

ENGLISH PASTORAL DRAMA, 1580-1642

APPROVED:

Sam H. Henderson

Major Professor

J. J. Gerding

Minor Professor

E. S. Clifton

Director of the Department of English

Robert B. Toulouse

Dean of the Graduate School

ENGLISH PASTORAL DRAMA, 1580-1642

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Council of the  
North Texas State College in Partial  
Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

by

Lavon Buster Fulwiler, B. A.

Denton, Texas

August, 1958

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. THE PASTORAL TRADITION: ITS ORIGIN AND CHARACTERISTICS . . . . .	1
II. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE PASTORAL TRADITION . . . . .	19
III. REPRESENTATIVE PASTORAL PLAYS . . . . .	57
IV. CONCLUSION . . . . .	120
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	130

## CHAPTER I

### THE PASTORAL TRADITION: ITS ORIGIN AND CHARACTERISTICS

Any literary tradition which has sustained the interest of readers throughout a period of several centuries merits consideration as a form revealing a continuity of literary taste. Such a tradition is that of pastoral literature, which apparently had its beginnings during the classical period and which spread through Italy, Spain, France, and England.<sup>1</sup> To understand the pastoral tradition; to ascertain its history; to observe its development, especially in the field of drama; and to trace elements of pastoralism in the English drama written from 1580 to 1642, the interval of its greatest perfection, are the purposes of this study. The thesis undertakes an analysis of the characteristics of pastoralism and of various pastoral plays.

It is worthy of note that the pastoral has been associated with Theocritus, Virgil, Petrarch, Cervantes, Lope de Vega, Shakespeare, Jonson, and Milton; however, there are reasons for its consideration other than that it has been treated by outstanding writers. Walter W. Greg believes

---

<sup>1</sup>Walter W. Greg, Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama (London, 1906), p. 4 ff.



that its importance is "to be sought in the fact that the form is the expression of instincts and impulses deep-rooted in the nature of humanity."<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, he says, the tradition has played a "distinctive part in the history of human thought and the history of artistic expression."<sup>3</sup> The contradictions and inconsistencies to be noted in pastoral literature make it all the more important to ascertain the source of the vitality and continuing appeal of the form and to observe its influence on the development of European literature.

For one to understand adequately the scope of literature that can properly be termed pastoral, it is imperative that specific limitations be established to define the realm of the pastoral. Definitions or statements of purpose of bucolic literature are necessarily broad in order to permit the inclusion in the classification pastoral of numerous works which also have other distinguishing qualities. Indeed, explanations of the tradition range from Homer Smith's statement that idealized portrayal of rural life may be designated as pastoral literature<sup>4</sup> to Fontenelle's theory, set forth and discussed by Jeannette Marks, that the pastoral tradition is a very deliberate, over-refined, conscious

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Homer Smith, "Pastoral Influence in English Drama," Publications of the Modern Language Association, XII (1897), 356.

ideal.<sup>5</sup> However, according to Walter W. Greg, who has given the most satisfactory and complete explanation, the reaction against the world that is "too much with us" is the keynote of what has been associated with the pastoral from the time of Theocritus. Observing that a sense of the contrast between town and country was essential to the development of a distinctively pastoral literature, Greg further notes that the conception of a golden age of rustic simplicity accounts for the "yearning of the tired soul to escape, if it were but in imagination and for a moment, to a life of simplicity and innocence from the bitter luxury of the court and the menial bread of princes."<sup>6</sup>

In addition to this "ideal" type of bucolic literature, the definition of the term pastoral encompasses the allegorical type which often satirizes the corruption of an artificial civilization and the supposedly realistic type which expresses amusement at and even envy of the rustic freedom of country folk.<sup>7</sup>

The definitions have not made direct reference to the literal meaning of pastoral. Specifically, an expression or portrayal of the life of shepherds is the denotation of the word. By extension, however, the term refers to the manners and customs not only of herdsmen but also of country and

---

<sup>5</sup>Jeannette Marks, English Pastoral Drama (London, 1908), p. 19.

<sup>6</sup>Greg, op. cit., p. 6.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 6 f.

outdoor life of any kind. Basically, bucolic literary forms, therefore, should be extremely simple and entirely rustic, but various modern critics, including Greg, have shown that the pastoral is a result of a complex society's yearning for simplicity and happiness without always achieving, in the expressions of that yearning, the ultimate in simplicity of form. Expressions of pastoralism, then, with varying degrees of reference to the rural life of shepherds, have represented for many authors the escape from a dreary, sad, or complex world. Desiring to emphasize the naturalness and virtue of the simple man, the writers must have sought some natural, virtuous being to symbolize simplicity, and they discovered that being in the guise of a shepherd; thereupon they began to provide him with some qualities of their own invention. The artificiality to which the tradition progressed from its originally simple ideal will be discussed more fully in a consideration of the development of the pastoral.

The definitions of pastoral have suggested at some points the purposes of the form and the elements in society that gave it life. It is probable that many writers of bucolic literature were merely experimenting with a popular tradition in producing the various literary types of pastoral, such as the idyl, the eclogue, the romance, and the drama. Despite the fact that some of the authors were simply conforming to a literary vogue, other writers apparently meant their pastoral works to serve certain definite functions.

It is necessary, therefore, to examine generally the purposes of the pastoral as they have been interpreted during different periods in which the tradition has flourished.

Although Horace believed that the purpose of the pastoral should be nothing more than to present a pleasing picture of rural life, most Renaissance critics, following the pattern of allegorical pastoral set by Petrarch and Boccaccio, considered an allegorical treatment of religious and political matters the object. Philip Sidney and George Puttenham, in essays on the art of poetry, insisted that the primary purpose of pastoralism was to deal allegorically with religious and political ideas and issues, as Edmund Spenser did in the May and July eclogues of The Shepherd's Calendar.

It is the contention of neoclassic scholars that bucolic literature should portray for a degenerate and less fortunate age the innocence, virtues, and simplicity of the classical Golden Age, showing the truth and sincerity connected with the life of a shepherd. John Gay, for example, voiced his disapproval of allegory and emphasized the importance of the essentially rural qualities of pastoralism, simultaneously censuring Spenser for overemphasis on "churchly matters."

At the other extreme, rationalistic critics have sensed man's basic delight in idleness and indolence. One of these critics, Fontenelle, has asserted that the function of the pastoral is to gratify man's desire for ease by picturing a

life of indolence and love, which he conceived the shepherd's life to be.<sup>8</sup>

Distinctive and separate though these theories of purpose are, some suggestions of each critical school of thought are to be discovered in various English pastoral plays of the period from 1580 to 1642. Indeed, ideas of allegory, pretty pictures of country life, innocence and simplicity, and idleness and love are not incompatible within the confines of one work. These ideas merely represent the many facets of a literary tradition which can achieve a variety of matter, purpose, and form, although in some respects it conforms to some limitations and standards. The authors of pastoral plays and pastoral literature in general were not consciously limited by the dicta of critics but rather maintained a continuity or unity of form through imitation of other pastoral works.

Inseparable from meaning and purposes of the pastoral are its characteristics, a discussion of which will clarify the definitions and design. Scenes, character types, matter, language, style, and qualities in pastoral literature, with particular reference to the drama, became conventionalized to such an extent that individuality seemed the least important factor.

In a discussion of the pastoral scenes, J. E. Congleton shows that the scenery as such did not receive much critical

---

<sup>8</sup>J. E. Congleton, Theories of Pastoral Poetry in England, 1684-1798 (Gainesville, Florida, 1952), p. 172 ff.

attention until the latter part of the seventeenth century.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, authors of pastoral works must have known intuitively, without critical prompting, that the setting is one unifying principle upon which the pastoral relies for its identity; therefore, they tended to conventionalize the setting.

The conventionality of scene and setting came to be expressed in the name of a region called Arcadia. The wide use of the name caused it eventually to lose its specific reference to an area in Greece which was known for its grassy, hilly characteristics and which was extensively used for sheep-raising; the name of the region became associated with any peaceful, pleasant rural location familiar to the readers. The settings of Arcadia and of Sicily, another locale frequently used by early pastoral authors, especially Theocritus, were almost over-simplified as purely pastoral locations, remote from the wearying strain of business and full of peaceful pursuits and amusements. The origin and symbolism of Arcadia and Sicily as the ideal bucolic settings are explained by Jeannette Marks as follows:

The two accepted habitations of the pastoral always have been, and always will be, Sicily and Arcadia. Theocritus bequeathed to us Sicily, and many since have given preference to the Theocritan habitat. Virgil, in his Seventh Eclogue, spoke of two shepherds as both from Arcadia; this is probably the first mention of this home of the pastoral. Later Sannazaro, Lope de Vega, Sidney, and others were to make Arcadia more popular than Sicily.

---

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 179 ff.

Every country has its places of traditional wealth and beauty, reminiscent of a golden age, of simple luxury and innocence of life; every land has its Sicily or Arcadia, legendary centres of plenty, leisure, and romance.<sup>10</sup>

Recognition of the importance of setting certainly does not imply that scenery is the outstanding or only identifying characteristic, nor, indeed, does it imply that all works having a rural scene and shepherd characters are purely pastoral.

Just as authors placed varying degrees of emphasis on the importance of setting and scenery, they also varied in the extent to which they developed the imagery of setting. Nevertheless, scenery in virtually all pure pastorals is limited to the country, and one may expect to find rustic scenes of sheep-filled pastures in works of the genre. Indeed, a true representation of the pastoral background would include enough landscape to appeal to the senses of the readers or audience, presenting or at least suggesting a picture of soft grasses, blossoming fruit trees, beautiful flowers, babbling streams or fountains, and singing birds, perhaps with an ease-loving shepherd at rest in the shade of a leafy tree, contemplating his love for a fair young maiden, or with a comely shepherdess cooling her dainty feet in the flowing waters of a convenient brook as she watches over her flocks.

---

<sup>10</sup>Marks, op. cit., p. 30 f.

A variant of the pastoral scene is that of the piscatory eclogues, in which the idealized picture of a leisurely angler pursuing his recreation on a shady bank suggests the same feeling and mood as does the supposed carefree existence of the shepherd.<sup>11</sup> The piscatory branch of pastoral literature has received the attention of such important writers as the poets Jacopo Sannazaro and Theocritus and the English critics John Jones and Moses Browne.<sup>12</sup> Although the English pastorals are generally limited to the affairs of shepherds or pseudo-shepherds, there is an exception in a piscatory group devised by Phineas Fletcher in his "piscatorie Ecloges"<sup>13</sup> and Sicelides.<sup>14</sup>

The idealism of scenery in the pastoral is best explained by Edmund K. Chambers, who points out that "pastoral is not the poetry of country life, but the poetry of the townsman's dream of country life."<sup>15</sup> He expands his idea as follows:

Upon the semblance of such a dream is Arcadia fashioned; a land of rustling leaves and cool waters, of simple pleasures and honest loves; a land where men "fleet the time carelessly, as they did in the golden world", untroubled so long as their flocks bear well, and their mistresses are kind, content with rude lodging and humble fare, and without envy for the luxuries and vexations of the great.<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup>Congleton, op. cit., p. 185

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 209.

<sup>13</sup>Greg, op. cit., p. 118.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 345.

<sup>15</sup>Edmund K. Chambers, English Pastorals (London, 1906), p. xxxix.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.



Such are the elements of external nature and freedom from care emphasized in the pastoral, the idealized pseudo-natural beauty and simplicity of life outside the city, from which urban writers surveyed the settings for their works. The tension between town and country, the contrast between the cultivated and the wild, gave importance to the treatments of the externals of nature. An outstanding characteristic of the pastoral scene, then, is the glorification of nature. Chambers speaks of the spring-like quality of pastoralism, the almost audible singing of birds, and the variety of colorful flowers, concluding that these and similar elements constituted nature as it presented itself to the Elizabethans, although in a rather vague and general manner. He says,

There is none of that accurate observation which Darwin has taught our modern poets, any more than there is that haunting sense of imminent deity which they have inherited from Wordsworth. The times and seasons of a country calendar are rarely observed, the habits of fauna and flora imperfectly understood. . . . Only Shakespeare is careful to make Perdita distribute the proper flowers of middle summer from her nosegay, and lament the absence of the flowers of spring that might furnish fitting garlands for her girl friends. These are perhaps the incidents of rural poetry as the townsman writes it; yet one is inclined to think that they point to a deeper divergence of the Elizabethan point of view from our own. Nature for them was a thing only to be felt, not studied; emotion was its interpreter and science. They caught the fresh innocent delight of childhood, and were content to miss the subtler, if not higher pleasures which come of greater knowledge and understanding.<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. xli f.

Thus nature, in the usually poetical Elizabethan sense, was an important factor in the scenes of pastoral literature, and recognition of the Elizabethans' delight in an idealized portrayal of it contributes to an understanding of the appeal of pastoralism to people of the time.

In this idealized setting the pastoral writers placed their characters to make love, herd sheep, and follow other pursuits which urban dwellers expected of rural persons.

Although most critics attempting to define the pastoral genre have insisted that characters in the pastoral should be morally and poetically good, plain, simple, innocent, uncorrupted, and pious folk,<sup>18</sup> as many actually were represented, they did not invariably conform to the ideals which the critics have set. Thus in bucolic works there are portrayed personages of elegance as well as personages of great simplicity.

Samuel Johnson's statement that "pastoral admits of all ranks of persons, because persons of all ranks inhabit the country"<sup>19</sup> suggests the broad possible interpretation of characters in literature of the tradition. From his statement one need not infer, however, that actual inhabitants of rural areas are the only individuals presented or even that real country people are necessarily depicted in bucolic works.

---

<sup>18</sup>Congleton, op. cit., p. 196 ff.

<sup>19</sup>Quoted by Congleton, op. cit., p. 211.

Again, the townsman's conception of pastoral elements--with particular reference here to characters--is applicable.

As in all pastoral literary types, there will be noted in the plays to be considered elegant shepherds and charming shepherdesses, sometimes using courtly language and manners, who seem to be the epitome of refinement and who represent the ideal of ease and indolence. The elegance is sometimes accounted for by the discovery that one or more characters are of noble or royal birth, although their true statuses may have been unknown to their associates.

An extension of the theme of rusticity includes the clowns and ruder, less cultivated country folk characterized by jollity, joking, and pranks. The clever maiden of lower birth and the young woman disguised as a man, usually as a shepherd, often belong to this division; however, these female characters are sometimes capable of improving their social standing and becoming adapted to more refined groups in the society.

Another class of characters is composed of mythological creatures and pagan or sylvan deities, including Pan, Faunus, Silvanus, Pomona, Flora, Diana, and various other gods, goddesses, and fates.<sup>20</sup>

Jeannette Marks reviews the personages of pastoral literature in a concise manner. Although her discussion has reference mainly to a period somewhat later than that with

---

<sup>20</sup>Greg, op. cit., p. 216 f.

which the current study is concerned, it is applicable to the pastoral field as a whole.

The heart-free, invincible shepherd who is conquered, the lustful shepherdess, the good old shepherd, the faithful shepherd, the chaste shepherdess, the priest, the satyr, the stern father, the lustful royal lover, deity, are all types at once recognizable.<sup>21</sup>

It is apparent, then, that ordinary country people will not always suffice as the outstanding individuals in pastoral drama; too faithful a picture of rural life would involve a cognizance of hardship as well as of pleasure, and, assuredly, emphasis on hardship has no place in a form as delicate, pretty, and ordinarily lighthearted as the pastoral.

There remains one other important factor in regard to characters, and that is the conventionality of names for the persons. A survey of pastoral literature shows that just as Arcadia is the customary setting of the shepherd's gambols, so are the following character names used frequently: Chloe, Philomela, Corydon, Thyrsis, Amynta, Amaryllis, Colin, Corin, Phyllida, Phyllis, Damon, Daphnis, Corinna, Clorinda, and Dorinda. The names which authors selected were intended to carry out the spirit of the pastoral. The poetical, exotic-sounding appellations blend well with the over-idealized and exaggerated scenery peculiar to pastoral literature in general and to the drama in particular and even suggest the lighthearted mood, the yearning for a happier life, and the indolence assumed to accompany the herdsman's existence.

---

<sup>21</sup>Marks, op. cit., p. 130.

Subject matter in bucolic writings is limited as to theme. Love, the topic most frequently chosen, is the one serious occupation of the pastoral life. Chambers observes that the stylized love

. . . is a love mainly enamoured of simplicity; as of the courtier, wearied out by maids of honour, with their airs and graces, and finding an exquisite pleasure in the shy words and open heart of Phyllida or Amaryllis.<sup>22</sup>

Some variation of the theme of love is the matter with which the pastoral most frequently concerns itself. The reader finds love treated in several ways: love between persons of different social classes; love in what has been called "the lovers' merry-go-round, in which everybody loves somebody who does not love him";<sup>23</sup> love unrequited; love gained successfully and happily, or reciprocal love; and love gained by force. It is apparent that the love theme is intricately connected with the plot outline in many works, for plot development in the pure pastoral relies in large measure on this theme. Jeannette Marks expressed a similar idea in the statement that "character in a certain sense interlaces with the plot device, as the pastoral play had scarcely more for a plot than a character type or a series of character types."<sup>24</sup>

It must be concluded, then, that plot is not of major importance, except as it is related to the themes with which

---

<sup>22</sup>Chambers, op. cit., p. xl. <sup>23</sup>Marks, op. cit., p. 130.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

the pastoral is primarily concerned. Quite naturally, the supposed affairs of shepherds, including not only their loves but also their sports and other occupations, provide some of the substance. Allegorical content, either personal, moral, political, or ecclesiastical, is the nucleus of many works classified as pastoral. Much that can be called matter is inseparable from scenery and characters, for some compositions seem to have as at least part of their purpose simply a presentation of a pleasing rural picture or a consideration, expected to be refreshing, of the virtues of simple people.

The style, too, came to be conventional in the pastoral. A consideration of style employed by pastoral writers involves attention to dialogue, language usage, tone, and atmosphere in works of the tradition.

