ELIZABETHAN AMOROUS PASTORALS

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
PREFACE		1
Chapter		
I.	THE SOURCES OF ELIZABETHAN AMOROUS PASTORAL	4
II.	THE AMOROUS ELEMENT IN PRE-SPENSERIAN PASTORAL	38
III.	THE AMOROUS STRAIN IN SPENSER AND SIDNEY	68
IV.	THE 1580'S: FIRST NOTES IN THE AMOROUS CHORUS	93
V.	MARLOWE'S DE-MORALIZATION OF THE PASTORAL INVITATION	127
VI.	THE PASSIONATE SHEPHERDESS	146
VII.	THE MARRIAGE OF TRUE MINDS: BARNFIELD AND SHAKESPEARE	169
VII.	SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	197
BIBLIOGRAPHY		216

PREFACE

The pastoral love-lay originated with Theocritus. Bion, Moschus, and Virgil imitated the work of Theocritus, confirming the love-lay as a species of pastoral. Virgil added the first allegorical note, and acting on this hint the Christian writers of pastoral--among them Petrarch and Boccaccio--turned the love-lay into its opposite: a didactic poem denouncing love. Popularized by Baptista Spagnuoli, "Mantuan," this species of inverted love-lay spread to England early in the sixteenth century to become the first kind of formal English pastoral.

Working from such beginnings the early Elizabethan poets developed the 'kind,' varying the didactic dialogues with monologues of love-complaint. With Spenser and Sidney and in the 1580's the plaintive note became more and more prominent, while the didactic element declined in importance. In the late 1580's the plaintive tone in turn gives place to the clear sensuous loveliness of high Elizabethan amorous verse.

In the 1590's the love-lay developed in a variety of forms. It was combined with the Ovidian tale to create Ovidian invitation poems. It gave rise to the lovely pastoral lyrics which store *England's Helicon* and other

miscellanies. It played a major part in the evolution of the vast literature of praise of Elizabeth. The various themes and motifs of the love-lay were of the greatest importance in the work of Christopher Marlowe. Finally, the love-lay entered the sonnet tradition in the sonnets of Barnfield and Shakespeare. The love-lay, indeed, stood at the center of the amorous poetry of the 1590's, perhaps the most "Elizabethan" of Elizabethan poetry.

I propose to investigate this tradition, to seek answers to a number of questions about the role of pastoral in the Elizabethan era. This purpose can be served best by going through the history of the phenomenon we are discussing--by itself fully justifiable as a scholarly work--and when the whole subject has been laid open, not so much bibliographically but historically and critically, some answers may be suggested in a concluding chapter.

The importance of pastoral for the Elizabethans was such that a variety of questions might be posed. Perhaps the most important are these:

"What did pastoral mean to the Elizabethans?"

"What role did pastoral play in the development of Elizabethan attitudes toward love?"

"What reasons can be put forward to account for the vitality of the pastoral tradition?"

"What was the importance of pastoral for the Elizabethan poets as poets?"

Thanks are due to the staffs of the Huntington Library and the University of Kansas Library for much help and much patience; also to the faculty of the English Department at the University of Kansas, and especially to Professor James L. Wortham. My debt to my wife I cannot express.

CHAPTER I

THE SOURCES OF ELIZABETHAN AMOROUS PASTORAL

"The Sweete sobbes and amorous Complaints of Shepardes and Nymphes" were heard in England in the 1580's, but this enticing threnody was only a prelude to the amatory chorus of the next decade.[1] One of the first notes in that passionately sweet and sweetly passionate oratorio was sounded by Christopher Marlowe with his "Come Live With Me." Since Marlowe's poem is the best known of the genre under consideration it may be reproduced to refresh the reader's memory:

> Come live with mee, and be my love,
> And we will all the pleasures prove,
> That vallies, groves, hills and fieldes,
> Woods, or steepie mountaines yeeldes.
>
> And wee will sit upon the Rocks,
> Seeing the Sheepheards feede theyr flocks,
> By shallow rivers, to whose falls,
> Melodious byrds sings Madrigalls.
>
> And I will make thee beds of Roses,
> And a thousand fragrant poesies
> A cap of flowers, and a Kirtle,
> Imbroydered all with leaves of Mirtle.

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[1]The reference is to the title of a lost work by Anthony Munday entered in the Stationer's Register on August 19, 1583.

A gowne made of the finest wooll,
Which from our pretty Lambes we pull,
Fayre lined slippers for the cold,
With buckles of the purest gold.

A belt of straw, and Ivie buds,
With Corall clasps and Amber studs,
And if these pleasures may thee move,
Come live with mee, and be my love.

The Sheepheards Swaines shall daunce and sing,
For thy delight each May-morning,
If these delights thy minde may move;
Then live with mee, and be my love.[2]

Marlowe's gay and fragile lyric was popular from the beginning. Replies and imitations were written by Donne, Drayton, Herrick, Craige, and others.[3] But Marlowe's poem, while popular and important, was by no means the sole source for the many pastoral invitations to love that were printed in the succeeding decade. His lyric was itself a product of a tradition almost two thousand years old, and it was only one of many poems springing from that tradition. This tradition, that of the pastoral love-lay, was of the greatest

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[2]Marlowe's poem is given here as it appears in Professor Hyder Rollins' edition of _England's Helicon_ (1600). Marlowe's poem is number 137 in Vol. I; number 138 is the well-known reply by Raleigh, and number 139 is a close imitation of Marlowe's lyric. A shorter version of Marlowe's poem together with a stanza of Raleigh's "Reply" was printed earlier in _The Passionate Pilgrim_ (1599). Slightly different versions of the invitation and the reply were printed in Izaak Walton's _Compleat Angler_ (1653). Still another version of both poems was printed from a sixteenth century manuscript by John Ingram in _Christopher Marlowe and his Associates_ (London, 1904), pp. 222 ff.

[3]The lyric was apparently written about 1589. A prose passage that may have been inspired by it appears in Greene's _Menaphon_ (1589), and snatches of it are sung in Shakespeare's _Merry Wives of Windsor_, III, i, 17 ff. See R. S. Forsythe's "_The Passionate Shepherd_ and English Poetry," PMLA, XL (1925), 692-742, for a list of imitations.

importance in giving birth to the amorous poetry of the 1590's. It is that tradition which it is our pleasant task to trace.

Marlowe's poem and the others more or less closely related to it can be grouped together as one of the 'kinds,' or sub-genres, of pastoral poetry. Although the love-lays were the most important of the pastorals for the Elizabethans, all types of pastoral were written. These poems are difficult to classify, for pastoral was a protean genre, one which the Elizabethans liked for its very versatility. However, certain species had been more or less fixed by classical and Renaissance convention. These species grew up without regard to neat categories: the determining element might be form, it might be message, or it might be tone.

By the 1580's several of these species of pastoral were established as historically given 'kinds.' One of these was the dirge, or pastoral elegy, in which the poet mourned the death of a fellow poet, a friend, or a prominent person.[4] A second species of pastoral of great importance in the period was the panegyric, in which pastoral conventions were utilized

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[4] T. P. Harrison and H. J. Leon, The Pastoral Elegy (Austin, 1939). See also J. H. Hanford's "The Pastoral Elegy and Milton's Lycidas," PMLA, XXV (1910), 403-447; George Norlin's "The Conventions of the Pastoral Elegy," AJP, XXXII (1911), 294-312; and Martha H. Shackford's "A Definition of the Pastoral Idyll," PMLA, XIX (1904), 583-592. A great many pastoral elegies were written in memory of Sir Philip Sidney. In fact, his death after the Battle of Zutphen in 1586 marked a kind of turning point in the history of English pastoral.

to praise a ruler or patron.[5] A third type, the Messianic, or prophetic eclogue, predicted the return of the Golden Age to earth.[6] A kind of pastoral dear to the hearts of poets was the complaint of lack of patronage.[7] There were other kinds that were not as firmly established: the debate over the relative virtues of city and country, and the satire on courtly life. Most important of all the species of pastoral for the Elizabethans, however, was that kind with which we are concerned here: the love-lay.

The term love-lay may be defined as covering all types of pastorals of courtship and lover's complaints, and also the didactic Christian pastorals of denunciation of love, which are inverted forms of the original love-lays. The love-lay is a pastoral poem in which a shepherd (or shepherdess) invites his love to a shady retreat and promises her flowers, lambs, and other rustic gifts if she will but be his own. The retreat may be described at some length, becoming an earthly paradise, and the list of pastoral gifts may be turned into a lengthy catalogue. Sometimes the nymph refuses, and the invitation turns into a complaint.

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[5]For a full discussion see Elkin C. Wilson's England's Eliza (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939).

[6]See Paul Meissner, "Das Goldene Zeitalter in der Englischen Renaissance," Anglia, LIX (1935), 351-367.

[7]This species is as old as Theocritus. In his sixteenth idyll he combines such a complaint with his panegyric of Hiero of Syracuse.

Poems including invitations have usually been called "pastoral invitations."[8] But since few of them are limited to wooing or invitation, and since the complaint or even the denunciation of love may bulk large or virtually displace the invitation, it seems advisable to use the more inclusive term "love-lay."

If we regard the love-lay as one of a number of species of pastoral poems, it is possible to suggest categories for classification of the various sub-species of the type. What has already been said suggests an initial division into wooing or invitation poems, love complaints, and didactic poems against love. Perhaps this last group should be called inverted love-lays. The earliest love-lays combined the elements of invitation and complaint, and even, to a degree, of didactic statement. With the evolution of pastoral, however, poems in the genre often showed a predominance of one element. Thus we can establish the categories "invitation-and-complaint," "invitation," "complaint," and "inverted love-lay."

Besides being classifiable by substance or content, love-lays can also be classified according to certain traditional pastoral forms. Until the rise of larger works such as pastoral dramas and pastoral romances, idylls and eclogues

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[8]Professor R. S. Forsythe applies this term to Marlowe's poem and others of the species in PMLA, XL (1925) 692-742.

had been composed in three basic forms: monologues, dialogues, and singing-matches.

The monologue might be introduced by a dramatic scene or a brief prelude, or the poet might plunge directly into the theme. The dialogue was a discussion or debate between two or more shepherds. The form which has been called the singing-match was really a dialogue containing a singing match.[9] Each of these forms was molded to fit the requirements of the love-lay.

Eight types useful for discussion may be derived by combining the categories of form and categories of substance actually used, thus:

invitations in monologue
invitations in dialogue
invitations in singing-match form

complaints in monologue
complaints in dialogue
complaints in singing-match form

inverted-love-lays in monologue
inverted-love-lays in dialogue

There were virtually no inverted-love-lays in singing-match form.

In addition to the eight types listed, there were two hybrids of importance. The first was that which combined

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[9] See Martha Shackford's "A Definition of the Pastoral Idyll," PMLA, XIX (1904), 583-592. For a discussion of the conventions of the singing-match see Merritt Hughes' Virgil and Spenser (Berkeley, 1939), Part I.

elements of the love-lay, the panegyric, and the Messianic eclogue. This combination resulted from the adulation of Elizabeth as the Virgin Queen: she was not only a ruler to be praised; she was also a love-object rivalling Petrarch's Laura and the restorer of the Golden Age.[10]

The second hybrid, one of the most important types of Elizabethan amorous poetry, was the Ovidian invitation poem. These poems, which C. S. Lewis terms "erotic epyllions," are relatively long versions of Ovidian tales. In them the Ovidian tale is combined with elements of the pastoral invitation; the narrative is often merely a frame for an expanded wooing dialogue or debate in which the lover offers pastoral gifts or arguments against virginity while the shepherdess --or goddess--resists his blandishments. The mythological element is much greater than in other pastorals; the characters are as often mythological figures as they are shepherds. Including Marlowe's _Hero and Leander_, Shakespeare's _Venus and Adonis_, and other outstanding narrative poems of the 1590's, this new species of pastoral illustrates well the Elizabethan habit of combining varieties, of modelling new poems on old, and of imitating any species that proved popular.

These hybrid invitation poems, the Ovidian narratives, stand at the center of Elizabethan amorous poetry, and

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[10]See Wilson, pp. 230-272, on Elizabeth as Laura, and Raleigh's sonnet "Methought I saw the grave, where Laura lay," reprinted by Wilson on pp. 239 f.

consequently at the center of this investigation. They have another quality in common with many other poems of the 1590's. They are seduction poems, products of the Elizabethan taste for aphrodisiac, even prurient, poetry. In being seduction poems they resemble the wooing dialogues, but they differ in aim, seeking not merely to tell a story, but, like Daphnis and Chloe,[11] to titillate the reader.

Since these poems are the most important to be considered in terms both of quality and influence, the classification of love-lays may be closed by briefly describing the aims of Elizabethan aphrodisiac poetry. Such poems were directly antithetical in purpose to didactic pastorals sermonizing against love, although both types were products of the tradition of the love-lay and the pastoral dialogue. The aphrodisiac poem was based on a glorification of senuous beauty. Poets in the 1580's and 1590's turned away from the allegorical and didactic traditions to produce a poetry of pleasure. The aim was to please rather than to instruct, and it was the aristocratic young gallants whom the poets were aiming to please.

The seduction poems are rhetorical in approach. The wooer, shepherd or nymph, god or goddess, attempts to win his

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[11] Longus' Daphnis and Chloe, dating probably from the third century A. D., was translated by Angel Day from the French version of Jacques Amyot in 1587. Day inserted a pastoral in praise of Queen Elizabeth under the title "The Shepheardes Holidaye."

goal by rhetorical, even sophistic argumentation. The nymph parries in an attempt to defend her virtue. The result is a witty, warm exchange that is aimed more at involving the emotions of the reader than at telling the story of seduction. Almost the first of the species, and the finest, Marlowe's Hero and Leander, combines rhetorical persuasion with a story told in mellifluous octosyllabic couplets, embroidered with mythological ornament, and sprinkled with gnomic asides ("Women are half won when they begin to jar."). But the poets quickly learned new tricks. They lengthened the catalogue of feminine beauties, they expanded the wooing passages (which often used the conventions of the pastoral invitation to achieve their effects); and finally, they reversed the wooing situation, making the shepherdess or goddess amorous, the swain reluctant. This device, as old as Homer's Calypso, still proved enticing to Elizabethan readers, and rendered the poems more inviting than ever.

The concern of pastoral with love was not an Elizabethan invention, although it was necessary for the earlier Elizabethans to reclaim love-pastoral from the didactic slough. Pastoral had always had love as a central concern. By a swift review of the development of the genre we can trace the origins of this concern, reveal the sources of the kinds of poems listed, and suggest some of the reasons for the very great importance of the pastoral for the Renaissance, and especially for Elizabethan amorous verse.

While the pastoral genre is rooted in the songs of Sicilian shepherds, the original impetus for literary pastoral probably came from the contrast between a simple, relatively pure country life and the crowded, dirty, corrupt city life of Alexandria. In the third century before Christ the Sicilian poet Theocritus, living in the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus in Alexandria, recalled the golden-green world of his childhood and wrote his idylls. Little poems containing pictures of shepherd life, or dialogues between shepherds, they offered an ideal world of peace, calm, love, and beauty to contrast with the life of the metropolis.[12]

For our purposes it must also be noted that early pastoral was related to the rites of Adonis. One of the springs of pastoral is that concern with death and resurrection which also gave rise to a variety of cults, to rites to insure rebirth of plants in the spring, and the like. The story of Venus and Adonis was a favorite of the pastoral poets.[13]

Pastoral began, then, primarily as love poetry inspired by longing for an innocent, simple, gay, amorous life of pristine purity. It was this element of pastoral that the

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[12]See Professor A. S. Gow's excellent edition with translation, notes, and a full volume of commentary, Theocritus (Cambridge: The University Press, 1950), 2 vols., for information on all aspects of the Idylls.

[13]Theocritus' fifteenth idyll is concerned with a festival of Adonis, and Bion's first idyll is a lament for Adonis.

Elizabethans revived, and that is our primary concern here. Love is a major theme of twenty-one of the thirty-one idylls of Theocritus.

The first idyll of Theocritus, which is a dirge, can also be associated with the love-lay because Daphnis, the shepherd-poet being mourned, died of love. The poem is a monologue with a dramatic introduction. His second idyll is an incantation in which an abandoned girl implores the moon to bring back her lover. This poem is a monologue of complaint set in a dramatic frame. An incidental comment by the deserted girl introduces the theme of boy-love, which was to be of the greatest importance in the evolution of pastoral love poetry and for the Elizabethan poets. The girl wants her lover back whether he is now sleeping beside a man or a woman. Theocritus' third idyll is a pure example of the love-lay; it is a monologue in which a shepherd serenades his Amaryllis with promises of pastoral gifts, then swears that he will kill himself when she stays hidden in her cave and shows no sign of relenting.

Theocritus' fourth idyll is a dialogue which includes references to the sorrow of one of the shepherds for the death of his Amaryllis. His comrade counsels that while there is life there is hope. The sad shepherds that appear here and throughout the series of idylls became the prototypes of the series of sad or melancholy shepherds sick for

love that appear in pastoral literature down to Elizabethan times and beyond. Another major theme of this fourth idyll is the neglect of his sheep by Aegon, who has gone off to the Olympic games. This particular convention, like others of the pastoral, persisted for centuries. Rooted in the human need to meet responsibility and the temptation to neglect it, the convention of un-cared-for sheep could be turned to a variety of uses, serious and light. It offers an illustration both of the versatility of the pastoral and of the need of poets to rely on convention for material, for bits of narrative and subject matter.

In Theocritus' fifth idyll the theme of boy-love becomes central. Idylls twelve, thirteen, twenty-three, twenty-nine, and thirty are also concerned with this theme. Since this aspect of Alexandrian pastoral is of great importance in connection with the work of Spenser, Marlowe, Fraunce, Barnfield, and Shakespeare, these idylls may all be considered here.

The fifth idyll is a dialogue about love: it presents two coarse shepherds who exchange insults. They then engage in a singing contest, one praising a shepherdess, the other a boy. The poem exhibits an avowed homosexuality on the part of the shepherd Lacon. It is a dialogue in which Theocritus realistically presents the coarse side of country life in contrast to the softened idealized view to be found in many of the idylls.

All the other idylls listed are concerned with boy-love, but in the others the love of the soul preached by Plato is the usual sentiment. The existence of these two levels of boy-love among the Greeks was of the greatest significance in the development of the attitudes of Elizabethan poets on this question.[14] Theocritus' idylls twelve, twenty-nine, and thirty are monologues of invitation fitting into our scheme of classification. In these poems a shepherd woos a boy, however, and the promises of pastoral gifts are omitted. The listing of pastoral gifts was later to be included in this type of monologue, linking it more closely with invitations like the eleventh idyll.

In each of the idylls under consideration there is to be found a slight didactic element which was the basis for the later elaboration of the didactic pastoral. In the twelfth the older shepherd is concerned with teaching the boy, as Socrates had been concerned with the training of Alcibiades. The shepherd hopes that their love will be so pure that men will hear of it two hundred generations hence. Here, nearly two thousand years before Shakespeare, a poet sings of a lovely young man and preserves their love in verse for posterity.[15]

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[14] For a full discussion see John Addington Symonds' A Problem in Greek Ethics (London, 1901). See also the chapter on Barnfield and Shakespeare in this dissertation.

[15] The eternizing conceit which was to become so popular the Elizabethan poets appears here.

The thirteenth idyll, which I have classed with the others concerned with boy-love, is a monologue addressed to Nicias, the friend of Theocritus, and tells the story of the love of Hercules for Hylas, the carrying off of Hylas by water nymphs, and the lamentations of Hercules. The poet notes that not only men are subject to the pangs of love. He also emphasises the concern of Hercules for the training of Hylas, relating the poem with the ideal aspect of boy-love.

The twenty-third idyll tells of a lover who hanged himself at the door of a hard-hearted boy, and of the miraculous death of the boy: a statue of Eros, the deity of boy-love, fell on him. This poem and the thirty-first, another monologue of invitation, are more directly concerned with the love of boys than the others, but the thirty-first contains didactic lines on mortality. These poems as a group reveal that the theme of boy-love was of major importance to Theocritus.

The sixth and eleventh idylls of Theocritus are the chief models of the love-lay. They are both concerned with the giant Polyphemus, the Polyphemus of the Odyssey chastened by his love for the sea-nymph Galatea. The grotesquely comic one-eyed giant becomes a figure of humor and pathos as he invites the nymph to be his love and offers her pastoral gifts. The eleventh is a monologue of invitation: in it Theocritus, after addressing his friend Nicias, presents

Polyphemus, who woos Galatea and, when rejected, sings his woes. Bits of subject matter introduced here became conventions of the pastoral. The flowers offered to Galatea were the ultimate source of the catalogues of flowers in Elizabethan pastoral. The delights of Polyphemus' cave gave rise to the traditional idyllic scene of pastoral, and the pastoral gifts he offered were listed by many a later poet. In the sixth idyll Polyphemus is presented as pretending indifference to the advances of Galatea. Here is one source of the Renaissance poem in which the shepherdess woos a reluctant swain.

By writing a number of poems containing pastoral invitations and laments and others relating the wooing of boys by shepherds, Theocritus both revealed that the love-lay was a major constituent of pastoral in his era and laid the basis for the development of formal kinds of love-lays. His successors would solidify these types by imitation and variation. His tenth idyll should also be mentioned: it presents a young shepherd engaged in a dialogue with an older shepherd who tells him that love is not for the like of them. This is perhaps the clearest source for the didactic poem attacking love.

Two other components of the poetry of Theocritus are of great importance for our purposes. The seventh idyll presents, in pastoral roles, Theocritus and a group of his friends.

Here we find the beginning of that personal allegory which was to be one of the sources of the vitality and versatility of pastoral. Pastoral was to be the poetry of poets. In it they could present themselves and their friends, and discuss their loves and their work. It was destined to become the poetry of the trade, of the 'craft' of poets. Shepherds were presented as singers, as poets, with pan-pipes to play on and leisure to pipe. From shepherd as singer to poet as allegorical shpeherd was but one short step, and Theocritus took that step. Pastoral poetry became the expression of the free-masonry of the poets.

After Theocritus, the next writer of pastoral whose work survives was Bion, who is of uncertain date but perhaps lived also in the third century B. C. Bion was a successor to and imitator of Theocritus. His work shows clearly that at least in this early period pastoral was thought of almost exclusively as love poetry. In his second idyll Bion has Myrson ask Lycidas to sing "some sweet Sicilian song, some wistful strain delectable, some lay of love, such as the Cyclops Polyphemus sang on the sea-banks to Galatea."[16] Here already, pastoral song is identified with Sicily, and is thought of as sweet, wistful love poetry.

The song that Myrson sings to Lycidas tells of the love of Achilles and Deidamia. The poet makes the most of the

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[16] Theocritus, Bion and Moschus, trans. Andrew Lang (London, 1889), p. 176.

amorous possibilities by having a lovely youth disguised as a maiden dwell with a group of princesses, his 'sisters,' with one of whom this fair 'sister' would like to share a couch:

> With one another other sisters sleep, but I lie alone, and alone, maiden, dost thou lie, both being girls unwedded of like age, both fair, and single both in bed do we sleep. The wicked Nysa, the crafty nurse it is that cruelly severs me from thee.[17]

The piece is a fragment, unfortunately, so we do not know the outcome of this attempt at seduction. Since Achilles is the subject of the piece it might be considered an epic fragment. Like many other Alexandrian epyllions, however, it is concerned solely with love. Like Theocritus' thirteenth idyll dealing with the love life of Hercules it helps to establish that the handling of amatory themes was one of the most important elements in early pastoral. Bion's poem is a forerunner of those erotic epyllions of the Elizabethan era which make up one of the most important of the species of pastoral to be discussed here.

The first idyll of Bion is also concerned with love. It is a lament for Adonis, and draws on Egyptian fertility-ritual, as does Theocritus' fifteenth idyll. Bion's lament is similar to the lament for Daphnis in Theocritus' first idyll, and these two poems became prototypes of the species of pastoral known as the dirge. In each a love motif is

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[17] _Ibid_., p. 177.

interwoven, however, and the combination of love-lament and dirge was to become traditional in the love-lay as well as in the elegy: one could mourn for the loss of love as well as for the death of a shepherd. The story of Venus and Adonis would be used to mourn the death of Sir Philip Sidney, and lamentations for the death of love would be sounded by many an affectionate shepherd.

Bion's fifth idyll is especially interesting because it shows both the identification of poet and shepherd-singer and the importance of love as the major theme in pastoral. Since it is brief it may be given in full:

> Great Cypris stood beside me, while still I slumbered, and with her beautiful hand she led the child Love, whose head was earthward bowed. This word she spake to me, "Dear Herdsman, prithee, take Love, and teach him to sing." So said she, and departed, and I--my store of pastoral song I taught to Love, in my innocence, as if he had been fain to learn. I taught him how the cross-flute was invented by Pan, and the flute by Athene, and by Hermes the tortoise-shell lyre, and the harp by sweet Apollo. All these things I taught him as best I might; but he, not heeding my words, himself would sing me ditties of love, and taught me the desires of mortals and immortals, and all the deeds of his mother. And I clean forgot the lore I was teaching to Love, but what Love taught me, and his love ditties, I learned them all.[18]

Here the poet is clearly the herdsman and the singer. And he is also the "I" of the poem. Bion continues the tradition begun by Theocritus in his seventh idyll of introducing a

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[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 179 f.

personal autobiographical touch, and of making pastoral the personal poetry of poets.

Bion's seventh idyll again presents love and the Muses as allies. "The Muses do not fear the wild love, but heartily they cherish and fleetly follow him."[19] Here Bion seems to have in mind Eros, the god of boy-love, for he is thinking of his love for Lycidas: "but if again to Love and Lycidas I sing, then gladly from my lips flows forth the voice of song."[20] Fragment Ten also deals with this theme; famous pairs of Greek lovers, or comrades, are listed: Theseus and Pirithous, Orestes and Pylades, Achilles and Patroclus.[21] It may be concluded that the poetry of Bion emphasised and strengthened the role of love as the most important subject of pastoral poetry, and that bound up with this was the emphasis on the herdsman as poet-shepherd-lover.

The third poet of the Greek pastoral triad, Moschus (second or first century B. C.), continued the tradition of pastoral as love poetry. He is most important, however, for having related the pastoral even more closely to the craft of poetry and the lives of the poets. He wrote a

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[19] Ibid., p. 180. In his eleventh idyll Theocritus had presented the Muses as an antidote for love. Each of Bion's idylls is concerned with love except the third, which weighs the merits of the seasons. This, incidentally, is one source of Spenser's Shepheardes Calender.

[20] Ibid.

[21] In his Problem in Greek Ethics, pp. 1-7, Symonds quotes classical opinion on the nature of these friendships--to what extent they were spiritual, to what extent sensual, etc.

lament for the poet Bion, his predecessor and teacher, substituting a real person for the mythological figures in the earlier laments.[22] The dirge thus became a dirge for a poet, a singer of pastoral song, reinforcing the allegorical identification of poet and shepherd. The refrain is an appeal to the Sicilian Muses, a re-emphasising the Sicilian setting of pastoral. Galatea is represented as having loved the singing of Bion as much as she disliked that of Polyphemus: "Him fair Galatea ever fled, but on thee she still looked more kindly than on the salt water. And now hath she forgotten the wave, and sits on the lonely sands, but still she keeps thy kine."[23] It is clear that pastoral has accumulated a store of stock characters, and that these characters can be presented as inter-acting with poets wearing the pastoral mask. Pastoral becomes, more than ever, the poetry of poets.

Moschus also includes a reminiscence of the favorite story of pastoral poets, that of Venus and Adonis:

> All the gifts of the Muses, herdsman, have died with thee, the delightful kisses of maidens, the lips of boys; and woful round thy tomb the loves are weeping. But Cypris loves thee far more than the kiss wherewith she kissed the dying Adonis.[24]

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[22]Lang, pp. 197 ff. This poem, like Bion's "Lament for Adonis" is a monologue with a refrain. There is no dramatic framework: the poet plunges directly into his theme.

[23]Lang, pp. 199 ff. The convention about the care of sheep became traditional in pastoral.

[24]Lang, Theocritus, p. 200. This story of Venus and Adonis furnishes one of the closest contacts between ancient

In this passage we have the clearest possible indication that the poet was regarded as a shepherd, and as the singer of love. Note, too, that the kisses of maidens and those of boys are equated. Boy-love remains a leading motif of pastoral.

A further indication of the identification of poet and shepherd is to be found in Moschus' ninth idyll. Here the convention is broken down, and the poet, a shepherd by virtue of his gift of pastoral song, wishes that he were a real shepherd:

> Would that my father had taught me the craft
> of a keeper of sheep,
> For so in the shade of the elm-tree, or under
> the rocks on the steep,
> Piping on reeds I had sat, and had lulled my
> sorrow to sleep.[25]

By the time of Virgil (70-19 B. C.) the elements of pastoral with which we are concerned had been firmly established: pastoral was primarily love poetry, one of its themes was boy-love, and it had been established as the poetry in which poets might discuss themselves, their friends, and their craft: it had become the poetry of poets. Virgil was to introduce the pastoral into Latin and establish it as one of the basic literary genres.[26]

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pastoral and Elizabethan poetry. Not only did it give rise to one of the chief Elizabethan amorous poems, Shakespeare's Venus and Adonis; it was also the source of many shorter poems, including Spenser's elegy for Sidney, Astrophel.

[25] Ibid., p. 210.

[26] Poems pastoral in tone had of course been written in Latin before Virgil composed his.

Just as the pastorals of Theocritus reflect the contrast between city and country in the Alexandrian period, so the pastorals of Virgil reflect that contrast at the period of the peak of Roman power, the beginning of the Augustan era. Virgil's pastorals were his first mature work, but they were polished poems, the products of learning and labor as well as genius. Theocritus had had the living tradition of Sicilian song on which to base his poetry. Virgil, on the other hand, had to teach himself to write by imitation of Theocritus and the other writers of pastoral. Just as he was later to imitate Hesiod in his Georgics and Homer and Apollonius Rhodius in his Aeneid, he began by imitating Theocritus.[27]

It is of the greatest importance in literary history that Virgil did not draw directly on an oral tradition of any kind. It is also of the greatest importance in the history of pastoral, and for this study. Since he wrote by studying and imitating the literary tradition, Virgil became the ideal model for later writers who had to face the same problem: how to learn to be a 'maker' in the absence of oral tradition.

A secondary conclusion which follows logically is also of importance in the history of pastoral. Since Virgil had

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[27]See Henry W. Prescott, The Development of Virgil's Art (Chicago, 1927). For a book-length discussion of Virgil as an imitative writer see A. M. Guillemin's L'Originalite de Virgile (Paris, 1931).

to be a learned writer, it was perhaps inevitable that he should begin by writing the simplest, easiest kind of poetry. Later writers and critics assumed that he had begun with the pastoral because it was easiest for a first flight. Pastoral poems were short, the style was 'low'; in comparison with epic works they were easy for a beginner to write. At any rate Virgil did in fact first appear as a mature writer in his eclogues. For this and a variety of other reasons, he became the model for aspiring poets of the Renaissance. It became axiomatic that a writer must begin by writing pastorals. Pastoral thus became the training ground for poets, and it became inevitable that a great mass of pastoral should be written by would-be Virgils.

The establishment of pastoral as the poetry in which poets made their first flights had another important effect. It reinforced the tendency to think of pastoral as the poetry of poets. Not only was pastoral the poetry in which one could project oneself and one's fellows as shepherd-poets; not only was it the poetry in which one could discuss the needs of poets and the state of poetry; it was also the poetry which the poet studied first and learned to write first. It played a leading part in molding his style, his philosophy, his whole career as a poet.

In still another way Virgil reinforced the concept of the pastoral freemasonry of shepherds. Like Theocritus in the seventh eclogue, and like Moschus in the "Lament for

Bion," he made use of the opportunities that pastoral offered for personal allegory. He introduced himself in his eclogues as Tityrus; his friends Pollio and Gallus figure in them; Julius Caesar is said to be allegorized as Daphnis. Virgil also, like Theocritus in his seventh idyll, introduces discussion of the state of poetry, and even literary criticism in the form of comment about the bad poetry of Bavius and Maevius.[28] Pastoral is again revealed as the special province of the poet as allegorical shepherd.

