's The Machine in the Garden, see Kenneth S. Lynn, "Regressive Historians," American Scholar, 47 (Fall 1978), p. 99. Richard Hardin has called my attention to the pastoral concern with astronomy and the weather (Rosenmeyer, p. 66), a pastoral validation of the farmer's telescope and anemometer. See note 18 to Hardin's essay.

78. Kermode, p. 31, notes the observation advanced by Guarini against Jasone de Nores in their controversy on pastoral (1587-93). In Kermode's words: "... when every one was a shepherd there must have been shepherd kings . . . ."

79. The device also implicates Wilson in the beauty and, as an ironical reading dictates, the delusion of the American Arcadia.

82. Kermode, p. 11.
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