In order to clarify the usage of language in pastoral drama of the English Renaissance, one should observe forms of language found in bucolic works of other periods. Theocritus chose a rustic dialect, Virgil used a refined and courtly language, Spenser employed rustic terms, and Gay again emphasized a refined dialogue.<sup>25</sup> Numerous critical justifications of the two types of language, rustic and refined, have been advanced. In the current study, what is of importance concerning language is that influences of each group are

---

<sup>25</sup>Congleton, op. cit., p. 263 ff.

traceable in pastoral drama of the latter part of the sixteenth century and the first part of the seventeenth. Thus some authors used archaic or even obsolete expressions; some made conscious efforts to give their characters the rustic and "humble" speech of country people; and others chose to write in an exaggerated and over-refined manner imitative of courtly speech. The student of pastorals will observe in extant examples of the tradition a consistency between characters and their speech, wherein refined characters use refined language and rustic characters use rustic language.

Mode of expression in the pastoral has ranged from a lyrical, flowing style to a simple but delicate one. One critic states that the major portion of pastoral literature has maintained an artificial quality, "in which there is a dominance of art over nature, form over matter, expression over content."<sup>26</sup>

Conventionality in the pastoral school extends to the atmosphere, or spirit, pervading the works. Critical opinions of the qualities that characterize pastoralism have most often emphasized sweetness, mildness, delicacy, simplicity of thought and expression, and conciseness of ideas. Certainly the first three qualities are easily found in the bulk of pastoral works, and even simplicity and conciseness are to be noted if one has reference principally to matter,

---

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 290.

which is usually somewhat limited. Contrasting with simplicity of thought and subject in actual pastoral practice, however, a tendency toward euphuism with its affectations, excessive elegance, and artificiality particularly in conversation is traceable in some bucolic pieces. Sweetness of tone, then, may be sincere or affected.<sup>27</sup>

The songs in many pastoral plays, which reflect the taste for delicacy and charm of style, contribute greatly to the customarily carefree mood, the delineation of character, and the feeling of freedom. Indeed, the songs serve as a link between the drama and the great body of nondramatic bucolic compositions. Analysis of forms and content of these shorter works within the plays will necessarily be reserved for discussions of individual dramas in which they are found.

Writers of pastoral in the English Renaissance found that the characteristics of pastoral literature were already conventionalized and fixed, even though there was some variation of style, technique, and content within the limitations. It becomes clear how such conventions and limitations evolved when one considers the origins and development of literature of the pastoral tradition. It will be the purpose of the remaining chapters of this thesis to trace the characteristics and conventions of the pastoral as they can be observed in specific bucolic works from various writers of various

---

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 290 ff.



nationalities and ultimately to examine specific examples of English pastoral drama in light of these conventions and characteristics.

## CHAPTER II

### HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE PASTORAL TRADITION

The pastoral idea is traceable to the classical "golden age" antedating the birth of Christ. The concepts of innocence, ease, and simplicity, which have been shown to be important factors in the pastoral tradition, are to be noted in literature of that golden age; indeed, various scholars have believed that the ultimate origin of the tradition was in lost works written as early as six hundred years before Christ. For such a group of scholars the pastoral idea evolved during a truly rustic and pastoral period.<sup>1</sup>

Most critics, however, agree that the definite formation of the pastoral as a literary medium and the beginning of its popularity are to be found in the writings of Theocritus, a poet of Greek parentage who was born about 310 B. C. in Sicily, where he spent at least a part of his childhood; in Sicily there were many shepherds and fishermen of whom Theocritus and his followers wrote, and the native pastoral scenes were familiar to this father of bucolic literature.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Jeannette Marks, English Pastoral Drama (London, 1908), p. 2.

<sup>2</sup>T. P. Harrison, The Pastoral Elegy (Austin, Texas, 1939), p. 257.

Theocritus developed as his principal literary form the idyl, which suggests influences of both epic and lyric poetry. Possibly desiring at least a momentary escape from the intrigues of court life in Alexandria, Egypt, where he spent much of his adult life,<sup>3</sup> the poet began to write the pastoral idyls for which he is remembered. For him, as for later writers, the pastoral setting must have represented relief from everyday affairs, especially since some of the memories of his childhood were of pleasant pastoral and piscatory scenes in Sicily.<sup>4</sup> What could have been more natural, then, than his choice of Sicily as the setting for his pastoral compositions?

In suggesting the idealism of the pastoral life, the idyls of Theocritus nevertheless present a semblance of actuality far removed from the artificiality and exaggerated idealism found in some later pastoral compositions. Greg characterizes his works as follows:

He depicted no age of innocence; his poetry reflects no philosophical illusion of primitive simplicity; he elaborated no imaginary cult of mystical worship. His art, however little it may tempt us to the use of the term realism, is nevertheless based on an almost passionate sympathy with actual human nature. This is the fount of his inspiration, the central theme of his song. The literary genius of Greece showed little aptitude for landscape, and seldom treated inanimate nature except as a background for human action and emotion, or it may be in the guise of mythological

---

<sup>3</sup>Walter W. Greg, Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama (London, 1906), p. 9.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

allegory. Nevertheless, it is hard to believe that Theocritus, so tenderly concerned with the homely aspects of human life, was not likewise sensitive to the beauties of nature.<sup>5</sup>

Since Theocritus elected not to over-idealize, not to present a fictitious perfect innocence, how did he treat his pastoral material? It has been suggested that proof of his truthfulness is to be found in the near-realism of his characters, for the songs of shepherds and goatherds are such as he might really have heard along the shores of Sicily.<sup>6</sup> The singing and pipe playing probably were actually common diversions of Greek herdsmen,<sup>7</sup> even though in later years they were overdrawn. The love song, the singing match, the physical pastoral setting, and even the seeds of mythological factors existed in the Theocritan idyls.<sup>8</sup>

The vivid, lively quality of the dramatic situations in some of the idyls has led at least one critic to theorize that the inception not only of the pastoral tradition but of the pastoral play itself lay in the works of Theocritus.<sup>9</sup> Another critic says that the dramatic method of Theocritus, through the imitations by Virgil, was later to become the germ of the English Renaissance pastoral masque and even of

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>6</sup>Andrew Lang, Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus (London, 1889), p. xx.

<sup>7</sup>A. S. F. Gow, The Greek Bucolic Poets (Cambridge, 1953), p. xiii.

<sup>8</sup>Greg, op. cit., p. 13 ff.    <sup>9</sup>Marks, op. cit., p. 7.

the drama.<sup>10</sup> In fact, so close is the relationship between the two forms that the pastoral idyl itself has been defined as "a dramatic presentation of some characteristic scene in the joyous life of herdsmen."<sup>11</sup> Martha Shackford explains that the idyl is dramatic in that it represents the movement and speech of the actors but that it lacks the unity necessary to the true drama.<sup>12</sup>

Greek followers of Theocritus who also wrote verse in the form of the idyl were Bion and Moschus. Although their extant works have only small amounts of the bucolic matter or spirit, it is possible that some pieces containing more material of a pastoral nature have been lost.<sup>13</sup>

"The Lament for Adonis," which is ascribed to Bion, may be considered partly pastoral in inspiration because of the tradition that Adonis once tended sheep.<sup>14</sup> "The Lament for Bion," which is usually attributed to Moschus, refers to Sicilian muses and calls Bion a cowherd; references to several gods and nymphs and an awareness of nature are to be found in this idyl. One senses a less natural style in the two works than in the writings of Theocritus; even at this

<sup>10</sup>Harrison, op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>11</sup>Martha H. Shackford, "A Definition of the Pastoral Idyll," Publications of the Modern Language Association, XIX (1904), 591.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.      <sup>13</sup>Greg, op. cit., p. 11.

<sup>14</sup>Harrison, op. cit., p. 260.

early date the pastoral was beginning to show some traces of artificiality.

Before turning from the consideration of Greek pastorals, one should take note of a form of pastoral other than the idyl. The romance Daphnis and Chloe, ascribed to an author known as Longus and written probably about the third century A. D., carried on the tradition in its delicacy of expression and simplicity of story. Its most important contribution was the convention in which young lovers who had been reared by shepherds were discovered to be in reality the children of wealthy aristocrats. This situation recurs frequently not only in pastoral but also in chivalric romance and can be found in drama of the English Renaissance. The love theme, too, is developed in Daphnis and Chloe.<sup>15</sup>

Another disciple of Theocritus, better known than Bion and Moschus, is Virgil, who lived two centuries after the Greek poet. To Theocritus, Virgil was indebted for many of his ideas and even for the externals of pastoral setting which he employed in his works. To Virgil is ascribed the development of the type of eclogue on which English pastoral poetry was founded.

Certain it is . . . that the English pastoral eclogue reverts to Virgil for its type; to this very fact may be attributed the preponderance of allegory in English pastorals, for there was more masquerade, more hidden and secondary meaning in the verse of this first of Roman pastoralists than in the poetry of the Greeks.<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup>Greg, op. cit., p. 11 ff.      <sup>16</sup>Marks, op. cit., p. 3.

It was Virgil who infused into the pastoral some of its early artificiality in scenery and characters, who developed mythological themes beyond the very sketchy notice given to them by Theocritus and his immediate followers, and who introduced allegory and didacticism. Thus first became associated with the pastoral some of its outstanding elements. The seeming lack of realism, freshness, and spontaneity of Virgil's eclogues is compensated for by his word usage and imagination; the intellectual association with the eclogues caused other writers to imitate his works.<sup>17</sup>

But why was it Virgil, who initiated these qualities seemingly alien to the original idea, to whom many of the later authors looked for inspiration? Why did they not refer directly to Theocritus, the father of the pastoral? Greg observes that some of the themes which Virgil treated were of universal importance, and he points out that Latin had much wider use than Greek; before the Renaissance re-instituted Greek as a possible source of literary material, the Virgilian tradition was already established.<sup>18</sup>

The first writer of note to imitate Virgil was Calpurnius, who developed the panegyric and who wrote some pieces didactic in spirit. His eclogues followed the customary themes of bucolic literature, but more than any of his predecessors he brought to the fore a clearly stated contrast

---

<sup>17</sup>Harrison, op. cit., p. 5.

<sup>18</sup>Greg, op. cit., p. 18.

between the life of the town and that of the country.<sup>19</sup> In so doing, Calpurnius clarified for future writers one of the basic characteristics of the pastoral, for a distinguishing factor in many expressions of the tradition was the contrast between the urban and the rural.

The Middle Ages produced no outstanding pastoral works but did preserve the tradition of the pastoral eclogue as a literary form. The bucolic works of this period maintained allegorical touches and other Virgilian characteristics. The sole contribution of the period to pastoralism was the introduction of religious themes.<sup>20</sup>

When the pastoral emerged from its almost static state of the medieval era, a fusion of religious themes and the Virgilian tendency toward allegory had taken place. Indeed, such a combination of elements characterized some of the fourteenth-century writings of the Italian Petrarch, the first important author after Calpurnius to treat pastoral themes.

Some of Petrarch's ecclesiastical eclogues, in denouncing and satirizing corruption within the Church, utilize the allegory of pontifical shepherds (representing the Church) pursuing sinful mundane pleasures; in other eclogues, conversations between shepherds set forth the poet's views on religious verse and the "death" of true poetry. Petrarch reverted to Virgil for his form, the eclogue, and his subject

---

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 116.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 19.



matter, most of which is of a moral tone; however, he derived his imaginative freshness, which was lacking in Virgil's works, from Theocritus. His indebtedness to Theocritus is further attested to by one eclogue which is a neoclassical companion piece to a work by the Greek poet.<sup>21</sup>

Just as Petrarch was the first modern writer of pastoral eclogues, so his compatriot and contemporary Boccaccio was the first modern writer of a pastoral romance, the development of which contributed to the completely dramatic pastoral.<sup>22</sup> Like the eclogue, to which Boccaccio also gave some attention, the romance as a form possessed dramatic possibilities by virtue of its dialogue and dramatic situations, such as those produced by the love theme. The romance which Boccaccio wrote as his major contribution to pastoralism is a work entitled Ameto.<sup>23</sup>

Utilizing both prose and verse for narration of his tale, Boccaccio included in the Ameto many of the elements of pastoralism. An unusual treatment of the love theme is found in the representation of the feast of Venus, at which several nymphs relate the stories of their loves; little else that can be called plot exists in the work. Traditional pastoral characters--shepherds, nymphs, and goddesses--and pleasant rural scenes with shady laurels and limpid fountains<sup>24</sup> help to create a pastoral atmosphere in the romance.

---

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>22</sup>Marks, op. cit., p. 6.

<sup>23</sup>Greg, op. cit., p. 24

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 42.

A contrast between spiritual and physical beauty parallels a contrast between spiritual and mundane love, and Ameto's hymn in honor of the Trinity climaxes the work; allegory is implicit in it, and one theory concerning the symbolism is that each nymph in the tale represents some cardinal or theological virtue; thus Lia, the nymph with whom Ameto, representing ignorance, falls in love is the personification of faith.<sup>25</sup> Further elucidation of the allegory is that Ameto, untaught and primitive humanity, is taught and civilized by divine love, represented by the nymphs. The fountains signify baptism, into which Lia, or faith, plunges Ameto, man.<sup>26</sup>

The Ameto was the source of inspiration during the fifteenth century for Sannazaro's romance Arcadia. In the artificial style of Sannazaro's work there is to be seen the great influence of Boccaccio's style and form, prose and verse being intermingled. Arcadia, like Ameto, contains no elements other than the conventional pastoral ones. Mythological influences and representations of nature are some of the important factors.<sup>27</sup> The romance concerns a group of shepherds, assembled with their flocks, who become engaged

---

<sup>25</sup>Edward Hutton, Giovanni Boccaccio, A Biographical Study (London, 1910), p. 85 f.

<sup>26</sup>Thomas C. Chubb, The Life of Giovanni Boccaccio (New York, 1930), p. 108 f.

<sup>27</sup>Greg, op. cit., p. 47 ff.

in a singing match; various members of the group tell the stories of their amorous adventures, one shepherd discourses on the powers of magic, and the company proceeds to the sacred grove of Pan to pay him homage in the typical Arcadian manner. The narrator dreams that his lady is approaching death, and the remainder of the tale relates his sorrow and eventual knowledge of the truth of his dream.<sup>28</sup>

The romance, however, was not the only branch of pastoral literature with which Sannazaro dealt. Possibly taking the idea of piscatory subjects from some passages in the idyls of Theocritus, he composed five piscatory eclogues in Latin which reflect both romantic love and love of nature. The place of the satyr in the pastoral was perhaps instituted by Sannazaro, who also composed a poem entitled "Salices," in which satyrs, nymphs, and goddesses have roles.<sup>29</sup>

A contemporary of Sannazaro who, like him, was of Spanish extraction and who helped to develop the eclogue as a pastoral was Battista Spagnuoli, often called Mantuan because he was born in the city of Mantua. His ten eclogues variously treat the theme of love, satirize the luxury of city life, describe the simple religious faith of country people, criticize ecclesiastical abuses, and praise the religious life.<sup>30</sup> The works of Spagnuoli may have had strong influence on English pastorals, for his didactic and religious eclogues were widely read in England, and "many a lad was thrashed through

---

<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 28 f.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 27.

Mantuan, for this Carmelite scholar was thought an excellent exercise for the young."<sup>31</sup> It has even been suggested that there can be traced a direct line of influence from Virgil through Calpurnius and Spagnuoli to the subsequent English poets.<sup>32</sup>

It has been stated that the inception of pastoral drama itself may possibly be traced to Theocritus, since his bucolic works contain dramatic situations. The first pastoral work of intentionally dramatic structure, however, was probably a five-act fable-play written in the latter part of the fifteenth century by Agnolo Poliziano. Entitled Favolo di Orfeo, the play has a conventional pastoral cast including classical shepherds, gods and goddesses, and a satyr.<sup>33</sup>

Almost a century after the appearance of Orfeo, Agostino Beccari's Il Sacrificio was written, presenting the Arcadian merry-go-round of lovers. Mythological traditions were re-emphasized in Luigi Groto's Calisto, of the same period; the play deals with Jupiter's love for Calisto, the chaste nymph. Agostino Argenti formed a play on the love-chain idea; his Lo Sfortunato, peopled with enamored shepherds and shepherdesses, is said to have influenced Torquato Tasso to compose his masterpiece of pastoral drama.<sup>34</sup> Thus the traditional themes of love and mythology continued to exist in Italian

---

<sup>31</sup>Marks, op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 180 ff.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 7 f.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 9 f.

pastoral literature; their vitality probably had extensive influence on English drama, for British writers are known to have referred directly to the works of Tasso and Groto and indirectly, through Tasso and Battista Guarini, to those of Beccari and Argenti.

Exceeding all other Italian plays for beauty, adherence to tradition, and spirit is Tasso's Aminta, which was first acted in 1573. Reminiscent of early eclogues for its freedom from over-idealization, the drama nevertheless is rather artificial in structure and relies heavily on narrative as a substitute for action on stage.<sup>35</sup>

The plot concerns the shepherd Aminta, who has fallen in love with the nymph Silvia, his childhood playmate and companion, who is now a huntress in the service of the goddess Diana and who spurns his love for her. The nymph's confidante, Dafne, and Aminta's friend, Tirsi, consider ways of bringing about an understanding between the shepherd and the object of his affections. They decide to have the bashful lover intrude upon Silvia when she is alone at a spring preparing for the chase. Through Tirsi's narration rather than actual representation the audience learns that when Aminta approached the spring he encountered his lady bound to a tree and confronted by a wicked satyr, which fled at sight of the shepherd. Aminta released Silvia; when the

---

<sup>35</sup>Greg, op. cit., p. 177 ff.

ungrateful huntress immediately deserted her rescuer, he attempted, unsuccessfully, to commit suicide. After Tirsi's story, there is brought a false report that Silvia has been slain by a wolf; through a second-hand account, again, the audience learns that Aminta has thrown himself from a cliff to end his grief, just as Silvia, alive and well, appears on the scene. Hearing of Aminta's complete devotion, she finally realizes her love for him. The very brief fifth act relates Aminta's second escape from death and his revival in Silvia's arms, and the play ends on a happy note.<sup>36</sup>

The only Italian play to rival the excellence of Aminta is Battista Guarini's Il pastor fido, on which many subsequent plays have been based. With choruses of shepherds, huntsmen, nymphs, and priests, the cast has as its principal personages Silvio and Amarillis, who have been betrothed by their parents; Mirtillo, the faithful shepherd; Corisca, a wanton nymph; Dorinda, a shepherdess; a satyr; Lupino, a goatherd; Montano, father of Silvio; Titiro, father of Amarillis; Coridon, lover of Corisca; and Carino, supposed father of Mirtillo.