Virgil cemented into permanent form as part of the pastoral genre other elements that had appeared in rudimentary form in Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus. In the second eclogue he imitated Theocritus' eleventh idyll, together with parts of the third, the sixth, and others. The poem is a monologue of invitation and complaint, with a brief introductory prelude. It is an invitation poem like Theocritus' eleventh, but it is no longer mythological. Polyphemus and Galatea are replaced by two shepherds, Corydon and Alexis. Corydon is briefly described as wandering through the woods, burning with love for the lad Alexis. Then he speaks, reproaching Alexis for his lack of interest, offering pastoral gifts, listing his material possessions, and then, rejected by Alexis, lamenting his fate and reproaching himself for

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[28] Ecl. 3, 90.

neglecting his duties. Virgil follows rather closely the form of Theocritus' eleventh idyll, and it is clear that here we have another pastoral invitation poem, a love-lay, and that the type is clearly established as a genre.

Virgil's choice of the love of a shepherd for a lad has often been a subject for criticism. Many of the scurrilous stories that were later told about him sprang from the second eclogue, which could be interpreted by minds ignorant of the tradition in which Virgil was writing as proof of his immorality.[29] Even in our own time John Conington repeats some of the slanders and implies that the second eclogue might better not have been written. Herbert Rose, who discusses Conington's criticism in his Eclogues of Virgil, makes some scathing comments against such views, and offers the following evaluation of his own:

> This "degrading" effort happens to be one of the most exquisite and delicate offerings ever made to the Muses of the countryside; it is to the manners of the age, which the poet had no sufficient ground for ignoring, that we must attribute the choice of subject, a passion involving sexual inversion, then probably commoner than now and certainly more freely talked about. The object of Corydon's fancy is in any case a mere lay figure, who never appears on the scene at all; what matters is Corydon's feeling and the way he expresses it.[30]

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[29]Merritt Hughes has discussed Elixabethan attitudes toward this question at some length in Virgil and Spenser, p. 291.

[30]Berkeley, 1942, 26.

Professor Rose adds that those who cannot appreciate poetry ought not to talk about it.[31] One cannot but agree with him, yet we wonder if he would have considered Byron fit to talk. Byron wrote:

> But Virgil's songs are pure, except that horrid one
> Beginning with Formosum pastor Corydon.[32]

It is obvious, however, that Virgil's second eclogue can be explained on the basis of imitation alone. He had simply combined two of the types of poems written by Theocritus, by casting the wooing monologue addressed to a boy in the form of the invitation poem. Alexis is offered the pastoral delights that Polyphemus had offered Galatea. The flower catalogue is expanded and confirmed as a part of the invitation tradition. Further, this second eclogue is not the only one which refers to boy-love. In the seventh eclogue Corydon is presented again. This time he engages in a singing match with another shepherd, Thyrsis. He praises Alexis while Thyrsis praises Phyllis and Lycidas. It is clear that this poem is closely related to Theocritus' fifth idyll, in which two shepherds alternate in singing the praises of a maiden and a shepherd. In the eighth eclogue, Virgil introduces the same theme. Modelling an incantation on Theocritus' second idyll, he makes the beloved a youth

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[31] Rose, Eclogues of Virgil, p. 26.

[32] Quoted in Charles Keene's edition of The Eclogues of Calpurnius and Nemesianus (London, 1887), p. 18.

instead of a maiden. Perhaps the shepherd who sings the song is acting the part of a maiden; nonetheless, the result is suggestive of boy-love. In the third eclogue Menalcas boasts that Amyntas loves him, and Galatea appears again. Did Byron read these eclogues? If so, how could he have found them pure?

It is clear that the theme of love between shepherds had become a literary convention by the time of Virgil, and that discussions of his personal morality based on his following of the convention are not a little ridiculous. Since Virgil was to be the chief source of Renaissance pastoral, it was his emphasis on boy-love that ultimately influenced Spenser, Fraunce, Marlowe, Barnfield, and Shakespeare.

In addition to these aspects of Virgil's eclogues related to the development of pastoral in the Elizabethan era, two other innovations are of great importance for our purpose. The first was Virgil's creation in the tenth eclogue of a kind of triangle story based on the love-lay and the dirge. We have seen that the dirges of Theocritus and Bion were for herdsmen who were also lovers. With the Polyphemus-theme of the disappointed lover Virgil combines some of the conventions of the dirge. His friend, Gallus, with whom the poem is concerned, was not dead, but the poem is nevertheless a kind of dirge over the death of Gallus' love through the faithlessness of Lycoris. Here is a theme which foreshadows

the story of Colin, Hobbinoll, and Rosalind in the Shepheardes Calender, and the triangle story in the sonnets of Shakespeare.

The second innovation of Virgil was his creation of the so-called "Golden Age," or "Messianic Eclogue." This eclogue, apparently based on the prophesies of the Cumaean Sibyl, foretells the birth of a child in whose life-time the golden age of peace and justice will return to the earth. The modern view of the "Messianic Eclogue" is that Virgil, deeply aware of the crisis of belief in the Roman World, and longing for a world of peace free from corruption, expressed in the poem--which apparently is concerned with the approaching birth of an actual child--his desire for a happier future. The establishment of a stable Roman power might conceivably have been the first stage in such a development. Be that as it may, the poem could also be viewed as a prediction of the birth of Christ. The language often recalls that of the Hebrew prophets; the baby whose coming is to usher in an era of peace could be identified as Christ. If this view were correct the great poet of the Roman world could become a prophet of the Messiah.

There is little wonder that the Christians adopted this poem as their own and interpreted it as a literal prediction of the birth of Christ, written in the last years of the pre-Christian era. For fifteen hundred years and more the poem

was thus interpreted, and it helped to establish Virgil as the one classical poet who was revered as a prophet.

The influence of this poem, and the natural pastoral bent of the Christian story, with its shepherds and its portrayal of Christ as the good shepherd, led to the acceptance and adoption of pastoral poetry by the church, and especially to the near-cannonization of Virgil. Much of this is of course reflected in Dante's attitude toward Virgil.[33]

The rise of the Christian didactic pastoral must be traced, then, from Virgil's Messianic Eclogue. While there had been slight didactic elements in the wooing dialogues between shepherds in Theocritus, it was only with the Christianization of pastoral that it was metamorphosed from a poetry of love into a poetry of didactic lecturing against love. Of course Virgil's fourth eclogue was not the direct cause of this change in the direction of pastoral. Virgil's prophetic eclogue led to the adoption of pastoral by the church --Constantine, for example, interpreted everything in the eclogue as related to Christ--and this adoption made it natural for pastoral to come under the ascetic, didactic influence of the clergy and later of the Christian humanists. From Virgil, then, we can trace the rise of the second main category of poems that we have classified as love-lays:

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[33]Joseph B. Mayor, et al., _Virgil's Messianic Eclogue_ (London, 1907). See also Herbert Rose, _Eclogues of Virgil_ (Berkeley, 1942), 162-217; and D. P. A. Comparetti, _Virgil in the Middle Ages_, trans. E. F. M. Benecke (London, 1895).

those that were not really concerned with love at all, but with advice against love.

The movement in the direction of the didactic was reinforced by Virgil's treatment of social matters in his first eclogue, in which he discusses the confiscation of land for Augustus' veterans, and in his tenth eclogue, in which he implicitly condemns love for unworthy women.

The post-Virgilian classical writers of pastoral carried on the conventions already established. Those writers seem of minor importance to us, but the works of Nemesian and Calpurnius had been printed in twenty-five editions before the end of the sixteenth century. All of these editions were continental, but they were known in England, for Webbe mentions Calpurnius, under whose name the works of both were published.

Calpurnius Siculus (*floruit ca*. 54 A. D.) combined the conventions of the panegyric with those of the Messianic Eclogue. Theocritus had initiated the panegyric with his idylls in praise of Hiero of Syracuse and Ptolemy Philadelphus. Calpurnius added a new element to the panegyric: by taking from the Messianic Eclogue the idea of the return of the Golden Age, and stating that a living ruler rather than a yet unborn child was to bring back the age of justice, he made the pastoral panegyric more flattering than ever. Calpurnius' poem was devoted to Nero, in whose reign the

Golden Age was to return. In all fairness to the poet it must be noted that the beginning of that reign was more auspicious than its conclusion. This combination of panegyric and prediction of a new golden age was a step in the direction of the form which the panegyric was to take in the Elizabethan period, when it would be combined with both the golden-age motif and the love-lay.

Calpurnius' second eclogue puts the love-lay into the form of a singing match for the first time. Two shepherds compete in singing the praises of a mistress, Crotale. They list their attractions and possessions in the manner of Polyphemus or Corydon. This poem was the ultimate source of the numerous love-lays in singing-match form written in the Elizabethan period.

In Calpurnius' third eclogue we have another form of the love-lay: a dialogue in which a shepherd tells another shepherd of his woes in love. The fifth eclogue is also of interest to us. In it Calpurnius strengthens the didactic tradition by having an older shepherd advise a younger one about the care of sheep. Here agricultural instruction in the manner of the _Georgics_ is put into the form of the eclogue. Later pastoralists did not follow Calpurnius in making this combination, but his device of presenting an old shepherd advising a younger one was imitated and was put to use in the development of the didactic or inverted love-lay. His treatment of the care of sheep through the year perhaps gave Spenser a hint for the _Shepheardes Calender_.

Nemesian, the successor to Calpurnius in the third century, wrote two eclogues which are of interest to us. His second eclogue, which imitates Virgil's second eclogue in its opening words, is a curious combination of complaint and singing-match form, the first of the type. In it two boys lament the loss of their mistress, Donace, who apparently has not been at all hard-hearted--she has been so compliant in fact that her parents have locked her up.[34]

Nemesian's fourth eclogue revives the theme of boy-love. It is a dialogue of complaint in which two shepherds, Lycidas and Mopsus, lament the cruelty of their loves, Jollas and Meroe. It thus equates the love of youths and maidens.[35]

The story of pastoral in the Middle Ages is a story of the turning of the genre in the direction of Christian allegory. The process which began with the fourth eclogue of Virgil was accelerated with the triumph of the Church. But the stream of pastoral in any case was thin. It is clear, however, that the tradition of writing pastorals was known to Dante, for del Virgilio wrote him an eclogue urging him to write in Latin, and Dante sent another eclogue in reply, promising a pastoral gift of ten pails of milk. Critics have suggested that he had reference to the first ten cantos of the Divine Comedy.

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[34] See _The Eclogues of Calpurnius and Nemesianus_, ed. Keene, 168-177.

[35] _The Eclogues of Calpurnius_, ed. Keene, p. 188.

Pastoral came back to the forefront in the fourteenth century in Italy. Petrarch and Boccaccio both wrote sets of eclogues, Virgilian pastoral in the Christian tradition. Boccaccio also wrote a longer pastoral work, the Ameto, combining prose and poetry in the manner of the Vita Nuova. Petrarch went on to write his Latin epic, Africa, enacting in his literary career the progress from pastoral to epic, following the path of Virgil. The example of Petrarch and Boccaccio greatly reinforced the conviction that pastoral was the form in which poets should make their first flights.

While Petrarch and Boccaccio developed the Christian didactic pastoral, it was Baptista Spagnuoli, "Mantuan," who established such didactic pastoral as the dominant form.

Baptista Spagnuoli (1448-1516) called himself "Mantuanus" because he was from Mantua, and more especially to associate himself with Virgil. His Latin eclogues were all dialogues, and they were all didactic.[36] The first three were concerned with various evils of love, and the fourth was a diatribe against women. Mantuan thus made the didactic dialogue--at least in many cases--a sermon against love.

Drawing on the tradition of didactic pastoral which had developed from a mere hint in Theocritus, he modelled

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[36]See The Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus, ed. Wilfred P. Mustard (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1911), and The Eclogues of Mantuan, trans. George Turberville (1567), ed. Douglas Bush (New York: Scholar's Facsimiles and Reprints, 1937).

his eclogues primarily on those classical pastorals which had presented a dialogue between two shepherds. Like Calpurnius he makes one shepherd old, the other young. The old shepherd lectures the younger on the evils of love or delivers a diatribe against women.

The works of Mantuan were the first great influence to be felt in the Elizabethan pastoral. The sixteenth-century English poets took up the genre at very nearly the extreme of its Christian didacticism. We have traced the evolution of pastoral from the wooing poems of Theocritus to the denunciatory poems of Mantuan; now we can reverse our direction and follow a path beginning in what to us are the dry sands of Renaissance didactic pastoral, and leading back to the living fountain of Theocritean love poetry.

CHAPTER II

THE AMOROUS ELEMENT IN PRE-SPENSERIAN PASTORAL

The first of a long line of amorous shepherdesses appeared in English literature in the "first" pastoral in English, "Robene and Makyne," by Robert Henryson (1430?-1506?).[1] The ardent Makyne, ancestress of Shakespeare's Juliet and Drayton's Dowsabel, of Venus who wooed Adonis, and Phoebe who wooed Endymion, was a sweet and loving maid with a soft Scottish burr. Makyne loved Robene, and she told him so:

> Robene, thow rew on me;
> I haif the luvit lowd and still,
> Thir yeiris two or thre. . . .[2]

Robene, however, was an unkind oaf, and he rejected fair Makyne's fond invitation. She did not despair, but made her proposal more explicit:

> Robene, take tent unto my taill,
> And wirk all as I reid,
> And thow sall haif my hairt all haill,
> Eik and my madinheid.[3]

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[1] The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson, ed. H. H. Wood (Edinburgh, 1933), 151-154. The original exists only in the Bannatyne MS. (1568).

[2] Ibid., 151.

[3] Ibid., 152.

Even this generous offer did not stir the bloodless Robene:

> Makyne, sum uthir man begyle,
> For hamewart I wil fair.[4]

Sadly Makyne started homeward, but now her sickness took hold in Robene. He hastened after her and told her that he had changed his mind. Now the tables were turned, and Makyne reminded Robene of the old saying:

> The man that will nocht quhen he may
> Sall haif nocht quhen he wald.[5]

Henryson's poem, by making the shepherdess the wooer, looks forward to the Ovidian invitations of the 1590's, but its spirit is earthy rather than aphrodisiac, and its materials are drawn, like those of Robert Burns, from peasant life rather than mythology. "Robene and Makyne" is clearly related to the French pastourelle, with its swift narrative of a love duel between a gallant and a shepherdess. Here, however, the element of difference in social status which plays such a large part in the pastourelles is not present. Lover and beloved are both keepers of sheep; the tone is gay and downright. Makyne is no Petrarchan lady, and the love she is interested in is not spiritual. The turning of the tables is in the tradition of the pastourelle, in which the knight was often left in the lurch by a clever shepherdess.[6]

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[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., 153.

[6] For a discussion of the type see William Jones' The Pastourelle (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931). In MLN, XLVI (1931), p. 457, Mr. Jones suggests a thirteenth century source for "Robene and Makyne."

The pastourelles are a sub-genre of pastoral developed in France in the late medieval period, and their connection with the tradition of classical pastoral was slight. "Robene and Makyne," which sprang from this tradition, was an early bubbling forth of the spring of amorous pastoral, but it was not in the main line of development. The succeeding writers of pastoral turned instead to the classical tradition as transmitted by Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Mantuan. The real development of a literary tradition of pastoral in England began with the strain of didactic pastoral that had been developing on the continent since the days of Virgil.

Professor C. S. Lewis has emphasised the difference between the late medieval pastourelle "Robene and Makyne" and the didactic pastorals which were to follow:

> And thus it comes about that many a medieval poet who had never read the _Bucolics_ nor ever heard of eclogues might--in a "Robyn and Makyn," a "Nut Brown Maid," or a ballad --be far nearer to Theocritus in spirit than a scholar of the _renascentia_ steeped in Mantuan.[7]

The didactic poets of the first half of the sixteenth century fall in the main tradition of pre-Spenserian English pastoral: their poems are imitative of classical pastoral as seen through the works of Mantuan. To us the movement away from the sprightly verse of Henryson toward the imitative

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[7] _English Literature in the Sixteenth Century_ (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1954), 132.

formal eclogues of Barclay seems to mark a decline. English poets had, however, to assimilate the classical and continental literary tradition if they were to produce literature of the first rank. The process of imitation was a necessary part of the general effort to raise writing in the vernacular languages to the level of the ancients. Naturally the first of these imitative efforts to appear in English were prolix and revealed little skill in the craft of poetry. It will be instructive, however, to try to find in them what had become of the stream of pastoral love poetry.

The first formal eclogues in the English language were written by the Scottish poet Alexander Barclay (1475-1552). Barclay's _Egloges_ (_c_. 1514) are dialogues concerned with the evils of courts, with the relative virtues of city and country, with the neglect of poetry, and with ecclesiastical affairs.[8] Pastoral of this kind is far different from the love pastoral derived from Theocritus, or from the French pastourelle. It stems from that branch of the pastoral tradition which, beginning with Virgil, emphasised the allegorical element. Since one of the important bases of pastoral was the contrast between the city and the country, between the ambitious life and the contemplative life, pastoral could easily be turned from its bent toward the praise of peaceful rural life and

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[8] _The Eclogues of Alexander Barclay_, ed. Beatrice White, EETS (London: Oxford University Press, 1928).

used as a weapon for attacking city life. It could be used to satirize the court by contrasting courtly life with pastoral life. Finally, by making allegorical use of sheep and shepherds, the poet could turn pastoral into a weapon in theological controversy: priests must be good shepherds.

This versatility of pastoral explains in part its vitality and popularity. Having begun with little idylls which were part drama and part picture, pastoral was an easy kind of poetry, a kind which could turn in the direction of drama, of romance, of lyric, or of panegyric. Its ability to adapt to a variety of forms and a variety of moods a subject matter based on the contrast between simple and complex, between innocence and sophistication made it a protean literary genre.

William Empson has investigated some of these possibilities in his English Pastoral Poetry. A point of special interest in relation to Barclay can be found in Empson's suggestion that the poet achieves a kind of esthetic distance by taking the point of view of the simple swain. The poet-shepherd can then become the innocent viewer of the evils of the city; he can be the onlooker who rejects courtly life and ambition. He can be a symbol of ideal simplicity, of man in a state of innocence. Yet he retains the sophistication, the insight of the poet. The poet who dons the pastoral

mask is "putting the complex into the simple. . . ."[9] It is precisely these subtle possibilities of the pastoral that Barclay was not fully aware of. He wore the shepherd's garb, but it fitted ill--he was too much the priest to act a role.

What concerns us most about Barclay, however, is precisely that he was a priest. In that fact is the key to what had become of pastoral love poetry. In the Middle Ages pastoral had been dominated by the church: the allegory of shepherds and flocks and the idealization of Christ as the good shepherd made Christian pastoral not only possible but inevitable. Barclay's predecessor, Mantuan, whose eclogues had been published in 1498, sixteen years before those of Barclay, was also a priest. The satirist on whose criticism of courts Barclay modelled his first three eclogues was Aeneas Sylvius, another priest, later Pope Pius II. Pastoral had become Christian and didactic, and it had also become ascetic. In the pastoral of Barclay love and religion are irreconcilable.

The opposition to love in the eclogues of Barclay is expressed by the old shepherd Cornix, who advises his young friend Coridon. Although the dialogues are ostensibly debates, Coridon is actually a meek young man, and Cornix soon overcomes any resistance he offers. The result is that Cornix

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[9]New York: W. W. Norton, 1938, p. 23. It was published in England as Some Versions of Pastoral.

is rather obviously the spokesman of the poet, and the advantages of the pastoral illusion are lost. It was precisely because the poet could wear the mask of the shepherd and yet create a character independent of himself that pastoral could escape being direct biography. Barclay is so determined to say what he wants said that the words of Cornix are the words of Barclay, and what we get is not art but propaganda, not a pastoral debate but a sermon.

Cornix advises Coridon against the temptations of the court. Young Coridon, who has not had the fun of finding out about these evils for himself, suggests mildly that there may be some good things there, but Cornix answers with more blasts, and Coridon acquiesces:

> If the court be suche as thou dost playnly tell
> I think it folly with it to deale or mell,
> Better is freewill with nede and povertie
> Than in the court with harde captivitie.[10]

Coridon then brings up the matter of love. He has something of the young shepherds of Theocritus in him after all, even though he appears in an eclogue written in the didactic tradition. When he asks Cornix about love in the court, the names he uses are those of famous shepherdesses of the pastoral tradition, beginning with Galatea, recipient of the earliest pastoral invitation:

> Yet is it pleasour to handle and to toy,
> With Galatea, Licoris or Phillis,
> Neera, Malkin or lustie Testalis,

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[10] Barclay, ed. White, 12.

And other dames, yf coyne be in the pouche
Men may have the pleasour them for to fele
and touche.
In Court hath Venus hir power principall,
For women use to love them moste of all
Which boldly bosteth or that can sing and
jet,
. . . .
So may these courtiers in court some
pleasour win
Onely in touching and feling their softe
skinne.[11]

Coridon obviously has a low opinion of courtly ladies; nonetheless he is attracted. Cornix promptly sets him straight:

Thou are abused, forsooth it is not so,
Lovers in court have moste of care and wo.
Some women love them inflamed by vile lust,
But yet very few dare them beleve or trust.[12]

Cornix vividly describes the troubles of the courtly lover: the unfaithfulness of the beloved, the strife with rivals. He adds:

And ofte when thou goest to visite thy
lemman,
With hir shalt thou find some other joly man,
Then shall she make thee for to believe
none other
But he is hir father, hir uncle or hir
brother:
But playnly to speake, he brother is to thee,
If kinred may rise of suche iniquitie.[13]

Barclay allows his straw man Coridon to put up more resistance than usual at this point; he argues that not all women are unchaste, and cites Lucretia and Penelope. Cornix

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[11] _Ibid._, 66.

[12] _Ibid._

[13] _Ibid._, 67.

replies with another sixty-two lines of denunciation of woman, admitting that those are chaste whose company all men refuse. Further, if any are chaste, one cannot have "pleasour" with them. Coridon has now had enough:

> I see the pleasour of touching is but small
> I thought it hony, I see nowe it is gall.[14]

Such was didactic pastoral in the hands of Barclay: ostensibly a dialogue, it tended to turn into a sermon on the part of the wise old Cornix. Barclay was aware of this, and had Coridon mildly protest against Cornix's preaching:

> Cornix, thy promise was not to preache,
> But me of the courtiers misery to teache.[15]

In this instance Barclay shows an ability to use the pastoral illusion to shield himself against the charge of sermonizing, but he is not always so skillful.

The relationship between Barclay's attitude toward pastoral and his attitude toward the church is clearly illustrated by a punning passage in the first eclogue. Cornix, lamenting the passing of a priest named Alcock, makes what seems to us a curious mixture of the conventions of the pastoral dirge and the medieval attitude of the church toward love:

> When he went faded the floure of all the fen,
> I boldly dare sweare this cock trode never
> hen,
> This was a father of thinges pastorall,
> And that well sheweth his Church cathedrall
> . . . .[16]

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[14] *Ibid.*, 70.

[15] *Ibid.*, 41.

[16] *Ibid.*, 17.

The reference to "thinges pastorall" of course emphasises the identification of the pastoral of the poets with the "pastoral" of Christianity.

In praising the goodness of the deceased Alcock, Barclay makes use of the classical convention about the care of sheep. Here we have an indication of one of the chief ways in which this bit of subject matter could be utilized, for bound up with it are questions of duty and responsibility, such as are set forth in the image of the good shepherd, as seen for example in Milton's Lycidas.[17] Alcock was a dutiful watcher:

> He taught, he preached, he mended every wrong,
> . . . .
> He all was a cocke, he wakened us from slepe,
> And while we slumbred he did our foldes kepe,
> No cur, no foxes, nor butchers dogges wood
> Could hurt our fouldes, his watching was so
>   good,
> The hungry wolves which that time did abounde
> What time he crowed abashed at the sounde.[18]

Barclay's determination to play on the name of his subject does not strengthen his metaphor, of course, but it is clear that he has repeated from Christian tradition the old convention about care of sheep which Theocritus had put in the mouth of Polyphemus.

The identification of Christianity and pastoral on which Barclay's set of eclogues depends is elaborately worked out in the fifth, which is concerned with the relative virtues

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[17] The metaphor was of course one of the most common of commonplaces. It had no necessary connection with pastoral: Chaucer's use of the metaphor in the General Prologue probably derives only from Christian symbolism and is not related to the classical pastoral.

[18] Barclay, ed. White, 17.

of town and country. Barclay argues that God always showed favor to shepherds. He repeats the story of Cain and Abel, and then lists Abraham, Jacob, Lot, Isaac, Joseph, and Job. After naming a group of classical shepherds--Paris, Pan, Silene, Orpheus, and "joly Tyterus"--he adds Saul and Moses. Then come Apollo, David, and finally

> . . . our Lorde Jesu, our God and Saviour
> Named himselfe a shepherde or pastour.[19]

In the hands of Barclay, as in those of Mantuan, the pastoral is understood as Christian and didactic. Barclay reveals this didactic intent in his prologue, in remarks which may be compared with similar statements of the purpose of the pastoral by later writers like E. K. and William Webbe. He says of his work:

> that it conteyneth both laudes of vertue
> And man infourmeth misliving to eschue.[20]

Two major themes are re-emphasized in Barclay's work. One of these is the identification of poet and shepherd. Although he also made the identification of priest and shepherd, Barclay continued the tradition of the pastoral as the poetry of poets and the sign of the freemasonry of poets. In his fourth eclogue he followed Mantuan's fifth, treating "the behavour of riche men agaynst poetes." A shepherd poet Minalcas, reproaches a rich shepherd, Codrus, for his neglect of poetry.

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[19] Ibid., 198-199.

[20] Ibid., 3.

Secondly, Barclay accepted as historically given the rule that poets should begin with the pastoral. His comments on such matters are of the greatest importance, because they give a very early indication of effort to bring England up to the level of Italy and the ancients. It is not to be suggested that Barclay was capable of such an achievement, or thought himself capable--merely that he knew that it was necessary to assimilate and master the literary tradition if English literature was to advance.[21]

Commenting on the need to begin by writing pastoral, and tracing the early history of the genre, Barclay says:

> Therefore wise poetes to sharpe and prove
> their wit,
> In homely jestes wrote many a mery fit.
> Before they durst be of audacitie
> T'aventure thinges of weyght and gravitie.
> In this saide maner the famous Theocrite
> First in Siracuse attempted for to write
> Certayne Egloges of speeches pastorall,
> Inducing shepherdes, men homely and rurall.
> Which in playne language, according to
> their name,
> Had sundry talking, sometime of mirth and
> game,
> Sometime of thinges more like to gravitie,
> And not exceeding their small capacitie.
> Most noble Virgill after him longe while
> Wrote also Egloges after like maner stile,
> His wittes proving in matters pastorall,
> Or he durst venture to stile heroicall.
> And in like maner nowe lately in our dayes
> Hath other Poetes attempted the same wayes:
> As the moste famous Baptist Mantuan
> The best of that sort since Poetes first
> began.[22]

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[21]C. S. Lewis denounces the drab verse and prose produced by the early humanists, arguing that they chose to imitate precisely the wrong things. What is important, however, is that they saw the necessity of imitation. See the introductory chapters of <u>English Literature in the Sixteenth Century</u>.

[22]Barclay, ed. White, 1-2.

After tracing the development of pastoral from Theocritus and Virgil to Mantuan, Barclay adds praise of Petrarch and Boccaccio. The importance for him of didactic pastoral can be seen in his estimate of Mantuan as the best of all pastoral poets, not excluding Virgil. The passage is also interesting because the switch in chronology which puts Mantuan before Petrarch and Boccaccio in the list was repeated by Spenser's commentator E. K. This is one of the best bits of evidence that E. K. and Spenser had read Barclay.[23] It seems hard to believe that both Barclay and E. K. were confused about the chronology of Petrarch, Boccaccio and Mantuan. Probably Barclay simply placed Mantuan first in his discussion of writers of Renaissance pastoral because he was most interested in him, and E. K. followed Barclay's list without noting the error.

While the passage quoted above shows that Barclay was no master of melody, his eclogues are by no means unreadable. There are long passages of preaching, and comparison with the short, well-wrought eclogues of Virgil calls attention to Barclay's prolixity; yet the rude scenes between the two shepherds, the description of the pastoral settings, and the bantering passages are often mildly amusing:

> Well sayde Coridon, I am content with that,
> But first let me drinke, I shall the better
> chat.

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[23]See W. P. Mustard, "Notes on the Egloges of Alexander Barclay," Modern Language Notes, 24 (1909), p. 10.

> This whey is soure, but use easeth the
> payne,
> Drinke Coridon, and stop it up agayne.[24]

As for Barclay's metrics, little need be said. Tradition held that pastorals should be written in hexameters, or some kind of approximation of them. If Barclay set out to write a dodecasyllabic line, however, he did not count his syllables. He varies between ten and eleven, occasionally bouncing down to nine. He was doubtless hindered by the difficulties of language which harassed all poets in the period when the Middle English final "e" was being lost. We find the same kind of uneveness in some of the lines of Wyatt and Surrey as in these of Barclay, but in Barclay the basic difficulty is increased by lack of skill.[25]

With Barclay pastoral was turned to purposes of pure didacticism--far from the light, fresh idylls of Theocritus. Our task now is to trace stage by stage the development of pastoral back in the direction of freshness, gaiety, and love, until we reach the flowering meadows of the Elizabethans.

Another didactic pastoral, Skelton's Colin Clout (c. 1523), can be classified as a monologue in which a shepherd

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[24] Ibid., p. 39

[25] Miss Beatrice White, comparing Barclay with a later translator of Mantuan, says: "Barclay's manly verse quite eclipses Turberville's emasculate jingle"; but we must agree with Douglas Bush, who finds this judgment a little excessive on both sides. See The Eclogues of Mantuan, trans. Turberville, ed. D. Bush, p. iii.

attacks ecclesiastical duplicity, and, indirectly, Cardinal Wolsey.[26] Skelton utilized the satirical bent of pastoral, which had been developed by priestly writers from beginnings by Petrarch and Boccaccio. Mantuan had been the chief contributor, with his set of eclogues printed in 1498. While Skelton's poem cannot be classified as a love-lay, it forms a kind of landmark in English pastoral. It furnished Spenser with a name for his pastoral hero, and it illustrates perfectly the use of pastoral, set forth by Sidney in the _Defense of Poesy_, for the criticism of social abuses.

Two other points concern us here. Skelton, perhaps influenced by Barclay, denounces the prelates in pastoral figures:

> Lay men say indeed
> How they take no heed
> Their silly sheep to feed,
> But pluck away and pull
> The fleeces of their wool,
> Unneth they leave a lock
> Of wool among their flock![27]

Passages like this anticipate the powerful lines in _Lycidas_ in which Milton excoriates false shepherds. There are some good shepherds, however:

> Howbeit some there be
> (Almost two or three)
> Of that dignitie,
> Full worshipful clerks
> As appeareth by their warks,

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[26] For the date of _Colin Clout_ see the discussion in William Nelson's _John Skelton Laureate_ (New York, 1939), 188-190.

[27] _The Complete Poems of John Skelton_, ed. Philip Henderson (London, 1931), 284.

Like Aaron and Ure,
The wolf from the door
To werrin and to keep
From their ghostly sheep,
And their spiritual lambs
Sequestered from rams
And from the bearded goats
With their hairy coats
Set nought by gold ne groats
Their names if I durst tell![28]

Skelton's poem, besides applying pastoral metaphorically to Christianity, gives us valuable glimpses of the fate of the love-lay in Christian pastoral. One of the complaints of the people against the priests reported by Colin Clout was that they--the priests--had wives:

They cannot keep their wives
From them for their lives![29]

Skelton had such a "wife," although he apparently felt that the criticism of violations of priestly celibacy was a just one. There is a story about this relationship in the apocryphal Merrie Tales of Skelton, and even if not true it will suggest the mixed attitude toward chastity and love on the part of many priests, from Wolsey down to Skelton. After reprimanding his congregation for "complaining of me to the bishop that I do keep a fair wench in my house," he addresses his wife directly:

> "Thou wife," said Skelton, "that hast my child, be not afraid, bring hither my child to me": the which was done. And he, showing his child naked to all the parish, said, "How say you neighbors all?--is not

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[28] Ibid., 286.

[29] Ibid., 300.

> this child as fair as is the best of all
> yours: it is not like a pig, nor a calf,
> nor like no fowl nor no monstrous beast.
> If I had," said Skelton, "brought forth
> this child without arms or legs, or that
> it were deformed, being a monstrous thing,
> I would never have blamed you to have complained to the bishop of me: but to complain
> without a cause, I say, as I said before in
> my anthem, vos estis, you be, and have been,
> and will and shall be knaves, to complain of
> me without a cause reasonable!"[30]

Whatever the truth of such witty, earthy stories, Skelton was capable of mordant criticism of fleshly appetites. His description of the tapestries in Wolsey's Hampton Court was apparently intended to inspire contempt for the Cardinal's worldliness. It must be admitted, however, that Skelton seems rather interested in the pagan scene he is denouncing:

> Cloths of gold and palls,
> Arras of rich array,
> Fresh as flowers in May;
> With Dame Diana naked;
> How lusty Venus quaked,
> And how Cupid shaked
> His dart, and bent his bow
> . . . .
> And how Paris of Troy
> Danced a lege de moy,
> Made lusty sport and joy
> With dame Helen the queen.[31]

For Skelton, as for Barclay, religion and the flesh were opposites, but Skelton was by no means so confirmed an ascetic as Barclay.[32]

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[30] Ibid., x-xi.