One of the most striking characteristics of this pastoral play is the conventionality of names as well as the familiar bucolic setting. The country is represented as being in great distress at the hands of unfavorable deities.

---

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 180 ff.

Because of a prophecy that peace will prevail once more when children of divine extraction are married, Silvio and Amarillis, who are of the blood of Hercules and Pan,<sup>37</sup> are betrothed. The young people do not favor the proposed union, however; Amarillis loves Mirtillo, and Dorinda loves Silvio. The nymph Corisca, jealous of Mirtillo's love for Amarillis, attempts to win his love for herself. Amarillis is unable to acknowledge his love because of an Arcadian law that any nymph found guilty of a breach of faith shall be executed unless someone offers to die in her place. Corisca makes secret plans to have the two discovered together, and when they are apprehended, Amarillis is condemned to die; thus Corisca's plans to have Mirtillo for herself might have succeeded had he not immediately offered his life that Amarillis might live. Meanwhile Dorinda has been accidentally shot by Silvio as she follows him on a hunting expedition; overcome with remorse, the hunter declares his love for the shepherdess, and they are later married. Just as Mirtillo's life is about to be sacrificed, his supposed father, Carino, appears, and it gradually comes to light that Mirtillo is in reality the long-lost elder son of Montano.<sup>38</sup> Thus the love between Mirtillo and Amarillis has fulfilled the oracle concerning the marriage of two children of divine descent.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 197.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., p. 196 ff.

<sup>39</sup>Marks, op. cit. p. 14.

As in Tasso's play, much of the supposed action takes place off the stage and is presented to the audience by narration; nevertheless, the intricacy of the plot and the emergence of at least one dramatic and clearly defined character<sup>40</sup> make the play a memorable one. Amarillis is the character who does not bow to conventionality of type and who is outstanding as a person who lives by her convictions.

The importance of Aminta and Il pastor fido in the history of the pastoral cannot be overestimated. The love theme and conventionality of characters are traceable in the plays; these and some other outstanding factors contributed to the perpetuation of the pastoral tradition. The plays express a longing for the freedom and peace of the simple life; nevertheless, they have much of the improbability and artificiality found in many other works of the type. Allegory, with Arcadia representing perhaps the ultimate in earthly goodness and beauty, has its place also in the two works.<sup>41</sup>

Although Tasso's play is considered the Italian masterpiece of pastoral drama and is one which exerted notable influence on the development of the dramatic pastoral, it was Guarini's work to which many English playwrights turned for inspiration, especially in story.<sup>42</sup> Italian pastoral

---

<sup>40</sup>Greg, op. cit., p. 202.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 52.

<sup>42</sup>Marks, op. cit., p. 13.



plays consequent to the two works were of less importance in the development of the genre and were composed principally upon the forms and in the tradition already set. Their function was simply that of carrying on the tradition.

From Italy the pastoral spread to Spain, France, and England. The bucolic literature of Italy directly influenced that of England; not only did Italian writers help to perpetuate conventionality of setting, style, and characters, but they also contributed actual incidents and subject matter on which many English pastoral plays are based. In both prose and verse forms Italian authors dealt with the themes of love, religion, mythology, and nature. It was Italian literature that exerted the greatest influence on English pastoral drama; however, English literature also absorbed some elements from Spanish and French works, which received some of their inspiration from the Italian and which made contributions of their own to pastoralism.

It was in Spain that the most immediate influence of the Italian pastoral was felt. Similarity of dialects<sup>43</sup> and the Spanish subjugation of Sicily in the thirteenth century and of the Italian peninsula later<sup>44</sup> made easy the transfer of material from one language to the other. Imitations of Petrarch, Sannazaro, Tasso, and other outstanding Italian

---

<sup>43</sup>Greg, op. cit., p. 53.

<sup>44</sup>Hugo A. Rennert, The Spanish Pastoral Romances (Philadelphia, 1912), p. 12 f.

writers are traceable in sixteenth and seventeenth century Spanish literature,<sup>45</sup> just as they are in English writings.

Perhaps the earliest evidence of pastoral influence in Spain is to be found in the eclogues of Juan del Encina (1468?-1529?), who has been called the patriarch of the Spanish theater. The royal patronage given to Encina suggests the regard in which literature was held in this country. Although Encina's first dialogues between shepherds were brief and had no dramatic action, his type of eclogue seems to have developed in a comparatively short time into a lively form as the writer began to vary his material.

It was Encina who secularized Spanish drama, and he did so using the themes of festive, lighthearted love and some allegory.<sup>46</sup> Most of his characters were shepherds and shepherdesses, authentic usually in sentiments and language. In some specific instances, however, a shepherd was a gentleman who had sought escape in the peace of the country.<sup>47</sup> Thus Encina followed the conventional pastoral formulas.

Some other early examples of Spanish pastoral drama were the work of Lope de Rueda, who wrote two coloquios which may be regarded as pastoral because the characters are shepherds and shepherdesses who speak the artificial language of the

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 13 n.

<sup>46</sup>M. Romera-Navarro, Historia de la literatura española (Boston, 1928), p. 109 ff.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., p. 112.

Arcadians. These pastoral works are not considered his best, however.<sup>48</sup>

Despite the apparent conventionality of some aspects of the pastoral in Spain, bucolic writings of that country had their own distinct flavor. Not purely pastoral in the classical sense, much Hispanic literature of the bucolic school was fused with the domestic chivalric tradition, which entered the pastoral through Spain.

When the pastoral romance appeared in Spain about the middle of the sixteenth century, the country had reached the peak of its military greatness and influence over the western world. The Spaniards were very conscious of all things military, and nearly all gentlemen were primarily soldiers; the emphasis on arms and a spirit of chivalry and adventure led very naturally to the production of books about chivalry.<sup>49</sup> Introduction of pastoral personages into such books resulted from the Italian influence which was spreading to Spain, and gradually there developed in the works other elements of pastoralism.

The most outstanding and influential book of the chivalric tradition was Amadís de Gaula, the chief source upon which Sidney relied for incidents. The importance of the work is that it

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 197.

<sup>49</sup>Rennert, op. cit., p. 9.

. . . established a pattern which all writers of chivalresque fictions apparently felt bound to follow: the same verbose, rhetorical style; a succession of knightly combats; exaltation of love; and a fantastic array of giants, monsters, and magicians.<sup>50</sup>

Entirely artificial and fantastic, and lacking legendary or historical basis, the incidents in Amadís de Gaula might have taken place in any country; perhaps the popularity of the work, not limited to the country of its birth, was due in part to the setting's not being exclusively Spanish.

Although the tradition of chivalry has many distinguishing characteristics, only those which relate it to the pastoral will be considered here. Importance of the hero's ancestry, revelation of royal lineage by birthmarks or identifying tokens, and fearlessness and physical superiority of the hero are elements of the chivalric romance<sup>51</sup> which became adapted to pastoral drama. Spanish chivalric romances end on joyous notes, possibly because the Spanish writers looked at the world as they would fashion it, an ideal and happy world;<sup>52</sup> the dream of such a world is another chivalric element which lent itself to conciliation with pastoral themes. For the first time, then, we find entering the pastoral certain details from the chivalric tradition which later became fixed items in bucolic literature.

<sup>50</sup>Mary Patchell, Palmerin Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction (New York, 1947), p. 8.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 26 ff.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 115.

The masterpiece of Spanish pastoralism in the romance form was achieved in the Diana of Jorge de Montemayor, a Spaniard of Portuguese extraction who wrote in the Castilian dialect. The work is dated about 1559, two years before Montemayor's death.<sup>53</sup> Inspiration for the romance can be traced directly to Sannazaro (whose Arcadia was translated into Castilian in 1547), thence to Virgil and Theocritus. Spain was the first country to produce an imitation of Sannazaro's work, the effect of which is to be noted in the combination of prose and verse in the Diana.<sup>54</sup> Because the story exerted great influence on the Arcadia (1590) of Philip Sidney, the Astrée (1610-1619) of Honoré d'Urfé, and even on The Two Gentlemen of Verona of William Shakespeare,<sup>55</sup> a brief consideration of plot will be of benefit.

An exceptionally beautiful shepherdess named Diana, living in the country near León, loves and is loved by the shepherd Sireno; their love is pure and honorable. While Sireno is absent from the country for one year, however, Diana's father wills that she marry Delio, a wealthy but untalented man, and when Sireno returns it is only to meet with the heartbreak of his lost love. Resting under a beech tree, he plays his lute and laments his sad state. Another shepherd approaches, also singing sadly; it is Silvano, a

---

<sup>53</sup>Romera-Navarro, op. cit., p. 206.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 209

former rival of Sireno for the affections of Diana. The two shepherds console each other, and soon Diana's friend Selvagia, a shepherdess whose love for Alanio is unrequited, joins them in the field, and the three weep together. There follows a sequence wherein several nymphs, priestesses of Diana, appear, and this and other sections introduce various characters whose stories complicate the plot in the conventional lovers' merry-go-round; there are some digressions which provide the reader with detailed background information concerning these personages. The sad lovers, including those presented in the digressions, journey in a group to the temple of Diana to find some solace for their various woes. En route they stop at a magnificent palace and are received by the wise Felicia, who promises a remedy for their sorrows. She offers them a magic potion which wipes out their former loves; thus Sireno and Silvano are cured of their affection for Diana, Selvagia forgets Alanio, and Silvano and Selvagia fall in love. The shepherdess Diana appears on the scene for the first time, and it is revealed that she still loves Sireno. He, however, rejects her now, and she goes away, not to reappear in the story. The various other lovers proceed to the temple and are happily united.<sup>56</sup>

The author promised a second part, which, however, was never written. Some of the numerous imitations have provided

---

<sup>56</sup>Rennert, op. cit., p. 40 ff.

an extension of the story; the Diana enamorada (1564) of Gaspar Gil Polo, inferior on the whole to Montemayor's romance but superior in verse and perhaps in logical plot development,<sup>57</sup> tells of Sireno's recovery from Felicia's magic draught which has cancelled his former love for Diana and of the subsequent happy marriage of Sireno and Diana.<sup>58</sup>

An entire pastoral novel, La Galatea, was the work of Cervantes.<sup>59</sup> Published in 1585, it shows the influence of the Diana stories<sup>60</sup> and Sannazaro's Arcadia. The story introduces numerous shepherds, mixing the accounts of their amorous adventures with philosophical ideas. Without much central plot, it is principally a stringing together of loosely related material dependent mainly on the love theme.

Timbrio sets out for Naples, where he is to engage in a duel with another knight; his friend Silerio, who follows some days later, rescues him from execution after he has been captured by a band of robbers and apprehended with them. In Naples, before the duel, Timbrio falls in love with Nisida, who returns his affection, and her sister Blanca becomes

<sup>57</sup>Romera-Navarro, op. cit., p. 209.

<sup>58</sup>Rennert, op. cit., p. 73 ff.

<sup>59</sup>Cervantes' Don Quixote (1605) contains several pastoral digressions as well as the author's commentary, in the inquisition sequence, on pastoral and chivalric literature.

<sup>60</sup>Romera-Navarro, op. cit., p. 246 f.

<sup>61</sup>Rennert, op. cit., p. 117 ff.

enamored of Silerio. When the duel is held, Nisida mistakenly believes that Timbrio has been killed and falls in a swoon, causing her companions to believe her dead; Timbrio and Nisida by chance are re-united on the ship returning to Spain; a fight with some Turkish vessels ensues, and the sweethearts are taken aboard a Turkish galley. Their prayers save the vessel in a storm; the Turks decide to land on the coast of Catalonia, where they are murdered on the spot where Silerio had rescued Timbrio. The second part of the novel, which Cervantes had planned to write, never appeared.<sup>62</sup>

La Galatea, in its turn, is said to have inspired the romance Arcadia (1598) of Lope de Vega.<sup>63</sup> Relating the unfortunate love affairs of the shepherd Anfriso, grandson of Jupiter, the novel describes the leisure in which the aristocratic society lived in the country, passing the time with hunting parties, literary controversies, love affairs, and other diversions. Magic and mythology also are notable elements in the pastoral romance.<sup>64</sup>

It was as a playwright that Lope de Vega achieved fame, however; indeed, he also composed a drama entitled Arcadia, published in 1620 and based on the romance of the same title, as well as several other plays having pastoral ideas. The love theme, once more, is the dominating factor of the

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., p. 125.

<sup>63</sup>Greg, op. cit., p. 60.

<sup>64</sup>Romera-Navarro, op. cit., p. 308.



comedy, the plot of which concerns Ergasto's insistence that his daughter, Belisarda, marry Salicio. The father invites the shepherds and shepherdesses of Arcadia to solemnize the betrothal at the temple of Venus. Anfriso, who has loved Belisarda, who in turn loves him, believes that he cannot survive if the proposed marriage takes place. The witty rustic Cardenio determines to prevent the betrothal because Anfriso once saved his life; hiding himself behind the statue of the goddess in the temple, he pronounces an oracle designed to keep Salicio from marrying Belisarda, and the betrothal party is ultimately dispersed. The conventional complications result when Olimpo, Anfriso's best man, falls in love with Belisarda; Anarda, who loves Anfriso, attempts to help Olimpo. Olimpo, Salicio, and Anfriso decide to cast lots for the privilege of marrying the shepherdess Belisarda, although, according to the oracle pronounced earlier, marriage with her may mean death. Venus herself then appears, reveals Cardenio's trick, and decrees the union of Anfriso and Belisarda, whereupon Ergasto gives his approval and ordains the marriage of Olimpo and Anarda.<sup>65</sup>

Thus the pastoral in Spain, which was merged in many works with the chivalric romance, carried on the traditions of idealism, escapism, disguise and recognition, pastoral characters, Arcadian scenery, mythology, and artificiality.

---

<sup>65</sup>J. P. Wickersham Crawford, The Spanish Pastoral Drama (Philadelphia, 1915), p. 111 ff.

French literature also felt the impact of the pastoral idea but exerted less influence on the pastorals of England than did the literature of Spain and Italy. As early as the twelfth century and into the thirteenth one form of the pastoral flourished in France. Examples of the pastourelle, a narrative poem with some dramatic coloring, usually represented a knight or a poet riding down a road and encountering a fair shepherdess by the roadside, whereupon he would alight and proceed to woo her, either with or without success.<sup>66</sup> Even at this early time, then, French literature gave evidence of both chivalric and pastoral influences.

Before the great period of heroic-pastoral in France, however, other traces of pastoralism are discernible. It has been noted by one critic that Margaret of Navarre (1492-1549)

. . . followed the pastoral tradition in her imitation of Sannazaro's Salices and her lament on the death of her brother François I, and rehandled an already favourite theme in her comédie of human and divine love.<sup>67</sup>

Clément Marot (1495-1544) was a writer of eclogues having both mythological and allegorical elements. Marot's place in the development of the pastoral tradition is that of a link, for he was influenced by Virgil, one of whose eclogues he translated, and he also served as inspiration for Edmund Spenser, the great English poet.<sup>68</sup>

---

<sup>66</sup>George Edward Bateman Saintsbury, A Short History of French Literature (Oxford, 1937), p. 52 ff.

<sup>67</sup>Greg, op. cit., p. 61

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 62.

Further Spanish influence was felt in France when in 1578 a translation of Montemayor's Diana gave impetus to the fancy for pastoralism. Perhaps it was the new emphasis on the pastoral, combined with the somewhat earlier heroic interest in Amadis, that inspired Honoré d'Urfé to write his heroic pastoral romance Astrée, issued in two parts in 1607 and 1625. Having a definitely artificial pastoral scheme, the novel nevertheless has beautiful descriptions, a mixture of chivalric and philosophical elements, a delicate humor, and a purely sentimental type of love.<sup>69</sup>

The setting of Astrée is the traditional Arcadia, and the characters are courtly, conversational poet-shepherds. Celadon has been in love for three years with Astrée, but Alcippe, Celadon's father, is opposed to their marrying; consequently, Celadon feigns devotion to another shepherdess. Astrée banishes Celadon, who thereupon unsuccessfully attempts suicide. Rescued by nymphs, he escapes the amorous pursuit of the Princess Galathée and finds refuge in a cave. Celadon appears for a time in the story in the guise of a maiden; while he is in this guise he is once more united with Astrée. She banishes him a second time, however, and Celadon again attempts suicide, offering his body to the lions of the Fountain of Love. The lions refuse to prey on

---

<sup>69</sup>Saintsbury, op. cit., p. 291 f.

so true a lover, the young people are reunited, and the story ends happily.<sup>70</sup>

Didactic elements can be found in the work, for d'Urfé tried to moralize and teach good manners to the crude. His works show fusion of heroic and idyllic, and Astrée in particular laid the foundation for many future romances because it united pastoral and pseudo-historical.<sup>71</sup>

The pastoral tradition in England had been apparent before the advent of the pastoral drama. Early pastoral elements in England derived primarily from two sources, the purely native impulse and the classical pastoral tradition. The eventual merging of trends from the two sources was a natural outgrowth of their simultaneous development.

The pre-sixteenth century religious drama furnishes examples of the native pastoral. The comic representation of rustic manners of shepherds in religious drama is a prototype of later comic elements in the pastoral. As another example of the native influence, the English pastoral ballad can be cited. In some respects it is reminiscent of the French pastourelle, but whereas the French poems were written from the point of view of the gentleman, the English works were composed from that of the peasant maiden.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>70</sup>William A. Nitze and E. Preston Dargan, A History of French Literature (New York, 1938), p. 230 f.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., p. 232.