[31] Ibid., 311.

[32] Although both were strong critics of the corruption of courts, Barclay and Skelton were bitter enemies. Barclay wrote Contra Skeltonum, which has been lost, and bitterly criticized Skelton in his eclogues. See Dr. Koelbing's essay "Barclay and Skelton," CHEL, Vol. III.

Skelton's contribution to the development of English pastoral was not limited to supplying the name of Colin Clout, later used by Spenser; it was his criticism of corruption in the church which appealed to the Protestant Spenser, and it puts Skelton in the main line of satirical and moral pastoral in England, which was predominantly Protestant. Mantuan, although a priest himself, provided Protestants with bolts to shoot against Rome, especially in his ninth eclogue, which was a strong attack on Roman corruption.

Finally, there is Skelton's metrical contribution. He wrote _Colin Clout_, like his other works, in his own "Skeltonic" meter. This was a definite break with the tradition of writing pastorals in hexameters or approximations thereof, and Skelton's vigorous rhythms, more Renaissance than medieval, foretell the smoother, more melodious, but free and lively octosyllabics characteristic of much pastoral of the 1590's.

After 1523, when Skelton's _Colin Clout_ was written, some thirty years elapsed before other such pastorals appeared. Tottel's miscellany of 1557 contained a number of poems which had pastoral touches, or employed pastoral names. These did not contribute much to Elizabethan pastoral, but they indicate that knowledge of pastoral and interest in it were already widespread.

From our point of view the most important poem in Tottel's compilation is "Harpelus Complaint." It is a monologue, and it belongs to that part of the tradition of the

love-lay which has to do with the plaints of rejected lovers. Harpelus is a descendant of Polyphemus, whose love was rejected, and of Corydon in the second eclogue of Virgil.

First the poet tells how Harpelus loved Phillida, who didn't love him but instead loved Corin, "who forced her not a pin." Harpelus, however, was not just a love-lorn shepherd. He was a lover in the tradition of courtly love, and he endured sufferings that would have put Troilus to shame:

> For he was farthest from her thought,
> And yet he loved her most,
> Therefore waxed he both pale and lean,
> And dry as clot of clay;
> His flesh it was consumed clean,
> His color gone away.
> His beard it had not long be shave,
> His hair hung all unkempt;
> A man most fit even for the grave,
> Whom spiteful love had spent.[33]

Here there is gentle satire of the tradition of courtly love. Later Harpelus compares his state to that of the animals of the field, finding that they are happier than he:

> The hart he feedeth by the hind,
> The buck hard by the doe;
> The turtle-dove is not unkind
> To him that loves her so;
> The ewe she hath by her the ram,
> The young cow hath the bull;
> The calf, with many a lusty lamb,
> Do feed their hunger full.
> But wellaway! that nature wrought
> Thee, Phillida, so fair;
> For I may say that I have bought
> Thy beauty all too dear.[34]

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[33] _Tottel's Miscellany_, ed. Hyder Rollins (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928(, I, 132-35.

[34] _Ibid._, 134.

This is the first of the love complaints in English, and its loveliness gives promise of what is to come. The lines are smoother than those of Henryson's wooing poem, and incomparably better than the ragged lines of Barclay. Here we begin to see metrical smoothness instead of irregularity, gayety and melody rather than limping didacticism, subtlety in the portrayal of mood rather than the downrightness of "Robene and Makyne" or Barclay's pile-driver approach.

One aim of any study of a "kind" of poetry which developed throughout the Elizabethan era should be to show the increasing skill of poets, the increasing beauty and insight of the poetry. Certainly here, and in other poems in the *Songes and Sonnettes* of Tottel, we begin to see increased skill. "Harpelus Complaint" is much better wrought than earlier pastorals--even than a charming piece like "Robene and Makyne." Like the poems of Wyatt, Surrey, and the others of the 1557 miscellany, it heralds the Elizabethan era.

The next poet after Barclay to write eclogues in English qualifies on more than merely chronological grounds as an Elizabethan. Barnabe Googe (1540-1594) is much less didactic in tone than Barclay, and his versification shows the beneficial influence of Wyatt, Surrey, and other preceding poets of the kind collected by Tottel. Googe introduces greater variety into the eclogue, which with Barclay had been restricted to the dialogue, or debate. Googe writes also in the monologue form, includes the love plaint, and introduces

the first sheperdess to appear in an English eclogue. His eight eclogues, in Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes (1563), are shorter than the poems of Barclay; they are, in fact, of about the same length as Virgil's Bucolics.[35] This shortness is accompanied by greater art, both metrical and rhetorical. Googe consciously employs certain rhetorical devices, and he partially replaces the didactic with the dramatic and narrative. With Googe we begin to move from sermonizing to what we may regard as centrally literary. Here again, as with "Harpelus Complaint," we see increasing skill and narrative power anticipating the high Elizabethan period.

Googe's poems, like Barclay's eclogues and Skelton's Colin Clout, are religious in tone. Written shortly after the Marian persecutions, they have a strong Protestant bent, and illustrate how the "bad shepherd" label attached by Catholic priests like Mantuan and Barclay to their own complacent or ill-behaved brethren, came to be attached for purposes of Protestant polemic to the Roman clergy in general. Numerous editions of Mantuan also served as fuel to anti-papist feeling in the succeeding Protestant era. This Christian, and especially Protestant, application of Renaissance pastoral made it very popular in Elizabethan England.

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[35] English Reprints ed. E. Arber (Birmingham, 1871), Vol. XIV.

Googe's first eclogue is a dialogue, the first in English to be devoted entirely to an attack on love. In this inverted love-lay the usual two shepherds, one old, one young, discuss love. For the first time in English pastoral there appears a warning against abnormal love. Barclay had preached against the love of woman, and Googe does that too. But he adds a new note. Old Amyntas advises young Daphnes also against "wycked love":

> I shall not nede (I thynke) to byd thee to detest the cryme
> Of wycked love that Jove did use, in Ganimedes tyme,
> For rather wolde I (thoo it be muche) that thou shuldest seake the fyre,
> That I have tolde, than burne with suche desyre.[36]

The "fyre" which is to be preferred is the love of women.

It should be recalled here that the second eclogue of Virgil, from which poems like this are ultimately derived, is a love poem dealing with the love of the shepherd Corydon for the lad Alexis. It is true that Virgil includes a line or two of advice that beauty is fleeting, but there is nothing like the didactic emphasis that is to be found in Barclay and Googe. In Googe's poem we find persons who correspond to Virgil's Corydon and Alexis; but Googe's old shepherd, rather than appeal for the youth's love, especially warns him against unnatural love. Here again Christian pastoral has reversed classical pastoral. By the time of Shakespeare and

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[36] Ibid., 35.

Barnfield, however, a second reversal had brought a return to the original direction, as in Virgil.

Googe's second eclogue is also of interest to us. The entire poem is a monologue of complaint, without a prologue. It is the closest approximation of Virgil's second eclogue yet to have appeared in English, and it suggests that Googe is returning to classical models, and especially to Virgil. Further, the poem is solely concerned with love: there is no didactic element in it. It is like the poems of Virgil or Theocritus also in that it is brief, and that like many classical idylls and eclogues it contains a refrain.

Googe could not simply write a pastoral love-plaint, abandoning didacticism completely. He brings back Dametas as a ghost in the fourth eclogue. Dametas utters the protest against love, the inverted love-lay, usually put in the mouth of an old shepherd.[37] In addition then to being the first to introduce the inverted love-lay in dialogue form, Googe was also the first to write a monologue of denunciation of love. Dametas laments the consequences of love:

> The fickle fadynge forme, and face,
> That ones so muche I sowght,
> Hath made me lose the Skyes above,
> And me to Hell hath browght.
> . . . .

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[37] Of this eclogue and the first C. S. Lewis says: "The eclogues (in fourteeners) conform to humanistic ideas of 'imitation' by introducing pederasty and a suicide for love, and to Christian morals by bringing back the suicide's ghost to tell us he is damned; *omne tulit punctum*. *English Lit.*, 259.

A Creature, cause of all my care,
A flesshye fletynge face,
A woman wave of Wretchednes,
A paterne pylde of pryde,
A Mate of Myschiefe and Distresse,
For whom (a Foole) I dyed.[38]

Here, in Eclogues Two and Four, we have the love-lay and the denunciation of love, the classical and the Renaissance pastoral, side by side. The eclogues of Googe mark a stage in the journey back from the didactic pastoral to the Theocritean style of love poem.

One other point about Googe's fourth eclogue is to our purpose. Here, for the first time, the pastoral monologue of complaint--really a denunciation of love in this case--is cast in the form popularized in the _Mirror for Magistrates_. The basic type of complaint in the _Mirror_ presented a ghost, usually the ghost of a prince or ruler who had "fallen." The ghost told of his sins and his sad fate. The theme was the vanity of earthly greatness and the fickleness of fortune. The implied criticism of ambition and courtly life related the _Mirror_ tradition to the pastoral doctrine of the value of the simple life. By the simple device of making the ghost a lover instead of a fallen prince, the two kinds of complaints could be combined. Googe was the first to put the pastoral denunciation of love into this form. In making the combination he foreshadows Edwards' _Narcissus_, Lodge's _Scyllaes Metamorphosis_, and Shakespeare's _Lucrece_.

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[38]_Eglogs_, ed. Arber, 45.

Googe's eclogues introduce still another important factor in the development of the amorous pastoral. His fifth and seventh are taken from the Diana (1559) of Montemayor. Diana and other pastoral romances, in part imitations of the Daphnis and Chloe of Longus, in part expanded eclogues, played a most important part in breaking down the didactic tradition of pastoral. Googe was the first English poet to reflect this influence.[39]

In selections from Montemayor Googe made another innovation: he presented the first shepherdess to appear in formal English pastoral.[40] Here, as in his introduction of the monologue of complaint and of material from the pastoral romance, he moves away from didacticism toward the love pastoral of the 1590's.

Perhaps the most important contribution of Googe, however, was his revival of the pastoral invitation, which had been forgotten by the Renaissance humanists. It is true that he inverts the invitation, making it an invitation to eschew the rites of Venus in favor of religion. Combining in a curious way the invitation with the dialogue of denunciation of love, he has his wise old shepherd issue a formal invitation to a young swain to quit "Cupidoes camp." Thus the

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[39]See T. P. Harrison, "Googe's Eglogs and Montemayor's Diana," Texas Studies in English, no. 5 (1925), 68-79. The same section of Diana is the source of Shakespeare's Two Gentlemen of Verona.

[40]Makyne counts as a heroine of the pastourelle.

motif that was to be of central importance in the amorous poetry of the 1590's, the pastoral invitation, first appears in a poem which is ascetic in tone.

In the sixth eclogue there is an invitation to abjure love in favor of the pastoral life. Felix tells how he overcame love, not reading any letters from his lady, not thinking of her, but

> busyed I my selfe in thyngs
> that myght me moste delyght,
> and sought the chiefest means I could,
> to help my weryed spright.
> Somtyme I wold behold the fyelds,
> and Hylles that thou doste se,
> Sometime I wold betraye the Byrds,
> That lyght on lymed tre . . . .[41]

He recounts a catalogue of pastoral activities, including fishing, hunting, and sleeping, till he had freed himself "from yoke of lovers lawe." His companion should free himself from love in the same way. Here the catalogue of pastoral delights which had been invented by Theocritus and expanded by Virgil becomes an antidote to love rather than an enticement.

The other invitation appears in the eighth eclogue. This is another invitation to renounce love, this time in favor of the worship of God. Googe, although strongly anti-papist, retains the attitude of Mantuan and Barclay: that love and religion are irreconcilable opposites. This opposition, springing from an ascetic church and the institution of

[41] Googe, ed. Arber, 54.

monasticism, was to persist in the pastoral until Spenser. A major aspect of the task of creating a new pastoral of love was the problem of reconciling religion and love. Spenser, in his Amoretti, was to effect this reconciliation.

Retired under a "pleasaunt brodeleaved Beech" Cornix holds forth to Coridon on the evils of love:

> Both place and tyme my Coridon
> exhorteth me to singe
> Not of the wretched Lovers lyves,
> but of the immortal kings,
> . . . .
>
> O Shephards leave Cupidoes Camp,
> the ende wherof is vyle,
> Remove Dame Venus from your eies
> and harken here a whyle.[42]

This vigorous rejection of Venus and Cupid shows how far Elizabethan pastoral had still to go to return to the Theocritean fount. Googe remains in the ascetic tradition, denying the Cyprian goddess, though in terms far less strong than had Mantuan and Barclay.

Related to Googe's asceticism was his fierce rejection, reminiscent of Skelton, of the figures of mythology. It was to be in large part the return of the poets to the fresh verdant world of Greek mythology that would make a new outpouring of love pastorals possible, but that movement was not to begin with Googe. In another passage in his eighth eclogue he contrasts the Heavenly King he praises with the Greek Zeus, utterly rejecting the latter:

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[42] Ibid., 62-63.

> Not he whom poets old have fayned,
> to lyve in heaven hye,
> Embracyng Boyes: (O fylthy thyng)
> in beastly Lecherye.
> . . . .
> Nor Venus she: (that wanton wench)
> that guyds the Shoter blynd.[43]

Here Googe returns to the theme of boy-love in his denunciation of Zeus. The first English writer of pastorals to note the importance of this theme in classical pastoral, he does not make any allowances for the high-minded sort of boy-love that Plato preached, nor for the possible allegorical interpretations of the story of Jove and Ganymede. There is no fooling Googe: he knows unnatural vice when he reads about it. Far from seeing in the myths poetic material, he introduces them only to denounce them. In his attitude toward classical myth Googe does not represent an advance over Barclay. In other respects--in his use of the monologue, of complaint and of the invitation--he stands some few steps on the way to the heights.

The last of the English predecessors of Spenser was George Turberville (1540?-1610?), whose translation, The Eglogs of B. Mantuan, appeared in 1567, four years after Googe's eclogues had appeared. Since Turberville's work was a translation of the eclogues of Mantuan which had first appeared in 1498, it brought no innovation. Two points concerning it are, however, of some importance. The first is

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[43] Ibid., 64-65.

that Turberville omitted the tenth eclogue. This eclogue, which favored the more conservative of two religious orders, was concerned with an old dispute and had nothing to do with the subsequent split between Protestantism and Catholicism. Nonetheless, in the new situation its ambiguous terminology might be interpreted as an appeal to return to the old church, just as Mantuan's ninth eclogue, denouncing priestly corruption, could now be read as Protestant polemic, although written by a priest. Turberville retained the poem which could be interpreted as anti-papist, dropped that which could be read as anti-Protestant. Thus Turberville's translation reinforced the tendency to make of Christian allegorical pastoral a Protestant weapon.[44] The effect of Turberville's translation was to reinforce--or at least to prolong--the didactic tradition in pastoral.

The second point is that Turberville prefaced his eclogues with lengthy introductory comments concerning the didactic and satiric intent of pastoral. There is no indication that he was aware of any other possible use of the kind.

Pre-Spenserian pastoral in England, with the exception of the early gay pastourelle by Henryson, and of "Harpelus Complaint," was, as we have seen, didactic, and dominated by religious allegory. Nonetheless, Googe had taken the first

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[44] See The Eglogs of Mantuan, ed. D. Bush; also John E. Hankins The Life and Works of George Turberville (Lawrence: The University of Kansas Press, 1940).

steps in the direction of replacing didacticism with narrative, the sermon with the love-lay. Furthermore, familiarity with classical and continental pastoral was essential if English pastoral poetry of the first rank were to be written. In this sense the pastorals of Barclay, Googe, and Turberville marked an advance over Henryson. They could not write verse like Henryson's "Robene and Makyne," but they knew that if Englishmen were to write great verse they must learn by imitation of the classics, rather than by simply extending the medieval tradition.

By the time of Spenser these early writers of pastoral had established a tradition of imitation; they had introduced bits of classical and continental pastoral; they had established the dogma that the young poet must begin by writing pastoral. The love-pastoral of the 1590's, profuse in its flowering, grew from such roots.

CHAPTER III

THE AMOROUS STRAIN IN SPENSER AND SIDNEY

Edmund Spenser is the best link between the didactic poets--Barclay, Googe, and Turberville--and the amorous poets of the 1590's. Spenser reveals in his poetry the movement, reversing the development from Theocritus to Barclay, from the didactic to the amorous. The Shepheardes Calender recapitulates the development of pastoral, embracing the various types that have been discussed. Googe had introduced the monologue of complaint, beginning a break with the didactic tradition. Spenser chooses plaintive eclogues for "January" and "December," the frames of his series, setting the tone of the whole. But in addition to the monologues of complaint, he writes didactic dialogues, theological debates, a panegyric, and a dirge. He re-introduces the theme of boy-love without the denunciations of Googe, he makes use of the invitation to love, and he concerns himself with the state of poetry. Virtually all phases of pastoral, classical and Renaissance, are touched on. In his work can be found the key to much of the later development.

In his "January," a monologue of complaint, Spenser makes several advances over Googe. Whereas Googe had plunged abruptly into his theme, Spenser begins with an introductory passage, as Virgil had in his second eclogue. Having brought his shepherd out on a wintry morning that mirrors the swain's own state, Spenser has him voice his complaint. Unlike Googe's second eclogue, however, this complaint has varied subject matter. A story is suggested, a wooing with pastoral gifts is mentioned, and reference is made to Hobbinol's love for Colin. Further, the poem makes a great advance over Spenser's predecessors in mastery of rhetoric and diction.

In "January" Spenser introduces for the first time in English poetry the motif of the invitation to love, complete with pastoral gifts. Googe had made use of the invitation, but it was only to invite shepherds to eschew love. Not only does Spenser introduce the invitation to love, he presents it in the form of a triangle. Hobbinol woos Colin, and Colin in turn woos Rosalind. Here we have the curious triangle, involving love between two shepherds and between a shepherd and a shepherdess, for which there is perhaps just a hint in Virgil's tenth eclogue, in which the poet had lamented his friend's ill success in love. Another hint, perhaps, can be found in Virgil's second eclogue. In it Alexis, loved by Coridon, is his master's darling. Spenser, who alludes in "January" to the second eclogue, perhaps had Virgil's

homosexual triangle in mind. But he has placed a shepherdess at one corner of the triangle. In presenting the invitation to love in this form Spenser foreshadows the much more complex triangular relationships in the poems of Barnfield and Shakespeare.

The poem of course is basically a complaint, so the invitation motif has to be brought in by indirection: Colin is lamenting not for Hobbinol who loves him, but for Rosalind who rejects his wooing:

> It is not Hobbinol wherefore I plaine,
> Albee my love he seeke with dayly suit:
> His clownish gifts and curtsies I disdaine,
> His kiddes, his cracknelles, and his early
> fruit.
> Ah, foolish Hobbinol! thy gyfts bene vayne;
> Colin them gives to Rosalind agayne. (ll. 55-60)

It is to be noted that Hobbinol is seeking Colin's love. There is a significant change here from the eclogues of Googe, who had introduced boy-love only to denounce it in the strongest terms. In the early eclogues of the century there had been no question of love relationships between shepherds. The relationships portrayed in those eclogues in which two shepherds appeared were didactic. The old shepherd felt it to be his duty to warn his young friend of the evils of worldly things, and especially of the evils of woman. The second eclogue of Virgil had been interpreted as such a didactic poem, and the Renaissance humanists felt that they were following him. But here it is a question of love between Hobbinol and Colin. Hobbinol woos as Coridon had wooed

Alexis, bringing pastoral gifts. Spenser is the first writer of English pastoral to imply a love relationship, or a kind of wooing, which approaches the spirit of Virgil's "Alexis."

The use of the word "love" to describe a relationship between two male friends seems very strange to us, as does the wooing of Colin by Hobbinol. We must be careful at the outset, however, to avoid concluding that Spenser has reference to relationships of boy-love like those in Alexandrian pastoral. It will become increasingly clear as we proceed that the "love" involved is somewhere between the modern meaning of friendship, and the modern meaning of homosexuality. Or perhaps the issue is confused by mentioning modern attitudes at all. What must be grasped is that there was a relationship between men in Elizabethan England which was different from any relationship now existing. It has been called "sentimentale Freundschaft" by a perceptive German critic.[1] In connection with the problem of defining this relationship, of great importance for our understanding of Shakespeare among others, the gloss of Spenser's commentator E. K. is of very great interest. Curiously enough, E. K.'s rather lengthy explanation of the relationship between Colin and Hobbinol has hardly been touched upon in the voluminous

[1]Hans Kliem, _Sentimentale Freundschaft in der Shakespeare-Epoche_ (Jena, 1915).

production of Spenser criticism. The Variorum has literally nothing to say of substance. References are simply given for the classical allusions in the gloss.

E. K. was apparently a little worried over possible suspicion of Spenser based on the "wooing" of Colin by Hobbinol. Noting that Colin represents the author, and that Hobbinol is a person extraordinarily beloved by the author, he comments:

> In this place seemeth to be some savour of disorderly love, which the learned call paederastice: but it is gathered beside his meaning. For who that hath read Plato his dialogue called Alcybiades, Xenophon, and Maximum Tyrius, of Socrates' opinions, may easily perceive that such love is muche to be alowed and liked of, specially so meant as Socrates used it: Who sayth, that indeede he loved Alcybiades extremely, Yet not Alcybiades person, but hys soule, which is Alcybiades owne selfe. And so is paederastice much to be preferred before gynerastice, that is, the love whiche enflameth men with lust toward womankind. But yet let no man thinke, that herein I stand with Lucian, or his develish disciple Unice Aretino, in defence of execrable and horrible sinnes of forbidden and unlawful fleshlinesse. Whose abominable errour is fully confuted of Perionius, and others.[2]

E. K. thus expends considerable effort to defend Spenser. Considering the attitude expressed by Googe sixteen years before, in 1563, toward 'fylthy love' between Jove and Ganymede, Spenser's eclogue represents a rather daring attempt to grasp the essence of Virgil's "Alexis."

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[2]Quoted from the Gloss to "January." W. L. Renwick suggests for the references: Plato, Alcibiades, I, 131; Xenophen, Symposium, viii; Maximum Tyrius, Dissertationes, viii-xi.

This matter of the wooing of Colin by Hobbinol is worth lingering over, for it is of great importance in relation to some of the outstanding figures of Elizabethan literature, to Shakespeare, Marlowe, and Milton, as well as Spenser. The reputation of each of these writers has had to be defended against charges of "disorderly love" or homosexuality, both in their own times and since. With them are lesser writers like Drummond, Richard Barnfield, and Phineas Fletcher. The defense, however, has been piecemeal, and often has not been based on an understanding of the classical basis for the passages which have given rise to these charges, whether in Spenser's poems, Marlowe's plays and *Hero and Leander*, or Shakespeare's *Sonnets*.

C. S. Lewis says of E. K.'s gloss: "Note in 'January' the suggestion of pederasty advanced to show that we are classical, and withdrawn in the gloss to show that we are Christians."[3] But the gloss does not withdraw the suggestion of pederasty. E. K. carefully distinguishes between two kinds of relationships, each of which he calls pederasty, and one of which he accepts. The second he denounces as "unlawful fleshlinesse" (which was punished by the death sentence when E. K. wrote this).[4]

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[3]C. S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford, 1954), p. 361.

[4]See Tom Cullen, "Homosexuality and British Opinion," *New Republic* (April 5, 1955), pp. 13-15.

E. K. outright rejects "gynerastice, that is the love which enflameth men with lust toward womankind."[5] He gives the word "paederastice", as has been said, two meanings. One is "unlawful fleshliness"; the other is love of the soul. To us it seems strange to call love of a man's soul pederasty --or "paederastice"--yet that is what E. K. does. This type of "paederastice" is exemplified by Plato's love of Alcibiades, which was--E. K. says--a love of the soul. This kind of love, he says, is much to be approved.

E. K. seems unaware that the bottom rung of the Platonic ladder was love of a beautiful male body. Further, in his rejection of "gynerastice" he does not suggest the alternative of Dante or the neo-Platonists of an idealized love of woman free from lust, or the later solution of Spenser himself (in the _Amoretti_) of reconciliation of flesh and spirit in virtuous love of woman. What E. K. describes as "paederastice" to be "liked of," is a relationship neither Platonic nor neo-Platonic. Love of woman equals lust of the flesh; love of man equals love of the soul. The result is a kind of English Christian "paederastice" clearly marked off from classical and Renaissance attitudes which superficially resembled it.

The story of Colin, Hobbinol, and Rosalind is continued in the June and December plaintive eclogues, and in the

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[5]The word "gynerastice" is a curious one--it does not appear in the N.E.D. at all. If it were spelled gynerastic it would qualify as an adjective, but it is used as a noun. The case is the same with E. K.'s companion word "paederastice."

settings to April and November. The plaintive element, much stronger than in Googe, thus sets the tone for the Calender as a whole. The setting for April presents the point of view of Hobbinol in a dialogue between Thenot and Hobbinol. Hobbinol is sad, and when Thenot asks what is troubling him he tells of his love for Colin:

> Nor thys nor that, so muche doeth make
>   me mourne,
> But for the ladde, whome long I lovd so
>   deare,
> Nowe loves a lasse, that all his love
>   doth scorne:
> He plongd in payne, his tressed locks
>   dooth teare.
>
> Shepheards delights he dooth them all
>   forsweare,
> His pleasaunt Pipe, whych made us meriment,
> He wylfully hath broke, and doth forbeare,
> His wonted songs, wherein he all outwent
>
> . . . .
>
> Whilome on him was all my care and joye,
> Forcing with gyfts to winne his wanton
>   heart. (ll. 9-24)

In these verses the elements of complaint and invitation in the love-lay are united. The invitation motif appears in Hobbinol's reference to his attempt to win Colin's heart with gifts. Basically, however, the passage is plaintive, and is related to the lament of Virgil's Corydon, bereft of the love of Alexis. Again Spenser introduces the idea of love between two shepherds.

Spenser continues the Colin-Hobbinol story in the "June" Eclogue, and here the resemblance to Virgil's second eclogue

is even greater. In form "June" is a dialogue, and it combines the invitation and the complaint. Hobbinol invites Colin, but Colin complains over the failure of his love-affair with Rosalind. Hobbinol speaks first:

> Lo Collin, here the place, whose pleasaunt
>   syte
> From other shades hath weaned my wandring
>   mynde.
> Tell me, what wants me here, to worke
>   delyte?
> The simple ayre, the gentle warbling wynde,
> So calme, so coole, as no where else I fynde:
> The grassye ground with daintye Daysies
>   dight,
> The bramble bush, where Byrds of every kynde
> To the waters fall their tunes attemper
>   right. (ll. 1-8)

Here at last is a full-fledged invitation with a catalogue of delights, addressed by one shepherd to another. Colin replies by comparing Hobbinol's happy state with that of Adam before the Fall, but adds that such happiness is not for him:

> O happy Hobbinol, I blesse thy state,
> That Paradise hast found whych Adam lost.
> Here wander may thy flock early or late,
> Withouten dread of Wolves to bene ytost:
> Thy lovely layes here mayst thou freely
>   boste. (ll. 9-13)

The comparison of the carefree pastoral state with the earthly paradise is a natural outgrowth of the Christian application of pastoral, and foreshadows Milton's pastoral presentation of paradise in Paradise Lost. It was possible for pastoral to compare the troubled life of civilized man with the pastoral ideal in two ways: his state could be

compared with that of people living a retired contemplative life in his own period, or it could be compared with the happy state of man in a golden age of simplicity presumed to have preceded civilization.[6] The Garden of Eden was one version of the story of the golden age of primal simplicity. Colin's statement works in a double way. His own care-full life is contrasted to Hobbinol's happy pastoral existence, and Hobbinol's happy state is compared with the state of Adam in the garden. Thus Christianity and two modes of pastoral perspective are united in the one passage.

Colin however is too sad and wise for such joys. Hobbinol replies with another invitation, extending the list of pastoral delights to include the favor of the Muses. This leads the melancholy Colin to thoughts of poetry, and he tells that when Rosalind was kind to him,

> Tho couth I sing of love, and tune my pype
> Unto my plaintive please in verses made:
> Tho would I seeke for Queene apples unrype,
> To give my Rosalind, and in Sommer shade
> Dight gaudy Girlonds, was my comen trade,
> To crowne her golden locks, but yeeres
> more rype,
> And losse of her, whose love as lyfe I
> wayd,
> Those weary wanton toyes away did wype.
> (ll. 41-48)

Colin goes on to discuss his destiny as a poet, and at the close of the "June" eclogue Hobbinol joins in bemoaning his friend's fate. Here the shepherd-poet becomes shepherd-

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[6]See Hallett Smith, Elizabethan Poetry, p. 14.

poet-lover. Spenser utilizes the pastoral disguise to discuss his role as a poet; the Elizabethans, like the ancients, valued the pastoral as the poetry of poets.

In the November Eclogue the Colin story enters again briefly. Thenot invites Colin to sing:

> Whether thee list thy loved lasse advaunce,
> Or honor Pan with hymnes of higher vaine.
> (ll. 8-9)

But Colin is still bathed in sorrow; besides, the time of year is not fit. Colin, however, will sing a dirge, and the body of the eclogue is made up of a lament for Dido--a great personage whose identity has eluded scholars seeking personal allegories.

The "December" eclogue concludes the story of Colin. Like the year, the shepherd is now moving toward death. He rehearses the story of his life, comparing it to the four seasons. The eclogue is related to the literature of retraction and renunciation, and the poem, formally like the monologue of complaint in "January," is really an inversion of the love-lay, with Colin cast in the role of the old shepherd. However, his comparison of man's life to the seasons lends to the piece, and to the whole calendar, a kind of objectivity. Colin is not an old shepherd like the Cornix of Barclay, bitterly denouncing love. The seasons are equated, and one is left with the feeling that to burn with love in youth is as inevitable as to renounce love in

old age. One does not have the feeling that this is simply the poet Spenser moralizing. The young poet has his old shepherd speak as the voice of eternal reason or wisdom, reconciling all things in the roll of seasons and the passing of life. The same suggestion is to be found in the concluding remark that he has made a calendar for every year.

The same atmosphere of objectivity is to be found in another of Spenser's eclogues. In "February" there is an example of the dialogue about love. As in Barclay there are two shepherds, one old, one young. But Spenser makes a great advance in poetic art over Barclay, and over Googe, whose first and eighth eclogues are similar to this one. Spenser has his old shepherd denounce love, but the young shepherd of "February" does not meekly acquiesce. He replies vigorously to old Thenot's comments on his behavior, suggesting that if Thenot were young and able he too would act like a young man:

> But were thy yeares greene, as now
> bene myne,
> To other delights they would encline.
> Thou wouldest thou learne to caroll of
> Love,
> And hery with hymnes thy lasses glove.
> Tho wouldest thou pype of Phyllis prayse:
> But Phyllis is myne for many dayes:
> I wonne her with a gyrdle of gelt,
> Embost with buegle about the belt.
> Such an one shepeheards woulde make
> full faine:
> Such an one would make thee younge
> againe. (ll. 59-68)

The didactic eclogue of Barclay has given place to a true debate. The result is that the poet again attains "distance;" the reader is presented with a scene in which age and youth are set in opposition. The poet seems to be suggesting that young shepherds will always burn with love, and that old shepherds will always reprove them. The poet draws no moral or conclusion. The world is like this. The Calender is for every year.

The impartiality of the poet places the Shepheardes Calender at mid-point between didactic pastoral and amorous pastoral. In Barclay the young shepherd was a mere straw man for the graybeard to preach at. In Spenser he is an equal who has an answer for each argument of the sage. In the amorous poetry of the 1590's love and the young shepherds were to have almost everything their own way.

The ability of pastoral to deal with basic questions of human life--like the contrast between youth and age--is one of the qualities which helps explain its vitality and popularity. Pastoral was well fitted to such handling of antitheses. The contrast between country and city, between the country home and the court, between the contemplative life and the active life could all be handled in this form. The opposition between Christianity and Paganism, or between Prostantism and Catholicism, could be cast in the form of pastoral debate. The question of "crabbed age and youth" makes one of this series.

Points of interest to us may be found in several other of Spenser's eclogues. In "April" there is found an early example of the use of the pastoral for the glorification of the queen. Elizabethan pastoral received a very great impetus from the fact that England was ruled by a virgin queen. Pastoral had been used for purposes of panegyric from the time of Theocritus. The later Roman pastoralists had combined the approach of the Messianic eclogue with praise of a living ruler. Elizabethans added motifs and ideas from the invitation tradition and from the Petrarchan tradition. Elizabeth could be the recipient of pastoral gifts, and she was a pure love-object, like Dante's Beatrice, or Petrarch's Laura. "Eliza" was the queen of shepherds all.

Spenser's poem, "the finest and most elaborate blazon in all English pastoral poetry . . .", was an early example of the use of pastoral to praise Elizabeth.[7] In the decades to follow, pastoral speeches and entertainments at the royal "progresses" were to utilize the same methods. Pastoral, adaptable to the creation of little scenes with one or more characters, was highly suitable for this type of flattery of royalty. Here again is evidence of the versatility of the genre and an added reason for its great importance in the 1580's and 1590's.[8]

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[7] Smith, Elizabethan Poetry, p. 26.

[8] See Elkin C. Wilson's England's Eliza (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939), chap. IV. Wilson's study might well be supplemented by one tracing the development of this 'kind' from its classical sources.

Spenser's "October" also was important in the development of Elizabethan amorous pastoral. It is a poem in which the values of poetry are debated; it falls in the tradition of the pastoral poem about poetry which, together with the tradition that every poet should begin by writing pastoral, helped to insure the popularity of pastoral among the poets, and to guarantee that much pastoral would be written. Further, the discussion of poetry is related to problems of love. Polyphemus had cured himself with song. Piers and Cuddie debate whether it is love that makes Colin sing well.

Speaking of the possibility of great poetry, Cuddie says:

> For Colin fittes such famous flight to
> scanne:
> He, were he not with love so ill bedight,
> Would mount as high, and sing as soote as
> Swanne. (ll. 88-90)

Piers replies that it is precisely love that makes Colin succeed as a poet:

> Ah fon, for love does teach him climbe
> so hie,
> And lyftes him up out of the loathsome
> myre:
> Such immortall mirrhor, as he doth admire,
> And cause a caytive corage to aspire,
> For lofty love doth loath a lowly eye. (ll. 91-96)

Cuddie disagrees:

> All otherwise the state of Poet stands,
> For lordly love is such a Tyranne fell:
> That where he rules, all power he doth
> expell.

> The vaunted verse a vacant head demaundes,
> Ne wont with crabbed care the Muses dwell.
> Unwisely weaves, that takes two webbes in
> hand. (ll. 97-102)

Cuddie favors wine as an inspirer of the Muse:

> Who ever casts to compasse weightye prise,
> And thinks to throwe out thondring words
> of threate:
> Let powre in lavish cups . . . . (ll. 103-105)

The year of the publication of the Calender, 1579, has long been regarded as the date of the advent of the new poetry. The fact that the new poetry first appeared as pastoral reinforced the traditional teaching that poets should begin with pastoral. Spenser's success gave aspiring poets a model, and showed the way to equal the best poets, ancient and modern.

The Calender marked another turning point in English poetry and in the pastoral. Breaking with the tradition that pastorals should be written in hexameters or an approximation thereof, Spenser used a wide variety of meters, modelled especially on the work of the French poets of the Pleiade. The Calender demonstrated mature, self-confident metrical performance. Metrically, as well as rhetorically and artistically, English pastoral--English poetry--had come of age.

An almost equally important contribution to the development of Elizabethan amorous pastoral was made by Spenser's friend, patron, and fellow poet, Sir Philip Sidney (1554-1586). He sang the praises of Stella, fiercest shepherdess,

combining pastoral and Petrarchan strains. In so doing he added new delicacy and lightness of touch to plaintive pastoral. His Stella was a shepherdess of irreproachable virtue--at that time, at any rate--and married to another; so his tone is always complaint, never sensousness and fulfillment. Like Spenser, therefore, Sidney stands between the didactic poets and the ardent pastoralists of the 1590's. His is the artful poetry of complaint.

Sidney's pastorals are farther removed from classical models than are Spenser's. The Shepheardes Calender was needed to give a self-conscious stiffening to English poetry, to prove that English poets could write as well as the Italians and French had been writing, even as well as the ancients. But once the Calender had been written, English poets could be freer, more self-confident. This self-confidence and easy artfulness begins to make itself felt in the 1580's, and Sidney's poetry exemplifies it. The determination and solemnity--one might almost say grimness--of the young Spenser gives way to ease, grace, and whimsy.

Sidney's Lady of May (1578) preceded the Shepheardes Calender by a year; in it we find the first invitation cast in the form of a singing match to appear in English.[9] A shepherd and a forester compete for a shepherdess, and the

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[9]Calpurnius and Nemesian had developed the type of pastoral in which two shepherds or a shepherd and a forester are rivals for the hand of a shepherdess. Merritt Y. Hughes has discussed the conventions of the type in Virgil and Spenser (Berkeley, 1929), pt. 1. There were many continental versions, both French and Italian--so Sidney did not necessarily draw on classical sources.

queen decides between them. This little drama combining the invitation motif with the panegyric is another instance of the use of pastoral to praise the queen. The adaptability of pastoral to such little scenes led poets to use it in the various entertainments they prepared for the queen's progresses.

Among the eclogues in the <u>Arcadia</u> and the long poems appended to the Astrophel and Stella series there are many complaints and invitations to love. Sidney was the first to write a pastoral invitation addressed to a shepherdess, and the first Elizabethan to write a dialogue of invitation--or seduction--like Theocritus' twenty-seventh idyll. The eighth sonnet--not a true sonnet, but a longer poem--of the Astrophel and Stella series, is a monologue of invitation, placed in a semi-pastoral frame. Here the invitation to love becomes a gentle attempt at seduction; the lovely language suggests many a poem of the next two decades:

> In a grove most rich of shade;
> Where birds wanton Musicke made:
> Maie then young his pide weeds shewing,
> New perfumes with flowrs growing
>
> Astrophel with Stella sweete,
> Did for mutual comfort meete:
> Both within themselves oppressed,
> But either in each other blessed.

After the scene has been set the lover begins his appeal:

> Stella, Sovereigne of my joy,
> Fair triumphres in annoy:
> Stella, Starre of heavenly fire,
> Stella, loadstarre of desire.

After nine quatrains of whimsical rhetoric the wooer tries more direct means:

> There his hands (in their speach) faine
> Would have made tongues language plaine:
> But her hands his hands compelling,
> Gave repulse, all grace expelling.
>
> Therewithall, away she went,
> Leaving him with passion rent,
> With what she had done and spoken,
> That therewith my song is broken.[10]

In the Defense of Poetrie (c. 1580) Sidney ascribed to pastoral strictly moral and didactic purposes. This was perhaps inevitable since he was defending poetry against Gosson's charges of wantonness. Sidney's words are of interest as indicating the critical opinion of pastoral at the beginning of the 1580's, shortly after the publication of the Shepheardes Calender:

> Is it then the Pastorall Poem which is misliked? (for perchance, where the hedge is lowest, they will soonest leape over.) Is the poore pype disdained, which sometime out of Melibeus mouth, can shewe the miserie of people, under hard Lords, or ravening Souldiers? And again, by Titirus, what blessedness is derived to them that lye lowest from the goodnesse of them that sit highest? Sometimes, under the prettie tales of Wolves and Sheepe, can include the whole considerations of wrong dooing and patience.[11]

This defence regards pastoral wholly as allegorical or didactic. Yet Sidney's pastorals of the Astrophel and Stella

[10] The Eighth Sonnet of the series appended to Astrophel and Stella, Works, ed. A. Feuillerat (Cambridge, 1922), II, 294-296.

[11] An Apology for Poetrie (1595), ed. E. Arber (1868), p. 43.

series, written perhaps two years later, are love pastorals, lacking both didacticism and the humorlessness of Spenser. The one of these which has the strongest pastoral tone is a monologue of complaint. This, the ninth of the "sonnets" appended to Astrophel and Stella, has been well described by Professor Hallett Smith:

> Sidney's characteristic touch and his skill in conveying a mood by indirection are best exemplified in No. 5, called "Astrophell the Sheep-heard, his complaint to his flocke." It begins in the usual mood of the forlorn shepherd, telling his merry flocks to go elsewhere to feed so they may have some defense from the storms in his breast and the showers from his eyes. The poet leaves us uncertain how to interpret this extravagant feeling until the shepherd states to the sheep the extent of his love, in terms the sheep could understand:
>
> Stella, hath refused me,
> Stella, who more love hath proved
> In this caitiffe hart to be,
> Then can in good eawes be moved
> Towards Lambkins best beloved.
>
> Sidney is pushing homely pathos to the point at which it is felt as humor also, and the comic tone is underlined two stanzas later:
>
> Is that love? Forsooth I trow,
> If I saw my good dogge greeved:
> And a helpe for him did know,
> my love should not be beleeved:
> but he were by me releeved.
>
> Finally, at the conclusion, the identification of the shepherd's emotions with his pastoral environment, a stock feature of the mode, is used for comic purposes. The complaints of the shepherd-lover are whimsically identified with the bleatings of his sheep.[12]

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[12] Hallett Smith, Elizabethan Poetry (Harvard University Press, 1952), 21-22.

Sidney writes love pastorals which are artful, and are based on the classical tradition without the restrictions of the formal eclogue. This was to be the course to be followed by other Elizabethans who wrote amorous pastorals. Sidney was the first to write avowed love pastorals in such new, relaxed, artful moods.

In about 1580 Sidney had also written his Arcadia, the first and greatest of the English pastoral romances.[13] A prose work with eclogues and pastoral lyrics interwoven, in the manner introduced by Boccaccio in his Ameto and followed by Sannazaro and Montemayor, the Arcadia brought a new strand of pastoral influence into English poetry. The continental poets, following the lead of Italy, had developed pastoral dramas and pastoral romances from the expanded eclogue. Pastoral had been of course a protean literary genre from its inception, combining narrative, descriptive and dramatic elements; but in the classical period these elements were restrained within the form of the eclogue. Beginning, however, with the Ameto (c. 1341), the genre began to proliferate in every direction.

In England the line of development was fairly clear until the 1580's. The only stream was that of the eclogue tradition, springing from imitation of the classical eclogues

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[13]The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia, 1590, with the continuation printed in 1593 from an unrevised manuscript, ed. A. Feuillerat, Works, Vols. I and II (1922).

youth impatiently rejects his advice.[15] The Arcadia as a whole played a great part in the popularization of pastoral ideas, motifs and conventions. It gave to poets and readers a golden world which could be conjured up at will for comparison with the "brazen" world of reality. Further, like all pastoral romances, it was concerned with love. The pastoral romance had followed a path of development very different from that of Renaissance eclogue. The romances were stories of love, of the crossings of love, of the complaints of shepherds and shepherdesses. The introduction of this strand of pastoral lent a strong impetus to the development of a lighter pastoral, free of didacticism, and it contributed to the development of amorous pastoral.

Sidney's Arcadia is of great interest in another respect. It added to the arsenal of philosophical concepts at the disposal of the poet working in the pastoral genre. The Arcadia was a chilvalric as well as a pastoral romance. In it we find the contrast between the chilvalric world of knights and the humble, contented world of shepherds. For Elizabethans pastoral was a serious matter, far different from the decadent pastoral of the 1800's. For them it had a serious central core of meaning, which Hallett Smith has

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[15]The ultimate source of such debates is perhaps the tenth idyll of Theocritus. However, the Elizabethans (at least until the 1590's) interpreted Virgil's second eclogue as didactic in intent. It can therefore be regarded as another source. Mantuan was of course the immediate source.

ably elucidated in his discussion of 'otium,' of the contented mind and mean estate as the pastoral ideal.

The contemplative life was not the only road to salvation; the heroic life was another, ending perhaps in contemplative peace after the achievement of a goal. The Elizabethan poets delighted in posing these antitheses, and in illuminating the mystery of existence by them. Sidney juxtaposes the world of chivalry and the world of pastoral, and Spenser does the same thing in Book VI of the *Faerie Queene* when he has Calidore loiter among the shepherds.[16]

Sidney's *Arcadia* circulated in manuscript and was imitated in other pastoral romances--Greene's *Menaphon* (1589) and Lodge's *Rosalind* (1590).[17] The influence of the book was heightened by the personal influence of Sidney. He had been much admired in life, and his death of a wound incurred while fighting for the Protestant cause at Zutphen led to a near-deification as the ideal courtier, warrior, scholar, knight, and above all, poet. His love for Stella, his role as the writer of the *Arcadia*, and his heroic death combined to make of him a model for fellow poets. Pastoral elegies were written in memory of him, and his pastoral

[16]See T. P. Harrison, "The Relations of Sidney and Spenser," *PMLA*, XLV (1930), 720; note the organization of Hallett Smith's book, beginning with pastoral, and ending with heroic poetry. For extended discussion of the heroic-pastoral antithesis see Empson's *English Pastoral Poetry*.

[17]Rosalind of course was the source of Shakespeare's *As You Like It*.

names--Philisides and Astrophel--were woven into the poetry of the late 1580's and the 1590's. The result was a strong reinforcement of the concept of a freemasonry of poets, and --because of his love story and his sonnets--of the amorous element in pastoral.

Sidney's sister, the Countess of Pembroke, to whom the Arcadia had been dedicated, and who was a patroness of poets, cherished her brother's memory. To take a place in the literary life of the next decade one needed to eulogize Sidney and write pastorals.

By his success in creating pastorals similar to those of the ancients Edmund Spenser had raised English poetry to the first rank. Sidney, the conspicuous embodiment of an ideal, by drawing on the other great stream of Renaissance pastoral, the pastoral romance, made the movement to write pastorals irresistible. There had been strong precedent since the time of Virgil for young poets to begin with pastoral. The success and reputation of Sidney and Spenser made the practice, in England, an absolute law.

CHAPTER IV

THE 1580'S: FIRST NOTES IN THE AMOROUS CHORUS

Many poets were uttering sweet sobs and amorous complaints in the 1580's. It was a decade in which the advances of Spenser and Sidney in rhetoric, versification, and tone were absorbed and spread. By 1589 Thomas Nashe was able to say that even if Spenser were gone,

> . . . there are extant about London many most able men to revive poetry, though it were executed tenne thousand times as in Platoes, so in Puritans Commonwealth; as, namely, for example, Mathew Roydon, Thomas Achlow, and George Peele.[1]

Thomas Watson was one of these new poets. Watson's Hekatompathia, or Passionate Century of Love (1582), was perhaps more passionate in title than in content, but his elaborately rhetorical eighteen-line "sonnets" were concerned with love, and his title contributed to the not unimportant vogue of the words "passionate" and "affectionate" in the titles of pastorals of the next two decades. His series, basically Petrarchan, includes something of the didactic tradition of pastoral, for the final poems bid farewell

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[1]Nashe, Works, ed. McKerrow, III, 323.

to love in the manner of a wise old shepherd.[2]

Watson's poems, which were highly regarded in their time and deserve much more attention than they usually receive today, are annotated, like the Shepheardes Calender, with scholarly comment. Here again is revealed the purposeful, self-confident striving to place English poetry on a plane with the best classical and continental models. English poets especially revered Virgil as a learned poet. They aimed to be learned poets, too, and to fly as high as any. Watson's poems, for example, are furnished, like the Shepheardes Calender, with a commentary which names the classical and continental models for each of his sonnets. One great difference between English poetry after 1579 and that of the earlier part of the century is to be found in this conscious effort, begun by Spenser, to place England in the forefront, to equal all rivals. With this effort came the skill to make such competition possible.

Watson also contributed directly, and heavily, to the growing interest in amatory pastoral. His Amyntas (1585), was a free Latin version of Tasso's Aminta.[3] The influence of pastoral drama, like that of pastoral romance, was toward

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[2]Thomas Watson, Poems, ed. Edward Arber, English Reprints, No. 21 (London, 1870).

[3]See W. W. Greg, "English Versions of Watson's Latin Poems," MLQ, VI (1905), 125-129. The translation from Italian into Latin illustrates Watson's scholarly achievements and aims. He also translated the Antigone of Sophocles from Greek into Latin. Since he knew Greek well, he probably had read Theocritus.

freedom from didacticism. Pastoral drama was necessarily more concerned with pastoral as romantic plot complication than as didactic lecture. Watson's work was much admired, and exerted a considerable influence on the developing amorous pastoral, both in its own right and in translations.

Thomas Blenerhasset's Revelation of the True Minerva (1582) was certainly not an amorous work, but it contributed to the "half-worship of Elizabeth and the success of England under her rule that gave conviction to the whole set of ideas."[4] Blenerhasset combines on a large canvas the motifs of the love-lay, the Messianic eclogue, and the panegyric. He sets all the gods of Olympus searching for a new Minerva to restore justice to the world. With the help of shepherds they find her in Elizabeth; and gods, shepherds, nymphs, nine worthies, and seven sages all settle down in England to live with Elizabeth:

> Rejoice you gods to sing we will not cease,
> Nowe we have founde
> The chiefest place of rest and quiet peace
> upon the grounde.
> For we shall sit even by her seemly side,
> Whose mightie mase the golden world doth
>   gide:
> so worthie a queene
> was never seene,
> Whose heavenly state shall never slide.[5]

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[4]Empson, English Pastoral Poetry, p. 34. The Revelation has been edited by Josephine W. Bennett (New York: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1942).

[5]Sig. C4^v.

The gods and nymphs present Elizabeth with a catalogue of pastoral gifts:

> The pretie pincke, the goodly Mariegolde,
> Muske Roses mixt with seemely sops in wine,
> Sweete Violets, of colours manifolde,
> The gentle Gylly flower florisht fine,
> Rosemary tide unto a little time,
> With Basell, Balme, Isope, sweet Margerie,
> These were intrayled with branche of
> Rasper tree.[6]

Here one of the motifs of the invitation is used, as in Spenser's April Eclogue, to glorify the queen.[7]

Blenerhasset used many of the new metrical patterns which Spenser had learned primarily from the poets of the Pleiade. There are some twenty forms of stanza in the *Revelation*. His use of classical meters gives added evidence of the influence of Spenser and Sidney.[8] Again, as in the Shepheardes Calender, the writing of pastoral is accompanied by a self-conscious effort to raise English poetry to the first rank.

Almost contemporary with the *Revelation* was Peele's *Arraignment of Paris* (1584), another work that contained imitations of the *Shepheardes Calender* and that united the

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[6] Sig. E1r.

[7] Virgil had expanded the pastoral catalogue in his second eclogue, drawing on two or three lines in the eleventh idyll of Theocritus; Spenser elaborated on Virgil.

[8] See Mrs. Bennett's introduction to the *Revelation*; and R. B. McKerrow's "The Use of So-called Classical Metres in Elizabethan Verse," *MLQ*, (London) I (1901), 172-180, V (1902), 6 ff.

strain of amorous pastoral with glorification of the queen.[9] Paris, the most famous of mythological shepherds, was portrayed awarding the golden ball to Venus, but his judgment was overruled and Elizabeth was given the prize. This, the main plot, enables Peele to combine with a pastoral invitation from Venus to Paris the complaints of the deserted Oenone, and to turn all into a compliment to the queen. The amorous element is repeated in the sub-plot: Colin dies of love for the disdainful Thestylis. Besides Colin, Peele borrowed Hobbinol, Diggon, and Thenot from Spenser's Shepheardes Calender.

The use of pastoral characters by one poet after another was one of the great advantages of pastoral. A poet writing pastoral had a set of conventions ready-made. He had a setting, bits of traditional subject matter, bits of description. Finally, he had a stock of characters. One of the very important differences between poetry of the Renaissance and poetry of the post-Wordsworthian era is to be found in the breakdown and disappearance of this objective material for poetry, with the result that poets have had to fall back on autobiographical resources or personal mythology, or turn

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[9]For the sources of Peele's play see C. R. Baskervill, "Early Romantic Plays in England," MP, XIV (1916-17), 483; T. S. Graves, "The Arraignment of Paris and Sixteenth Century Flattery," MLN, XXVIII (1913), 48-49; Viola M. Jeffery, "The Source of Peele's Arraignment of Paris," MLR, XIX (1924), 175-187; and A. H. Gilbert, "The Source of Peele's Arraignment of Paris," MLN, XLI (1926), 36-40; Professor Gilbert convincingly refutes Miss Jeffery's claim of Italian influence.

to realism. The young poet in the 1580's or 1590's did not need to create characters: he had Amaryllis or Colin ready to hand. In Peele's play we see the beginning of the development of a stock of English characters to supplement the classical list. The use of such familiar and agreed subject matter made pastoral "easy" for the poet. He had a sure way of testing his wings. The reader, too, had read his Virgil and Mantuan in the grammar school. When the poet brought on Coridon or Colin and "un-folded" the flock, the reader was on familiar ground.

In Peele's play Colin loves Thestylis, who disdains him. Colin laments his state in a song. Here, and throughout the play, we find the beginning of that union of pastoral and song which was to create the uniquely "Elizabethan" pastoral lyric.[10] When Colin is about to sing his monologue of complaint the very stage direction reminds one that love was becoming the central concern of pastoral: "Colin thenamored sheepeherd singeth his passion of love." The poem illustrates also the elegiac tendency of the love complaint: like Daphnis in the first idyll of Theocritus, Colin is to die of love:

> O gentle love, ungentle for thy deede,
> Thou makest my harte
> A bloodie marke
> With pearcyng shot to bleede.

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[10] See C. R. Baskervill, The Elizabethan Jig (Chicago, 1929), chap. I, and Bruce Pattison, Music and Poetry of the English Renaissance (London, 1948).

Shoote softe sweete love, for feare thou
shoote amysse,
For feare too keene
Thy arrowes beene,
And hit the harte, where my beloved is.
To faire that fortune were, nor never I
Shalbe so blest
Among the rest
That love shall ceaze on her by simpathie.
Then since with love my prayers beare no boot,
This doth remayne
To cease my payne,
I take the wounde, and dye at Venus foote.[11]

The union between love-complaint and dirge is further emphasized when the shepherds bringing in Colin's "hearce" sing a lament; again the plaintive note, typical of the 1580's is sounded:

Welladay: Poore Colin thow arte going to
the grounde:
The love whome Thestilis hathe slaine,
Harde harte, faire face fraughte with disdaine:
Disdaine in love a deadlie wounde.
Wounde her swete love so deepe againe,
That shee may feele the dyeng paine
Of this unhappie shepherds swaine,
And dye for love as Colin died, as Colin
died.[12]

Venus then punishes Thestylis by making her fall in love with a churlish shepherd who rejects her advances. She and the group of shepherds then sing another complaint, a roundelay, in which she rues her own state and her former disdain of Colin.

Peele's Arraignment of Paris offers two other striking examples of the developing union of pastoral and song. One

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[11] Sig. C2r.

[12] Sig. C4v.

is the lovely Cupid's Curse roundelay, a love-lay sung by Paris and Oenone. Hallett Smith wonders that it was overlooked by the editor of England's Helicon (1600), since it equals the best pieces to be found in that storehouse of pastoral song:

> Faire and fayre and twise so faire,
>   As fayre as any may be:
> The fayrest sheepeherd on our grene,
>   A love for anie Ladie
>
> Faire and faire and twise so fayre,
>   As fayre as any may bee:
> Thy love is fayre for thee alone,
>   And for no other Ladie.
>
> My love is faire, my love is gaie,
>   As fresh as bine the flowers in May,
> And of my love my roundylaye,
> My merrie merrie merrie roundelaie
> Concludes with Cupids curse:
> They that do chaunge olde love for newe,
> Pray Gods they chaunge for worse.[13]

The other example of the union of amorous pastoral and song is to be found in Oenone's monologue of complaint after her desertion by Paris.

An invitation which foreshadows Marlowe's "Come Live With Me" is voiced by Venus when Paris is deciding between the three goddesses. After Athene has offered glory in war Venus speaks:

> Come sheepeherde, come, sweete sheepeherde
>   looke on me,
> These bene to hoat alarums these for thee:
> But if thou wilt give mee the golden ball,

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[13] Sig. B2rv

Cupide my boy shall hate to playe withall,
That when so ere this apple he shall see,
The god of love himselfe shall thinke on the,
And bid thee looke and chuse, and he will
wounde,
Whereso thy fancies object shalbe founde,
And lightlie when he shootes he doth not
misse:
And I will give the many a lovelie kysse,
And come and play with thee on Ida here,
And if thou wilt a face that hath no peere,
A gallant girle, a lustie minion trull,
That can give sporte to thee thy bellyfull,
To ravish all thy beating vaines with joye,
Here is a lasse of Venus court, my boy.
Helen entreth with 4. Cupides
Here gentle sheepeherde, heres for thee a
peece,
The fayrest face, the flower of gallant Greece.
(Sig. C1^r).

This passage illustrates the developing sensuous, even sensual, strain that was to replace the plaintive pastoral. The crudity of the conception (e.g., "lusty minion trull" and the like) differentiates this, however, from the subtler, tenderer strains of the amorous pastoral of the 1590's. Paris was used in the early Elizabethan period as an example of the evils of yielding to the call of the voluptuous life, but here one can see already that Peele is more interested in the drawing power of Venus' lines than in the fate of Paris.

Paris, as I have said, was an exceedingly popular example of the shepherd in the Elizabethan period, and Peele dealt again with his role as an amorous swain in his _Tale of Troy_ (1589). Here Paris is seductive in the extreme:

How he can nymphs and shepherds trulls
beguile,
An pipen songs, and whet his wits on books,
And rape poor maids with sweet-alluring
looks:
So couth he sing his lays among them all,
And tune his pipe unto the water's fall,
And wear his coat of grey and lusty green,
That had the fair Oenone never seen
His ticing curled hair, his front of ivory,
The careless nymph had never been so
unhappy . . . [14]

That Paris should "whet his wits on books," obviously to increase his powers of seduction, makes a young Elizabethan gallant of him and suggests to us the uses that could be made of amorous poetry.

The pastoral strain of praise of Queen Elizabeth was revived again by Peele in his Descensus Astraeae, a pageant borne before the Lord Mayor-to-be of London on the 29th of October, 1591. Here Elizabeth is depicted as bringing back the golden age, as a

celestial sacred Nymph, that tendes her
flocke
With watchfull eyes, and keep this fount
in peace:
Guarded with Graces, and with Gratious
traines,
Vertues divine, and giftes incomparable.[15]

The amorous strain in pastoral was reinforced by the works of John Lyly (1554?-1606). Lyly had made a contribution to the literature of friendship with his novel Euphues,

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[14]David H. Horne, The Life and Minor Works of George Peele (New Haven, 1952), p. 186.

[15]Horne, p. 214.

the Anatomy of Wit (1578). This work, although not strictly pastoral, is of interest to us because the type of "friendship" presented contributed to the development of the ideal of love between men as it existed in the 1590's. The "friendship" between Euphues and Philautus was not friendship in the modern sense of the term.[16] The pair meet, Euphues declares his love, and:

> Thou maist well perceive that I did beleeve thee, that so soone I dyd love thee; and I hope thou wilt the rather love me, in that I did beleeve thee.

Then:

> After many embracings and protestations one to another, they walked to dinner, where they wanted neither meate, neither Musicke, neither any other pastime, and having banqueted to digest their sweet confections, they daunced all ye afternoon, they used not onely one boord, but one bedde, one booke. Their Friendship augmented every day, insomuch that one could not refrain the company of the other one minute.[17]

The friendship described is certainly different from modern concepts of friendship. It is another example of "sentimentale Freundschaft," but even such a term is hardly satisfactory. On the other hand, while Euphues cites lists of classical friends--Damon and Pythias, Pylades and Orestes, and Theseus and Pyrothus--such friendship as Lyly portrays

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[16] Lauren Mills in One Soul in Bodies Twain (Bloomington, Ind., 1937), lumps together all examples of such relationships as friendship, but this classification is not satisfactory.

[17] Works, ed. R. W. Bond (Oxford, 1902), I, 198-199.

lacks the homosexual element which was a concomitant of many classical friendships. The special kind of love relationship between men that existed in the Elizabethan era, can be understood only if considered without some of our modern preconceptions about friendship and homosexuality.[18]

Lyly explored ambiguous sexual relations further in his Gallathea (1585). In this play two maidens, both disguised as men, woo each other. Lyly plays with this situation at some length, with each of the lovers suspecting, or hoping, that the other is really a boy:

> Come let us into the Grove and make much one of another, that cannot tel what to think one of another.[19]

Again:

> Seeing we are both boyes, and both lovers, that our affection may have some showe, and seeme as it were love, let me call thee Mistris.[20]

The whole situation here is of course ambiguous, but the use of the word "lovers" for male friends was common. Pyrocles and Musidorus in the Arcadia proclaim their love for each other, as do Euphues and Philautus in Euphues.[21]

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[18] See Hans Lkiem, Sentimentale Freundschaft in der Shakespeare-Epoche (Jena, 1915). See also the discussion in the appendix of Edward Hubler's The Sense of Shakespeare's Sonnets (Princeton, New Jersey, 1952), and Laurens Mills, One Soul in Bodies Twain.

[19] Works, ed. Bond, II, 451.

[20] Works, II, 461.

[21] Shakespeare speaks of Brutus as Caesar's "lover", and he uses the word "lovers" in speaking of his dead friends in sonnet 31.

Both in his Euphues and in his plays Lyly contributed greatly to the increasing skill in handling of language, to the increasing interest in rhetorical effects. Like Peele he contributed also to the union of pastoral and mythological elements in the court comedy, in which the Protestant and didactic pastoral gives place to the mythological and narrative pastoral. These elements can be seen in his Woman in the Moon, which is one long variation on the theme of pastoral invitation. Bond dates the play at about 1593, judging, among other things, by the skill evinced in the handling of blank verse. The utilization of pastoral motifs in the dramas of the 1580's may be exemplified by passages like these:

> Sweete Dame, if Stesias may content thine
>   eye,
> Commaund my Neate, my flock, and tender
>   kids,
> Whereof great store do overspred our plaines.
> Graunt me sweet mistresse but to kisse thy
>   hand.

Stesias' rival, Learchus, replies with another invitation passage:

> Let me but hold thee by that sacred hand,
> And I will make thee our Utopian Queene,
> And set a guilded Chaplet on thy head,
> That Nymphes and Satyrs may admyre thy
>   pompe.[22]

The luscious diction of The Woman in the Moon may be illustrated by passages in which the moon-struck Pandora

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[22] Works, ed. Bond, III, 247.

demands exotic pastoral gifts, and her shepherd, humoring her, offers others:

> Give me a running streame in both my hands,
> A blew kingsfisher and a pible stone,
> And Ile catch butterflies upon the sand
> And thou Gunophilis shall clippe their wings.

Gunophilis ("lover of women") is a clown, whose loves parody those of the many shepherds that woo Pandora. Stesias replies to Pandora's requests:

> Ile give thee streames whose pibble shalbe
>   pearl,
> Love birdes whose feathers shalbe beaten
>   gold,
> Musk flyes with amber berries in their mouths,
> Milk white squirrels, singing Popinjays
> A boate of deare skins, and a fleeting isle,
> A sugar cane, and line of twisted silk.[23]

Lines like these exemplify the advances made in the 1580's, in versification, in variety of melody, in mastery of blank verse, in richness of diction.

William Webbe made a contribution of a different type to the development of amorous pastoral in his Discourse of English Poetrie (1586). Webbe, a second-rate critic, is of great interest to us because he confirms the attitude of E. K. toward the Colin-Hobbinol relationship in the Shepheardes Calender, and because he reveals the attitude of the mid-1580's toward Virgil's second eclogue. Webbe defends Spenser from the charge of unnatural vice. Spenser's purpose, he says,

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[23] Works, ed. Bond, III, 282. Some of the curious gifts listed here seem to reflect reading of travel narratives about the New World which apparently represented a kind of pastoral innocence to the Renaissance mind.

is moral:

> The occasion of Spenser's work is a warning to other young men, who being entangled in love and youthful vanities, may learne to looke to themselves in time, and to avoyde inconveniences which may breede if they be not in time prevented. Many good morrall lessons are therein contained.[24]

The ancient poets, he says, had had the same purpose in their pastorals portraying the love of one shepherd for another. Their aim was to show how "the dissolute life of young men intangled in love of women, doo neglect the freendshyp and league with their olde freendes and familiars."[25] There is perhaps a line or two in Virgil to justify this view. Virgil's second eclogue appears to us, however, to be a love poem. The point is that the Elizabethans, having inherited the tradition of the Renaissance didactic eclogue and having noted that it was ultimately derived from complaints like Virgil's, associated the two types of poetry, reading back into Virgil their own didactic preoccupations. It must be added, of course, that the nature of defenses like Webbe's against charges of unnatural vice led almost automatically to a didactic interpretation of Virgil.