<sup>72</sup>Greg, op. cit., p. 70.

Alexander Barclay and Barnabe Googe are the first English writers of note who dealt with the pastoral of classical tradition. Barclay composed most of his eclogues, which are avowedly of Latin inspiration, about 1514. The works are peopled by the customary shepherds. Some of the eclogues reflect Mantuan's satirical comments on moral questions.<sup>73</sup>

There is evidence in the writings of Googe that even minor Italian authors had their influence on English pastorals. For example, Googe translated into English several of Spagnuoli's Latin imitations of Virgil;<sup>74</sup> therefore Googe provided a link between Continental and English pastorals. The eclogues of Googe, emphasizing once more the misery and wretchedness of city life in contrast with the supposed delights and ease of the country, are generally considered more poetical than those of Barclay.<sup>75</sup>

The eclogue reached the peak of its perfection in The Shepherd's Calendar, by Edmund Spenser; indeed, to Spenser is attributed the stabilization of the pastoral as a mode of expression in English literature. In his works there are echoes of earlier eclogists; he seems to have been impressed by the didacticism inherent in the works of Mantuan,

<sup>73</sup>Marks, op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>74</sup>Felix E. Schelling, Elizabethan Drama, 1558-1642 (Boston, 1908), Vol. II, p. 138.

<sup>75</sup>Marks, op. cit., p. 4 f.

the names used in the writings of Marot, and the situations employed by Theocritus and Virgil.<sup>76</sup>

The Shepherd's Calendar, published in 1579, thus shows a strong foreign influence and is apparently a deliberate attempt at imitation of the literary pastoral in the classical sense; nevertheless the native impulse also had some effect on the work. The result was that some original additions to the pastoral tradition were made by Spenser, principally in form.<sup>77</sup>

The chief point of originality in the Calendar is the attempt at linking the separate eclogues into a connected series. We have already seen how with Googe the same characters recur in a sort of shadowy story; but what was in his case vague and almost unintentional becomes with Spenser a central artistic motive of the piece. The eclogues are arranged with no small skill and care on somewhat of an architectural design, or perhaps we should rather say with somewhat of the symmetry of a geometric pattern.<sup>78</sup>

The themes of the various eclogues, each having reference to one of the twelve months of the year (hence the title of the work), may be briefly stated. January's piece is a monologue, in which Spenser, in the guise of Colin Clout, laments his unsuccessful love for Rosalind; "February" presents a disputation between youth and age; "March" relates a fight with Cupid; "April" tells of Hobbinol's recitation to Thenot of Colin's lay in honor of the fair Eliza, "queen

---

<sup>76</sup>Edmund K. Chambers, English Pastorals (London, 1906), p. xxiv ff.

<sup>77</sup>Greg, op. cit., p. 82 ff.    <sup>78</sup>Ibid., p. 84.

of shepherds." The May eclogue treats of the corruption of the clergy, the poem for June returns to the theme of love for Rosalind, and the July piece again concerns ecclesiastical matters. A singing match is the subject of "August," the reflections of a shepherd on his difficult lot in a far country are the material of "September," and a dialogue on the subject of poetry makes up the October eclogue. In "November" the author treats the Rosalind theme in elegy and panegyric, and in "December," a monologue which is a counterpart to the first, or January, poem, Colin laments his wasted life and bids Rosalind goodbye.<sup>79</sup> The year, therefore, represents the periods in a man's life, with December, or winter, for instance, signifying old age.

Thus in The Shepherd's Calendar are met again many of the conventions of the pastoral idea--the love theme, allegory (particularly with reference to ecclesiastical matters), the typical shepherd characters and deities, the panegyric and the elegy, the singing match, the discussion on poetry--all of which had occurred in earlier pastoral works from the times of the Greek bucolic poets through the Continental Renaissance.

The greatest imitator of Spenser was Michael Drayton, who published a volume of eclogues in 1593. In one poem the love theme concerns an old shepherd's advice to a youth that

---

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., p. 85 ff.

he beware of love. Another poem is a panegyric in honor of Elizabeth, and still others, having the usual pastoral characters, present a dispute between typical representatives of youth and age, return to the love motif, and describe the golden age.<sup>80</sup>

The eclogue received the attention also of other Elizabethan writers. In 1589 George Peele published a small quarto volume containing an eclogue "to the right honorable, and renowned Shepheard of Albions Arcadia: Robert Earle of Essex and Ewe, for his welcome to England from Portugall." During the next few years Thomas Watson, whose pastoral work was done mainly in Latin, published various eclogues. Other Elizabethan and Jacobean eclogists of note were Thomas Lodge, who was the writer also of an important pastoral romance, Richard Barnfield, Francis Sabine, William Basse, Henry Chettle, Edward Fairfax, Richard Brathwaite, William Browne, and Phineas Fletcher. Their eclogues in general followed the pastoral conventions in setting, characters, and matter.<sup>81</sup>

Various types of pastoral lyrics existed in great abundance during the Elizabethan age. The best early collection of such works is a compilation by Bartholomew Yong, translator of Montemayor's Diana, entitled England's Helicon. The work first appeared in 1600<sup>82</sup> and contained poems by Philip

---

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., p. 103 ff.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., p. 110 ff.

<sup>82</sup>A. H. Bullen, editor, England's Helicon, compiled by Bartholomew Yong (New York, 1899), p. ix.



Sidney, Edmund Spenser, Michael Drayton, Nicholas Breton, Robert Greene, George Peele, and Thomas Lodge, to name only the better known contributors. Thus it will be observed that many authors were both ecologists and lyricists.

The numerous lyrics continued the traditional theme of love and often employed the conventional pastoral names.

Greg characterizes and explains the works as follows:

Except in the rarest cases originality was impossible. The impulse was to write a certain kind of amatory verse, for which the fashionable medium was pastoral; not to write pastoral for its own sake. The demand was for convention, the familiar, the expected; never for originality or truth. The fault was in the poetic requirements of the age, and must not be laid to the charge of those admirable craftsmen who gave the age what it wanted, especially when in so doing they enriched English poetry with some of its choicest gems.<sup>83</sup>

The pastoral lyrics, in fact, have been called the "chief glory of Elizabethan pastoral."<sup>84</sup> The development of the lyric form and its relation to other forms in English literature is explained in a concise manner by Chambers.

From the time of Theocritus the introduction of songs had been a regular feature of the eclogue. These had often but a very slight connection in subject with the dialogue in which they were inserted. Spenser had further given them a metrical independence. It was but a short step to detach them entirely from their setting, to treat them as self-contained lyrical poems. From such lyrics the poetic anthologies of the day, England's Helicon and the rest, derive much of their peculiar charm; they star the pages of innumerable song-books.<sup>85</sup>

---

<sup>83</sup>Greg, op. cit., p. 130.

<sup>84</sup>Chambers, op. cit., p. xxxii.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid.

An outstanding example of the pastoral lyric is the allegorical elegy "Lycidas," written by John Milton in 1637 in memory of his friend Edward King. The friendship of the two men, Milton's sorrow at the death of "Lycidas," and his eventual realization that the world will go on even without his lost friend are the matters dealt with in the poem, which presents the usual nymphs and shepherds and gives particular notice to colorful flowers, flames of the morning sky, and other elements of nature.<sup>86</sup>

English pastoral fiction has an important place in the story of the development of the tradition. The romance, which had flourished on the Continent, appeared also in England and carried on many of the traditions of the pastoral school.

John Lyly, whose work in pastoralism was confined to the drama, composed a novel which, nonpastoral though it is, had great effect on the style of the pastoral in his time. Euphues supplied the structure of the romance on which other novelists, and especially pastoral novelists, based their works.<sup>87</sup> The stilted, elaborate style, marked by play on words, alliteration, and antithesis, lent itself easily to the language of the pastoralists.

Robert Greene, who also was well known as a lyricist, contributed two works of importance to the field of romance.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid., p. 132 ff.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid., p. 141.

Pandosto, printed in 1588 and reprinted as Dorastus and Fawnia in 1607, provided the plot for Shakespeare's play The Winter's Tale. Laid in Sicily and Bohemia, the romance concerns Pandosto, King of Bohemia; his wife, Bellaria; their son, Garinter; their daughter, Fawnia; Egistus, King of Sicily; and his son, Dorastus. Although the story is essentially that of Shakespeare's drama, there are some notable variations. Bellaria is never revived; when the baby girl is abandoned, she is put to sea in a boat without sail or rudder; the story lacks some of the main characters introduced by Shakespeare; the rustic revels of the play are only mentioned in the novel; and Pandosto, after discovering that he has fallen in love with his own daughter in her shepherdess guise, commits suicide. As in Shakespeare's work, the son dies, the queen defends herself admirably against the charges of her husband, the princess grows up as the daughter of a shepherd, and the story has a happy ending insofar as the young lovers, Dorastus and Fawnia, are concerned.<sup>88</sup>

Elements other than the setting and characters closely follow the pastoral tradition. Pandosto contains the oracle, references to Apollo, and a bucolic locale.<sup>89</sup> Greene's euphuistic romance Menaphon also conforms to the pattern of

---

<sup>88</sup>William Shakespeare, The Complete Works of Shakespeare, edited by George Lyman Kittredge (Boston, 1936), p. 431 ff.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid.

the pastoral in presenting a bucolic setting, Arcadian shepherds, and courtly persons disguised as shepherds.<sup>90</sup>

Another short romance in the pastoral vein shares with Dorastus and Fawnia the distinction of being considered the best of the type in English, a type based on the more purely Italian models instead of the heroic romance.<sup>91</sup> Thomas Lodge's Rosalynde (1590) provided the plot for As You Like It, another of Shakespeare's plays with pastoral elements, and continued the euphuistic style.<sup>92</sup> Rosalynde has both genuine shepherds and pseudo-shepherds and contains a number of love poems which are in keeping with the pastoral idea. Since the major details of the plot are those of As You Like It, it is necessary here to point out only those details in which the novel and the drama differ.

Saladyne bids his servants take Rosader into custody, but the latter, in great rage, forces Saladyne to take refuge in a loft near the garden. After various attempts at making peace, Saladyne finally has Rosader chained to a post; Adam Spencer helps him to escape, whereupon he attacks the guests of Saladyne, injuring, frightening, or killing many of them. The sheriff of the county comes to arrest Rosader, but he and Adam escape to the Forest of Arden. The plot from this point is the same as that of As You Like It

---

<sup>90</sup>Chambers, op. cit., p. 143.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid., p. xxxi.

<sup>92</sup>Shakespeare, op. cit., p. 291.

(for Shakespeare followed Lodge closely in the love story), except that in the conclusion the usurping brother is killed in battle, whereas Shakespeare presented him as realizing his wrong and reforming.<sup>93</sup>

Probably the most famous and outstanding of the English pastoral romances was Philip Sidney's work The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, which was begun in 1580 but was not published until 1590, after his death.<sup>94</sup> Sannazaro's romance probably inspired at least the title of the work, but Montemayor's Diana seems to have had greater influence on Sidney, whose masterpiece reflects the chivalric element of the Spanish composition. Even such tales as Amadís de Gaula are thought to have provided incidents and material for the Arcadia.<sup>95</sup>

Tedious and full of affectations, Arcadia nevertheless was less stilted in style than the earlier euphuistic works of Lyly. Indeed, the new style is said to have set a fashion which helped to extend the popularity of pastoralism.<sup>96</sup>

The plot has many digressions, reminiscent of some of the Spanish pastorals, which interrupt the central story. The work has no true pastoral characters; those persons who appear in the story are in reality courtly characters in the

<sup>93</sup>Ibid., p. 291 f.      <sup>94</sup>Chambers, op. cit., p. xxx.

<sup>95</sup>Greg, op. cit., p. 149 f.

<sup>96</sup>Chambers, op. cit., p. xxx.

disguise of shepherds or the rustic burlesque type of the tradition.<sup>97</sup>

Scenery in the work is typically Arcadian. The author calls attention to the valleys, rivers, thickets, and pastures inhabited, as usual, by pretty shepherdesses, singing birds, piping shepherds, and bleating lambs.<sup>98</sup>

A variation of the conventional lovers' merry-go-round occurs in the story. Pyrocles disguises himself so that he may enjoy the company of Philoclea. Basilius, Philoclea's father, falls in love with him in his disguise and attempts to have his daughter aid him in his suit. Meanwhile, however, Gynecia, Philoclea's mother, has detected Pyrocles' disguise, falls in love with him, and becomes jealous of her own daughter.<sup>99</sup>

By the time of Sidney's Arcadia the pastoral was beginning to find its way into English drama. In fact, this romance, as well as other works of the Spanish chivalric type, made various contributions to writings for the stage. Therefore, further consideration of the plot of Arcadia will be reserved for a discussion in Chapter III of similarities between this work and a pastoral play based on it.

The pastoral tradition has been traced from its inception almost three hundred years before Christ through its

<sup>97</sup>Greg, op. cit., p. 150.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid., p. 153.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid., p. 150.

progress on the European mainland to its development in the nondramatic English pastorals. It can be seen from this review of the numerous manifestations of the genre that the English bucolic drama did not spring into being full-grown without antecedents. The predecessors of English pastoral drama had a direct or indirect influence on the structure, style, tone, plot material, characterizations, and settings of the bucolic plays of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Continuation of the spirit of classical pastoralism and fusion of Italian and Spanish elements with native British impulses are discernible in these plays. Some conventions and characteristics which dramatists observed in writing pastorals had been a part of the tradition for almost 1,900 years, whereas other conventions had become identified with the form in subsequent times and in various countries. An examination of specific plays in the light of the fixed and stylized characteristics of pastoralism will reveal the extent to which English playwrights referred to earlier bucolic works and the measure of their originality and contributions to the pastoral.

### CHAPTER III

#### REPRESENTATIVE ENGLISH PASTORAL PLAYS

The period from 1580 to 1642 was the time of the greatest flowering of the pastoral drama in England. This era brought to light numerous examples of bucolic plays; some of them are purely pastoral in general concept, setting, characterization, subject matter, and style, whereas others contain pastoral elements in varying degrees without being representative in their entirety of the tradition.

The current investigation encompasses the years from the introduction to the English stage of mythological plays having pastoral elements to the close of the most productive period of bucolic plays. George Peele's The Arraignment of Paris (1581?)<sup>1</sup> and James Shirley's The Arcadia (1640?)<sup>2</sup> signal the beginning and the ending of the golden era in English pastoral drama.

The plays selected for analysis in this chapter are generally conceded to be the best examples of their kind and merit consideration because together they embody all the conventions associated with pastoralism, reflect historical

---

<sup>1</sup>Walter W. Greg, Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama (London, 1906), p. 216.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 319.



development of the genre, and show the introduction of English elements. Works by some of the best known Renaissance dramatists such as Shakespeare, Jonson, and Fletcher are among those to be considered in some detail.

Special attention will be given to four plays which can be classified as purely pastoral: Samuel Daniel's The Queen's Arcadia, which was first acted in 1605;<sup>3</sup> John Fletcher's The Faithful Shepherdess, which was apparently first produced in the winter of 1608-1609;<sup>4</sup> Ben Jonson's The Sad Shepherd, which was probably written a few years before the author's death in 1637;<sup>5</sup> and Thomas Randolph's Amyntas, or the Impossible Dowry, which may have been composed shortly before the playwright's death in March, 1635.<sup>6</sup>

The play by Daniel is important first because it was the initial avowed attempt to reproduce the conventional Italian pastoral drama on the English stage.<sup>7</sup> The prologue shows that Daniel had a well-conceived theory as to what a pastoral should be. He said,

. . . though it be in the humblest ranks of words,  
And in the lowest region of our speech,  
Yet is it in that kinde, as best accords  
With rurall passions; which use not to reach  
Beyond the groves and woods, where they were bred:  
And best become a claustrall exercise,  
Where men shut out retyr'd, and sequestred

---

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 251 f.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 264.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 298.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 283.

<sup>7</sup>V. M. Jeffery, "Italian and English Pastoral Drama of the Renaissance," Modern Language Review, XIX (1924), 435.

From publicke fashion, seems to sympathize  
 With innocent, and plaine simplicity:  
 An living here under the awfull hand  
 Of discipline, and strict observancy,  
 Learne but our weaknesses to understand,  
 And therefore dare not enterprize to show  
 In lowder stile the hidden mysteries,  
 And arts of Thrones.<sup>8</sup>

Daniel intended to write a strictly pastoral drama and to avoid mixing in a court element.<sup>9</sup> His concept reflects the pastoral ideal of simplicity which originated with Theocritus. A consideration of setting, characters, subject matter, and style of The Queen's Arcadia will reveal how closely he followed that concept.

The bucolic tone is established early in the play. In a grove adjoining the green fields in which shepherds and shepherdesses tend their sheep, the "ancient Arcadian" Ergastus bemoans the changes made in his country. He speaks of Arcadia as having been

The gentle region of plaine honesty,  
 The modest seat of undisguised truth,  
 Inhabited with simple innocence.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup>Samuel Daniel, The Queen's Arcadia, Prologue, p. 213 f. All references to this play are to The Dramatic Works, Vol. III of The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Samuel Daniel, edited by Alexander B. Grosart, 5 vols. (London, 1885).

<sup>9</sup>Homer Smith, "Pastoral Influence in the English Drama," Publications of the Modern Language Association, XII (1897), 393.

<sup>10</sup>Daniel, op. cit., I, i, 217. Unless otherwise specified, play references throughout this paper indicate act, scene, and page numbers respectively.

The grove and the nearby fields serve as the locale throughout the play, thus bearing out the concept of simplicity and freedom from courtly influence described in the prologue.

In presenting the various characters, the author introduces several personages whose experience reaches beyond the sylvan area of truth and innocence; however, the sophisticated group foreign to the pastoral scene is not of the courtly circle to which the playwright refers in the prologue.