Webbe contributed further to the developing interest in the second eclogue of Virgil by translating it, along with the first, into English hexameters. Here is illustrated the

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[24]ed. Edward Arber, English Reprints, Vol. 12, p. 53.

[25]<u>Ibid</u>., p. 54.

union of interest in pastoral and in classical versification which was characteristic of the group around Sidney and Spenser, and which helped to insure the popularity of pastoral. The tendency of the times is shown well by Webbe's comparison of Spenser with Virgil and Theocritus, and by his question as to whether Spenser's rude English versification might rob him of his rightful place beside the ancients. He offers as the solution to the problems of English poetry an inferior translation of Spenser's Eliza hymn into alcaics.[26] Our chief interest in Webbe, however, is his contribution to the growing popularity of Virgil's second eclogue.

Angell Daye's translation (1587) of Amyot's version of the Daphnis and Chloe of the third-century Greek writer Longus reinforced the amorous strain in English pastoral. This superficially innocent tale of romantic love between naive shepherd and shepherdess is told by an author who is not at all naive, and who capitalizes on the naivete of his characters to titillate his readers. The salacious quality of the French version is lacking in the translation, however, and it was the naivete and reluctance of the lovers that was to be seized on by the amorous poets of the next decade. As a long pastoral romance primarily concerned with

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[26]For an estimate of Webbe as a critic see R. B. McKerrow, "The Use of So-called Classical Meters in English Poetrie." See also the rather caustic comments of C. S. Lewis, English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, 429-430.

amorous adventure, Daphnis and Chloe contributed to the development of the amorous pastoral.

Another impetus to the growing interest in love pastoral was given by the anonymous translation of Theocritus entitled Six Idillia (1588). This return to Theocritus was very significant; it was a return to the fresh, verdant, amorous source of pastoral. The first of these "Idillions," Theocritus' eighth, in which the praises of Milo are sung by another shepherd, reveals, like Webbe's translation of the second eclogue, the growing interest in loves between shepherds.

The second of the Six Idillia, Theocritus' eleventh idyll, is also of interest to us. Here is the first English translation of the story of Polyphemus and Galatea, if we except Golding's translation of Ovid's version of it in the Metamorphoses. The story is of great importance as the first source of love-lays of complaint and invitation. Its argument, as stated by the unknown English translator, reveals the doctrine that pastoral song is the best cure for love:

> Theocritus wrote this Idyll to Nicias, a learned physician: Wherein he sheweth--by the example of Polyphemus a giant in Sicily, of the race of Cyclops, who loved the Water nymph Galatea--that there is no medicine so sovereign against love as is poetry.[27]

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[27] Theocritus' prelude to the poem on which this argument is based is the original source of the concern about love and poetry expressed in Spenser's "October" and elsewhere in Elizabethan pastoral.

The next of the Six Idillia, which is Theocritus' sixteenth, combines two themes of great importance: the neglect of poets by patrons, and a panegyric on Hiero of Syracuse. This panegyric was the ultimate source of those poems in praise of Elizabeth which combined with the panegyric the motifs of the pastoral invitation and of Petrarchan worship of a beloved mistress. The comments about poetry and patronage are the first to indicate the role of pastoral as the poetry of poets, a theme which was to play an important part in the Elizabethan period.

The other idylls chosen for translation, a marriage hymn in honor of Menelaus and Helen, a story of the flouting of a rustic wooer by a city girl, and a story of Venus and Adonis must all have helped to heighten interest in pastoral as love poetry. The translator, who may have been Sidney's friend Dyer, was obviously interested in pastoral as love poetry, and for that reason translated Theocritus.

Of the translator C. S. Lewis says:

> He is a sensitive and original metrist who deliberately uses the Alexandrine without a medial break . . . Elsewhere this version sounds far more like Greek poetry than anything that was to be written in English before the nineteenth century.[28]

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[28] English Literature of the Sixteenth Century, 520-521.

Another translation, that of Virgil's "Alexis" by Abraham Fraunce in his Lawiers Logik (1588), reveals the attraction exerted by the idea of love-relationships between shepherds. Fraunce, in his Lawiers Logik, discusses logic and gives examples from law and from poetry, thus combining his own varied interests. The quotations in the work, which was originally called the "Sheepheardes Logik," are almost all from the Shepheardes Calender. The "Alexis" is included as an example for logical analysis, and is given in the Latin and in English translation. This joining of the "Alexis" with a work largely based on the Shepheardes Calender suggests that it was the Colin-Hobbinol relationship in the Calender that interested Fraunce, since that aspect of Spenser's work stems from the second eclogue of Virgil. It seems fairly clear that Fraunce had seized on the relationship between Colin and Hobbinol as one of the most exciting ingredients of the Calender, as had Webbe before him. Fraunce printed his translation of the "Alexis" again, virtually unchanged, in The Countesse of Pembrokes Ivychurch (1591).

Fraunce's translation of the "Alexis" is far superior to Webbe's as an example of the use of English hexameters, but that is not its chief interest. Fraunce is of importance because he was very closely related to the Penshurst group-- to the Sidneys. His liking for the "Alexis" quite probably

reflects theirs, since all his work was tailored to win their approval and patronage.

Another connection of Fraunce's work is very important. He furnishes a link between Spenser on the one hand and Marlowe, Barnfield, and Shakespeare on the other--the latter three having carried on the development of the Colin-Hobbinol theme. Professor Harry Levin, in discussing Marlowe's Edward II, links the play with Shakespeare's sonnets, and by way of Shakespeare's sonnets with Barnfield's Affectionate Shepheard, and thus with the homoerotic tradition springing from Virgil's second eclogue and the Greek bucolic poets. Levin does not mention Fraunce, and he does not establish a direct connection between Shakespeare and the tradition under discussion. He goes from Marlowe to Shakespeare, and then suggests that because Barnfield wrote an imitation of the "Alexis", the development drew upon classical pastoral. It must be emphasized that Levin does not trace a development from Virgil down to Shakespeare, but makes the linkage Marlowe-Shakespeare-Barnfield, Barnfield being the writer of the imitation of Virgil.[29]

Fraunce, however, was long ago connected with this tradition in a pregnant discussion by Thomas Warton, which,

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[29] The Overreacher (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), pp. 93-94.

strangely enough, no other critic or historian has followed up. Warton links Fraunce's work with Barnfield's, and perhaps by implication with Shakespeare's, although he does not suggest any direct relationship, merely a similarity of theme:

> Abraham Fraunce, in 1591, translated Virgil's "Alexis" into English hexameters, verse for verse, which he calls The Lamentation of Corydon for the love of Alexis. It must be owned that the selection of this particular eclogue from all the ten for an English version is somewhat extraordinary. But in the reign of Queen Elizabeth I could point out whole sets of sonnets written with this sort of attachment, for which it will be but an inadequate apology, that they are free from direct impurity of expression and open immodesty of sentiment. Such at least is our observance of external propriety, and so strong the principles of a general decorum, that a writer of the present age who was to print love-verses in this style, would be severely reproached and universally proscribed.[30]

The modern critic might wish that Warton had been more precise. What exactly does "whole sets of sonnets" mean? One can guess that in the eighteenth century it might have meant one set or might have meant more. We know of only two sets of sonnets in Elizabeth's time which are concerned with love between men: the sonnets of Barnfield and the sonnets of Shakespeare. Presumably no set of sonnets has been lost. What then, does Warton mean? After the passage quoted above Warton goes on to discuss Barnfield:

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[30]Thomas Warton, The History of English Poetry, ed. W. C. Hazlitt (London, 1871), iv, 289.

> I will instance only in the Affectionate Shepherd of Richard Barnfield, printed in 159/4/. Here, through the course of twenty sonnets not inelegant, and which were exceedingly popular, the poet bewails his unsuccessful love for a beautiful youth by the name of Ganymede, in a strain of the most tender passion, yet with professions of the chastest affection.[31]

The phrase "I will instance only . . ." seems to reinforce the meaning of "whole sets of sonnets." It may be suggested, then, that Warton had the sonnets of Shakespeare in mind but did not want to mention them.

While it is interesting that Warton connects Fraunce with the writers of sonnets on themes related to the "Alexis," he does so only by noting the similarity of theme. But his reference, assuming that it links the names of Barnfield and Shakespeare with that of Fraunce, suggests to us that the source of Shakespeare's theme--the love of a friend--may lie much closer home than those critics who have sought its origins in the sonnet have realized--specifically in the interest in the Colin-Hobbinol relationship and in Virgil's "Alexis."

There is a closer connection between Fraunce and

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[31] History of English Poetry, iv, p. 289f. Warton's identification of The Affectionate Shepherd as "twenty sonnets" is a slip. The Affectionate Shepherd is a long poem in sixains, an expanded translation, or imitation, of Virgil's "Alexis," and therefore even more closely related to Fraunce's translation than are Barnfield's sonnets. The twenty sonnets were actually published with Cynthia in 1595. Warton was acquainted with both works apparently, for he quotes two stanzas of The Affectionate Shepherd (iv, 440). The sonnets continue the theme of The Affectionate Shepherd, so Warton's error was a natural one.

Barnfield. Not only was Barnfield concerned with the same theme: his interest apparently stemmed from Fraunce's translation. Barnfield uses the formula upon which Fraunce had constructed the title for his translation of the "Alexis," --"The Lamentation of Corydon for the Love of Alexis,"--his subtitle being "The Complaint of Daphnis for the Love of Ganymede." Also, he calls the second part of his work "The Second Dayes Lamentatión of the Affectionate Shepheard." This title actually connects Barnfield's poem with another of Fraunce's works, for the second part of The Countess of Pembroke's Ivychurch, concerned with the lamentations of Amyntas for the death of Phyllis, was divided into eclogues, each of which is called a day of lamentation. At the end of the twelve "Days" of lamentation Fraunce placed "The Lamentation of Corydon for the Love of Alexis." Thus the "Alexis," a poem of love lamentation, was joined to a series of dirges which were laments for the death of a beloved person. This repeats the old tendency of pastoral, stemming from the first idyll of Theocritus and the tenth eclogue of Virgil, to unite the love-lay and the dirge. It also illustrates the Elizabethan tendency to combine forms to create new types, which was as important as the imitative tendency.

Barnfield had obviously read Fraunce's Amyntas and his translation of the "Alexis," and had borrowed ideas and titles and worked out a two-day lamentation, not a dirge but

a lamentation for despised love.[32] The connection was much closer, then, than Wartom indicates. I have lingered over this point of the connection between Fraunce and Barnfield because I think it is of the greatest importance in establishing the true literary genesis of Shakespeare's sonnets.

In publishing his translation of the "Alexis" again in The Countess of Pembroke's Ivychurch (1591), Fraunce was placing it beside his translation of Watson's Amyntas and the sequel, already mentioned, The Lamentations of Amyntas for the Death of Phyllis. In 1592 Fraunce published a third part of the Ivychurch under the title Amintas Dale. This work is important in relation to another major strand of love pastoral: the union of pastoral and Ovidian elements to produce the erotic epyllions of the 1590's. Fraunce translates a number of tales of Ovid from the Metamorphoses, including the story of Polyphemus and Galatea from Book XIII. The whole is set in a pastoral framework, with nymphs and shepherds telling the tales.

A touch from the complaint tradition of the Mirror for Magistrates is combined with the pastoral tradition in Fraunce's version of the Galatea story. Galatea is presented telling her story to Scylla, in the manner of the ghosts of

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[32] Puttenham lists lamentations as a distinct kind of poem, and considers them under three heads: lamentations for deaths, for "great overthrowes in battell," and for love. See Chapter XXIIII, "The forme of Poeticall lamentations," The Arte of English Poesie, ed. G. D. Willcock and Alice Walker (Cambridge: The University Press, 1936), pp. 47-49.

fallen princes in the <u>Mirrors</u>. The language is vigorous; Galatea describes Polyphemus with high disdain:

> He cuts his bristled beard with a syth,
> and combs with an iron rake his staring
> bush, and viewes himself in a fishpond.

In Ovid's version Galatea has a lover, Acis, and Fraunce finds picturesque phrases to express Polyphemus' opinion of Acis:

> But why should Galatea refuse well-
> growne Polyphemus,
> And yet like and love and wooe effeminate
> Acis?

As for Polyphemus' attitude toward Acis:

> Ile paunce that paltery princox, trayle
> his gutts by the fields, and teare his
> flesh in a thousand gobbets.

Galatea continues with a touch of irony: "Thus when he had this sweet loves' lamentation ended, up-gets th' one eyde feende, and rangeth abroade by the forest." After telling of the murder and transformation of Acis, "Here Galatea did end, and coy dame Scilla departed."

Fraunce includes another Ovidian wooing poem in the third part of the <u>Ivychurch</u>, the story of Salmacis and Hermaphroditis. Salmacis was a true-born daughter of the amorous Makyne of early English pastoral. She was also the prototype of the passionate shepherdesses of the 1590's--Venus, Aurora, Oenone, and Phoebe. The story of Salmacis was a favorite with the Elizabethans, and Professor Hallett Smith has used it as a focal point of reference for his whole discussion of

Ovidian poems of the 1590's.[33] He compares the moralized version of Peend with the luscious anonymous version of 1602:

> The contrast between these two versions, half a century apart, of the story of Salmacis and Hermaphroditus provides a framework for the examination of Elizabethan mythological-erotic poetry. The Hermaphroditus myth is, moreover, a central one in the whole movement, because, as we shall see, the characteristics of this Ovidian story and its near kin, the story of Narcissus and Echo in Book III of the *Metamorphoses*, influenced the presentation of such other characters in the genre as Adonis and Leander, just as the anonymous author of 1602 was in turn influenced by the narrative and poetic methods of Shakespeare and Marlowe.[34]

Fraunce's version stands halfway between the allegorized interpretations of Peend and Golding and the frankly erotic approach of the anonymous poet. His is one of the first of a series of wooing poems which combine the pastoral invitation with the Ovidian tale. The allegorized versions which were popular with middle-class readers were giving way to a sensuous approach attractive to courtly gallants and young apprentices. The change in the understanding of Ovid parallels the shift from didactic to amorous that we have been tracing in the pastoral poetry.

In Fraunce's story Salmacis is an ardent, even abrupt wooer. She boards Hermaphroditus without preliminaries:

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[33] Golding translated the story in the fourth book of the *Metamorphoses* (1565); another version by Thomas Peend appeared in the same year. An anonymous version was printed in 1602.

[34] *Elizabethan Poetry*, p. 74.

O sweete boy, whose more than mortall
    beauty deserveth for to
be deemed a god, what god shall I call
    thee, my sweete boy?
If that thou be a god thou seemst to be
    goodly Cupido:
If but a man, most happy the man, who might
    be thy father,
Happy the woman, whom thy sweet self mad'st
    to be mother
Happy the nurse, whose milk did feede so
    chearefull a suckling:
But much more blessed, but much more happy
    than all these,
Were that lasse indeede, who might be thy
    wife, be thy bed-make:
If thou have any wife, let mee be thy love
    for a short time,
If thou have no wife, let mee by thy friend
    for a long time:
Whether a husband bound, or whether free
    as a bachelor,
Give me a lawful joy, or privily doe me a
    pleasure.

But this friendly offer met no kinder response than had Makyne's advances to Robyne. Hermaphroditus fled; later, after watching him bathe in a pool, Salmacis plunged in, and the gods, answering her prayer, united the bodies of the two.

Fraunce, with his interest in hexameters, his combining of pastoral and Ovidian strains, his emphasis on the works of Sidney and Spenser, and his interest in the "Alexis," is indicative of the strong taste for pastoral, and especially love pastoral, at the end of the 1580's.

Two other writers, Thomas Lodge and Robert Green, contributed to the growing literature of amorous pastoral at the end of this decade. Green drew on pastoral elements in a number of his novels, most importantly in Menaphon (1589).

An invitation passage in prose, which Menaphon addresses to his beloved Samela, may be the first imitation of Marlowe's "Come Live With Me":

> I tell thee, fair nymph, these plaines
> that thou seest stretching southward are
> pastures belonging to Menaphon: there
> growes the cintfoyle, and the hyacinth,
> the cowslippe, the primrose, and the violet,
> which my flockes shall spare for flowers to
> make thee garlands, the milke of my ewes
> shall be meate for thy pretie wanton, the
> wool of the fat wethers that seemes as fine
> as the fleece that Jason fet from Colchos,
> shall serve to make Samela webbes withal;
> the mountaine tops shall be thy mornings
> walke, and the shadie vallies thy evenings
> arbour: as much as Menaphon owes shall be
> at Samela's command, if she like to live
> with Menaphon.[35]

Here the invitation is an invitation to love, freed of the elements of didacticism and complaint. Greene's introduction of such a passage in a prose portion of his romance shows how the conventions and motifs of pastoral were utilized for bits of plot in building up romances or dramas; it is another proof of the versatility of pastoral.

Menaphon also contains a love-lay of the singing match type. With Democles as judge, Menaphon and Melicertes vie in composing eclogues in honor of their ladies. In Menaphon's poem we begin to see the result of the long process of the development of pastoral. The didactic element has been completely eliminated, and here at last we have the pure Elizabethan strain. Its pagan beauty, long ago underlined by Taine, may be sampled in such passages as this:

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[35] Menaphon, ed. E. Arber (Westminster, 1895), p.

Her cheekes like ripened lillies steept
in wine,
Or faire pomegranade kernels washt in
milke,
Or snow white threds in nets of crimson
silke,
Or gorgeous cloudes upon the sunnes decline.

. . . .

Hir pappes are like faire apples in the
prime,
As round as orient pearles, as soft as
downe:
They never vaile their faire through winters
frowne,
But from their sweetes love suckt his
summer time.

. . . .

Hir maiden mount, the dwelling house of
pleasure;
Not like, for why no like surpasseth wonder
O blest is he may bring such beauties under,
Or search by sute the secrets of that
treasure.[36]

Green calls this an eclogue, but it is a far cry indeed from the eclogues of Googe. Calling those of Googe to mind suggests immediately what advances had been made in diction, in versification, in subtlety. Further, it is obvious from this and from the other poems in the book that Green considers an eclogue to be a poem voiced by one or more shepherds and concerned exclusively with love. Even the eclogue of Doron, in which he parodies the tradition of the invitation and the blazon, is concerned with love. Green utilizes the supposed earthiness of actual shepherds to poke fun at the

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[36] Menaphon, ed. E. Arber, p. 77-78.

tradition of pastoral poetry. The rustics Doron and Carmela woo each other with gifts and with ridiculous similies:

> Ah Doron, ah my heart, thou art as white,
> As is my mothers calfe, or brinded Cow,
> Thine eyes are like the slowwormes in
> the night,
> Thine haires resemble thickest of the
> snow.[37]

The first poem to unite the traditions of the invitation and the Ovidian mythological tale was Scillaes Metamorphosis, published by Thomas Lodge in 1589. Lodge's poem, based on Ovid, has been called a mythological tale, or an erotic epyllion. The poem does have some connections with the Alexandrian epyllions which were part of the pastoral tradition, and which, especially with Bion and Moschus, were erotic. And of course it is concerned with mythology. But Professor Douglas Bush has suggested that the poem was really a descendant of the eleventh idyl of Theocritus, the story of Polyphemus and Galatea:

> Lodge has been justly credited with introducing into English a new genre, the minor epic in which a classical subject is treated in a romantic manner. But . . . . Glaucus and Scilla was not so much the first poem in a new genre as one of the last in an old one. It is less a minor epic than a love-complaint, and its pedigree takes us as far back as the Theocritean idyll of Polyphemus and Galatea. Lodge of course owed more to French and Italian writers than to the classics.[38]

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[37]Menaphon, p. 86.

[38]Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition (Minneapolis, 1932), p. 83.

The poem is not merely an Ovidian invitation, however, Scillaes Metamorphosis has some resemblance to the complaints in the Mirror for Magistrates, but, as earlier in Googe, the ghost of a fallen prince is replaced by a plaintive lover--the sea god, Glaucus. Glaucus complains of Scilla's disdain, and then becomes hard-hearted in turn when she, wounded by Cupid, woos him. Here again is the amorous nymph, and, as in "Robyne and Makyne" we have a turnabout wooing. The best known stanzas in the poem are those that are most closely related to the story of Venus and Adonis:

> He that hath seene the sweete Arcadian boy
> Wiping the purple from his forced wound,
> His pretie teares betokening his annoy,
> His sighes, his cries, his falling on the ground,
> The Ecchoes ringing from the rockes his fall,
> The trees with teares reporting of his thrall:
>
> And Venus starting at her love-mates crie,
> Forcing hir birds to hast her chariot on;
> And full of griefe at last with piteous eie
> Seene where all pale with death he lay alone,
> Whose beautie quaild, as wont the Lillies droop
> When wastfull winter windes doo make them stoop:[39]

Lodge's reference to the story of Venus and Adonis may have suggested that subject to Shakespeare; at any rate Shakespeare adopted for his poem the six-line stanza used by Lodge.

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[39] Sig. A3v

Lodge made another contribution to amorous pastoral with his Rosalynde, Euphues Golden Legacy (1590).[40] In it he introduces an amorous or wooing eclogue between two shepherds by the device of having "Ganimede"--Rosalynde in disguise--pretend to be Rosalynde. Lodge was thus able to capitalize, as had Spenser, Lyly, and Fraunce, on the intriguing situation in which male woos male, though without actually presenting such a courtship. The choice of the name Ganimede is significant, for it recalls the Greek tradition of boy-love, and the wooing of Ganimede by Jove.

An illustration of the distance that pastoral had travelled from the didactic to the amorous can be gained by contrasting this playful mock wooing with an "Eglog" between Montanus and Coridon in which Lodge draws upon the didactic tradition. Here the dialogue between a wise old shepherd and a lovelorn young one resembles those of Barclay, or the first and eighth eclogues of Googe, or Spenser's "February." Coridon is the ascetic sage:

> Ah, lorel lad, what makes thee Herry love?
> A sugered harme, a pyson full of pleasure,
> A painted shrine ful-fild with rotten treasure
> A heaven in shew, a hell to them that prove.[41]

Montanus replies that age has robbed Coridon of judgment, and adds that love inspires the poet:

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[40] Ed. Henry Morley, Gassell's National Library, New Series, VII. Lodge's romance was of course the source of Shakespeare's As You Like It.

[41] Rosalynde, ed. H. Morley, p. 54.

Think I of love, oh, how my lines aspire!
How haste the Muses to embrace my brows,
And hem my temples in with laurel boughs,
And fill my brains with chaste and holy
    fire![42]

Lodge also introduces the original love-lay, the story of Polyphemus and Galatea, using it as a conceit to express the love of Montanus for Phoebe. The telling of a mythological tale to soften the heart of a disdainful lady was a common device, used a number of times in Tottel's Miscellany. Here the story of Polyphemus becomes pure complaint:

The love-sicke Polypheme that could not
    see,
Who on the barraine shore,
His fortunes doth deplore,
And melteth all in mone,
For Galatea gone:
And with his piteous cries,
Afflicts both earth and skies:
And to his woe betooke
Doth breake both pipe and hooke:
For whom complaines the Morne,
For whom the sea nymphs mourne,
Alas his paine is naught:
For were my woe but thought,
Oh, how would Phoebe sigh, if shee did
    looke on me?
Beyond compare my paine,
Yet glad am I,
If gentle Phoebe daine
To see her Montan die.[43]

Rosalynde, which was published in nine editions by 1614, contributed strongly to the growing amorous tendency in pastoral. Further, the lovely lyrics reveal the growing skill of Elizabethan poets in melody, versification and diction.

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[42]Rosalynde, ed. Morley, p. 56.

[43]Rosalynde, p. 139.

Together with the works of Spenser, Sidney, Lyly, Peele, Watson, and Fraunce, the pastoral romances of Green and Lodge transformed pastoral from didactic to amorous poetry. Making great advances in technique, they raised pastoral to a high literary level, and made it the poetry young poets would begin by writing. By the end of the 1580's wooing eclogues, Ovidian invitations, and love poems from shepherd to shepherd had all been introduced. The ground was prepared for the flowering of amorous pastoral.

CHAPTER V

MARLOWE'S DE-MORALIZATION OF THE PASTORAL INVITATION

The invitation to love was of central importance in the works of Marlowe.[1] He found in the pastoral love-lay a set of ideas and relationships which enabled him to focus his own thought about love, power, and responsibility. Following the lead of Spenser, Sidney, and Lyly, he kept the didactic element out of pastoral. He went further and disposed of the plaintive element as well. Seeing pastoral as love poetry, he de-moralized it. His contribution consisted in his perfecting of the pastoral lyric of invitation, in his exploration of love relationships between men, and in his creation of the Ovidian invitation, or wooing, poem.

Marlowe's lyric, "Come Live With Me" (1588), is an example of

> . . . the Elizabethan art of securing a beauty and simplicity which seems almost impersonal. Passion and thought are carefully strained out; the poem must be self contained and must cast no oblique lights. The humorous and the

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[1]For a list of fourteen recurrences of this motif in the plays of Marlowe, see R. S. Forsythe, "The Passionate Shepherd and English Poetry," p. 701. See also Harry Levin's The Overreacher (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), p. 16.

> sentimental attributes of the complaint
> are entirely lacking.[2]

Not only is the element of complaint eliminated; the lyric is stripped bare of pastoral setting, except for that created by the words of the speaker: there is no pastoral frame for the monologue. This fact and the elimination of everything that would permit identification of the speaker enables Marlowe to draw on the convention of the poet as shepherd to create an ambiguous effect. The speaker must be a shepherd addressing a shepherdess, and yet he may also be the poet addressing his love. Again, as a lyric to be heard or sung, the invitation is addressed to any hearer or reader. Since there is no plaintive element, no hint that the shepherdess may be unkind, the little lyric becomes universally applicable. It is everyman's wooing poem. The pastoral atmosphere, while it is, as John Erskine says, totally unreal,[3] nonetheless has the effect of modulating the seductive quality of the poem. Better to invite one's love to Arcadia than to bed.

Marlowe's poem, the most popular and famous of pastoral invitations, was much imitated.[4] Raleigh's "Reply" (1590?) uses the meter, the stanza form, the very words of Marlowe's

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[2]Hallett Smith, <u>Elizabethan Poetry</u>, p. 24.

[3]John Erskine, <u>The Elizabethan Lyric</u> (New York, 1905), p. 199.

[4]See Forsythe, <u>PMLA</u> (1925), 692-742, for a lengthy list of imitations.

lyric. Marlowe had expressed the point of view of the lusty young shepherd, the lover in a timeless golden age of the poet's imagination. But unlike earlier writers of pastoral, Marlowe lets the young lover have it all his own way. He writes as if there were no ascetic answer to love's young dream. Raleigh, however, furnishes the answer. His "Reply" can be classified as a didactic monologue, but with all the loveliness of diction and tone found in Marlowe's poem. Raleigh attacks the vision of the shepherd by emphasizing that the golden age no longer exists:

> If all the world and love were young,
> And truth in every shepherd's tongue
> These pretty pleasures might me move
> To live with you and be your love.

But this shepherdess knows that time drives the flock from field to fold, that winter and old age are coming. Marlowe's poem and Raleigh's taken together form a brief dialogue, or debate, like that in Spenser's "February," with a nymph speaking in place of the wise old shepherd, but voicing the same thoughts. The poems were printed together in Walton's Compleat Angler, and Walton makes clear that he regards Marlowe's as the voice of youth, Raleigh's as the truth revealed by experience.

Of the other imitations of Marlowe's lyric one of the most beautiful is by Drayton:

Faire Love rest thee heere,
Never yet was morne so cleere
Sweete be not unkinde,
Let me thy favour finde,
Or else for love I die.[5]

Another lyrical invitation appears in Dowland's First Booke of Songes or Ayres (1591):

Come away, come sweet Love
The golden morning breakes:
All the earth, all the ayre,
Of love and pleasure speaks.

Invitation poems like these have well been called the most Elizabethan of Elizabethan poems.

Donne's imitation of Marlowe's lyric is more complex than the others. He invites his mistress to some new luscious pleasures, especially pleasures of angling, but then he restlessly breaks down the pastoral illusion:

Let others freeze with angling reeds,
And cut their legs with shells and weeds,
Or treacherously poor fish beset
With strangling snare, or windowy net.

Let coarse bold hands from slimy nest
The bedded fish in banks out-wrest,
Or curious traitors, sleave-silk flies,
Bewitch poor fishes' wand'ring eyes.

For thee, thou needst no such deceit,
For thou thyself art thine own bait;
That fish that is not catched thereby,
Alas, is wiser far than I.

Poems like Marlowe's and Drayton's express the golden peak of the Elizabethan era, but already in Donne's poem the change from lyrical to analytical qualities can be seen.

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[5] England's Helicon, ed. Hyder Rollins, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935), No. 74.

The illusion of pastoral vanishes in self-mockery on the part of the poet, and the plaintive note returns in a new form. This little lyric suggests the mood of the Jacobean era.

More important than Marlowe's lyric itself was the motif in Marlowe's other works. Marlowe's de-moralization of the pastoral invitation is especially well shown by his use of the invitation motif in invitations from man to man. These doubtless sprang from an interest in Spenser's use of this idea in the relationship of Colin and Hobbinol, and from an interest in the second eclogue of Virgil, in which Corydon woos Alexis.

Marlowe does not have a didactic purpose in presenting these passages, nor are they explained away as E. K. explains the love between Colin and Hobbinol. Marlowe is interested in love relationships between men, and he presents them as such. There is a great change here from the attitude of Googe, who introduced Jove and Ganymede only for the purpose of denouncing Jove. The interest in and study of Greek and Latin pastoral had contributed to that change in attitude, as had Spenser's presentation of Colin and Hobbinol in the Shepheardes Calender, and the translations of the "Alexis" by Webbe and Fraunce.

Dido (1587?) opens with a scene in which Jove woos Ganymede with gifts. Ganymede rewards him with his company:

> Grace my immortal beauty with this boon,
> And I will spend my time in thy bright
> arms. (I, i, 21-22)

Marlowe is not at all reticent about their love:

> I would have a jewel for mine ear,
> And a fine brooch to put in my hat,
> And then I'll hug with you an hundred
> times.

Jupiter replies:

> And shalt have, Ganymede, if thou wilt be
> my love. (I, i, 46-49)

Professor Levin considers this little introductory scene to be a key to the erotic complications of the play:

> A key to these ambiguous complications is imparted by the prologue, a luxurious piece of mythical machinery, elaborated <u>con amore</u> by Marlowe out of half a line from the <u>Aeneid</u>. The curtain is pulled aside to discover Jupiter himself, dallying with "that female wanton boy," Ganymede, and thus to furnish an Olympian precedent for the dalliance of Aeneas, as well as an unambiguous comment upon the sexual climate of the play--its tenderness toward youths, its passivity with women, its childish delight in the presents and promises of courtship.[6]

It is customary to say of Marlowe's addition of this scene that it has little basis in his source, and that it is unrelated to the rest of the play. Professor Levin suggests, however, that the scene is organically related to the play. Venus comes to remind the wanton Jove of his duty, just as she is later to remind Aeneas of his duty when he dallies with Dido. The play is concerned with the choice of Paris:

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[6]Levin, <u>Overreacher</u>, p. 16.

the voluptuous life or the active life.

The pastoral invitation passages, which abound in the play, are all connected with temptation, with the pleasures of the material life. The whole play becomes an invitation on a vast scale when Dido attempts to dissuade Aeneas from his mission:

> Aeneas, I'll repair thy Trojan ships,
> Conditionally that thou wilt stay with me,
> And let Achates sail to Italy:
> I'll give thee tackling made of rivell'd
>   gold
> Wound on the barks of odoriferous trees;
> Oars of massy ivory, full of holes,
> Through which the water shall delight to play;
> Thy anchors shall be hew'd from crystal rocks,
> Which, if thou lose, shall shine above the
>   waves;
> The masts, whereon thy swelling sails shall
>   hang,
> Hollow pyramides of silver plate;
> The sails of folded lawn, where shall be
>   wrought
> The wars of Troy,--but not Troy's overthrow.
> (III, i, 112-124)

It is typical of Marlowe's vaulting imagination that he puts the pastoral invitation in the mouth of a queen, so that the catalogue of gifts may be princely. Dido, however, is a 'ticing strumpet, and Aeneas must go where duty calls. Marlowe is really concerned here with the problem which pastoral presents as the need to care for sheep. Shall Aeneas sport with Dido, or shall he care for his flock--proceed on his way to found Rome?

Marlowe's <u>Edward II</u> (1594) is concerned with almost the same central problem as <u>Dido</u>. Edward, possessing the kingdom,

is torn between the requirements of rule and his own personal desire to enjoy the sweet fruition of an earthly crown. This time the love of man for man is central to the play as a whole. Edward is as enamored of his Gaveston as ever Jove was of Ganymede. Professor Harry Levin has related _Edward II_ to the pastoral tradition we have been discussing, and in passing has commented on the nature of Elizabethan friendship:

> It cannot pass without comment that this, the most wholehearted treatment of love in any of Marlowe's plays, involves the erotic attachment of man to man. Friendship, as classically illustrated by Richard Edwardes' tragicomedy of _Damon and Pythias_, was a major Elizabethan theme; but to glance no farther than Shakespeare's sonnets, the ardor with which both sexes are celebrated is such as to elude academic distinctions between the sensual and the platonic. Gaveston is more and less than a friend to Edward, who devotes to him an overt warmth which Marlowe never displays toward the female sex. The invitation to love, "Come live with me," the mode of enticement so richly elaborated in Gaveston's monologue on music and poetry, soon found its echo in Richard Barnfield's amorous appeal of a swain to a youth, the _Affectionate Shepherd_, thereby joining a literary tradition of homoeroticism which can be traced through Vergil's second Eclogue to the Greek bucolic poets. To ignore the presence or to minimize the impact of such motivation in _Edward II_ as most of its critics discreetly tend to do, is to distort the meaning of the play.[7]

In _Dido_ Juno had been portrayed as a bitter enemy of Ganymede. In _Edward II_ Edward's wife compares herself to Juno,

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[7] _Ibid._, pp. 93-94.

her husband to Jupiter, and Gaveston to Ganymede. She despairs of winning her husband from his lover:

> Like frantick _Juno_ will I fill the earth
> With gastlie murmure of my sighes and
> cries,
> For never doted _Jove_ on _Ganimed_,
> So much as he on cursed _Gaveston_. (11. 472-475)

The triangle which appeared as a homosexual relationship in Virgil and which was complicated by Spenser has become more complex still. A six-way relationship is developed by Marlowe:

> Isabella loves Edward
> Edward loves Gaveston
> Gaveston loves Edward
> Isabella hates Gaveston
> Gaveston hates Isabella
> Edward hates Isabella

The rivalry between Isabella and Gaveston for the affections of Edward is emphasized by the use of parallel statements:

> Isabella: "Villaine, tis thou that robst me
> of my lord."
> Gaveston: "Madam, tis you that rob me of
> my lord." (11. 454-455)

Here the possible meanings of "my lord" and the juxtaposition of opposite meanings in similar wording brings into bold relief the heterosexual-homosexual triangle.

The Jove-Ganymede figure appears again in _Hero and Leander_, where Leander is compared with Ganymede. The love relationship between Edward and Gaveston is emphasized by Gaveston's comparison of himself to Leander when he has crossed the channel at the summons of the king.

The historic Edward II was homosexual, of course, and Marlowe's portrayal of him suggests as much. The fact that Marlowe deals with relationships that seem frankly homosexual reveals a considerable change as compared with Spenser. Of course he is writing for the stage, whereas Spenser had to publish the Shepheardes Calender. But an increased influence of Virgil's "Alexis" and probably of Alexandrian pastoral is to be seen in the attitude of Marlowe.

Marlowe's attitude can be seen more clearly by considering a third instance in which he dealt with love between males. In Hero and Leander the god Neptune woos Leander as he swims the Hellespont. Neptune, struck by the beauty of the youth, swims all around him and gazes amorously on every limb:

> Imagining that Ganymede, displeased
> had left the heavens; therefore on him he
> seized.
> Leander strived; the waves about him wound,
> And pulled him to the bottom . . .
> Where kingly Neptune and his train abode.
> The lusty god embraced him, called him love,
> And swore he never should return to Jove.

When Neptune found that his captive was not Ganymede:

> He clapped his plump cheeks, with his
> tresses played,
> And smiling wantonly his love bewrayed.

When Leander protested: "You are deceived, I am no woman, I," Neptune smiled and told a tale about a shepherd in a vale who played with a boy, lovely, fair, and kind. He was so fair that earth and heaven pined for him, and he had to stay back from the river's brink or the water nymphs

would pull him down. Here there is an allusion to Hylas, the beloved of Hercules, who was pulled into a fountain by water nymphs. Marlowe's introduction of this tale shows that his mind is running on the pastoral; the pastoral connection is reinforced when Neptune, like a character in a piscatory eclogue, darts off to bring Leander marine gifts.

Leander escapes and Neptune hurls his mace at him, only to recall it when he remembers his love. C. S. Lewis argues that the hurling of the mace, indeed, the whole scene with Neptune is introduced to lend an air of unreality to the whole poem:

> The temple of Love is decorated not with scenes of pathos and gentleness but with insolent grotesques:
>
> the gods in sundry shapes
> Committing headdie ryots, incest, rapes.
>
> A male and immortal lover tries first to ravish Leander and then to murder him. The effect of all this is to dehumanize the story and thus, in one sense, to disinfect it.[8]

But it would seem that Marlowe's purpose is not so much to dehumanize as to de-Christianize. This surely is the meaning of Neptune's smile when Leander protests that he is no woman. The implication is that Leander, not knowing the values of the classical world, is naive.

Since this tale of Neptune and Leander was an addition by Marlowe without basis in the work of Musaeus which he was

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[8] C. S. Lewis, <u>English Literature in the Sixteenth Century</u>, p. 487.

translating, critics are naturally tempted to ask why the scene was added. They are also tempted to read Marlowe's own attitudes into this and the scene between Jupiter and Ganymede at the beginning of _Dido_. Marlowe, like other Elizabethan writers, was fascinated by the treatment of love and friendship to be found in classical writings, but knowing the _Shepheardes Calender_ and the "Alexis" as well as the writings of the Greek bucolic poets he explored deeper than the others. Interest in love relationships of all kinds was heightened by the growing sensuousness which accompanied the increasing interest in continental and classical thought, the growth of individualism, and the growing delight in luxury, in material satisfactions.

Marlowe's interest can be explained in such terms. Those critics who cavil at the introduction of the scene with Neptune into _Hero and Leander_ should note that the atmosphere of the poem is basically heterosexual. Aside from offering a basis for the conclusion of the poem, the scene with Neptune is educational--for Leander. Leander woos like a "bold sharp sophister" but he is schooled only in the rhetorical, not in the practical part of the amatory art. To be a lover of any kind Leander must grow up, he must become sophisticated, he must cease to be an innocent. To become aware of the Greek attitude toward boy-love is part of the process of growing up.

Marlowe himself is obviously free from a sense of shock and horror at the Neptune-Leander story. Having read widely in classical literature he has arrived at an amused, relaxed attitude. He is free from the worry which such relationships inspired in Googe, or in E. K. His attitude is closer to that of Theocritus, who presented the loves of men for men or for women almost indiscriminately. It should be noted also that Marlowe displays no concern whatsoever for the middle-class reading audience which led many a writer to adopt a facade of morality.[9]

Added light can be thrown on Marlowe's attitude by the testimony of the men who informed against him in 1593. The informer Baines testified that Marlowe had said that St. John was the Alexis of Christ, meaning that there was an unnatural love between them. This strange bit of blasphemy, whether it was actually uttered by Marlowe or invented by the informer, shows that the "Alexis" could be taken as a poem dealing with unnatural love, and suggests added reason for the defensive explanation E. K. appended to Spenser's first eclogue.

Another bit of testimony illuminates the passage in which Neptune smiles at Leander's naivete. Marlowe was quoted as having said that "all who love not tobacco and boys are fools." This is of a piece with other utterances which even the informer suspected were deliberately calculated

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[9]Saunders, J. W., "The Facade of Morality," ELH (1952), 81-114.

to shock.[10] Googe, of course, had been aware that pederasty was a fairly common subject in Greek poetry, but he recognized the fact only to denounce it. Marlowe actually adopts the point of view of the Greeks--or what he takes to be their point of view.

Actually, the point of view of the Greeks was not nearly so simple as might appear from a reading of some of their poets. The complexity of the Greek attitude has been shown by John Addington Symonds in _A Problem in Greek Ethics_:

> We find two separate forms of masculine passion clearly marked in early Hellas--a noble and a base, a spiritual and a sensual. To the distinction between them the Greek conscience was acutely sensitive; and this distinction, in theory, at least, subsisted throughout their history. They worshipped Eros, as they worshipped Aphrodite, under the two fold titles of Ouranios (celestial) and Pandemos (vulgar, or volvivaga); and while they regarded the one love with the highest approval, as the source of courage and greatness of soul, they never publicly approved the other . . . the language of philosophers, poets and orators is unmistakable. All testify alike to the discrimination between vulgar and heroic love in the Greek mind.[11]

This is related to the distinction made much more emphatically by E. K. in the gloss to January. Marlowe, however, rejects no possible love relationships. He regards all alike with amused tolerance--in _Hero and Leander_--or explores with interest, as in _Edward II_. Marlowe's attitude on such matters

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[10] For a full discussion and an evaluation of the testimony of the informers see John Bakeless, _The Tragicall History of Christopher Marlowe_ (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942), I, 107-140.

[11] London, 1901.

has often been related to his questioning of religion, also emphasized by the informers. Marlowe's passionate admiration for Greek literature and civilization might well lead to a denial of the Christian civilization that had replaced it, and a mind that would raise questions in one sphere of thought might well raise them in another. However, the interest in the relationships he explored existed in other writers, in Spenser, in Fraunce, in Lyly, and in Lodge.

Marlowe was soon followed by others interested in exploring his ideas. Drayton wrote a narrative poem, Piers Gaveston (1594), which dealt again with the story of Edward II. The ghost of Gaveston, appearing like one of the fallen princes in the Mirror for Magistrates, told of the loves of himself and the king. Drayton carefully distinguishes between the affection the two felt for each other at first, and the unnatural excesses they later turned to. One might ask if Drayton means to imply that it is legitimate to cherish a homosexual affection but not to indulge it. To ask such a question, however, is to read modern attitudes into the minds of the Elizabethans who had not read Freud. What Drayton does is to make clear a distinction between what the Elizabethans knew as friendship, and what they knew as unnatural vice. And that distinction is not the distinction which would be made between friendship and homosexuality today.

An understanding of these distinctions is vital to an understanding not only of Drayton, but also of Spenser, Marlowe, and Shakespeare. Spenser had presented the love of Colin and Hobbinol, and E. K. carefully explained it in the gloss. Nonetheless, it was love and not merely friendship. The relationship between Euphues and Philautus is a love relationship, and Shakespeare has the same kind of relationship in mind when he speaks of his lovers. What has to be clarified is that what the Elizabethans meant by love between men was a special kind of relationship which might satisfy the need for affection completely, as in the case of Beaumont and Fletcher, who lived together for years. It was regarded, as E. K. regarded it, as a love of the soul, and as higher than the love of women. Professor Edward Hubler, in the appendix to The Sense of Shakespeare's Sonnets, attempts to solve the problem by equating the Elizabethan "love" to our friendship, but in so doing he obscures the fact that different kinds of relationships are involved.[12]

One other point must be emphasized. The love between men treated by E. K., by Sidney in the Arcadia, and by Drayton, while it is a love of the soul, is not a love divorced from sensuous gratification. It is precisely at this point that confusion arises. Friends, or lovers, in the Elizabethan era made open declarations of love, embraced and

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[12]Princeton, 1952.

kissed one another. All of this which would be suspect in this Freudian era was considered natural and normal. Unnatural love was completely excluded, but the line was drawn at a different point than it is today. Jeremy Taylor makes clear the relationship between the sensuous and spiritual sides of friendship in his Measure of Friendship: "The love of friends" must often be refreshed with:

> material and low caresses, lest by striving to be too divine it become less humane. It must be allowed its share of both: It is humane in giving pardon and fair construction, and openness and ingenuity, and keeping secrets; it hath something that is divine, because it is eternal.[13]

Such "material and low caresses" between friends are of course hard to comprehend in an era in which a story like Sherwood Anderson's "Hands" could be written, but the distinction between such sensuous gratification and unnatural vice must be kept clear if we are to understand the friendships of the Elizabethan era.

Marlowe complicated the problem by probing deeper than his predecessors, and by not drawing a clear line between the love of friends and unnatural vice. His misinterpretation of classical attitudes, based largely on a reading of pastoral

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[13] The Works of Jeremy Taylor, The Measure of Friendship (London, 1678), p. 72. See also Hans Kliem, Sentimentale Freundschaft in der Shakespeare-Epoche (Jena, 1915). Havelock Ellis' description of the friendships of the 1590's as ideal homosexuality simply begs the question, reading modern attitudes into the minds of the Elizabethans. His tracing of the attitudes of Marlowe, Barnfield and others to their reading of classical literature is more valuable; Havelock Ellis, Sexual Inversion (Philadelphia, 1904), p. 22.

combined with a natural breadth of view and a disposition to welcome the unorthodox, results in ambiguity in both Edward II, where he portrays a clearly homosexual relationship without the condemnation that was customary, and in Hero and Leander, where he implies that Leander's surprise at Neptune's advances is a result of naivete. Drayton, doubtless writing with Marlowe's Edward II at hand, clarifies the relationship. Had the King and Gaveston merely loved like friends, with the wide latitude of sensuous gratification permitted in such relationships, they would not have sinned. The clarity of Drayton's analysis of course is dependent on Marlowe's prior probing of the problem.

Marlowe contributed to the de-moralization of the pastoral love-lay in a third way, through development of the Ovidian invitation. It is true that Lodge had made a beginning in Scillaes Metamorphosis, but his poem is still in large part a complaint. Marlowe combines the age-old wooing poem, the pastoral invitation, with the narrative of Hero and Leander, producing a poem that is part rhetoric and part narrative, and that has been called an erotic epyllion. Epyllions had of course been used for erotic themes since Theocritus, and the erotic motif is primary in the epyllions of Bion and Moschus and of several Augustan Roman poets. Marlowe draws on this tradition, but he makes his poem an invitation as well.

Leander plays the part of the ardent young shepherd wooing Hero, Venus' nun, and Hero half-reluctantly answers his rhetorical advances with time-honored arguments in defense of virginity. The tone recalls that of Theocritus' wooing idyll, his twenty-seventh. The poem employs the metaphor of the warfare of love which Marlowe had learned from Ovid. Sparkling, delightful, and slightly aphrodisiac, it appealed to young Elizabethan gallants. It appealed also to the poets, and copies and imitations were soon coming from the presses.

Marlowe here, as in his lyric, had sounded the lovely note which marked the final emancipation of Elizabethan amorous poetry from the strains of didacticism and complaint. His poetry is the poetry of satisfaction, of fruition.

CHAPTER VI

THE PASSIONATE SHEPHERDESS

"Why doth the man ever wooe the woman, the woman never the man? Because men are most amorous, least chaste; woemen careless of fond affections, and, when they embrace them, fearful."[1] If women did not woo in private life among the Elizabethans, they wooed with a vengeance in the poetry and on the stage. The tradition of the fond Makyne was kept up by John Lyly, who had his Pandora, influenced by Venus, woo every shepherd in the Woman in the Moon. Light Salmacis had won the favor of the gods in her ardent pursuit of Hermaphroditis. Dido tempted Aeneas with all the wealth of Carthage, and Scilla, wounded by Cupid, courted Glaucus, whom she had disdained. William Shakespeare, eager to find a subject pleasing to young noblemen about London, and especially Southampton, meditated on these and profited by their example.

Shakespeare loved to play with unusual subjects, especially in the field of sex, and noting the success of

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[1]John Lyly, in an entertainment presented before the queen in 1592, in Works, ed. Bond, I, 482.

Marlowe's Hero and Leander he wrote an imitation, again combining the pastoral invitation with the mythological tale, but adding the spice, much to the taste of young Elizabethans, of a reverse wooing. Venus was already known for her aggressive qualities, and the story of Salmacis and Hermaphroditus offered a model for the courting of a shy young man by an amorous nymph--or shepherdess, or goddess.[2]

Copying the rhetoric of Marlowe and the relationship of the story of Salmacis and Hermaphroditus, Shakespeare wrote Venus and Adonis (1593). By the simple device of making his hero, Adonis, a reluctant lover like Hermaphroditus, Shakespeare created a poem even more clearly aphrodisiac in intent than Marlowe's. His heroine, the ardent Venus, woos this reluctant young man with both rhetoric and physical prowess.

Like Hero and Leander, Shakespeare's poem is an Ovidian invitation poem. The setting is pastoral, and "sick-thoughted" Venus invites Adonis to love. One of the most interesting passages that Shakespeare added to his Ovidian original is a pure pastoral invitation. It adds something new, however. Venus offers Adonis the delights of her person, describing them in terms of pastoral metaphor. The use of the term mountains (or fountains) for breasts, and the like is perhaps suggested by Marlowe's "Come Live With

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[2]For references to Venus as wooer see Smith, Elizabethan Poetry, p. 85.

Me" lyric, but Shakespeare made this bit of technique quite explicit. The use of such pastoral metaphor became a commonplace of Elizabethan amorous poetry. Douglas Bush has noted that the Elizabethan poets lengthened the medieval catalogue of feminine beauties and added warmth, but they did more; they achieved a specially alluring quality by concealing the dainties they displayed under a delicate lacework of metaphor. The results may be savored in Shakespeare's contribution to the genre:

> "Fondling," she saith, "since I have hemm'd
> thee here
> Within the circuit of this ivory pale,
> I'll be a park, and thou shalt be my deer;
> Feed where thou wilt, on mountain or in dale:
> Graze on my lips, and if those hills
> be dry,
> Stray lower, where the pleasant fountains
> lie.
>
> "Within this limit is relief enough,
> Sweet bottom-grass and high delightful plain,
> Round rising hillocks, brakes obscure and
> rough,
> To shelter thee from tempest and from rain:
> Then be my deer, since I am such a park,
> No dog shall rouse thee, though a
> thousand bark. (ll. 229-240)[3]

Shakespeare presents the wooing of Venus at considerable length and with titillating detail calculated to delight the apprentices as well as the young gallants of London. Finally Adonis goes to hunt the boar and is killed in traditional fashion. The story, a favorite of the Alexandrian writers of pastoral, is clearly an invitation poem. A combination of the pastoral invitatiin with the Ovidian tale, it is one of a new genre.

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[3]R. S. Forsythe listed this passage in his "Passionate Shepherd and English Poetry," PMLA (1925), 713.

From poems like this we can see clearly the distance we have travelled. The didactic pastorals of Barclay had given place to plaintive pastorals in the 1580's. These in turn were replaced by wooing poems, frankly sensuous and aphrodisiac. The change was in part due to a growing comprehension of the meaning of classical pastoral; it resulted in part from the increase of luxury and in material wealth. The point-of-view of the poets was partly determined, of course, by audience. The middle-class audience was important, and the dichotomy of attitude to be found in the poems of Spenser has been traced in part at least to the difference in taste between the courtly audience which was sophisticated and delighted in the sensuous, and the middle-class audience, which was more grave and sober--at times even grim.[4] Shakespeare frankly appealed to aristocratic tastes in _Venus and Adonis_.

Shakespeare's poem, however, while perhaps more consciously aphrodisiac than _Hero and Leander_, lacks Marlowe's lightness of touch. "Instead of an erotic innocent, Adonis is something of an adolescent lout." Venus, too, lacks the charm of Hero. "Venus herself represents no ideal picture of physical love. She is dominated by the imagery, which most often and most significantly revolves around the hard and violent appetite of the hawk."[5] Nonetheless, the young

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[4] J. W. Saunders, "The Facade of Morality," _ELH_ (1952), 81-114.

[5] Hallett Smith, _Elizabethan Poetry_, p. 86.

reader of the 1590's did not read the poem for these qualities. The character Hairbrain in Thomas Middleton's A Mad World My Masters exclaims:

> I have conveyed away all her wanton pamphlets; as Hero and Leander, Venus and Adonis; O, two luscious marrow-bone pies for a young married wife![6]

Granley's Amanda, or the Reformed Whore (1635) lists Venus and Adonis and Salmacis and Hermaphroditus as items in a courtesan's library.[7]

Shakespeare's development of the motif of the amorous Goddess in the Ovidian invitation was promptly picked up by Thomas Edwards. Edwards' Cephalus and Procris was entered in the Stationer's Register as Procris and Cephalus on October 22, 1593, six months after the entry of Venus and Adonis. The poem is the first known imitation of Venus and Adonis,[8] and it had the same appeal for amorous Elizabethans. It was "by the greedy printers so made prostitute that they are contemned."[9] Edwards realized that Shakespeare's poem had appealed to readers because of its exploitation of the wooing of reluctant male by amorous female, and he follows

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[6]Quoted in John Bakeless, The Tragicall History of Christopher Marlowe (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942), I, 139.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Hallett Smith points out, p. 92 n., that J. Q. Adams is in error in describing Oenone and Paris as the first imitation of Venus and Adonis.

[9]William Covell's Polimenteia, Sig. Q4^v, quoted by Smith, p. 91.

him closely. By utilizing the story of Cephalus and Procris he avails himself of a new reason for the male's reluctance, however. Aurora woos Cephalus with enticing catalogues of pastoral gifts, but Cephalus is a married man. He will not be false to Procris.

Edwards played another variation on the theme of the amorous and exotic with his Narcissus, printed, with Cephalus and Procris, in 1595. Narcissus woos himself in a fountain, cataloguing pastoral delights. But the whole illustrates once again the union of the pastoral type of complaint with the complaint of the Mirror for Magistrates, for the poem is narrated by the ghost of Narcissus. Narcissus is made somewhat ridiculous, since the form of the poem requires that he discuss his own charms and their effect on others.

Narcissus is also of interest for a stanza in which Edwards laments the passing of Marlowe and Thomas Watson, and at the same time indicates their reputation as amorous poets:

> Amintas and Leander's gone
> Oh deere sonnes of stately kings,
> Blessed be your nimble throats
> That so amorously could sing.[10]

The pastoral connections of the new erotic Ovidian poems are best illustrated by the next of the kind to appear. This was the Oenone and Paris of Thomas Heywood,

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[10]Ed. W. E. Buckley (Roxburghe Clug, 1882), p. 62.

registered on May 17, 1594.[11] Heywood's poem reveals the influence of Marlowe and of Shakespeare, and he alludes to Edwards' poem:

> Loe howe Aurora with her blushing face
> Bewrayes her lust with Cephalus her lover.
> (ll. 61-62)

Whereas Hero and Leander and Venus and Adonis had obvious pastoral elements, the role of Paris as a shepherd makes this poem one of the best examples of the Ovidian invitation, enabling us to see the poems as the Elizabethans saw them, as pastoral invitation poems.

Paris is presented as entering a pastoral paradise, having just left Helen:

> Fastening his Palferey to a beechen spring,
> He softly paced to a pleasant bower:
> There had the Silvanes planted many a thing,
> Flora bedecked it with eche smelling flower,
> The Primrose, Cow-slippe, and the Daffadillie,
> The Pinke, the Daysie, Violet, and Lillie. (ll. 13-18)

Oenone, weeping over his desertion, sees and approaches him, as Venus had approached Adonis. She reproaches him for leaving her for a princess, and tells him that her inferiors, the black-browed Phillis and the brown Galatea, deride her.[12]

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[11] Ed. J. Q. Adams (Washington: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1943). The publication of Oenone and Paris from a unique copy in 1943 made available to scholars one of the most important links in the evolution of the genre of Ovidian invitation poems. The fact that the Ovidian love poems derived from the tradition of the pastoral invitation becomes most clear after examination of a series of these poems. The pastoral element is most explicit in Oenone and Paris, in Endymion and Phoebe, and in the Affectionate Shepherd. They help us to see what the Elizabethan poets thought of the genre.

[12] Line 102.

Paris, momentarily struck with remorse, praises her as a shepherdess and implies that he is not pleased with the city life that he has embraced. Here the philosophical aspects of pastoral are introduced for the first time in a poem of this type:

> Grace to these hilles, and dales, and
>   lovely brookes,
> Disgrace to walled cities, traffique townes,
> Fame to the swift foote huntresses in these
>   nookes,
> Shame to the girles yclad in gorgeous gownes,
>   Flower of the forest, primrose of the
>   parke,
>   Lilly of these lawnes, Apolloes chiefest
>   marke. (ll. 169-174)

Nonetheless, Paris has an aspiring mind, and he will not return to these scenes of delight.

Oenone--Heywood satisfies middle class tastes by making her Paris' wife--now proceeds to woo in as warm a fashion as ever Robin wooed Makyne, or Venus Adonis. Paris, as Oenone's husband, does not need the qualities of reluctance and naiveté possessed by Hermaphroditus. He simply is in love with Helen, and no longer interested in his wife. Here is still another variation on the motif of the ardent dame and the cold lover.

Heywood capitalizes on the natural rejection of war in the pastoral world by having Oenone appeal to Paris to reject real war in favor of war with her. Like Shakespeare's Venus, Oenone is rhetorical mistress of such amatory warfare:

"But if thou needes wilt warre, then
warre with me:
A meeker battaile, trust me, can not be.

"I am thy foe, doe what thou canst to force me!
Tilt, fayre, but fayrely, least thy stroakes
rebound.
Sit fast and close, or else I will unhorse thee,
Yet fall the first, to save thee from the ground.
If I be foundred, t'is but a meere chaunce;
I force not to be foyled with thy launce.

"Thy armes for armour, sute for swords, may stead
thee;
My selfe unarmed lighter will I strippe.
Thou hast the oddes, and yet I dare to lead thee;
Ayme where thou wilt, first stroke shall be at
lippe.
The next encounter can doe little harme;
Well can I winde mee in thy twining arme.

"And if I lye the undermost of all,
It's not the vantage that can make me fear;
Thou canst not hurt mee with a backewarde fall,
Poore women-kinde are bredde and borne to beare.
If to this warre thou canst thy liking frame,
Be what thou wilt, and I will be the same.

"Be Phaoes Boateman, I will be thy barke;
Bathe in this fountaine here a while to sport thee,
Thy milke white skinne the pebbles shall not marke,
Twixt them and thee Ile lye me least they hurt thee;
Oh be my sternesman, I will be thy barge,
It's not thy weight that can me overcharge.
(ll. 437-462)

But even such sweetly figurative invitations would not avail; Paris only laughed, vowed that he would be a prince, and left Oenone to complain in the vale.

Written in the stanza of Venus and Adonis, Heywood's poem does not reveal the skill of Shakespeare in versification or in variation within stanzas. Heywood does display considerable inventive powers. While he follows Venus and Adonis closely in his opening, his imitation is by no means

servile. His poem interweaves the elements of invitation and complaint, it is concerned with the antithesis between city and country, between the pastoral life and the courtly life. Further, Paris, to justify himself, tells the story of the appearance of the three goddesses and argues that it was fate that he should abandon Oenone for Helen.

Even more clearly than in Oenone and Paris the motif of the pastoral invitation appears in Drayton's Endimion and Phoebe (1595). Phoebe, a passionate but chaste goddess, woos Endimion with the whole battery of familiar pastoral delights and gifts. In Drayton's poem one can see plainly the connection between the Ovidian invitations and lyrics like Marlowe's "Come Live With Me." When Phoebe appeared to Endimion disguised as an earthly nymph, she had already been long worshipped by him. This artifice enables Drayton to make use of all the allurements of the fashionable genre without completely losing sight of his basically Platonic purpose.

Phoebe prepares a pastoral retreat far surpassing the lovely dwelling of Calypso or the pleasant cave to which Polyphemus had invited Galatea:

> Upon this Mount there stood a stately Grove,
> Whose reaching armes, to clip the Welkin
>   strove,
> . . . .
> The clustred Grapes, the golden Citrons hung,
> More glorious then the precios fruite were
>   these,
> Kept by the dragon in Hesperides,

Or gorgious Arras in rich colours wrought,
With silk from Affrick, or from Indie
brought:
Out of thy soyle sweet bubling Fountains crept,
As though for joy the sencelesse stones had
wept;
With straying channels dauncing sundry wayes,
With often turnes, like to a curious Maze:
Which breaking forth, the tender grasse
bedewed,
Whose silver sand with orient Pearle was
strewed,
Shadowed with Roses and sweet Eglantine,
Dipping theyr sprayes into this christalline.
(ll. 23-52)

But even this is merely on the side of the mountain: the paradise is on top.

Endimion, meanwhile, is portrayed as being courted by enamored nymphs and by Jove, whose bi-sexual amours fascinated virtually all Elizabethan poets:

And _Jove_ oft-times bent to lascivious sport,
And comming where Endimion did resort,
Hath courted him, inflamed with desire,
Thinking some Nymph was cloth'd in boyes
attire. (ll. 92-96)

Phoebe, as she goes to Endimion, is disguised indeed. She is a nymph enticingly clad:

A dainty smock of Cipresse, fine and thin,
Or'e cast with curls next to her Lilly
skin:
Throgh which the pureness of the same did
show
Lyke Damaske-roses strew'd with flakes of
snow,
Discovering all her stomack to the waste,
With branches of sweet circling veynes
enchaste. (ll. 121-126)

Having found Endimion, she woos him, offering an expanded catalogue of the delights traditionally promised by shepherd lovers:

"thou shalt lead the gay Gyrles in a
ring;
Birds with their wings shall fan thee in the
sun,
And all the fountaynes with pure wine shall
run,
I have a Quier of dainty Turtle-doves,
And they shall sit and sweetly sing our loves:
Ile lay thee on the Swans soft downy plume,
And all the Winde shall gently breath perfume,
. . . .
The Muses still shall keepe thee company,
And lull thee with inchaunting harmony;
If not all these, yet let my vertues move
thee,
A chaster Nymph Endimion cannot love thee.
(ll. 212-224)

Not even this catalogue of delights sways Endimion however. He has a stranger reason for refusing than Hermaphroditus, Cephalus, or Paris. He is a devotee of Phoebe, the goddess, and not knowing that he is being wooed by Phoebe in disguise, he rejects her. She then offers still more pastoral delights:

Thy Ewes (qd. she) with Milk shall daily
spring,
And to thy profit yeerely Twins shall bring,
And thy fayre flock, (a wonder to behold)
Shall have their fleeces turn'd to burnisht
gold;
Thy batefull pasture to thy wanton Thewes,
Shall be refresht with Nectar-dropping dewes
The Oakes smooth leaves, sirropt with hony
fall,
Trickle down drops to quench thy thirst
withall. (ll. 249-256)

Endimion still resists, but when she has gone he suddenly feels the fire of love. Now, as in "Robin and Makyne," the tables are turned. Endimion woos and Phoebe refuses.

Finally she reveals herself as his beloved goddess, and he goes with her to the pastoral paradise on top of Mount Latmos to receive an astronomy lesson. When Drayton revised the poem and printed it as _The Man in the Moon_, in 1606, he eliminated the invitation passage and the double wooing completely. He apparently felt that the sensuous tone of the invitation contradicted the chaste, philosophical conclusion. The resulting didactic poem illustrates well Drayton's shift from Elizabethan to Jacobean attitudes.

A comparison between _Endimion and Phoebe_ and Drayton's _Shepheards Garland_ (1593) is instructive. Drayton's eclogues in the _Shepheards Garland_ are modelled on Spenser's _Shepheardes Calender_. As a result comparison with them shows the change in pastoral. _Endimion and Phoebe_ is a fairly long narrative poem, mythological and sensuous. The eclogues, like Spenser's, are plaintive and didactic. All nine of them deal with the shepherd as poet and as lover; Drayton did not write eclogues on questions of religion, as had Spenser.

Like Spenser, Drayton makes his first and last eclogues monologues of complaint, and like Spenser he relates them to the beginning and the end of the year. In his second eclogue Drayton has his "Motto" champion love's divinity, like Piers in Spenser's "October" eclogue. He carries on that tradition of discussing love in relation to poetry which stemmed from Theocritus' eleventh idyll:

> Oh divine love which so aloft canst raise,
> And lift the mind out of this earthly mire,
> And do'st inspire the pen with so hie
> prayse,
> As with the heavens doth equal man's desire.
> (ll. 82-85)

The one specific invitation in Drayton's series, in the seventh eclogue, is an invitation to the quiet life. It is cast in familiar form. The aged shepherd, Borrill, urges the young Batte to leave city and court and share his simple existence:

> Batte, my coate from tempest standeth free,
> When stately towers been often shakt with
> wind,
> And wilt thou Batte, come and sit with me?
> contented life here shalt thou only finde,
> Here mais't thou caroll hymnes and sacred
> psalmes,
> And hery Pan with orizons and palmes.
> (ll. 19-24)

This invitation relates the poem to the widespread dispraise of courtly life. Batte is in no mood to listen, for he is "a foolish wanton boy, but lately falne in love." Drayton's poem, then, is a dialogue, in part invitation, in part lecture against love.