Working in a tradition where character portrayal is often perfunctory, Daniel gives more attention to character delineation than do many writers of pastoral plays. The shepherd Carinus, one of two young men in love with Cloris, transcends the limits of the conventional character types in several scenes. He shows that he has a clearly individualized personality when he refuses to fulfill his part of a pact with his rival, Amyntas. The two youths have agreed to reveal the signs of love which Cloris has given to them. Carinus has a gay but cutting rejoinder for each example that his rival advances of Cloris' affection for him. When Amyntas has completed enumerating the favors which the shepherdess has granted him, he inquires what signs of love she has shown Carinus. The latter, unlike the spiritless and conventionally lovesick Amyntas, replies with this brash and taunting query:

Now silly man, dost thou imagine me  
So fond to blab the favours of my love?<sup>11</sup>

One almost regrets that it is Amyntas rather than the more vivid Carinus who eventually wins Cloris.<sup>12</sup>

An important conventional character other than Amyntas is Amarillis, who loves Carinus so much that she endures his frequent rebuffs, offers to tend his sheep, and attempts to be near him constantly. When Cloris at length chooses Amyntas, Amarillis very willingly forgets Carinus' early inattention to her and is ready to comfort him over his loss of Cloris. Her failure to express any feeling other than love is in keeping with the usual pastoral mode.

The various other pairs of Arcadian lovers reflect the spirit of the tradition in their attitudes, feelings, and pursuits. Their stereotyped names, Daphne, Dorinda, Mirtillus, and Silvia, follow the accepted pattern.

In contrast with the expected cast of shepherds and shepherdesses are certain adventurers recently arrived in Arcadia. The plotting Techne, like Guarini's Corisca, develops a scheme to win Amyntas for herself by attempting to place Cloris in a bad light. Greg, in fact, says that

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., I, 11, 222.

<sup>12</sup>It should be noted that Carinus' claims to Cloris' affection are based on his having rescued her from a wicked satyr, as Tasso's Aminta rescued his love. This reference to the satyr is the only mention of a mythological character in The Queen's Arcadia.

Techne is none other than Corisca under a new name and that it was probably the "wanton nymph" of Il pastor fido who suggested to Daniel the other characters of sophisticated civilization.<sup>13</sup> The readiness of Colax, Alcon, and Lincus to live a life of ease and pleasure at the expense of the innocent Arcadians, their lack of remorse on having their schemes discovered, and their projection of future intrigues type them as smooth villains; nevertheless, Daniel gave attention to detail of characterization that keeps the three rogues from being merely shallow representative types. Alcon, who is subsisting by pretending to practice medicine, and Lincus, who assumes the guise of a lawyer, often display liveliness and wit, as in the following lines:

Alc. . . . I talke of Gallen, Averrois,  
Hypocrates, Rasis, and Avencen  
And bookes I never read, and strange speach  
Of Symptons, Crysis, and the Critique dayes;  
Eclegmats, Embrochs, Lixives, Cataplasmes;  
Of Trochises, Opiats, Apophilegmatismes;  
With all the hideous tearmes Arte can devise  
T'amuse weake, and admiring ignorance.

Lin. And that is right my tricke; I overwhelme  
My practise too, with darknes, and strange words;  
With Paragraphs, Conditions, Codicilles,  
Acceptilations, actions recissorie,  
Noxall, and Hypothecall, and involve  
Domesticke matter in a forraine phrase.<sup>14</sup>

These two characters, introduced rather late in the play, make a place for themselves because of their vivid

---

<sup>13</sup>Greg, op. cit., p. 253.

<sup>14</sup>Daniel, op. cit., III, 1, 252.

personalities. Although they are designed primarily to add humor to the play, they are more than vehicles for comedy or satire.

Speaking through various ones of his characters, Daniel injects the element of satire, long an established tone in the pastoral tradition. Moral and ethical corruption enters Arcadia with the band of adventurers, and properly motivated satire is thus introduced into the play. Homer Smith has pointed out that the corrupted Arcadia represents England.<sup>15</sup> One is reminded of Petrarch's satirical denouncements of evil practices among ecclesiastics. Greg comments that

the zest of the play for a court audience in the early years of the reign of James I was very possibly the satirical element. The shadowy fiction of Arcadia and its age of gold quickly vanished when the actual or fancied evils of the day were exposed to the lash. The abuse of the practice of taking tobacco flattered the prejudices of the king; the quack and the dishonest lawyer were stock butts of contemporary satire; Colax and Techne, the he and she coney-catchers, have maintained their fascination for all ages.<sup>16</sup>

One bit of satire is Alcon's reference to tobacco.<sup>17</sup> Handled in a comic manner, the passage is nevertheless a diatribe against the weed:

. . . now to see with what a strange  
And gluttonous desire, th'exhaust the same;  
How infinite, and how insatiably,

---

<sup>15</sup>Smith, op. cit., p. 398.

<sup>16</sup>Greg, op. cit., p. 255 f.

<sup>17</sup>The speech was included in the play, as Greg observes, probably because James I was opposed to tobacco.

They doe devour th'intoxicating fume,  
 You would admire; as if their spirits thereby  
 Were taken, and enchanted, or transformd,  
 By some infused philter in the drug.

For whereas heretofore they wonted were,  
 At all their meetings, and their festivalls,  
 To passe the time in telling witty tales,  
 In questions, riddles, and in purposes,  
 Now doe they nothing else, but sit and sucke,  
 And spit, and slaver, all the time they sit;  
 That I goe by, and laugh unto my selfe,  
 And thinke that this will one day make some worke  
 For me or others; but I feare it will  
 B'another age will finde the hurt of this.  
 But sure the time's to come when they looke backe  
 On this, will wonder with themselves to thinke  
 That men of sense could ever be so mad,  
 To sucke so grosse a vapour, that consumes  
 Their spirits, spends nature, dries up memorie,  
 Corrupts the blood, and is a vanitie.<sup>18</sup>

By the time English dramatists cultivated the pastoral, a variation on the theme of love had become well established as the standard hinge on which the plot turned. Daniel, however, has more in his plot than the usual lovers' merry-go-round and themes of unrequited affection. Various ideas and incidents are carefully selected from Tasso, Guarini, and even the less important Luigi Groto;<sup>19</sup> these are skillfully worked into an harmonious whole. In telling Silvia that Palaemon is courting Nisa, Colax plays the same trick that Corisca plays in *Il pastor fido*. Themes of sorrow over unrequited love are traceable to the same source.<sup>20</sup> The incident of the meeting in the cave is also taken from Guarini;

---

<sup>18</sup>Daniel, *op. cit.*, III, 1, 254.

<sup>19</sup>Jeffery, *op. cit.*, p. 436.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 439.

the attempted suicide and recovery of Amyntas are borrowed from Tasso.<sup>21</sup>

In noting Daniel's eclecticism, however, one should not minimize his originality, for as at least one critic has observed, the plot development in The Queen's Arcadia is mainly original.<sup>22</sup>

Elements of structure which are apparently original with Daniel are the play's framework of the dialogue between the two elderly shepherds and the arrangement of several scenes in pairs.<sup>23</sup> Felix E. Schelling believes that the frequent appearances of Ergastus and Melibaeus to comment on various happenings impair the effect of the plot,<sup>24</sup> and Homer Smith regards the mechanical balance of scenes as a fault in the structure of the drama.<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, Daniel was injecting into his plan some experimental devices which made the play distinctively his creation despite the obvious Italian influence. He very ably blended his plot into a pleasing whole by using these devices; furthermore, the mechanical design gave the play unity and continuity.

Daniel gives further evidence of his stature as a playwright in the style he employs. Here again he conforms to

<sup>21</sup>Smith, op. cit., p. 396.      <sup>22</sup>Ibid.      <sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Felix E. Schelling, Elizabethan Drama, 1558-1642 (Boston, 1908), Vol. II, p. 157.

<sup>25</sup>Smith, op. cit., p. 396.



the pastoral tradition, for the atmosphere is purely Arcadian, and the tone is generally lighthearted; the reader never feels that the peacefulness of the country or the innocence of the pastoral characters is permanently endangered by the rascally mischief-makers. The author enhances the tone through his flowing style. Smith calls his verse smooth and melodious,<sup>26</sup> and Schelling says that Daniel shows eloquence, taste, and grace, even rising on occasion to the dignity of genuine poetic utterance.<sup>27</sup>

As it has been stated, Daniel brought to the English stage the first direct imitation of the Italian pastoral drama; he carefully observed the boundaries of bucolic literature in concept and practice. Even though his play is as a consequence derivative, he composed a work worthy of consideration on its own merits rather than a pale reflection of the Italian models. Greg sums up his position in the development of pastoral drama when he refers to Daniel as one who seeks to rival and to acclimatize rather than to reproduce the Italian compositions.<sup>28</sup>

From Daniel's place in the history of the genre to Fletcher's is but a short step, for The Faithful Shepherdess, one writer asserts, "was the earliest, and long remained the only, deliberate attempt to acclimatize upon the popular

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 397.

<sup>27</sup>Schelling, op. cit., p. 158.

<sup>28</sup>Greg, op. cit., p. 263.

stage in England a pastoral drama which should occupy a position corresponding to that of Tasso and Guarini in Italy."<sup>29</sup> Daniel's work was primarily an imitation of the Italian models, whereas Fletcher's was primarily a rival, or, according to some critics, "a conscious attempt to adapt the Italian pastoral to the requirements of the English stage."<sup>30</sup> Even the title rings a challenge or at least suggests a work ranking as a companion piece to Il pastor fido. The title and pastoral spirit are generally recognized as Fletcher's only direct borrowings from Italian drama.

The reader will recall Daniel's concept of the pastoral as he expressed it in the prologue to his play. Fletcher also directly addressed his readers in somewhat the same vein:

If you be not reasonably assured of your knowledge in this kind of poem, lay down the book, or read this, which I would wish had been the prologue. . . . Understand . . . a pastoral to be a representation of shepherds and shepherdesses with their actions and passions, which must be such as may agree with their natures, at least not exceeding former fictions and vulgar traditions; they are not to be adorned with any art, but such improper ones as nature is said to bestow, as singing and poetry; or such as experience may teach them, as the virtues of herbs and fountains, the ordinary course of the sun, moon, and stars, and such like. But you are ever to remember shepherds to be

---

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 265.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 266.

<sup>31</sup>There has been considerable critical discussion of the authorship of The Faithful Shepherdess; however, most critics regard the play as the work of Fletcher solely rather than the result of his collaboration with Francis Beaumont.

such as all the ancient poets, and modern of understanding, have received them; that is, the owners of flocks, and not hirelings.<sup>32</sup>

Thus the author of The Faithful Shepherdess aimed at a realistic representation of the pastoral life. An examination of various factors in the play, however, will demonstrate its conventionality and artificiality rather than the realism and simplicity which Fletcher hoped to achieve.

Scenes of the drama are laid in Thessaly in a wood before Clorin's bower and near a village.<sup>33</sup> The setting is in keeping with the pastoral mood but is so over-idealized that it actually mirrors the townsman's conception of the country instead of presenting the realistic picture that the author avowedly had intended. Fletcher succeeded, however, in projecting the sweetness of the pastoral scene.

In the development of characters in this play, the conventionality and artificiality of bucolic literature as a whole are strikingly apparent. The characters themselves frequently refer to the goodness of shepherds and of the

---

<sup>32</sup>John Fletcher, The Faithful Shepherdess, Prologue, p. 18. All references to this play are to The Works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, Vol. III of 4 vols., edited by A. H. Bullen (London, 1908).

<sup>33</sup>The Faithful Shepherdess is one of few English pastoral dramas to preserve the classical unities. It may be noted that the unity of place is mainly observed. The unity of time is strictly followed: the action begins at evening and ends at dawn the next day. Smith (op. cit., p. 406) discusses the relation of the unities to the play.

pastoral life. Clorin, who may be called the protagonist only because she is the one personage directly connected with all the others, is a paragon of virtue. Her goodness extends to exaggerated naïveté. When the satyr approaches her bower, she attributes his failure to do her harm to the overpowering effect of chastity on evil; such complete simplicity places unnecessary emphasis on what one writer calls the "unreal sentiment the cynicism of the renaissance had grafted on the superstition of the middle age."<sup>34</sup> The supreme purity and goodness of Clorin coupled with her utter lack of individuality make her only a stereotype. She is the least credible and vivid of important characters in the four major pastoral plays of the period.

Almost as unreal as Clorin is Thenot; his seemingly incurable love for her because of her faithfulness to her deceased shepherd friend is cured completely when she pretends to return his love. The ostentatious goodness in the two characters is reminiscent of the didacticism of Virgil.

The gentle and amiable satyr who has a reverence for chastity further emphasizes the heavily moral tone of the play. In this figure of the satyr the reader meets a peculiarly English contribution to pastoral drama. Although a few traces of the "good" satyr have been found in minor

---

<sup>34</sup>Greg, op. cit., p. 273.

Italian drama,<sup>35</sup> English writers seem to have identified the satyr as a creature belonging to fairyland rather than to Arcadia.<sup>36</sup> Such an identification was a British innovation in the pastoral.

Continuing in the conventional pattern, Fletcher introduces the mythological Pan and God of the River; the loving shepherdess Amoret, whom some critics consider the central figure of the play; the ideal shepherd Perigot; the jealous and vengeful shepherdess Amarillis; the melancholy and lascivious Sullen Shepherd; the shy and innocent Daphnis; the forward Cloe; and the amorous Alexis.

Homer Smith concludes that the artificiality and conventionality of the characters are a consequence of the fact that they are allegorical in purpose. He believes that the persons in the play symbolize various phases of love, such as spiritual constancy and chivalrous worship of woman. The *dramatis personae* are perfectly consistent as idealizations of the love types, he writes.<sup>37</sup> In referring to this theory of allegory in the characterizations, however, Greg declares that Fletcher is "far too practical a craftsman to be likely

<sup>35</sup>v. M. Jeffery, "Italian Influence in Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess*," Modern Language Review, XXI (1926), 148.

<sup>36</sup>A. H. Thorndike, "The Pastoral Element in the English Drama Before 1605," Modern Language Notes, XIV (1899), 119.

<sup>37</sup>Smith, op. cit., p. 406.

to add the dead-weight of a moral allegory to the already dangerous form of the Arcadian pastoral";<sup>38</sup> he cites Fletcher's intention expressed in the prologue to present a realistic picture of the pastoral, concluding that it was his purpose "to enforce a reasonable propriety of character."<sup>39</sup>

Whether or not the author set out to allegorize and moralize, he did apparently plan to develop the usual pastoral theme of love from several standpoints. The core of the plot of The Faithful Shepherdess is the working out of the love affairs of the several pairs of young people and the evil plotting of the Sullen Shepherd, Amarillis, and Gloe. The familiar lovers' merry-go-round has its place in the play. The inconsequential nature of the plot is indicated when Greg points out that although there are complications to be solved, the situation at the end of the action is actually unchanged from what it was in the beginning.<sup>40</sup>

Fletcher makes considerable use of supernatural elements in The Faithful Shepherdess. Amarillis' changing into the shape of Amoret, trials by the ordeal of the holy taper, and the failure of Amoret's wound to heal in the presence of any impurity are outstanding examples. Supernatural elements, indeed, are found in many pastoral plays of the time.

---

<sup>38</sup>Greg, op. cit., p. 270.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 271.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., p. 268.

An attempt at unifying the action is apparent at the end of the play, when all the characters are brought together before Clorin's bower for their respective rewards and punishments. Until this time, various groups of characters had been related only by their simultaneous presence in the wood and their acquaintance with Clorin. Otherwise, elements of plot are connected only by the conventions of the pastoral; nevertheless, the action is clear and understandable throughout the five acts because the entire action of the play is actually represented on stage. As Greg emphasizes, the action needs no previous history to explain it. "As a result," he says, "the interest is kept constantly whetted, the movement is brisk and varied, and with the help of the verse goes far towards carrying off the many imperfections of the piece."<sup>41</sup>

The longevity of the play must be accredited primarily to the perfection and beauty of its poetry, for it is this factor that provides its strongest claim to consideration. The sweetness of the ideal pastoral scene is suggested by the flowing verse of the play. Indeed, these opening lines, spoken by Clorin, intimate the excellence of composition that is to follow:

Hail, holy earth, whose cold arms do embrace  
The truest man that ever fed his flocks  
By the fat plains of fruitful Thessaly!

---

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 269.

Thus I salute thy grave; thus do I pay  
 My early vows and tribute of mine eyes  
 To thy still loved ashes; thus I free  
 Myself from all ensuing heats and fires  
 Of love; all sports, delights, and merry games,  
 That shepherds hold full dear, thus put I off.  
 Now no more shall these smooth brows be girt  
 With youthful coronals, and lead the dance;  
 No more the company of fresh fair maids  
 And wanton shepherds be to me delightful,  
 Nor the shrill pleasing sound of merry pipes  
 Under some shady dell, when the cool wind  
 Plays on the leaves: all be far away,  
 Since thou art far away, by whose dear side  
 How often have I sat crown'd with fresh flowers  
 For summer's queen, whilst every shepherd's boy  
 Puts on his lusty green, with gaudy hook,  
 And hanging scrip of finest cordevant  
 But thou art gone, and these are gone with thee,  
 And all are dead but thy dear memory;  
 That shall outlive thee, and shall ever spring,  
 Whilst there are pipes or jolly shepherds sing.<sup>42</sup>

Numerous passages of such beauty are found in the drama.  
 In the closing scene the satyr is given some of the most  
 striking lines in the play:

Thou divinest, fairest, brightest,  
 Thou most powerful maid and whitest,  
 Thou most virtuous and most blessed,  
 Eyes of stars, and golden-tressed  
 Like Apollo; tell me, sweetest,  
 What new service now is meetest  
 For the Satyr: Shall I stray  
 In the middle air, and stay  
 The sailing rack, or nimbly take  
 Hold by the moon, and gently make  
 Suit to the pale queen of night  
 For a beam to give thee light?  
 Shall I dive into the sea,  
 And bring thee coral, making way  
 Through the rising waves that fall  
 In snowy fleeces? Dearest, shall  
 I catch thee wanton fauns, or flies  
 Whose woven wings the summer dyes

---

<sup>42</sup>Fletcher, op. cit., I, 1, 23 f.