The qualities which we find in Drayton's Endimion and Phoebe, but which his formal eclogues lack, are the narrative, the mythological element, and above all the sensuous note. In the eclogue form pastoral was restrained; combined with the Ovidian tale it yielded a new, exuberant, typically Elizabethan kind of poetry.

The popularity of Venus and Adonis and Hero and Leander led to widespread imitation. For the rest of the 1590's and

the first two decades of the next century Ovidian mythological tales, usually containing pastoral elements, poured from the presses. The delighted release from didacticism which had resulted in the production of the new amorous poetry led to an increasing concern with the aphrodisiac. Before the turn of the century works like Nashe's Choise of Valentines and Marston's Pygmalion went beyond the sensuous or even salacious to the pornographic. Nashe portrays pastoral wooing in a bawdy house, while Marston drains the last ounce of titillation from Pygmalion's wooing of his lovely statue.

The passionate shepherdess continued to appeal. John Weever made the most of the popular taste with his Faunus and Melliflora (1600). Not satisfied with the enticements of one loving nymph, he surrounds his hero with fifty. They invite Faunus to their pastoral abode, offer him alluring delights, and play kissing games with him. The didactic element of pastoral creeps in, however, for when Faunus returns home exhausted after seven days of such sports his father reads him a lecture, a diatribe right out of Mantuan, about the evils of womankind. At this point the change that had come over pastoral becomes clear, for the author intervenes and stoutly defends woman, denouncing man for having seized dominance over her. When poets not only write light, sensuous love poetry, but defend woman into the bargain, we have come a long way from the ascetic pastorals of Mantuan.

But to return to Faunus. He ignores his father, realizes he is in love, and returns to the woods to win Melliflora, who has been most ardent in wooing him. Melliflora, however, has had time to change her mind: Weever makes use of the device of the turnabout courtship, and has Faunus woo her.

The Passionate Pilgrim (1599) exemplifies the popularity of light amorous semi-pastoral verse, for it contains similar efforts by a number of different poets. It offers convincing evidence of the popularity of the ardent lady, for it contains no less than four sonnets which are Ovidian invitation poems in miniature. These poems have sometimes been attributed to Shakespeare on the ground of similarity to Venus and Adonis, but they are simply of the same genre--though in miniature. In each poem Venus (or Cytherea) longs for or woos Adonis, and in each he escapes. In the eleventh poem the tale of Venus is applied to the poet's own case, a favorite device:

> Venus with Adonis sitting by her,
> Under a Mirtle shade began to wooe him,
> She told the youngling how god Mars did
>   trie her,
> And as he fell to her, she fell to him.
> Even thus (quoth she) the warlike god
>   embrac't me:
> And then she clipt Adonis in her armes:
> Even thus (quoth she) the warlike god
>   unlac't me,
> As if the boy should use like loving
>   charmes:
> And with her lips on his did act the
>   seizure:

And as she fetched breath, away he skips,
And would not take her meaning nor her
pleasure.
Ah, that I had my Lady at this bay:
To kisse and clip me till I run away.

The Passionate Pilgrim is of interest to us in other ways. Attributed to Shakespeare, the poems it contained were actually by a number of writers. Among these was Richard Barnfield, whose lovely lyric "As it Fell Upon a Day" was long thought to be Shakespeare's. The relationship between Barnfield and Shakespeare is important because of similarities between their sonnet sequences. The Passionate Pilgrim also contained the first version of Marlowe's "Come Live With Me" to be printed, and two of Shakespeare's sonnets. One of these, "Two Loves Have I," is related to the curious triangle story in Shakespeare's sonnets.

Along with these amatory verses the Passionate Pilgrim contains some lovely pastorals. Number twelve, a monologue of invitation, resolves the traditional pastoral debate in favor of youth:

Crabbed age and youth cannot live together,
Youth is full of pleasance, Age is full of
care,
Youth like summer morne, Age like winter
weather,
Youth like summer brave, Age like winter bare.
Youth is full of sport, Ages breath is short,
Youth is nimble, Age is lame
Youth is hot and bold, Age is weak and cold,
Youth is wild, and Age is tame.
Age I doe abhor thee, Youth I doe adore thee,
O my love my love is young:
Age I doe defie thee. Oh sweet Shepheard hie
thee:
For methinks thou staies too long.

In its very title the <u>Passionate Pilgrim</u> testified to the popularity of poems with the word "passionate" or "affectionate" in the title. Thomas Watson started the vogue with his <u>Passionate Century of Love</u>, and it was to thrive until the publication in 1602 of Nicholas Breton's <u>Passionate Shepherd</u>.

Although poems portraying passionate nymphs continued to be published in the early part of the seventeenth century, the next Ovidian invitation poem of interest to us, Carew's "Rapture" (1640), reverses the pattern. Closer to Marlowe's "Come Live With Me" in rhetorical approach than many of the Ovidian poems, it drops the narrative element in favor of a long, luscious monologue of invitation, playing all the possible variations on Shakespeare's application of pastoral to the anatomy. "Rapture" applies pastoral metaphor to love-making more bluntly than any of its predecessors.

Basing himself on the concept of the Golden Age, the poet assumes that he can build a new elysium with his verse, and he invites his love to join him there with the great lovers of the past, all freed from pain:

> I will enjoy thee now my Celia, come
> And flye with me to Loves Elizium:
> The Gyant, Honour, that keepes cowards out,
> Is but a Masquer, and the servile rout
> Of baser subjects onely, bend in vaine
> To the vast Idoll, whilst the nobler traine
> Of valiant Lovers, daily sayle betweene
> The huge Collosses legs, and passe unseene
> Unto the blissful shore; . . . ."

Such valiant lovers as they are will ignore marriage, honour and convention, and the queen of love will help them after they have avoided the giant:

> There, shall the Queene of Love, and
>   Innocence,
> Beautie and Nature, banish all offence
> From our close Ivy twines, there I'le
>   behold
> Thy bared snow, and thy unbraded gold.
> There, my enfranchiz'd hand, on every side
> Shall o're thy naked polish'd Ivory slide.
> No curtaine there, though of transparent
>   lawne,
> Shall be before thy virgin-treasure drawne;
> But the rich Mine, to the enquiring eye
> Expos'd, shall ready still for mintage lye,
> And we will coyne young Cupids.

It is at this point that the pastoral catalogue begins, interwoven with the description of love, and at times becoming that description:

>   There, a bed
> Of roses, and fresh Myrtles, shall be spread
> Uner the cooler shade of Cypresse groves:
> Our pillowes, of the downe of Venus Doves,
> Whereon our panting lims wee'le gently lay
> In the faint respites of our active play; . . .

This is certainly plain enough. Then the stream will court the shore, the 'chirping wood-quire' will worship the 'deitie of love,' and music will play. Then he, the poet, will, like a bee, rifle all the sweets that dwell in his delicious paradise. Here the flower metaphors begin, putting the old lists of pastoral delights to new use:

> I'le seize the Rose-buds in their
>   perfum'd bed,
> The Violet knots, like curious mazes spread
> O're all the Garden, taste the ripned
>   Cherry,
> The Warme, firme Apple, tipt with coral
>   berry:

> Then will I visit, with a wandring kisse,
> The vale of Lillies and the Bower of
> Blisse.[13]

There is no denying that this is lovely, but there is also no denying that it is very far removed from the Shepheardes Calender. Pastoral has become a sensuous, warm, lovely tool for seduction, for love-making, for expressing erotic sentiment, and it has been completely divorced from lambs and the countryside. The scene of the pastoral elysium is now the body of the beloved.

The focus of attention is finally shifted from the individual love scene to the elysium of love: ". . . . .there the hated name/ Of husband, wife, lust, modest, chaste, or shame,/Are vaine and empty words, whose very sound/ Was never heard in the Elizian ground." We only sin there "when loves rites are not done."

Carew's poem is a late example, and an extreme one, of the amatory purposes to which the pastoral invitation could be put. While voluptuous poems continued to be written, there were of course continuing attacks against them. Marlowe's Elegies had been burned in 1598, and at the turn of the century a series of satires were directed, among other things, at loose poetry. Printers, booksellers, and bluenoses all knew that Venus and Adonis and Hero and Leander were popular, and the bluenoses suspected why. The English

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[13] Carew's "A Rapture," in Poems, ed. Rhodes Dunlap (Oxford, 1949), p. 49.

Gentlewoman advised ladies to eschew such reading matter:

> Thirdly, bookes treating of light subjects, are nurseries of wantonnesse: they instruct the loose Reader to become naught; whereas before, touching naughtinesse he knew naught. A story of the rape of Ganimedes, or of light Laius in Euripides, are their daily Lectures. Plato's Divine Philosophy, or Dicearchus pious precepts of Morality, must vaile to Alcaeus, or Anacreon's wanton Poesie. Venus and Adonis are unfitting consorts for a Ladies bosome. Remove them timely from you, if they ever had entertainment by you, lest, like the Snake in the fable, they annoy you.[14]

A more serious reaction against Ovidian poetry may be seen in the poems of John Milton. Milton loved Ovidian amorous poetry in his youth, and his early Latin poems reflect this interest. However, he deliberately turned from the Ovidian to the purposeful and moral. The passionate shepherdesses of the poets of the 1590's give place to a chaste lady in Milton's Comus (1634), and chastity becomes once more, as with Britomart, an active virtue.

Comus, like other masques, has much of the pastoral in it. Further, Milton was a close reader of Marlowe and the other Ovidian poets, and Comus can be seen as an answer to the amorous invitation poems. There was, after all, something ambiguous in Hero and Leander. Leander wooed like a bold sharp sophister, and the gods were against him. By the time of Milton the words of Leander have become the words of the

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[14] The English Gentlewoman, together with The English Gentleman (1641), p. 349.

devil. They are put in the mouth of Comus, the tempter, The lady, far from wooing, resists Comus' advances and retains her chastity.

Milton's masque is a kind of night pastoral. Eclogues had always begun with the dawn, but Milton, suggesting evil, has Comus speak as night falls:

> The Star that bids the shepherd fold,
> Now the top of Heav'n doth hold,
> And the gilded Car of Day,
> His glowing Axle doth allay
> In the steep Atlantick stream. (ll. 93-97)

Comus, like a lusty young swain, welcomes the comrades of the night, and rejects rigorous age:

> Meanwhile welcom Joy, and Feast,
> Midnight shout, and revelry,
> Tipsie dance, and Jollity.
> . . . .
> Rigor now is gon to bed,
> And Advice with scrupulous head,
> Strict Age, and sowre Severity,
> With their grave Saws in slumber lie.
> (ll. 102-110)

When the lady appears, Comus is the seducer, the Ovidian lover, and he has forgotten none of Leander's arguments:

> List Lady be not coy, and be not cosen'd
> With that same vaunted name Virginity,
> Beauty is natures coyn, must not be hoorded,
> But must be currant, and the good thereof
> Consists in mutual and partak'n bliss.
> (ll. 737-741)

She is not to be won by rhetoric, and she answers Comus with words that might have been addressed to Leander:

> Enjoy your dear Wit, and gay Rhetorick
> That hath so well been taught her dazling
> fence,
> Thou art not fit to hear thyself convinc't.
> (ll. 790-792)

The Lady triumphs over the seducer and is rescued. The passionate shepherdess has been transformed into the chaste maiden, and poetry becomes moral once more. The movement of the cycle of Ovidian poetry, which parallels that of pastoral poetry, has been well described by Hallett Smith:

> The Ovidian tradition . . . emerged from the Middle Ages as heavy allegorical didacticism, evolved in the sixteenth century in an emancipated glorification of the senses and the imagination, and returned in the seventeenth century to philosophical interpretation.[15]

From Spenser to Milton we have come full circle.

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[15] Smith, Elizabethan Poetry, p. 64.

CHAPTER VII

THE MARRIAGE OF TRUE MINDS: BARNFIELD AND SHAKESPEARE

The Elizabethan delight in the exploration of novel sexual relationships was, as we have seen, not exhausted by the creation of the wooing lady. Poets continued to be fascinated by classical stories of affection or love between men. That readers also were attracted to such stories, and that they were considered to be aphrodisiac in effect, is suggested by the warning in the _English Gentlewoman_ that stories of Jove and Ganymede led to wantonness. The primary classical source for such stories--the source most familiar to the Elizabethans--was pastoral poetry. Spenser had introduced a love relationship based on Virgil's "Alexis," and Marlowe had made much use of the theme. There had been a parallel development of the literature of the love of friends in the tale "Titus and Gisippus," in Elyot's _Boke of the Gouvernor_, in _Euphues_, and in the _Arcadia_. One hint to be derived from pastoral had not yet been acted on: Barnfield and Shakespeare wrote poetry in praise of young men.

Although the sonnets of Barnfield obviously derive from the second eclogue of Virgil, and although Thomas Warton

long ago related sonnets like his and Shakespeare's to the tradition of pastoral, critics have searched far afield for the sources of Shakespeare's sonnets. Both interested in literary novelty, and both literary explorers of various kinds of sexual relationships, Barnfield and Shakespeare naturalized in England the motif of Theocritus' thirteenth idyll and Virgil's second eclogue. In Barnfield's case the relationship to the two classical poems is direct; with Shakespeare the relationship is indirect, and it is complex.

The poems of Richard Barnfield are of great interest to us for two reasons. First, he was the first in England to write an imitation of the "Alexis" of Virgil presenting the ardent love of a shepherd for a youth. Second, Barnfield, an electic writer, unites as no other poet does the various streams of pastoral that have been discussed. In the Shepheardes Calender, Spenser had united various streams of pastoral. Barnfield, in his Affectionate Shepheard (1594) united in one poem complaint and invitation, the Ovidian amorous strain, the didactic strain, and the love of a shepherd for a boy. In addition he transferred from the pastoral to the sonnet form the love of shepherd for youth. This transfer I believe to be of much importance.

Hallett Smith has elucidated the connections of Barnfield's poem with the earlier traditions:

> We have already seen that there were certain connections between the Ovidian-mythological tradition and the pastoral tradition. Pastoral poetry was often erotic, and the distinction between goddesses, nymphs, and shepherdesses, or between the beautiful young men of myth and the feigned shepherd of pastoral, was often not clear. Barnfield had published in 1594, for example, a volume called The Affectionate Shepheard, dedicated to Penelope, Lady Rich, and containing a selection of poems of various sorts. The first two, complaints or love lamentations, are put in the mouth of a shepherd, Daphnis; but the object of his love is a boy, Ganymede, on the model, as Barnfield said, of Virgil's second eclogue, to Alexis. The work combines an elaboration of the pastoral invitation, as seen in Marlowe's "Passionate Shepherd" and similar poems, with the erotic appeals to a reluctant boy which characterize the Ovidian poems.[1]

As we have seen, the union of the pastoral invitation with the Ovidian narrative was common to the Ovidian erotic poems of the 1590's. What is specifically new about Barnfield's poem is that he sees the whole development, bases his Ovidian poem on Virgil's second eclogue, and yet capitalizes on the new characteristics of reluctance, making his shepherd woo a boy who is like the Adonis wooed by Venus. Further, he varies his poem by making his boy a beauty, graced with all the charms of the Petrarchan lady of the sonnets, and, like her, full of high disdain.

The most instructive approach to the poems of Barnfield is through a detailed examination of their connections with the whole development we have been exploring. Not that the

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[1]Hallett Smith, Elizabethan Poetry, p. 93.

poems are unimportant in themselves: Barnfield was regarded as one of the leading poets of his own period, and as late a writer as Thomas Warton classified him as one of the chief minor poets of the Elizabethan era--no small praise.[2] His status declined in the last century, one feels in part because of dislike for the subject-matter of the Affectionate Shepherd and a failure properly to interpret it. A new, but limited, edition of his poems appeared in 1936, and in 1952 a doctoral dissertation was devoted to his life and an evaluation of his work.[3] Barnfield should be restored to the standing of a good, but minor, poet of the 1590's. For our purposes, however, he is especially interesting for the light he throws on the whole development of pastoral.

The name of his poem, the Affectionate Shepheard, recalls once more the recognition of pastoral as amorous poetry and the vogue of titles containing the word "passionate" that resulted. The sub-title, "Containing the Complaint of Daphnis for the love of Ganymede," reveals that Barnfield thought of the poem as a complaint, although it contains both invitation and complaint. But another title appears after the dedication (to Penelope Rich, Sidney's Stella): "The

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[2]Thomas Warton, History of English Poetry, IV, 436.

[3]The Poems of Richard Barnfield, ed. Montague Summers (Fortune Press, 1936). Richard P. James, "The Life and Works of Richard Barnfield," an unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Northwestern, 1952.

Teares of an affectionate Shepheard sicke for Love." This makes clear that the love of Daphnis for Ganymede is something very different from the love of Colin for Hobbinol. It also reveals a connection with Watson, who was a friend of Barnfield, and who had written The Teares of Fancie in 1592, and a connection already discussed, with Fraunce's Amyntas, which is revealed in the title of the second part of the poem: "The Second Dayes Lamentation of the Affectionate Shepheard." Fraunce, as we saw earlier, had divided his lamentations of Amyntas for the death of Phillis by days. Further, Fraunce's translation of the second eclogue of Virgil was printed at the end of the series and entitled the "Lamentations of Corydon for the love of Alexis." These connections reveal the development that had taken place, from Spenser and Sidney, by way of Watson and Fraunce, to Barnfield. The tears and lamentations for failure in love recall the relationship, dating from the first idyll of Theocritus, between the dirge and the love-lay.

Bur Barnfield reveals the development of pastoral in other ways. His dedication to Penelope Rich suggests a relationship with this lady, Sidney's Stella, at least as a patroness. Critics have seen in a passage in his poem indications of a closer relationship.[4] In the warmth of the

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[4]Lady Guendolen in the poem is said to be Lady Rich. The old man shot with Cupid's dart represents her husband, the youth slain by Death's arrow, Sidney.

affection his Daphnis feels for Ganymede, Barnfield reveals another influence: that of Marlowe. His Affectionate Shepheard is full of echoes of Marlowe, and of those passages especially that are concerned with invitation or enticement. Barnfield has drawn heavily on Hero and Leander and Dido. Coming after Marlowe, Barnfield was able to perceive the true nature of Virgil's second eclogue, since the poem was no longer subject to the earlier didactic interpretation.

Barnfield's poem is much more directly concerned with boy-love than anything that Marlowe had written. It is only in scenes in his plays based on historical material, as in Edward II, or in material based on classical allusion, as in the opening scene of Dido, or the Neptune and Leander passage, that Marlowe deals with this element of pastoral. Barnfield, influenced by Marlowe, and ever interested in the unusual, took up the theme of Virgil's "Alexis" and made it the central concern of a long poem. The effect is heightened by the fact that Barnfield's poem, a monologue of complaint and invitation, is introduced by a passage in the first person, whereas Virgil had written the frame in the third person.

It is little wonder that Barnfield's contemporaries were startled by passages like these:

> If it be sinne to love a sweet-fac'd Boy,
> (Whose amber locks trust up in golden tramels
> Dangle adowne his lovely cheekes with joy,
> When pearle and flowers his faire haire
> enamels)

If it be sinne to love a lovely lad;
Oh then sinne I, for whom my soule is
sad.[5]

and:

Oh would to God he would but pitty mee,
That love him more than any mortall wight;
Then he and I with love would soone agree,
That now cannot abide his Sutors sight.
O would to God (so I might have my fee)
My lips were honey, and thy mouth a
Bee.[6]

The poem apparently aroused suspicion that Barnfield was addicted to 'unnatural vice', for when he published his Cynthia in 1595 he felt it necessary to issue a disclaimer. In a prefatory letter "To the Courteous gentlemen readers" he says that "he will unshadow his conceit, being: none other than an imitation of the Alexis of Virgil." C. S. Lewis speculates briefly on the question whether Barnfield was actually a victim of the "most uninteresting of all misfortunes," or was motivated by "a sheer humanist frenzy of imitation."[7] (Professor Lewis indicates throughout his book a distaste for imitation.) The two recent writers who have dealt with Barnfield at most length disagree flatly on the question of his homosexuality. Mr. Montague Summers in his introduction to a limited edition of Barnfield's works delivers a "learned discourse on pederastic poetry" and

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[5]The Poems of Barnfield, ed. E. Arber (Westminster, 1896), p. 5.

[6]Ibid., p. 8.

[7]C. S. Lewis, English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, p. 497.

concludes that Barnfield and Shakespeare were homosexual.[8] One feels that Mr. Summers is rather over-anxious to prove his case, at least as far as Shakespeare is concerned.

Richard P. James, writing in 1952, sums up all the evidence and concludes that Barnfield was not homosexual. We are more concerned with tracing literary developments than with speculations about the personal lives of poets long dead, but this matter has a specific literary interest. We have traced the growing interest in boy-love which developed from interest in classical pastoral. We have also sketched briefly the parallel development, also in large part based on the inspiration of classical literature, of the 'love of friends.' The love of friends, a heightened, idealized, affectionate friendship which allowed for caresses and a certain sensuous relationship, was clearly distinguished from what was then known as "unnatural vice."

With Marlowe the borderlines between the kinds of relationships become ambiguous, are broken down. The energetic mind of Marlowe, grasping at least part of the truth about the classical relationships, viewed all who were not aware of the possibilities of boy-love as naive. Barnfield, following Marlowe, has his Daphnis frankly and sensually seek the love of Ganymede. In Barnfield's poem, then--

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[8]See the Introduction to Summer's edition of Barnfield's poems.

leaving aside his private life, with which we are not concerned--he portrays a homosexual relationship. There is still ambiguity, and at times the virtuous quality of his love is emphasized, but in the lyrical passages there is little doubt of the meaning.

One other aspect of Barnfield's _Affectionate Shepheard_ is of great interest. It tells a story similar to that told in Shakespeare's sonnets. Daphnis loves Ganymede, who rejects him. Ganymede in turn loves, and is loved by, Guendolena, queen of beauty. It is obvious that here we have brought to the fore the story which lies in the background of the _Shepheardes Calender_. But there is an important difference from the Colin-Hobbinol-Rosalind triangle. Hobbinol had loved Colin, who had loved Rosalind, who disdained him. Barnfield, by having the lady love the youth beloved of the shepherd, complicates the relationships within the triangle. Marlowe had presented an equally complex triangle in _Edward II_, but he had made all of the relationships ambiguous and external. Barnfield begins to add depth by exploring the nature of the loves involved.

In a passage suggestive of lines to be found in Shakespeare's sonnets, Daphnis urges Ganymede to prefer his higher love to the love of Guendolin:

Compare the love of faire Queene Guendolin
With mine, and thou shalt see how she doth
    love thee:
I love thee for thy qualities divine,
But She doth love another Swaine above thee:
    I love thee for thy gifts, She for hir
        pleasure;
    I for thy Vertue, She for Beauties
        Treasure.[9]

Here the implication is that the love of Daphnis for Ganymede is that higher form of "paederastice" of which E. K. spoke in the gloss to the "January" eclogue. It can therefore be contrasted to the lower desires of Guendolin. Passages like the following, however, underline the sensual nature of Daphnis' affection and contradict his protestations of virtuous love:

Why doo thy Corall lips disdaine to kisse,
And sucke that Sweete, which manie have
    desired?
That Baulme my Bane, that meanes would mend
    my misse:
Oh let me then with thy sweete Lips b'inspired;
    When thy lips touch my lips, my lips
        will turne
    To Corall too, and being cold yce will
        burne.[10]

This stanza, incidentally, illustrates well Barnfield's inclination to indulge in over-flowery figures.

In the "Second Dayes Lamentation of the Affectionate Shepheard" Barnfield continues to build amplifications on the theme of the pastoral invitation:

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[9] Poems, ed. Arber, p. 11.

[10] Poems, ed. Arber, p. 15.

> And when th'art wearie of thy keeping Sheepe
> Upon a lovely Downe, (to please thy minde)
> Ile give thee fine ruffe-footed Doves to keepe,
> And pretie pidgeons of another kinde:
>   A Robbin-red-brest shall thy Minstrell bee,
>   Chirping thee sweet, and pleasant Melodie.[11]

But at length he wearies of this, and in a reverse startling to the reader he falls into a didactic vein. Here once more Barnfield draws on the history of pastoral. We soon discover that Daphnis has become metamorphosed into the wise old shepherd of humanist pastoral. He proceeds to give Ganymede good advice:

> Remember Age, and thou canst not be prowd,
> For age pulls downe the pride of every man;
> In youthfull years by Nature tis allowde
> To have selfe-will, doo nurture what she can;
>   Nature and nurture once together met,
>   The soul and shape in decent order set.[12]

Here again Barnfield is recapitulating the history of pastoral. Imitating the second eclogue, he had written a love poem addressed to a youth. Having the knowledge of the Petrarchan tradition in mind, he had given his youth some of the qualities of a Petrarchan maiden--hardness of heart, for example. Knowing the Ovidian invitation tradition, he applied it to the wooing of his lovely lad. Finally, aware also that in its Renaissance form the derivative of the second eclogue had been the didactic poem of advice against love, and of praise of virtue in general, he brings in those elements too.

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[11] _Ibid._, p. 13.

[12] _Ibid._, p. 17

Barnfield's poem, then, draws together all of the chief attitudes to be found in the pastoral love-lay throughout its history.

It must be emphasized again that Barnfield puts all of this in the first person. With him the pastoral mask almost disappears, so that the temptation to interpret his poem as autobiographical has been very strong. The personal note, suggestive of the approach of the sonnet, links Barnfield's work again with Shakespeare's. One of the closest links appears in those lines in which Barnfield has Daphnis refer to his own age. The passage, written when Barnfield was twenty, recalls the December eclogue of the Shepheardes Calender. The autobiographical fallacy which flowers when the lines are read without a knowledge of the pastoral tradition has led critics to be amazed that Barnfield so describes himself at twenty:

> Behold my gray head, full of silver haires,
> My wrinckled skin, deepe furrowes in my face:
> Cares bring Old-Age, Old-Age increaseth cares;
> My time is come, and I have run my Race:
>   Winter hath snow'd upon my hoarie head,
>   And with my Winter all my joys are dead.[13]

Barnfield's poems recall other aspects of the pastoral tradition. His advice to "hear shpehards oft" reminds us of the identification of poet and shepherd. His "Shepherds Content" treats the delights of a retired life as contrasted

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[13] Ibid., p. 23.

to the evils of courts. In it he devotes a stanza to Sidney and another to Amintas (Watson), recalling once again that pastoral was the poetry of poets. In his Cynthia (1595), he makes his contribution to the literature of shepherds who sang in praise of Elizabeth. In the Complaint of Poetrie (1598), he draws on the tradition, as old as Theocritus, of discussing in pastoral the lack of patronage of poets, but casts his poem in the form of the love-complaint.

The fact that links Barnfield most closely with Shakespeare is that he published sonnets devoted to the love of man for man. These sonnets, published with Cynthia in 1595, continue the story of Daphnis and Ganymede. They are conventional sonnets, of no more than ordinary competence, but interesting for their application of all the devices of the Petrarchan tradition to the praise of a lovely youth. One, Sonnet XVIII, is an invitation. All the world woos Ganymede:

> Not one that on his Angels face hath gazed,
> But (ravisht with delight) him presents
> brings.
> Some weaning Lambs, and some a sucklin Kyd,
> Some Nuts, and fil-beards, others Peares
> and Plums,
> Another with a milk-white Heyfar comes;
> As lately Aegon's man (Damaetas) did:
> But neither he, nor all the Nymphs beside,
> Can win my Ganymede with them t'abide.

Sonnets VII and XVIII contain references to noted boy-loves of the Greeks:

Apollo lov'd a boy
And Cyparissus was Silvanus joy,

and:

Not Megabaetes nor Cleonymus,
(Of whom great Plutarch makes such mention,
Praysing their faire with rare invention)
As Ganymede were halfe so beauteous.

The sonnet sequence does not show any development. The separate sonnets are only linked together by a common theme: the beauty of Ganymede.

The pastoral element in Shakespeare's sonnets is not nearly so obvious as in Barnfield's. Shakespeare's choice of theme, however, the love of a man right fair, is much more easily understood in relation to the development of pastoral in England than in relation to the development of the sonnet in Italy and France. (The usual approach has, of course, been through the continental line of development.) It is true that sonnets addressed by men to men were by no means a rarity in the Italy of the Renaissance; perhaps the most famous series was that written by Michelangelo. Further, the choice of a man as the object for adulation offered opportunities to mock the sonnet tradition and the Platonic idealization of woman. It seems to me much more likely, however, that Shakespeare was influenced by the Colin-Hobbinol story, by the translations of Fraunce, by Marlowe, and by Barnfield.

It will be noted that in listing Barnfield I have become involved in the problem of the dating of Shakespeare's

I think it is logical to assume that Shakespeare's sonnet series was begun after the publication of the _Affectionate Shepheard_. The _terminus post quem_ would therefore be 1594. The reasons for this assumption are purely literary. Shakespeare may have known Barnfield, and Barnfield alludes to him at one point; further, their works were associated in the _Passionate Pilgrim_ (1599). There is no direct evidence that they knew each other. If Shakespeare began his series on reading Barnfield's poem in print, the date would have to be 1594.

Even assuming that Shakespeare's sonnets derive from the tradition under discussion, why might Shakespeare not have preceded Barnfield? There are two reasons. The first is that Barnfield, strictly a literary man, and apparently belonging to the group around the Countess of Pembroke, would have easier access to the literary tradition from which the _Affectionate Shepheard_ springs. It seems far more likely that Barnfield read Fraunce's translation of the "Alexis," absorbed the literary tastes of the Penshurst group, and wrote the _Affectionate Shepheard_ as a result, than that he followed Shakespeare. On the other hand Shakespeare, who had devoted the time when the theaters were closed to the composition of _Venus and Adonis_, might well have picked up the popular _Affectionate Shepheard_ and have been influenced by it.

The other reason is based on the development of the pastoral story. Spenser had evolved a pastoral triangle with his story of Colin-Hobbinol-Rosalind, and Marlowe treated such a triangle in Edward II. Barnfield picked up the theme, added warmth to the love between shepherds, had his Daphnis woo in the first person, and complicated the triangle by having Guendolena love Ganymede. The story in Shakespeare's sonnets goes one stage further: both poet and friend love the dark lady, and she 'loves' both of them. The result, much more complex than in Barnfield's poem, can be visualized as a triangle with poet, lady, and friend at the three corners, and with arrows going from each to each. Further, each of them is a rival of the other two. Little wonder that this triangle has fascinated critics who seek biographical information.

In addition, various kinds of love are involved. There is the love of friends between the poet and his friend. There is lust on the part of both for the dark lady; finally, there is her low love for each of them. It can be seen that the loves involved correspond to those described in E. K.'s gloss to Spenser's "January." Further, part of the relationship had been portrayed by Barnfield in his poem, in those stanzas in which he warns his love against the false love of Guendolena.

All of this is not to suggest that Shakespeare's sonnets have no autobiographical significance. They probably

were written to an actual young man. If not, they are nonetheless valuable; it has been well said that a poet need not have a mistress to write of his love. The biographical significance, however, is of no great importance to the literary historian. Of far greater importance are the literary origin of the sonnets, Shakespeare's literary intent in writing them, and the like. It is true, of course, that establishing a literary ancestry for the story does not eliminate biographical possibilities. Shakespeare was quite capable of turning conventional form to his personal uses.

The suggestion that Shakespeare follows Barnfield arises from the opinion that no one, not even Shakespeare, invented the whole of the complicated love relationship that has been described. As with his elaboration of the theme of the passionate shepherdess in _Venus and Adonis_ and his use of traditional plots in his plays, it may be suggested that Shakespeare elaborated an idea--in this instance one obtained from Barnfield. Barnfield had elaborated on Spenser and Marlowe, and Shakespeare may reasonably be regarded as having come last because the more complex arrangement would naturally follow the less complex. Such a probability, however, is no proof.

In another way Shakespeare represents an evolution beyond Barnfield. Barnfield retained the general machinery of the pastoral in his _Affectionate Shepheard_, but he spoke

throughout in the first person. Combining pastoral with the sonnet tradition, Shakespeare strips away all the external equipment of pastoral. He presents himself as poet, not shepherd, speaking in the first person. Further, he <u>internalizes</u> the age-old pastoral debate, while retaining the story. The wicked woman of Mantuan is still there, but now the wise old shepherd himself is in love with her. Now, in addition to advising his friend against her, he reproaches himself for loving her, and he reproaches her for stealing his friend's love. In Barnfield the shepherd only warns the youth against the love of the lady. He has no difference with himself.