Of many colours? get thee fruit,  
 Or steal from Heaven old Orpheus' lute?  
 All these I 'll venter for, and more,  
 To do her service all these woods adore.<sup>43</sup>

Greg indicates the intoxicating quality of Fletcher's verse when he says, "The wealth of pure poetry overflowing in every scene is of power to make us readily forget the host of objections which serious criticism must raise, and revel with mere delight in the verbal melody."<sup>44</sup>

The Faithful Shepherdess remains an outstanding example of English pastoral drama because it represents a step toward adapting the bucolic mode to the English stage. Its effect on literature of the years following its publication cannot be overestimated; indeed, even Milton was influenced by the play when he wrote Comus.<sup>45</sup> It is significant that Fletcher is best remembered as the author of this purely pastoral work, for few writers achieved fame primarily as pastoralists.

Whereas Daniel's The Queen's Arcadia was basically a reproduction and Fletcher's The Faithful Shepherdess was primarily a rival of Italian pastoral plays, Jonson's The Sad Shepherd; or, A Tale of Robin Hood is a more completely English work representing the coming-of-age of the pastoral drama in England. In the period of more than twenty years between the composition of The Faithful Shepherdess and

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., V, v, 109 f.

<sup>44</sup>Greg, op. cit., p. 275.

<sup>45</sup>Smith, op. cit., p. 405.

Jonson's The Sad Shepherd, pastoralism had absorbed trends from native impulses which gave bucolic writings a new flavor and a new liveliness. The Sad Shepherd is an outstanding example of a genuine English pastoral drama, the creation of which was the author's definite aim.<sup>46</sup>

The play exists today as a fragment. Whether the author never completed it or whether the final portions have been lost is unknown, but it seems that there is little reason to believe that Jonson ever finished the drama. Some critical attempts to identify The Sad Shepherd with The May Lord, another work by Jonson,<sup>47</sup> apparently have little to recommend them, as the latter work is lost.

The title of Jonson's play gives evidence of his general plan. The sylvan-pastoral blending and the anticipated spirit of jollity connected with the introduction of Robin Hood and his merry men are both suggested in the title.<sup>48</sup>

The suggestion of the lighthearted mood is borne out in the prologue, in which Jonson explains his concept of pastoralism. Just as various moods and emotions are possible

<sup>46</sup>Greg, op. cit., p. 297.

<sup>47</sup>Schelling, op. cit., p. 166 ff.

<sup>48</sup>Although sylvan elements had existed in pastoralism throughout its history, special emphasis on the forest, its inhabitants, and the gay life of the wood was an English innovation. The term sylvan as used here implies a forest element not limited to a simple background of trees and use of names such as Silvia and Sylvanus.

within one man's being, so they should be allowable within the confines of one play, the poet opines. He scathingly answers some contemporary views on mood in the pastoral:

But here's an Heresie of late let fall;  
That Mirth by no meanes fits a Pastorall;  
Such say so, who can make none, he the  
author/ presumes.<sup>49</sup>

The poet enlarges on the idea of varied moods in the following lines:

You shall have Love and Hate, and Jealousie,  
As well as Mirth, and Rage, and Melancholy:  
Or whatsoever else may either move,  
Or stirre affections, and your likings prove.  
But that no stile for Pastorall should goe  
Current, but what is stamp'd with Ah, and O;  
Who judgeth so, may singularly erre;  
As if all Poesie had one Character.<sup>50</sup>

Thus it was Jonson's intention to present a generally happy but realistic view of country life, since his concept of the pastoral existence was that it, like real life, admitted of all emotions.

The plan for the setting was stated in these words:

The scene is Sher-wood. Consisting of a Landt-shape of Forrest, Hills, Vallies, Cottages, A Castle, A River, Pastures, Heardes, Flocks, all full of Countrey simplicity, Robin-hoods Bower, his Well, The Witches Dimble, The Swine'ards Oake, The Hermit's Cell.<sup>51</sup>

The scenes familiar to both herdsmen and hunters--as well as those known to readers of bucolic literature--were to be

<sup>49</sup>Ben Jonson, The Sad Shepherd, Prologue, p. 9. The references to this play are to Ben Jonson, Vol. VII of 10 vols., edited by C. H. Hereford, Percy Simpson, and Evelyn Simpson (Oxford, 1941).

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

represented. That it was the playwright's desire to paint a consistently English picture is made clear again in the prologue, where he writes,

And though hee now present you with such wooll,  
As from meere English Flocks his Muse can pull,  
He hopes when it is made up into Cloath;  
Not the most curious head here will be loath  
To weare a Hood of it; it being a Fleece,  
To match, or those of Sicily, or Greece.<sup>52</sup>

In the sylvan-pastoral setting Jonson placed his sylvan and rustic characters, who are more vivid than are the persons in many bucolic plays. Homer Smith observes that there are two nearly equal groups of characters--the forest and the pastoral--and states that the effect of the two groups on stage at once is incongruous.<sup>53</sup> The presentation of the various types of characters is perfectly consistent, however, with Jonson's aim of presenting life as it actually is. Nor, indeed, is The Sad Shepherd by any means the first bucolic play to introduce such a variety of personages. The reader will observe that the names of the characters are not the conventional pastoral appellations; rather, they are the names of the popular romance.<sup>54</sup>

The sad shepherd referred to in the title is Aeglamour, who has fallen into a deep melancholy over the supposed death of the beautiful shepherdess Earine. In Aeglamour are

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>53</sup>Smith, op. cit., p. 384.

<sup>54</sup>Greg, op. cit., p. 297.

seen the usual pastoral qualities of a "good" and loving herdsman. His demented state bespeaks the depth of his love for the lost shepherdess. Conventional shepherd and lover though he is, he proves himself a human being in dealing with an actual situation. When Karolin sings him a song to divert him from his melancholy state, he sees that the singer is rewarded. He says,

Some of these Nimphs, here will reward you; this,  
This pretty Maid, although but with a kisse,  
Liv'd my Earine, you should have twenty:  
For every line here, one I would allow 'hem  
From mine owne store, the treasure I had in her.  
Now I am poore as you.<sup>55</sup>

Earine, whose name was coined by Jonson to symbolize the spirit of spring,<sup>56</sup> was apparently planned as the female counterpart of Aeglamour. Because the reader meets her in only one scene of the fragment, however, there is little material on which to found a clear idea of this character. She does show spirit in rejecting the suit of the repulsive swineherd Lorel and gives evidence of a lively personality. It should be noted that Earine's speeches are composed in the strange dialect which the playwright concocted for his ruder characters. Had he completed the play and prepared it for publication, he probably would have corrected the obviously wrong assignment of speech.

<sup>55</sup>Jonson, op. cit., I, v, 20.

<sup>56</sup>Greg, op. cit., p. 297.

As we have come to expect in the pastoral tradition, the love motif plays a prominent part in this drama. It is exhibited primarily in Amie, the gentle shepherdess, and Karolin, the kind shepherd. Amie's strange malady, which Lionel jokingly explains by saying, "Shee's sick o' the yong Shep-lard that bekist her,"<sup>57</sup> carries out the typical bucolic theme. Furthermore, this motif extends to the forest group of characters. Robin Hood's legendary affection for Marian is given a pastoral garb in this play.

Other members of the pastoral group are the following shepherds: the rich Clarion, the courteous Lionel, and the sage Alken. The sweet shepherdess Mellifleur completes the roster of the bucolic characters.

Robin and Marian, of course, head the forest classification; they are the same beloved characters known to English-speaking people everywhere. Their "family" includes Friar Tuck, Little John, Scarlet, Scathlock, George-a-Greene, and Much. Thus there is a balance of sylvan and pastoral persons in the drama.

A third group of characters is composed of Maudlin, the envious witch; Douce, her daughter; Lorel, her son; and Puck-hairy, or Robin-Goodfellow, who is in their service.

The manner in which Jonson intermingled the sylvan, the purely pastoral, and the crude rustic suggests that, had the

---

<sup>57</sup>Jonson, op. cit., I, vi, 23.

play been completed or preserved in its entirety, it would have had an exceptionally lively and well-organized plot. Smith thinks that the forest tradition provides the main material and that the pastoral serves as the subplot,<sup>58</sup> but the first element of the title clearly indicates that the bucolic theme is accorded primary importance. Although the woodsmen provide much of the lighthearted mood, it seems that insofar as major plot development is concerned, Jonson planned to use them principally as vehicles to further the straightening out of the sad conditions in which the treachery of the witch has placed Aeglamour and Earine. The temporary dissension between Robin and Marian is completely solved by the end of the second act. Had this one problem on the sylvan level not been overcome before the point at which the fragment breaks off, it might be somewhat more reasonable to consider the activities of Robin and his band the main material of the play; however, the disagreement and the ultimate discovery that Maudlin has assumed the shape of Marian merely serve to unite the pastoral and sylvan characters and to mobilize them against the witch and her schemes.

The main pastoral plot is complicated by the witch's imprisonment of the beautiful shepherdess Earine and the shepherd's resulting grief over the supposed death of his love. The extent of information about the outcome available

---

<sup>58</sup>Smith, op. cit., p. 384.

to the reader is that Earine harshly rejects Lorel, the sad Aeglamour remains faithful to his love, and his sympathetic friends are ready to take arms against Maudlin, the instigator of the mischief; even though the friends do not know that Earine still lives, the reader feels that they will soon discover the truth.

One expects to encounter a happy ending in any pastoral play, and so it would not be too fanciful to assume that Maudlin's mischief is overcome, that Earine is eventually restored to Aeglamour, that the various other pastoral couples find happiness, and that Robin Hood and his friends live the free and joyful life indefinitely. How such developments might be brought about, however, must remain in the realm of conjecture.

Supernatural occurrences have their place in The Sad Shepherd. The witch's ability to transform herself into various shapes is reminiscent of Amarillis' assumption of Amoret's appearance in The Faithful Shepherdess. Puck-hairy hints of his assistance to Maudlin along supernatural lines, adding that it is his fate to "firke it like a Goblin" about the forest. The argument of the incomplete third act projects the sudden rising of a mist, that "late darknesse" having been ordained by Maudlin to protect her son.

One commentator states that The Sad Shepherd is a pastoral pure and simple, free from all secondary intentions of



a symbolical or satirical nature.<sup>59</sup> However, a close reading of the play will reveal a few instances in which Jonson seems to be satiric in intent. Perhaps the author is indulging in satire in contrasting the normal and reasonable shepherds with the uncouth swineherd. In all walks of life, he may be saying, there are gradations of polish in manners; one can find both socially acceptable and crude persons among city dwellers as well as among the herdsmen of the country. Friar Tuck's lecture following Glarion's reference to "the sower sort of shepherds"<sup>60</sup> is a diatribe against Puritan reformers.

In regard to the style of Jonson's play, it should be observed that a tone of lightheartedness prevails and that many passages of poetical beauty exist in the work. The sweetness of tone usually associated with the pastoral tradition is evident, for example, in the following lamentation by Aeglamour:

Here! she was wont to goe! and here! and here!  
 Just where those Baisies, Pincks, and Violets grow:  
 The world may find the Spring by following her;  
 For other print her aerie steps neer left.  
 Her treading would not bend a blade of grasse!  
 Or shake the downie Blow-ball from his stalke!

---

<sup>59</sup>Adolphus W. Ward, A History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne (New York, 1899), Vol. II, p. 384.

<sup>60</sup>Jonson, op. cit., I, iv, 15. Ward concedes that this reference may be satirical. It is interesting to note the anachronism of Puritan reformers in the time of Robin Hood.



Not let her be surpriz'd on the first catch.  
 I must go daunce about the Forrest now,  
 And firke it like a Goblin, till I find her.  
 Then will my service come worth acceptation.  
 When not expected of her; when the helpe  
 Meetes the necessity, and both doe Kisse,  
 Tis call'd the timing of a dutie, this.<sup>63</sup>

Thus Jonson's work has a variety of moods. Although he follows the conventional bucolic mode when it is reasonable and fitting, he injects a more robust language at times; the employment of a vigorous style makes The Sad Shepherd clearly English in keeping with the author's plan to develop a British pastoral drama.

Fragmentary though the play is, it is a distinguished instance of a true pastoral, observing many of the factors associated with the tradition yet having a quality distinctively its own. Both the bucolic and sylvan elements had long existed together in pastoralism, but the forest and bucolic setting, the grouping of characters, and the dual plot are blended in Jonson's unique manner. Furthermore, the forest elements are vividly English and are not stereotyped as are similar elements in earlier bucolic plays. The Sad Shepherd, therefore, stands as a significant marker in the development of the English pastoral drama.

Another step in Anglicizing the pastoral was taken by Thomas Randolph when he composed Amyntas, or the Impossible Dowry, approximately contemporary with Jonson's play.

---

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., III, 1, 44.

Possessing the obvious pastoral setting, characters, and themes, the drama nevertheless has a unique spirit and mode of plot revelation.

Randolph does not formally state his concept of pastoralism, as the other three writers of purely bucolic plays do; however, he indicates something of his idea in the humorous prologue. The following dialogue between a shepherd and a nymph reveals the author's intent to present the simple countrified characters in their natural moods, actions, and manners:

Shep. Gentlemen, look not from us rural swains  
For polished speech, high lines, or courtly strains:  
Expect not we should bring a labour'd scene,  
Or compliments; we ken not what they mean.  
Nymph. And ladies, we poor country girls do come  
With such behaviour as we learn'd at home.  
How shall we talk to nymphs so trim and gay,  
That ne'er saw lady yet but at a May?<sup>64</sup>

In the epilogue Randolph states that he means to write only to "true lovers." Insofar as the theme is concerned, then, the play might have been no more than another conventional and artificial pastoral, but the drama reflects the carefree vigor of The Sad Shepherd. Although some features of Amyntas show direct Italian inspiration, the work is definitely English in feeling.

---

<sup>64</sup>Thomas Randolph, Amyntas, or the Impossible Dowry, Prologue, p. 270. The references to this play are to Poetical and Dramatic Works of Thomas Randolph, Vol. I of 2 vols., edited by W. Carew Hazlitt (London, 1875).

The setting of the play is that of the conventional pastoral. The scene reverts to Sicily. In regard to time, the author follows the classical unities; the action takes place in "an astrological day from noon to noon." Randolph, in fact, observes the unities more closely than most English pastoral dramatists. There is no great lapse of time or jumping from place to place as there is, for example, in Shakespeare's The Winter's Tale.

In spite of the playwright's expressed purpose of presenting simple country characters with their lack of polish, the principal persons of Amyntas convey the impression that they are really townsmen vacationing in a rural setting. The nymph Laurinda is more nearly comparable to the courtly Rosalind in As You Like It than to the shepherdess Phebe in the same play. Although Laurinda ostensibly belongs to the country and is not really courtly, her refined manner and sophisticated wit remove her from the realm of genuine rusticity. Her free-flowing and witty banter with Damon and Alexis, the two rivals for her hand, is reminiscent of Rosalind's dialogue with Orlando. Laurinda steps out of the role of the conventionalized shepherdess when she disobeys her father. Medorus has explained at length why she should "take heed of love" and observe the unhappiness it has brought to many persons; his daughter promises that she will "temper her affections," but as soon as Medorus makes his

exit, she proceeds to talk with Damon and Alexis. Indeed, she says,

Their presence quickly puts these cogitations  
Out of my mind.<sup>65</sup>

Laurinda reverts to the stereotype of the shepherdess, however, when she finally accepts Alexis in these words:

Long, O, too long, Alexis,  
My doubtful fancy wavered whom to love--  
Damon or you; in both was happiness,  
But double happiness was my single misery.  
So far'd it once, Alexis (for I well  
Remember it), with one of my poor ewes,  
Equally mov'd between two tufts of grass:  
This tempting one way, that enticing t'other;  
Now she would this, then that, then this again;  
Until, poor fool (true emblem of her mistress),  
She almost starv'd in choosing which to feed on;  
At last (so heaven pitied the innocent fool)  
A western gale nipp'd one, which being blasted  
She fed upon the other.<sup>66</sup>

The mad Amyntas is like many another shepherd demented because of his love problems and closely resembles Aeglamour in The Sad Shepherd.<sup>67</sup> Whereas Aeglamour mourns the supposed death of his love, however, the hero of Randolph's play loses his wits in trying to interpret an oracle relative to his marrying Urania. Amyntas is the conventional shepherd, somewhat too polished in language and manners to correspond to the playwright's own description of country folk.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., I, vi, 290.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., V, ii, 353 f.

<sup>67</sup>The "mad" hero is common in the romance-epic. A frequently cited example of the demented character is the hero of Orlando furioso, by Lodovico Ariosto.

In addition to the usual assortment of conventional shepherds and shepherdesses, the play presents a group of comic characters connected through plot development with the pastoral persons. A third group provides the mythological element of the play.

A variant of the lovers' merry-go-round is found in the several love affairs of the characters. Randolph here shows some ingenuity in meeting the need of close association among characters.. Amyntas loves Urania, the sister of Damon; Urania returns Amyntas' love; Damon and Alexis both love Laurinda, who at first is undecided about whom she loves; and Amarillis, the sister of Amyntas, loves Damon, although he spurns her until Laurinda accepts Alexis. Thus the playwright has interwoven the various stories into a unified plot that is lacking in The Faithful Shepherdess and some other plays.

The main plot depends upon the solving of the curse and oracle which the goddess Ceres has pronounced:

Sicilian swains, ill-luck shall long betide  
To every bridegroom and to every bride;  
No sacrifice, no vow shall still mine ire,  
Till Claius' blood both quench and kindle fire;  
The wise shall misconceive me, and the wit,  
Scorn'd and neglected, shall my meaning hit.

. . . . .  
That which thou hast not, may'st not, canst not have,  
Amyntas, is the dowry that I crave.  
Rest hopeless in thy love, or else divine  
To give Urania this, and she is thine.<sup>68</sup>

---

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., I, iv, 288 f.

The matter of the dowry rests on the tradition that the priests of Ceres, one of whom is the father of Urania and Damon, do not give but expect to receive portions for their daughters. The solution is, as the pronouncement said, the work of the scorned and neglected wit Amyntas. The shepherd discovers the answer to the riddle with the assistance of Echo, who helps him to see that the dowry which he cannot have but must give to Urania is a husband.

The mere outline of the plot resembles that of Il pastor fido. Each play opens with the overbearing wrath of an angry goddess. The final scene in each brings the near sacrifice of a priest's son, which tragedy is averted only by the ingenious interpretation of an oracle.<sup>69</sup>

Guarini's play was not the only Italian source from which Randolph borrowed incidents. Luigi Groto's Pentimento amoroso contains an episode which parallels that in which Laurinda places her garland on Alexis and wears that of Damon herself. Furthermore, the clever answer to the oracle resembles the solution to a problem in Giovanni Cuccheti's La Pazzia. Although Groto's and Cuccheti's plays were considered second- or even third-rate in Italy, they served as inspiration for some English drama, including Amyntas.<sup>70</sup>

---

<sup>69</sup>For a discussion of similarities between Guarini's and Randolph's plays, see Smith, op. cit., p. 422.

<sup>70</sup>Jeffery, "Italian and English Pastoral Drama of the Renaissance," p. 443 f.



Randolph undoubtedly referred to Italian pastoral drama for plot material; nevertheless, his play, like Jonson's, is clearly English in spirit. The atmosphere of mirth, some individualized characters, and the well organized unrolling of the plot make Amyntas a play which emerges from the over-idealized artificiality of the bulk of pastoralism to maintain its identity as a vigorous example of the genre.

A study of these four purely pastoral plays illustrates the major steps in the development of the English pastoral drama after the introduction of Italian influences. The first step was intentional imitation of Italian pastoral models as exemplified by Daniel's play. The second phase was attempted adaptation of Italian materials as shown in The Faithful Shepherdess. In the third stage there finally evolved a lively British bucolic drama. The Sad Shepherd and Amyntas transcend and surpass the mainly derivative plays of Daniel and Fletcher. The works by Jonson and Randolph mark the high point of excellence of the English pastoral drama.

Considerably before the period of Italian influence represented by Daniel, Fletcher, Jonson, and Randolph, pastoralism had already come to be held in high regard in England, as is amply suggested by the wealth of works of all types having bucolic elements. Prior to the advent of any plays which could be called purely pastoral, a number of

plays having varying degrees of pastoralism without being totally pastoral in content were written. In fact, the period of ascendancy for bucolic compositions can be said to have begun about 1580, well before the direct Italian Arcadianism made itself felt.

The years from 1580 to 1642 may be divided into three phases of influence. The first of these divisions was the decade of the mythological play with some pastoral coloring. The second division was that of the courtly, or chivalric, pastoral; plays of this group present courtly persons in bucolic situations or dramatize chivalric prose romances of the Spanish type. The final stage, in which the English pastoral drama reached its high point, was that of strong Italian influence which, as we have seen, prompted imitation, rivalry, and naturalization of Arcadian trends.

Because of the signal importance of the period of Italian influence, plays which were an outgrowth of this influence have been dealt with first and given a position of paramount importance. The remainder of the chapter will revert to a somewhat earlier chronological period and deal with certain plays that are either mythological or courtly in their basic impetus but which have discernible pastoral elements.

Early in the development of the English pastoral drama two English playwrights particularly, George Peele and John

Lyly, in some of their plays combined certain clearly identifiable pastoral elements.

Peele's The Arraignment of Paris, primarily a mythological play, shows pastoral elements as early as about 1581. This pastoralism in Peele does not give evidence of Continental inspiration. The fact that Tasso's Aminta was first printed the year that Peele's work was produced precludes an assumption of such inspiration. A parallel seems to exist in the evolution of the tradition in Italy and England, for in each country the appearance of mythological plays incidentally introducing pastoral scenes and characters paved the way for the completely pastoral drama.<sup>71</sup>

The setting of The Arraignment of Paris, the earliest play which can be identified with the development of the pastoral drama in England, is not principally the peaceful woods and pastures familiar to the readers of bucolic literature in general. Although such country scenes do appear in the play, they are incidental, and the atmosphere is that of the myth rather than the pastoral.

Three groups of characters may be identified: mythological, pastoral, and rustic. The pastoral characters do not dominate this play, as they come later to do in plays which are purely pastoral; the gods and goddesses are the outstanding figures in Peele's drama. All the characters do

---

<sup>71</sup>Greg, op. cit., p. 216 f.

follow the pattern of most really pastoral plays in that they have little individuality. Peele presents the gods and goddesses principally as conventional mythological beings, the shepherds and shepherdesses as traditional pastoral persons, and the rustic characters as supposedly typical country folk.<sup>72</sup>

The first two acts are almost entirely devoted to introduction of the various characters and explanation of their situations. The gods and goddesses are presented in a rather lengthy group of scenes not having direct bearing on the plot. The pastoral element comes in first when Paris and Oenone appear in what purports to be a typical bucolic scene. They express their mutual devotion and sit down together under a tree, whereupon the shepherdess begins to sing of mythological matters.

Pastoral and mythological factors are at last brought together in the second and final scene of Act II. The shepherd Paris, who is returning to his flocks after being with Oenone, is charged by three goddesses to choose which is the fairest. When the shepherd names Venus the most beautiful, the jealous Juno and Pallas plot revenge. As a consequence of their wrath, Paris is brought before a tribunal of deities for his supposed partiality to Venus. The gods dismiss

---

<sup>72</sup>There is automatically a pastoral element in mythological works, of course, as country scenes and phenomena of nature are prevalent in them.

the prisoner, and the pastoral characters are not heard from again. Peele drops the pastoral and rustic threads of the story completely, turning the final act into a compliment to Elizabeth I.<sup>73</sup> Thus, pastoralism ceases to be important in the play after the dismissal of Paris as a prisoner. Actual pastoralism in the play encompasses no more than the scene which introduces Paris and Oenone, a passage in which the shepherdess laments her loss of Paris' affection, and the sequence of Colin's death from unrequited love of Thestylis.

Although The Arraignment of Paris is primarily a mythological play, then, it is significant in a consideration of the English pastoral drama because it introduced pastoralism to the British theater. Furthermore, this play points toward the full development of the bucolic play.

Following Peele--at least chronologically--in blending mythology and pastoralism, John Lyly composed his prose play Gallathea probably in the latter part of 1584 but possibly as early as 1582.<sup>74</sup> The spirit and style of Gallathea are more closely identified with pastoralism than are the spirit and style of Peele's play. The mortal characters, including

<sup>73</sup>A degree of pastoralism is inherent in the masque-like courtesy to the queen. Greg (op. cit., p. 223) regards the skill with which Peele enlarged this idea into a full-length drama as evidence of his artistry.

<sup>74</sup>John Lyly, The Complete Works of John Lyly, Vol. II of 3 vols., edited by R. Warwick Bond (Oxford, 1902), p. 424. Future references to Lyly's plays will be to this edition.

the pastoral types, are more fully developed than are those in The Arraignment of Paris. In the writings of Lyly the English pastoral drama progressed from casual and incidental pastoralism to a more purposeful injection of pastoral elements.

Probably the most striking feature which Lyly contributed to the pastoral is euphuism. Perhaps this artificial style found a congenial atmosphere in the pastoral, which from its beginnings exhibited a strong tendency toward artificiality, conventionality, and stereotype. The tedious recurrence of sounds, repetition of words, balance, and antithesis are almost painfully evident even in the pastoral dialogue, such as the following passage spoken by one of Diana's nymphs:

I have neither will nor leysure, but I will followe Diana in the Chace, whose virgins are all chast, delighting in the bowe that wounds the swift Hart in the Forrest, not fearing the bowe that strikes the softe hart in the Chamber. This difference is betweene my Mistris Diana, and your Mother (as I gesse) Venus, that all her Nimphes are amiable and wise in theyr kinde, the other amorous and too kinde for their sexe.<sup>75</sup>

Just as the tone of Gallathea is more in keeping with the pastoral than is that of Peele's play, so is the setting more completely bucolic. The characters speak of the pleasant green fields and the woods as well as the fresh air and the warm beams of the sun. Lyly was the first in the Renaissance pastoral period to select England as the locale for

---

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., I, 11, 435.

his story, laying the action in Lincolnshire near the Humber River. It has been shown that Jonson later employed the English countryside as the setting of The Sad Shepherd.

Diana, Cupid, Neptune, and Venus have important roles in the play Gallathea, but the reader's interest is focused on the effect of their actions on Gallathea and Phillida. These pastoral characters are really the outstanding persons of the drama, their importance attesting to the ascendancy of bucolic elements during the mythological stage of the pastoral period. The characters in this play are more sharply individualized than the characters in The Arraignment of Paris. A disagreement between Diana and Venus reflects the quarrel among divinities in the earlier play but reveals the contending goddesses as overseers of mortal beings rather than merely fractious deities. Cupid is invested with a somewhat overdeveloped sense of humor, an abundance of irresponsibility, and a full measure of indolence. Gallathea and Phillida display their quick wit in their several exchanges of banter and give evidence of mutual displeasure in having to masquerade as boys. The obvious effort of the author to achieve balance in composition is paralleled by a balance in characterization. Tyterus and Melebeus, the shepherd fathers of the two young women, provide an instance of such literary equilibrium. A third group of characters seems to have been included in the story only to introduce a comic element, and they fulfill the duty

admirably; this group is composed of three sons of a miller who have been shipwrecked near Lincolnshire.

The plot is founded partly on the time-honored pastoral theme of love. The confusion of lovers complicating many bucolic plays is particularly apparent in this one. Seeing one another in masculine attire and failing to consider that not one but both might be disguised, Gallathea and Phillida fall in love. Through the caprices of the God of Love, some of Diana's nymphs also become enamored of the shepherdesses dressed as men. There is in this play much speculation about and toying with the idea of what love is. The nymph Eurota remarks,

I confesse that I am in love, and yet sweare that I know not what it is. I feele my thoughts unknit, mine eyes unstaied, my hart I know not how affected, or infected, my sleepes broken and full of dreames, my wakenesse sad and full of sighes, my selfe in all thinges unlike my selfe.<sup>76</sup> If this be love, I woulde it had never been devised.

Elsewhere in the play Cupid defines love for another nymph:

A heate full of coldnesse, a sweet full of bitternesse, a paine ful of pleasantnesse; which maketh thoughts have eyes, and harts eares; bred by desire, nursed by delight, weaned by jelousie, kild by dissembling, buried by ingratitude; and this is love!<sup>77</sup>

Mythological factors in the plan of the play center around Neptune's anger with the people of Lincolnshire and the appeasement of his wrath by the sacrifice of the fairest maiden to a sea-monster every five years. The regular

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., III, 1, 447.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., I, 11, 435.



tribute of the virgin is the cause of the shepherds' having their daughters to appear as boys, for Tyterus and Melebeus regard their respective children as fairest in the land. It is the duty of the deities to solve the intermingled problems introduced by Cupid's deeds, the impending sacrifice of a young woman, and the love of Gallathea and Phillida. Each matter is disposed of with the Elizabethan concern for completing each phase of action; Diana sets Cupid to righting the wrongs he has done, Neptune withdraws his demand of human tribute, and Venus promises to change one of the two enamored shepherdesses into a man. The reader must decide for himself, however, which of them will undergo the metamorphosis.<sup>78</sup>

The comic subplot is actually independent of the main action. After their various sojourns in Lincolnshire, the three shipwrecked brothers rejoin each other just in time to sing at the wedding which Venus is to make possible. Otherwise there is no connection between the two plots.

Diverse critical opinions have been aired concerning inspiration for Gallathea. The most ably argued theory is that Lyly was only slightly indebted to Italian works.<sup>79</sup> Both classical and native works have been proposed as direct sources from which the playwright gathered his material.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>78</sup>Themes of disguise and actual metamorphosis were common in literature of the English Renaissance.

<sup>79</sup>Lyly, op. cit., p. 477 f.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., p. 420 f.

Another mythological-pastoral play by Lyly was composed probably about 1588 or 1589.<sup>81</sup> Repeating many of the elements found in Gallathea, Love's Metamorphosis represents the sacrifice of a daughter, several changes of form or identity, the wrath of a goddess toward mortals, the occupations of nymphs in service to Ceres, a solution to several problems by a compromise between rival divinities, and finally preparations for a wedding made possible by a deity. One must not infer, however, that the later play is simply a re-working of the first, for the plots differ in many respects.

The love theme is partially carried out by three foresters (the pastoral characters of the play) who are in love with three of Ceres' nymphs. When the maidens do not respond to the woodsmen's affection, Cupid--not the prankish boy of Gallathea but a deity of importance--turns the damsels into a rock, a rose, and a bird respectively. Only through the intervention of Ceres are the nymphs restored to their former identities; furthermore, they must no longer spurn the love of the young foresters. Another element in the love theme is the enduring affection of Protea and Petulius.

Mythological matters are most apparent in the plot in connection with Erisichthon, Protea's father. He has cut

---

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., Vol. III, p. 296.

down a sacred tree; Fidelia, a chaste nymph of Ceres, had previously been transformed into this tree so that she might escape a wicked satyr. In anger over the loss of her nymph, the goddess arranges for Famine to prey on Erisichthon, who finally is obliged to sell his daughter in order to satisfy his extreme hunger.

The love stories and the Ceres-Erisichthon sequence are united in a passage revealing divine compromise; Cupid uses Ceres' petition for the release of her nymphs to gain her pardon for Erisichthon. Cupid willingly intercedes for the latter because of his daughter's faithfulness in love.

The setting of Love's Metamorphosis is Arcadia. Various scenes take place at Ceres' tree, before Cupid's temple, in a forest, and along a seashore near Erisichthon's farm. Characters in the play seem to be somewhat more conventionalized than those in Gallathea; Cupid, for example, is here clearly the God of Love instead of the youthful mischief-maker.

Lacking humor in characterization or subject, the drama maintains a seriousness and at times even an air of pathos which are not really pastoral in concept. Although the main and subordinate plots are admirably interwoven, the play impresses the reader as a less mature work than the slightly earlier Gallathea.

In a third play having both mythological and pastoral elements Lyly once more presents some comic matter. The

Woman in the Moon, which may confidently be dated about 1589,<sup>82</sup> is another of the earliest instances of the use of pastoral material in English drama. It gives no evidence of the Italian influence of Arcadianism. The setting, in fact, is not Arcadia but Utopia.

The Woman in the Moon is free from the stilted euphuistic style characteristic of most of Lyly's writing. Unlike Gallathea and Love's Metamorphosis, this play is written in verse. When the author states in the prologue that the work is the "first he had in Phoebus holy bowre," he may be referring to the fact that this is his first poetic drama.<sup>83</sup> The verse is smooth and graceful, as in the following speech by Stesias, a Utopian shepherd:

Blest be the hand that made so happy wound,  
For in my sufferance have I wonne thy love;  
And blessed thou, that having tryed my faith,  
Hast given admittance to my harts desert:  
Now all is well, and all my hurt is whole,  
And I in paradise of my delight.  
Come, lovely spouse, let us go walke the woods,  
Where warbling birds recorde our happiness,  
And whisling leaves make musick to our myrthe,  
And Flora strews her bowre to welcome thee.<sup>84</sup>

The pastoral regard for nature is readily apparent in the passage, as is the bucolic theme of love.

The plot concerns the petition of several shepherds to Nature for a woman to be their companion. In answer to this request Nature creates Pandora and gives her the virtues of

---

<sup>82</sup>Greg, op. cit., p. 232.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., p. 233.

<sup>84</sup>Lyly, The Woman in the Moon, III, 1, 258.

Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sol, Venus, Mercury, and Luna. The jealous planets influence the newly fashioned woman so that she becomes variously sullen, proud and scornful, shrewish, loving, wanton, deceitful, and mad. Because of her fickleness the shepherds lose interest in her; consequently Nature places her in the heavens as the woman in the moon.

A touch of humor is to be noted in Nature's final charge to Pandora:

Now rule, Pandora, in fayre Cynthias steede,  
And make the moone inconstant like thy selfe;  
Raigne thou at womens nuptials, and their birth;  
Let them be mutable in all their loves,  
Fantasticall, childish, and folish, in their desires,  
Demaunding toyes:  
And starke madde when they cannot have their will.<sup>85</sup>

Further humor can be seen in the rustic comments of Gynophilus; indeed, this character has been called the "exact presentment of the early Shakespearean Clown."<sup>86</sup>

Lyly also indulges in satire in this play, focusing attention on the inconstancy of woman. It has been suggested that the playwright's experience of lack of constancy in the royal favor prompted his increasingly ironic view of womanhood.<sup>87</sup> The Woman in the Moon, then, presenting humorous and satirical material, suggests some of the elements to follow it in subsequent pastoral works.

These four mythological-bucolic plays by Peele and Lyly form a distinct group within English pastoralism. Seemingly

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., V, 1, 288.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid., p. 233.

<sup>87</sup>Greg, op. cit., p. 232.

unaffected by Italian works, they planted in British soil the germ for a truly English pastoral drama. Although later playwrights were to borrow heavily from the Italian Arcadian drama and the Spanish chivalric romance, many of them would carry on a distinctively British tone which had its inception in the plays of Peele and Lyly.

Following the writing of Peele's and Lyly's primarily mythological plays, many English dramas belonging to the classification of courtly, or chivalric, pastorals of the Spanish type were produced. These plays show members of the nobility in bucolic surroundings or dramatize chivalric pastoral novels. Although they are not pure pastorals such as some works indicating Italian Arcadian influence, they accord to pastoralism a place of greater importance than the mythological plays did and illustrate the progress which English drama was making toward complete naturalization of the pastoral.