It is through the combination of traditional figures of pastoral with the conventions of the sonnet that Shakespeare is able to attain his air of reality. The shepherds of Barclay had been no more than figureheads. His wise old shepherd was too obviously just an excuse to sermonize. Spenser's Colin was a more artistic creation, but aside from plaining his love for Rosalind he had little success in revealing what was in his heart. Shakespeare, however, makes his poet-speaker both old shepherd and lover. He makes his lady real, unlike the shadowy Rosalind. He uses pastoral as a device for showing the struggle of emotions within himself--or rather within his protagonist.

The relationship of the poet-protagonist with his friend is more complex than the relationship with the "dark

lady." Precisely what is the nature of the friendship presented? Critics who cannot free themselves from certain misconceptions about the Elizabethan age see the sonnets as homosexual. Mr. Montague Summers has no doubts on this point. Such views arise from a misunderstanding touched on earlier about the nature of the Elizabethan "love of friends." Curiously enough, in Anglo-Saxon countries a belief exists that almost any display of affection between men is proof of homosexuality--unless they be father and son.

As has been seen, such was not the case in Elizabethan England. Friendship might be the closest relationship in life, and it was commonly regarded as higher in nature than the love of woman. Embraces and caresses were regarded as the material food which refreshed such ideal friendship. This is the kind of relationship portrayed in Euphues, and it is the kind of relationship that existed between Sidney and Dyer.

The problem of the nature of such relationships has not been solved by Laurens Mills, who wrote a long work on Elizabethan friendship entitled One Soul in Bodies Twain.[14] The trouble with Mr. Mills' work is that although he traces the classical sources of Elizabethan ideas of friendship, he lumps every kind of relationship as friendship, including

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[14] Bloomington, Ind., 1937.

obviously homosexual relationships. In his eagerness to avoid making distinctions he simply confounds the problem. On the other hand Edward Hubler, who discusses the problem at some length in the Appendix to his Sense of Shakespeare's Sonnets, recognizes that there was love between men in the Elizabethan era, and that Shakespeare speaks of his dead friends as "lovers."[15] Almost arriving at a solution, Hubler misses the point, I think, when he suggests that the word "love" as thus used should be equated with our word "friend." Calling such love friendship simply begs the question.

It is clear then that in the Elizabethan era there was a kind of relationship between men involving more affection, display of emotion, and caresses than modern friendship involves. It was a qualitatively different relationship which, for want of a better term, may be called "the love of friends." It was not only socially acceptable, it was regarded as highly commendable. Such relationships were equally clearly distinguishable from homosexuality.

A further clarification needs to be made. The conception of homosexuality which sprang from an increasing awareness of the meaning of classical pastoral led in the case of Marlowe to the breaking down of distinctions between

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[15]Edward Hubler, The Sense of Shakespeare's Sonnets, (Princeton, 1952), p. 153.

the two kinds of relationships: the love of friends and unnatural vice. In Edward II the approach is ambiguous. The ambiguity appears also in Barnfield, who knew the difference well enough: He describes Daphnis' friendship for Ganymede in ideal terms, but his lyric passages are clearly sensual. In his Piers Gaveston, Drayton shows clearly the line between the legitimate caresses of friends, "lovers," on the one hand, and unnatural vice on the other.

My contention is, then, that there existed in Elizabethan England a relationship between men qualitatively different from both modern friendship and modern homosexuality. This "love of friends" developed as a result of reading, but not completely understanding, classical literature on friendship and on loves between men. The "love of friends" was socially approved, was ranked higher than love of woman, permitted a fairly wide latitude of sensuous gratification--embraces, caresses, and the like--but was clearly distinguished from what the Elizabethans called unnatural vice. The failure to recognize such a qualitatively different relationship leads to confusion. The determination, natural enough, to see modern relationships in the Elizabethan attitudes has led to the misnaming of the "love of friends" as either friendship or homosexuality. The name is of course unimportant; what is essential is to recognize a third kind of relationship.

The sonnets of Shakespeare are in part concerned with such a love of a friend. (I should perhaps emphasize that Shakespeare's private life is not involved here--we are concerned with the sonnets.) That Shakespeare addresses sonnets to the friend suggests a crossing of the sonnet tradition and the pastoral tradition. Further, Shakespeare was familiar with much or all of the tradition under discussion. He had absorbed the thought of Marlowe: he apparently refers to _Dido_ in _Hamlet_, and we may assume that by the time he wrote his sonnets he was thoroughly aware of Marlowe's interest in love relationships of a variety of kinds. In my opinion he was also familiar with at least the _Affectionate Shepheard_ of Barnfield. He contributed to the literature of the love of friends in his series of sonnets, which represent a new development in being the first serious, lengthy treatment of such love in a sonnet sequence. The attitudes expressed in the sonnets are those having to do with that higher type of "paederastice" described by E. K. in his gloss to "January."

Why does the poet object to the love of the young man for the "dark lady"? The objections are the same which the poet has for his own love of the dark lady: it is not love but lust, the "gynerastice" of E. K. The conclusion sometimes drawn from the rivalry of poet and dark lady, that it suggests homosexuality, is based on a misunderstanding of the nature of friendship in the Renaissance and a lack of

knowledge of the literary tradition from which Shakespeare's sonnets derived. We have noted that while Barnfield draws a clear distinction between the love of friends and lust his poem is ambiguous in tone. There is no such ambiguity in Shakespeare's sequence.

Much of the controversy about the nature of the poet's relationship with his friend has been concerned with the twentieth sonnet, the "Master Mistris" sonnet:

> A Womans face with natures owne hand painted,
> Haste thou the Master Mistris of my passion,
> A womans gentle hart but not acquainted
> With shifting change as is false womens fashion,
> An eye more bright than theirs, lesse false in
> rowling:
> Gilding the object where-upon it gazeth,
> A man in hew all Hews in his controwling,
> Which steales mens eyes and womens soules amaseth.
> And for a woman wert thou first created,
> Til nature as she wrought thee fell a dotinge,
> And by addition me of thee defeated,
> By adding one thing to my purpose nothing.
> But since she prickt thee out for womens pleasure,
> Mine be thy love and thy loves use their treasure.

This clearly indicates a love belonging to the higher type of "paederastice" described by E. K. The pun in the thirteenth line makes clear that what the poet values in his friend is not his physical make-up. One point which does arouse question, however, is the feminine quality of the friend. It must be recalled, however, that boys acted the parts of women in the Elizabethan theater every day, and that an interest in sexual ambivalence was bound to arise. Shakespeare's friend had certain feminine qualities, and the poet plays with the idea of these. The interesting and

explicit distinction between love and the use of love, "Mine be thy love and thy loves use their treasure," recalls lines in Barnfield's Affectionate Shepheard:

> Compare the love of faire Queene Guendolin
> With mine, and thou shalt see how she doth
> love thee:
> I love thee for thy qualities divine,
> But She doth love another Swaine above thee:
> I love thee for thy gifts, She for hir
> pleasure;
> I for thy Vertue, She for Beauties treasure.

The distinction, in both Shakespeare and Barnfield, is precisely that suggested by E. K. in his gloss to "January." The attitude toward women expressed in Shakespeare's sonnet is the attitude of didactic pastoral as transmitted by Spenser and E. K.

Sonnet 144, which was published in the Passionate Pilgrim in 1599, expresses perfectly the remarkable triangular love affair that Shakespeare presents. It also conforms perfectly to E. K.'s discussion of "gynerastice" and "paederastice."

> Two loves I have of comfort and dispaire,
> Which like two spirits do sugjest me still,
> The better angell is a man right faire:
> The worser spirit a woman collour'd il.
> To win me soone to hell my femall evill,
> Tempteth my better angel from my sight,
> And would corrupt my saint to be a divel:
> Wooing his purity with her fowle pride.
> And whether that my angel be turn'd finde,
> Suspect I may, yet not directly tell,
> But being both from me both to each friend,
> I gesse one angel in an others hel.
> Yet this shal I nere know but live in doubt,
> Till my bad angel fire my good one out.

It is obvious that Shakespeare loves his good angel, a man 'right faire' with the 'love of friends.' It is equally clear

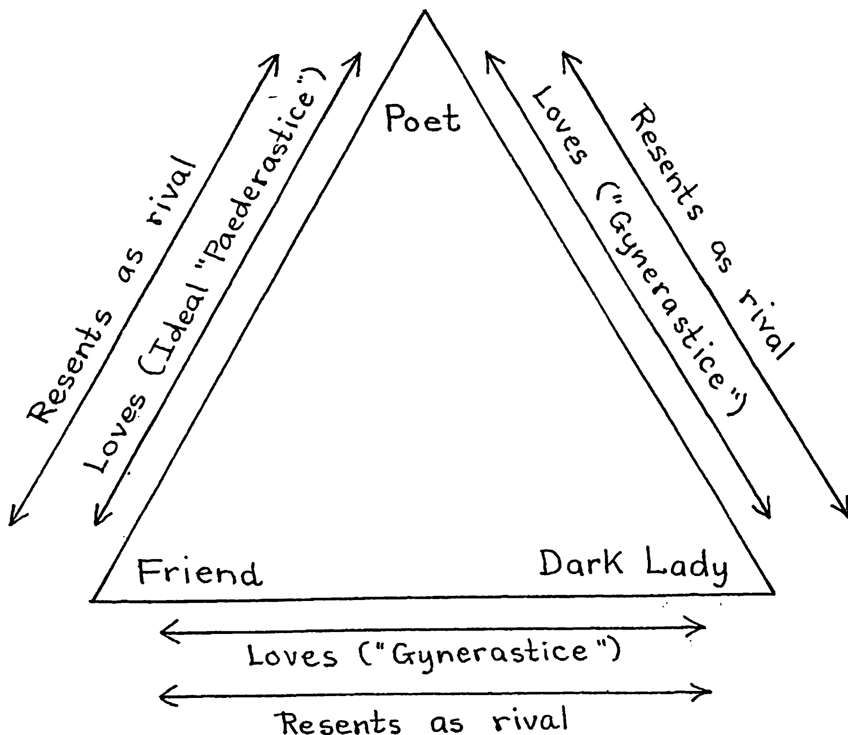
that his love of the woman is lust. The woman in turn tempts the good angel to lust. The effect is heightened by the possible double meanings of words like "hell."

The twelve-way relationship involved makes the most complex triangle of the series we have discussed:

The poet loves the dark lady ("gynerastice")
The poet loves the friend (ideal "paederastice")
The poet resents the lady as a rival
The poet resents the friend as a rival

The friend loves the dark lady ("gynerastice")
The friend loves the poet (ideal "paederastice")
The friend resents the poet as a rival
The friend resents the lady as a rival

The lady loves the poet
The lady loves the friend
The lady resents the poet as a rival
The lady resents the friend as a rival



It will be noted that the twelve-way relationship is further complicated by the fact that two levels of love are involved.

This triangle is much more complex than that in Spenser's <u>Shepheardes Calender</u>, where Hobbinol Loves Colin, who loves Rosalind, who loves someone else. Had Colin reciprocated Hobbinol's love, and had both loved Rosalind, and had she loved both of them, we would begin to approach the complexity of the situation presented here. Barnfield had had his Ganymede love Guendolyn, who had loved him in return, and he had his Daphnis express the wish that Guendolyn would forsake his Ganymede: but that is still a relatively simple relationship. In Shakespeare's poem, in addition to the twelve-way love relationship, we have a dramatic tension arising from the fact that there is also hate, or resentment. The poet lusts after the lady, and reproaches himself for that. He reproaches her for leading his friend to lust also, and he reproaches the friend for yielding to lust. This tension of course springs from the basic fact that there are two kinds of love involved, one ideal, the other sensual. Shakespeare has worked an elaborate variation on a theme suggested by E. K. and developed by Barnfield.

Finally, what of the issue of homosexuality? Basically it is a false issue, raised through a reading of modern

attitudes back into the minds of the Elizabethans. Should the point be pressed it might be admitted that the ambiguity of tone in Barnfield's poem hints at actual homosexuality. With Shakespeare the answer is a flat and unqualified no, without even the slight reservations held by Hubler.[16] What we find in Shakespeare is an example, special in many ways because of his superiority of mind which led to careful analysis of all relationships, but nonetheless an example of a kind of love not existent today: the sensuous love of friends. Through his love for his friend Shakespeare arrived at an understanding of all love. This point has been well-expressed by C. S. Lewis:

> Shakespeare ends by expressing simply love, the quintessence of all loves whether erotic, parental, filial, amicable, or feudal. Thus from extreme particularity there is a road to the highest universality. The love is, in the end, so simply and entirely love that our cadres are thrown away and we cease to ask what kind. However it may have been with Shakespeare in his daily life, the greatest of the sonnets are written from a region in which love abandons all claims and flowers into charity: after that it makes little odds what the root was like. They open a new world of love poetry; as new as Dante's or Petrarch's had been in their day.

But the love Shakespeare portrays is higher than theirs, less self-seeking:

> The self-abnegation, the 'naughting' in the Sonnets never rings false. This patience, this anxiety (more like a parent's than a lover's) to find excuses for the beloved, this clear-sighted and

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[16] Hubler, p. 158.

wholly unembittered resignation, this transference of the whole self into another self without the demand for a return, have hardly a precedent in profane literature. In certain senses of the word 'love', Shakespeare is not so much our best as our only love poet.[17]

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[17] Lewis, p. 505.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The pastoral lyrics of invitation, the Ovidian invitation poems, and the sonnets of Shakespeare were written in the peak years of Elizabethan literary production, in the 1590's. From this summit we may glance back over the path we have travelled, look briefly forward, and then suggest some answers to the questions put forward at the beginning.

The evolution of literary pastoral began with the idylls of Theocritus. These were lovely short poems, many of them concerned with shepherd life, and usually with the loves of shepherds. In his third and eleventh idylls Theocritus introduced the genre of love-lays of invitation and complaint. In a number of his idylls he treated the theme of boy-love, sometimes as a sensual passion, sometimes as an ideal relationship. He used pastoral for personal allegory, for panegyric, for lamentation, and as a mean of expressing the needs of poets--as the poetry of poets.

Bion and Moschus, the Greek successors to Theocritus, continued and even increased the erotic emphasis of pastoral. They wrote erotic epyllions, they emphasized the role of the poet as shepherd; they established a tradition of pastoral song. By repeating motifs of Theocritus, by varying the story of the wooing of Galatea, and by using the theme of boy-love, Bion and Moschus confirmed the pastoral genre, and established these motifs and themes as conventions.

Virgil took up the genre and by his example confirmed various constituents of the love-lay as conventions. In his second eclogue, Virgil cast the wooing poem involving the theme of boy-love in the form found in Theocritus' eleventh idyll--the Polyphemus-Galatea story--thus contributing to the development of the love-lay. By introducing the love of Jollas, the master, for Alexis, the beloved of Corydon, Virgil created a homosexual triangle, beginning a development which was to culminate in the complex triangle in Shakespeare's sonnets. Virgil developed a new kind of pastoral, the "Golden Age" or Messianic, Eclogue, in his fourth. He continued and increased the element of personal allegory; he re-emphasized the role of pastoral as the poetry of poets. Further, and most important, by writing first pastoral and then an epic he established a pattern for aspiring poets, and made pastoral the poetry which young poets tried first.

The Latin successors of Virgil, Calpurnius and Nemesian, handled various themes that had already become conventional. They cast the love-lay for the first time in the form of a singing match. Calpurnius wrote a didactic eclogue in which an old shepherd advises a young one about the care of sheep. This was one model for the later didactic dialogue. Calpurnius also combined the theme of the golden age with the panegyric. Nemesian revived the theme of boy-love. Thus, by the end of the Roman era, the conventions of pastoral were well established.

With the rise of Christianity Virgil became the model for the writing of pastorals, in large part because his Messianic Eclogue was regarded as a prophecy of the coming of Christ. His second eclogue, quite mistakenly interpreted, became the model for didactic lectures on lust and the evils of woman. The Christian didactic tradition of pastoral was developed by minor poets of the Middle Ages. In the fourteenth century, however, it rose to prominence with the eclogues of Petrarch and Boccaccio. Using Virgil as a model, they wrote Christian pastorals. Petrarch's career, beginning with his pastorals and ending with his Latin epic _Africa_, re-emphasized what was by now

an established pattern: the young poet should begin with pastoral and work his way up to epic.

Baptista Spagnuoli, "Mantuan," wrote Christian didactic pastorals at the end of the fifteenth century. His success resulted in the spread of pastoral throughout Europe--in the first place in the grammar schools. He treated love, though usually to denounce it, his fourth eclogue being a diatribe against women. He continued the emphasis on pastoral as Christian--on the shepherd as priest. He also repeated the conventional complaint over lack of patronage--confirming the role of pastoral as the poetry of poets. In addition he treated ecclesiastical subjects and the conflict between city and country.

The English poets of the early sixteenth century began with this tradition of Christian pastoral. As the century passed, however, the influence of classical models and of the new pastoral romances and dramas of the continent made itself felt more and more. A process reversing the direction of movement from Theocritus to Mantuan began as the Elizabethan poets moved away from didactic pastoral and toward love pastoral.

Barnabe Googe wrote the first monologue of complaint and the first pastoral invitation in English. He introduced the theme of boy-love for the first time, though only to denounce it. In the main he continued the didactic tradition.

Spenser took up the plaintive note introduced by Googe and made it central. He replaced Virgil's homosexual triangle with a homosexual-heterosexual triangle, treating boy-love for the first time in Renaissance English poetry without invidious comment. He made the role of shepherd as poet and as lover especially prominent. Spenser wrote the first invitation to love in English, and he introduced the panegyric in the form of an elaborate blazon in praise of Elizabeth. Finally, by writing a series of eclogues of the highest literary quality he firmly established the principle, already well-known in critical writings, that the young poet should begin with pastoral. He had followed Virgil, and he became, like Virgil, a model for aspiring poets.

Sidney contributed heavily to the developing amorous strain in pastoral. He sounded the plaintive note in his Astrophel and Stella; he introduced the pastoral romance; and, like Spenser, he wrote in a variety of meters. Most important, through the example of his life and death he became a model of the pastoral poet-lover. Elegies referring to him by pastoral names were numerous. The tradition that pastoral was the poetry of poets became firmly established through such means.

In the 1580's the plaintive note predominated in pastoral, and Lodge, Lyly, Greene, Fraunce, and Marlowe all interested themselves in pastoral, and in love relationships based on Virgil's second eclogue. Lyly and Peele wrote mythological pastoral dramas, uniting the influence of the Shepheardes Calender with the continental stream of pastoral comedy. Lodge and Greene wrote pastoral romances, following Sidney. Both the dramas and the romances strengthened the amorous element in English pastoral. They were concerned with love as plot complication rather than as a subject for lectures. Fraunce emphasized the theme of boy-love by his translations of the second eclogue of Virgil.

At the end of the decade Marlowe exerted a decisive influence in the direction of de-moralization of the pastoral. He wrote his "Come Live with Me," a pastoral

monologue of invitation, rich and sensuous in tone and completely free of plaintive strains. He wrote the first important Ovidian invitation poem, Hero and Leander. Finally, he took the theme of boy-love out of the realm of mythology and pastoral allegory and presented a dramatic version of a historical love between men in his Edward II. In this play he presented a more complicated version of the homosexual-heterosexual triangle developed by Spenser.

Richard Barnfield united the influence of Marlowe, Spenser, and Fraunce in his imitation of Virgil's second eclogue. In his Affectionate Shepherd Barnfield not only imitated Virgil; he introduced the homosexual-heterosexual triangle, he drew on the idea of E. K. of two kinds of "paederastice," and he added motifs and themes from didactic pastoral and from the Ovidian invitation tradition. Further, Barnfield's poem as a whole is an expanded version of the "Come Live with Me" strain. In fact, it recapitulates the development of pastoral. Barnfield also wrote "The Shepherds Content," treating the idea of "otium" and the mean estate. Further, he wrote a complaint of the neglect of poetry by patrons; in this poem, and in numerous references throughout his work, he reveals the influence of the idea that pastoral is the poetry of poets.

Shakespeare, following the Elizabethan habit of uniting old forms and themes to form new species, combined the pastoral tradition with the sonnet tradition. I am of the opinion that the complex triangular love story in the sonnets derives from Barnfield, but the point is one which cannot be proved, and it is not to be insisted upon. More important is the relationship of Shakespeare's sonnets to the line of poetry coming from Virgil's second eclogue. It is my contention that this poetry joined with Elizabethan ideas of friendship to produce a new type of love relationship between men, a relationship that has not been clearly recognized in the past because of the tendency to see in it, I think wrongly, one of two things: either what we would call homosexuality, or what we would call friendship.

In the 1590's a flood of pastoral poured out, in formal eclogues, in Ovidian poems, in dramas, in lyrics. The books of airs and the collections of madrigals are stored with pastorals. In 1600 a great collection of pastoral, England's Helicon, confirmed the mode. Even those poems in England's Helicon which were not originally pastorals were made into pastorals by adding the names of shepherds for the speakers of the dialogues, or by giving lyrics pastoral titles.

By the end of the 1590's all new poets were beginning to write by writing pastorals. William Drummond, William

Browne, Phineas Fletcher, George Wither, and Robert Herrick all drew on the pastoral tradition. Volumes like Nicholas Breton's Affectionate Shepherd and William Browne's Britannias Pastorals reflect the popularity of the genre. Ben Jonson carried on the tradition with his masques and his Sad Shepherd. Drayton wrote his lovely Nymphals and used the pastoral mode as part of the machinery for his monumental Polyolbion. Finally, Milton brought the genre to new heights with his Epitaphium Damonis, his Lycidas, Comus, L'Allegro and Il Penseroso.

* *

We may now return to the questions put forward at the beginning; some tentative answers may be advanced.

"What did pastoral mean to the Elizabethans?"

Pastoral was, first of all, part of the education of every Elizabethan who went to grammar school. The eclogues of Mantuan and the Eclogues of Virgil were used to teach the students Latin, to introduce them to poetry in its easiest form, and to teach them morality. In the schools pastoral was valued for its didactic element. Mantuan was primary; Virgil was admitted by virtue of his fourth eclogue. Since this eclogue was regarded as a prophecy of the coming

of Christ it established Virgil as a Christian poet. His eclogues could of course be interpreted as didactic. The second eclogue was given such an interpretation, at least by the early Elizabethans. But it was not this didactic pastoral that was most important for the late Elizabethans.

For the late Elizabethans pastoral was important for entertainment: by the 1580's there were pastoral dramas and pastoral romances. It was this light, amorous pastoral that was really important in developing the love poetry of the 1590's. But pastoral meant much more than just entertainment. It could be used for personal allegory and for social and religious allegory. It presented an ideal of "otium," the contented life. It brought the verdant countryside to Londoners adjusting to the dirt and confusion of big city life.

Pastoral was important as a storehouse of ideas. It gave every educated Englishman a special philosophical tool for explaining and analyzing life. The ideas of pastoral paralleled those of Christianity, with the Golden Age to equal the garden of Eden, the end of the age of Saturn corresponding to the fall of man, and the like. The complex life could be contrasted with the simple life; pastoral joined hands with the great tradition of dispraise of courtly life, excoriating the corrupt life of courtiers by setting it against the pure life of the swains of the Golden Age, or of the simple rustics of contemporary life.

Pastoral gave country boys turned poet from the Forest of Arden a way of escape from the metropolis into the verdant world of the pastoral imagination.

But this still does not explain why pastoral in England was different from continental pastoral. Part of that difference is to be found in the fact that Catholicism had been overthrown in England. A stronger attack on asceticism could be mounted there than in Spain, for example, where pastoral also flourished. Given a strong base in Protestantism, pastoral was soon freed from Christian emphasis entirely.

One of the elements that replaced the Christian emphasis was a kind of half-worship of Elizabeth. Pastoral for the Elizabethans was in large part panegyric. But it was not panegyric like that addressed to Hiero of Syracuse by Theocritus. Motifs of the love-lay and of the Golden Age eclogue were interwoven, and Elizabeth became a kind of virgin love goddess, a counterpart on a national scale of Petrach's Laura. The literature in her praise appeared as formal eclogue, as masque, as drama, as parts of pastoral romances, as bits of entertainment. It was the use of pastoral for such purposes that spread its influence perhaps more than anything else.

The flourishing of pastoral in England coincided with the flourishing of mythology. When the religious strain declined in importance the mythological strain replaced it. The denunciations of mythology in Googe gave place to a

glorification of Venus and even of Jove and Ganymede. The whole lovely train of nymphs and goddesses occupied the stronghold once held by Mantuan and Barclay.

This leads us into the next question:

"What role did pastoral play in the development of Elizabethan attitudes toward love?

Pastoral served as a kind of catalyst, releasing the emotions of poets, of playwrights, and of their readers and audiences. The attitude of Barclay had been fixed, grim, rigid. Love was corrupt, sinful, to be avoided. But in the 1580's there begins a playing with the idea of love. Now it must be suggested that in matters such as these the mind of a people must be released from certain narrow bonds in order to see possibilities, in order to attain a free play of ideas. It has been said, for example, that the Romans could never be very good actors. They were too purposeful and determined. It was somehow a sacrifice of the personality to be an actor, to play at being someone else. Perhaps something of the same attitude persists in the suspicion felt toward actors today. And Sherwood Anderson has written that people regard the story teller with suspicion. Somehow he knows too much, he sees too much. The devil is in him. People are afraid that he will see through them.

The English have been such a purposeful, determined, narrow people. I am not suggesting that these are bad qualities, except for the narrowness. The French, on the other hand are perhaps more sophisticated in general, less rigid in attitude.

But these are large and vague speculations, and they carry us away. Suffice it that the Elizabethans learned to play with love, and it was pastoral that taught them. Love-game dialogues became popular. We know from <u>Loves Labors Lost</u> that they became commonplace, they were so much repeated. I will be a sheep, says the gallant. I know, replies the lady, and I suppose that I am to be the pasture. Lines like these show us the inwardness of the passage in <u>Venus and Adonis</u> in which Venus invites Adonis to be her deer.

In Green's <u>Menaphon</u> the fair Samela is asked to tell whether, if she were a sheep, she would rather be a ewe or a ram. She replies that she would rather be a ewe--the ram has such heavy horns to carry. The time-worn hit about horns comes as a bit of a surprise here, but the possibility of other answers suggests itself, and the warmth of the possible dialogues can easily be imagined. <u>Loves Labors Lost</u> provides many illustrations, and an examination of Eric Partridge's <u>Shakespeare's Bawdy</u> under such entries as 'Mutton,' 'Peculiar Rivers,' and the like will prove illuminating to

any readers who have not yet investigated these possibilities of pastoral.

William Empson has called attention to the role of animals in pastoral, suggesting, as he often does, exciting perspectives. The comparison with the animal state is a kind of attraction which pastoral has offered ever since Theocritus pictured his herdboys envying the young he-goats at their amorous games. The horses in _Venus and Adonis_ are much better explained by this component of pastoral than by speculations about Stratford farmyards.

The possibilities of love-play on the Elizabethan stage were of course heightened by the youths who played the roles of women, and the resultant disguising of sex in itself was bound to produce a certain interest in amorous ambivalence. This tendency was heightened by pastoral, with its amorous swains, its cross-eyed Cupid situations, and its loves between shepherds.

What love-pastoral contributed to the Elizabethans was a sense of the possibilities of love not as something grimly serious but as gay and delightful. Part of the process was the consideration of all kinds of possibilities in love: the aggressive shepherdess reverses sexual roles by wooing a reluctant swain; Shakespeare and Barnfield alter the sonnet tradition by introducing the love of man for man. This exploration of love relationships was part of the great movement in the direction of romantic love traced by C. S.

Lewis in the Allegory of Love. It gave us also some of the loveliest poetry in the language, and contributed to the writing of the sonnets of Shakespeare.

"What reasons can be advanced to explain the vitality of the pastoral tradition?"

One of the chief reasons the genre thrived for so long was that it was protean and versatile in nature. What was centrally "pastoral" was a body of subject matter, a series of conventions, and a stock of characters. The earliest literary pastorals, the idylls of Theocritus, were narrative, dramatic, and descriptive at the same time. The genre could develop in a number of directions by assuming various forms.

The versatility of the genre was not restricted to the ability to take on a variety of forms. Since pastoral was concerned with continuing problems--the difference between city and country, the retired life versus the active life, the problems of love and death--it could be used to treat these problems in a variety of ways. The pastoral longing for the verdant countryside could work, for instance, in the direction of idyllic description of lovely retreats. On the other hand, it could turn in the direction of satire, denouncing the evils of the city.

Pastoral was "easy" as well as versatile. Idylls and eclogues were short poems, and by imitating models the very school boys could turn them out. Not only that: an eclogue

could easily turn into a bit of drama, a pastoral entertainment. Hence the usefulness of the genre for panegyric and courtly pageantry. A series of eclogues linked by prose passages could be built into a pastoral drama or a pastoral romance. Here ease and versatility join hands.

Pastoral could be used as personal allegory, as social allegory and religious allegory. In fact, it was, perhaps the "masking" of pastoral, the possibility of using the shepherd garb in a number of varied roles that was the chief guarantee of the vitality of the genre. Finally, the allegory of the shepherd linked hands with the great tradition of Christianity at vital points because of the Christian commonplaces of the good shepherd, of duty and responsibility, and the like.

But while pastoral was distinctively Christian for centuries, it also furnished an easy road back into the classical world of gaiety and love, and when the didactic strain lessened in the sixteenth century, that road was taken.

"What was the importance of pastoral for the Elizabethan poets as poets?"

Pastoral played a central role throughout the careers of most Elizabethan poets. They were introduced to poetry

through the study of pastoral. They learned to write by writing pastorals. The example of Virgil, the precepts of critics, and the exercises in the schools all led the young writer to begin with pastoral. The influence of Spenser and Sidney gave a decisive impulse in this direction. The poet, then, climbed the mountain of the muses by beginning with pastoral.

That pastoral was easy poetry in terms of length and "low" style further encouraged young poets to turn out pastorals. The variety of forms that pastoral could take on, and the variety of meters introduced by Sidney and Spenser led naturally to practice and experimentation. And, as Hallett Smith suggests, since many poets started and not all continued, much of the poetic production was certain to be pastoral.

But the poets had other reasons for preferring pastoral. It was, as we have said, the poetry of poets. In it they could discuss the problems of poetry, they could project themselves as shepherd-poet-lovers, they could join the freemasonry of poets.

More importantly, pastoral furnished the aspiring writer with a set of ideas, with stock characters, with a point of view, with an artistic technique. Above all, it gave him a philosophy which explained the origin of society and its present corrupt state. It put in perspective the

crowded city, the court, the active life. Since poets were educated by means of pastoral and began by writing pastoral, its ideas stored their minds. Even if they wrote epics they included a scene with "Pastorella." The pastoral attitudes stayed with them all their lives. The result was of great importance not just for literature strictly pastoral in tone or subject matter, but for the point of view of works like the Tempest and King Lear, as William Empson has well shown.

Finally, pastoral gave to some poets, especially Spenser, Marlowe, Barnfield, and Shakespeare a tool for analysis of complex love patterns. Shakespeare, like a true Elizabethan, loved to play with these patterns, as in the complex relationship in "As You Like It," where only Rosalinde has the key--she knows that she is not a man. The most interesting of these plot patterns that Shakespeare worked out of course is the pattern of the love-relationship in his sonnets. I suggest that it is in part to the pastoral tradition and the resultant exploration of love that we owe sonnets like Shakespeare's Sonnet 116:

> Let me not to the marriage of true minds
> Admit impediments. Love is not love
> Which alters when it alteration finds,
> Or bends with the remover to remove:
> O, no! it is an ever-fixed mark,
> That looks on tempests and is never shaken;
> It is the star to every wandering bark,
> Whose worth's unknown, although his height
> be taken.

Love's not Time's fool, though rosy lips
    and cheeks
Within his bending sickle's compass come;
Love alters not with his brief hours and
    weeks,
But bears it out even to the edge of doom.
    If this be error and upon me proved,
    I never writ, nor no man ever loved.

Pastoral, then, played a vital part in a period when the attitudes toward love of the English were being crystallized, when the greatest literature in English history was being produced. It is impossible to understand the mountain peaks of the poetry of that time unless we travel with the poets up the foothills of pastoral. And it is only by travelling up those foothills that we will come to understand the greatest of Elizabethan non-dramatic poetry: the sonnets of Shakespeare.

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