Three dramas by William Shakespeare are the best examples of the courtly pastorals. A Midsummer Night's Dream (1595?)<sup>88</sup> presents courtly persons in a country setting, and As You Like It (1600?)<sup>89</sup> and The Winter's Tale (1611?)<sup>90</sup> are based on chivalric pastoral novels. Shakespeare seemed ever

---

<sup>88</sup>Ward, op. cit., p. 84.    <sup>89</sup>Ibid., p. 128.

<sup>90</sup>William Shakespeare, The Complete Works of Shakespeare, edited by George Lyman Kittredge (Boston, 1936), p. 431. References to Shakespeare's plays are to this edition, unless otherwise noted.

to have a sensitive ear to the demands of the theater-going public and willingly turned out works catering to current tastes. The popularity of the pastoral in its chivalric dress apparently came to his attention at an early date.

Tentatively feeling out the bucolic ground, Shakespeare included in A Midsummer Night's Dream various pastoral elements. The play is unique among works of the genre because it is really as much a fairy play as a pastoral and because it has a story plan mainly original with its author but based partly on various known literary sources. Even so, it has definite affinities with the courtly pastoral type and should be considered in an analysis of English pastoral plays.

The setting of the almost masque-like drama is compatible with the bucolic mode. The scenes, placed in Athens and a nearby wood, provide the contrast between town and country which has been a distinguishing factor of pastoralism from its inception. The time represented is remote enough from Shakespeare's own day to be enveloped in a romantic haze such as that associated with most bucolic works.

Characters may be easily classified in one of three distinct groups common to many pastorals. It is true that the recognized pastoral group, composed of real or supposed shepherds and shepherdesses, is lacking. Nevertheless, some of the usual bucolic traits are to be found in the courtly group of persons, most of whom are involved in the

interesting lovers' merry-go-round; in the grotesque group, which, despite its association with the courtly element, is comparable to the familiar rustic class; and in the fairy group, the members of which traditionally inhabit the forest.

There are three plot elements in A Midsummer Night's Dream approximating the grouping of characters.<sup>91</sup> The main, or romantic, plot presents the plans for the marriage of Theseus and Hippolyta as well as other matters of romantic love. Hermia and Lysander are enamored of one another; Helena's love for Demetrius is unrequited, as he is also a suitor to Hermia. The love-cycle is complicated by Egeus' determination that his daughter, Hermia, shall marry Demetrius. Thus the elements of courtly love and confusion of couples relate A Midsummer Night's Dream to the pastoral school.

The grotesque plot, which includes the Pyramus and Thisbe interlude, provides the comedy usually delegated to the roles of supposedly real country folk. Although Bottom and his fellows are remembered best for their actions in forest scenes, they, like other persons in the play, have come from Athens to the wood--expecting sylvan peace and solitude in which to prepare their entertainment for the court.

---

<sup>91</sup>For an enlightening discussion of the grouping of characters in relation to the triple plot, see The Sources and Analogues of "A Midsummer Night's Dream," compiled by Frank Sidgwick, (New York, 1908), p. 4 ff.



The fairy plot relates the play to pastoralism by lending an aura of romance and injecting a supernatural factor. This factor is associated with the English conception of fairies as picturesque and often mischievous but pleasant little beings.<sup>92</sup> It is reminiscent of the English development of the good satyr as a character type.<sup>93</sup> Through the fairy plot the main love stories are further complicated by the use of the love-juice; indeed, this part of A Midsummer Night's Dream has a temporary lovers' triangle of Oberon-Titania-Bottom by virtue of Puck's anointing the eyes of the fairy queen with the potion.

In setting, characters, and plot the play obviously reflects traces of pastoralism; furthermore, the lighthearted mood agrees with the pastoral tone.

Yet Shakespeare was only experimenting with the pastoral mode in A Midsummer Night's Dream. As You Like It goes a step further in blending the traditional pastoral elements with those of court and chivalry, but the bucolic coloring extends even beyond these factors. The playwright's understanding and appreciation of the pastoral as a "thing of grace and beauty, to be gathered, enjoyed, and forgotten, unsuited in its evanescent charm to be the serious business of art or

---

<sup>92</sup>Ibid., p. 35 ff.

<sup>93</sup>See the discussion of The Faithful Shepherdess on page 69 of the current study.

life"<sup>94</sup> is evidenced in the prettiness of As You Like It. Indeed, it has been called "the sweetest and happiest of Shakespeare's comedies."<sup>95</sup> The quality of happiness prevalent in the drama reflects simultaneously the early pastoralists' beliefs of the purpose of the bucolic mode and the author's idea of what the pastoral should express. One critic explains the gala air of the work as follows:

The poet escaped for a season from camps and courts, and took a delightful vacation in the Forest of Arden. History was for the time forgotten, and free scope was given to imagination amid the scenes of a purely ideal life,--an Arcadia where they "fleet the time carelessly, as they did in the golden world." The result is a pastoral drama in which we have almost unbroken sunshine, no more of shadow being introduced than serves to give variety to the scene.<sup>96</sup>

The setting of As You Like It further bears out the pastoral feeling. Again there is contrast between the "civilized" but imperfect life at court and on Oliver's premises and the "uncivilized" but ideal and carefree life in the Forest of Arden. In fact, the "shadows" in the play serve principally to send the various groups of characters into the forest so that a common setting will allow their situations to become intermingled.

Some of the conventionalities of the pastoral are encountered in the grouping of characters. The genuine

<sup>94</sup>Greg, op. cit., p. 413.

<sup>95</sup>Shakespeare, As You Like It, edited by William J. Rolfe (New York, 1918), p. 11.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

herdsman's and feigned herdsman's roles in bucolic literature are well represented. Corin and Silvius are supposedly real shepherds; Phebe is a true shepherdess; the courtly Rosalind masquerades in shepherd attire, temporarily forsaking her own class and sex; and Celia is disguised as a shepherdess. The banished duke and his retinue are additional courtly personages who are apparently none the worse for their sojourn in the wood; indeed, their banishment has given them freedom from the artificiality of their existence at court.<sup>97</sup> Their contentment emphasizes once more the superiority of the simple rural life over the urban. Besides the pastoral and courtly characters, there are persons representing the unpolished rustic class. Audrey and William provide a native element that is a distinctively English development;<sup>98</sup> the playwright added these characters as well as Jaques and Touchstone to the group named in the source romance.

Some very obvious pastoral touches occur in the plot of As You Like It, which is taken from Thomas Lodge's novel Rosalynde, Euphuus golden legacy (1590). The love theme has some of the usual complications as well as variations: the

---

<sup>97</sup>Much scholarship has been devoted to various characters of As You Like It. Jaques and Touchstone in particular have been of great interest to critics. In this analysis, however, only those factors relating the play to pastoralism are considered.

<sup>98</sup>Thorndike, op. cit., p. 118.

captivation of Phebe by Rosalind, who she thinks is a young man; Silvius' despair over his unrequited affection for Phebe; the love of both Touchstone and William for Audrey; Orlando's wooing of Rosalind in the guise of Ganymede; Rosalind's initial dismay at Orlando's finding her in masculine clothing; and Celia and Oliver's love at first sight. Moreover, Orlando's amorous verses posted on trees about the forest are in keeping with the bucolic tone.

The action is laid in the forest setting in all but the first act. Duke Frederick's usurping of his brother's position previous to the time of the play and his decision to banish his niece result in the exodus to the country of many persons represented. Oliver's cruelty to Orlando also sends other characters to the wood. In the peacefulness of the pastoral surroundings the various problems of the story are resolved; the love affairs are straightened out to the eventual happiness of everyone concerned, reconciliation of the several brothers is effected, restoration of Duke Senior's throne is accomplished, and Frederick's decision to dwell in the forest is a source of lasting contentment to him.

Despite some of the apparent absurdities of As You Like It--the presence of lions in the Forest of Arden, the time concept whereby Celia has advanced to maturity since her uncle's banishment even though he and his followers have seemingly spent only a change of seasons there, and Orlando's failure to recognize his beloved Rosalind--the play has

remained for more than three and a half centuries one of the most popular comedies of the English language. Its popularity has been explained as partly due to the subtle influence of the charmed air of the pastoral Forest of Arden, in which the reader forgets to be critical.<sup>99</sup> The fascinating atmosphere of As You Like It and some of its contemporaries, in fact, is at least partially responsible for the continuing appeal of pastoralism.

Shakespeare did not compose any wholly pastoral dramas, but in The Winter's Tale he gave attention to the major features of the courtly pastoral. He concentrated in one act of this play perhaps more features identified with pastoralism than are found in any other English Renaissance play with the exception of the pure pastoralism of Daniel, Fletcher, Jonson, and Randolph.

Opposition of court and country is emphasized to a greater degree in The Winter's Tale than in As You Like It. The pastoral scenes stand out vividly from those of the sophisticated world; the reader envisions the first, second, third, and fifth acts in cold marble and shades of black and white, whereas the rural background of the fourth act emerges in warm and brilliant colors of springtime. Thus one sees that the spirit of pastoralism may be even more pronounced in a work such as The Winter's Tale, which

---

<sup>99</sup>Shakespeare, As You Like It, edited by Rolfe, p. 17.

presents a clear contrast between pastoral and nonpastoral, than in a totally bucolic play.

The place and time of action have occasioned much comment from the Jacobean era to the present. Ben Jonson's remark concerning Shakespeare's supposed blunder in speaking of the seacoast of Bohemia has often been cited.<sup>100</sup> Attempts to justify the playwright's geographical knowledge have been made by various critics.<sup>101</sup> The presence or absence of the coast, however, has no effect on probability of the play's argument. At any rate, the story takes place in Sicilia and Bohemia, with the vicinity of the old shepherd's house the setting for the pastoral portion of the play. The bucolic scenes are laid in a rural region of Bohemia. The lapse of sixteen years between the third and fourth acts has inspired various critical discussions concerning the author's disregard of the unities.<sup>102</sup> Shakespeare did offer an apology for--or at least an explanation of--the passage of the years in the chorus Time's speech at the beginning of Act IV.<sup>103</sup> The unfolding of the story

<sup>100</sup>Shakespeare, The Complete Works of Shakespeare, p. 431.

<sup>101</sup>S. L. Bethell, The Winter's Tale: A Study (London, 1947), p. 32 ff.

<sup>102</sup>Louis Sigmund Friedland, "The Dramatic Unities in England," Journal of English and Germanic Philology, X (1911), 74.

<sup>103</sup>Shakespeare, The Winter's Tale, IV, 1, 450 f.

requires the gap; the reader can adjust his conception of the time accordingly just as easily as he can accept any given date for the opening of a play; and the willingness to follow the narrator's time plan constitutes one phase of poetic faith in harmony with romanticism. Therefore, the time problem offers no more of an impediment to enjoyment of the play than does the unimportant matter of whether Bohemia ever had a seacoast.

Characterizations reveal the concentration of bucolic elements in the fourth act of The Winter's Tale. Perdita, who is not introduced until the fourth act (although as a baby she is sent from the Sicilian court), is a composite of pastoral character traits. Reared as the daughter of a shepherd after being found deserted near the seacoast, she has the country freshness of the traditional sweet shepherdess mingled with natural regal qualities. Indeed, her innate refinement has apparently appealed to Prince Florizel, who believes her to be of humble birth. The eventual discovery of her royal origin is but another incident familiar to the student of the chivalric pastoral mode. Perdita's good sense adds a dimension to her personality that is lacking in many of the idealized and conventionalized shepherdesses. Her supposed father reports that she does everything well;<sup>104</sup> conversely, however, he compares her unfavorably

---

<sup>104</sup>Ibid., IV, iv, 455.

with his deceased wife, the personification of rural virtue.<sup>105</sup> The combination of noble heredity and rustic environment since infancy are the outstanding factors influencing Perdita's individuality.

Less distinctive than Perdita is Florizel, who is willing to forsake the privileges of royalty for her hand. He fits easily into the picture of the country festival because of his natural goodness, which is comparable to the conventionalized virtue of the traditional "good" shepherd. The Old Shepherd differentiates him from "these boil'd-brains of nineteen and two-and-twenty"<sup>106</sup> when he comments on Florizel's truthfulness and love for Perdita.<sup>107</sup>

The really rustic characters<sup>108</sup> include the Old Shepherd himself, who in spite of his simplicity is a man of good judgment; his son, who is gullible and even cowardly; the shepherdesses Dorcas and Mopsa, whose brief roles suggest closer parallels to the country wench Audrey than to the shepherdess Phebe in As You Like It; the rogue Autolycus, who takes the audience into his confidence much as protagonists in picaresque literature do; and various

<sup>105</sup>Ibid., IV, iv, 453 f.      <sup>106</sup>Ibid., III, iii, 450.

<sup>107</sup>Ibid., IV, iv, 455.

<sup>108</sup>It should be noted that the distinction between "purely pastoral" and "rustic" groups in The Winter's Tale does not assume the importance that such differentiation does in most plays of the genre. In fact, the two types are almost equated here.



shepherds and shepherdesses. The dance by twelve herdsmen dressed as satyrs suggests another element of pastoralism identified with characters in many bucolic plays.

The courtly group of persons in The Winter's Tale (with the exception, of course, of Perdita) are not actually a part of the pastoral section of the drama. King Leontes' jealousy, Hermione's patience, and King Polixenes' wrath over his son's love for a supposed commoner show the main courtly characters to be one-dimensional.

Since the pastoral incidents are of greatest import in the current study, only a brief consideration of the general plot is necessary. The supernatural and the miraculous are factors influencing the unfolding of the story. Leontes is overcome by jealousy when he erroneously assumes that his wife, Hermione, has become enamored of Polixenes. The son of Leontes and Hermione mysteriously dies, their daughter is strangely lost and eventually found, the former friendships of Sicilia and Bohemia are restored when Florizel and Perdita are united, and Hermione comes back as from the dead. The fulfillment of the oracle marks the dénouement of the play; this pronouncement, introduced during the trial of Hermione in the third act, is solved when Perdita is restored to her parents. Identity of the oracle with the pastoral mode has already been shown in considerations of various plays.

The plot treats of various aspects of love--the romantic love of Perdita and Florizel, filial-parental love, and the remorseful love of Leontes for his reputedly deceased queen. It is to be observed, however, that the conventional pastoral theme of the merry-go-round is absent from the work.

Following Robert Greene's story Pandosto, The Triumph of Time, which was printed in 1588, The Winter's Tale is another composition based on a prose romance.<sup>109</sup> The changes which Shakespeare made in the plot have been discussed elsewhere in the current study in a consideration of the novel by Greene.<sup>110</sup>

In Shakespeare's treatments of pastoralism there is an aura of lightheartedness, springtime, and escape from mundane problems. The three works, contrasting the rural and the urban in a manner similar to that of some classical bucolic writings, are representative of the courtly period of the English pastoral drama. Shakespeare has brought this aspect of English pastoral drama to its highest peak of perfection.

The only other play in the courtly pastoral tradition which comes close to rivaling Shakespeare's works in quality is James Shirley's The Arcadia, which was printed in 1640. The play had been acted at some time before it was printed;

<sup>109</sup>Shakespeare, The Complete Works of Shakespeare, p. 431.

<sup>110</sup>See page 51.

although the exact date of its composition is unknown,<sup>111</sup> The Arcadia is representative of the extreme end of the period 1580 to 1642.

A dramatization embodying the major incidents of Sidney's The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, Shirley's play has for its scenes the royal lodges in the Arcadian country regions and nearby groves and woods. The setting is the most clearly pastoral factor of the drama.

The characters have been taken from Sidney and even keep the same names they have in the novel. Although the principal dramatis personae are of royal houses and are simply living in retirement in the country, the foolish shepherd Dametas, his wife, and his daughter are intended to be true exponents of the idyllic life; a trace of satire is to be found in their utter simplicity, however. Various other shepherds and masquers, as well as Musidorus, a prince disguised as a herdsman, remind the reader that the playwright considered his work a pastoral.

The plot also reveals some of the conventions associated with pastoralism. As the play opens, the dialogue discloses that Basilius, the king of Arcadia, has retired with Gynecia, his wife, and Pamela and Philoclea, their daughters, to their rural lodges. Because of the threat of an oracle, he has almost turned his governmental responsibilities over to the

---

<sup>111</sup>Ward, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 102.

nobleman Philanax, hoping to escape from situations which would bring on the family the several types of disgrace hinted at in the prophecy.

The rustic Dametas serves as guardian to Pamela, and Philoclea dwells in the lodge with her parents. Pyrocles and Musidorus, son and nephew of King Euarchus of Macedon, come to the royal lodges to attempt to win the hands of the two princesses. Since Basilius fears the oracle's statement concerning his daughters' future loves, the young men disguise themselves; Pyrocles is appareled as an Amazon, and Musidorus obtains employment as a herdsman serving Dametas. An unforeseen merry-go-round develops when Basilius falls in love with the "Amazon," and Gynecia, divining that Pyrocles is really a man, becomes enamored of him. Musidorus pretends to court Mopsa, Dametas' daughter, although in reality he is paying suit to Pamela. The princesses consent to flee the Arcadian woods with their suitors. Pyrocles promises to meet both Basilius and Gynecia at a lonely cave in order to insure their absence at the time of the proposed flight; Musidorus sends Dametas to search for hidden gold in the wood; Miso, his wife, follows the shepherd when Musidorus causes her to become suspicious; and Mopsa is sent to await Apollo in a wishing-tree. Because of various obstacles, however, the two youthful couples do not escape as they planned to do. Basilius and Gynecia, thinking to encounter Pyrocles, meet each other in the cave and fulfill

one part of the oracle. The king drinks some love potion which his wife had intended for Pyrocles and immediately falls as if dead. During a trial to determine who is guilty of murdering him, he is revitalized. Explanations follow, the oracle is completely explained at last, Basilius and Gynecia are reconciled, and the young princes and princesses are happy in their love.

Thus the love complications, the eventual triumph of true affection, and the problem of the oracle are outstanding pastoral themes in The Arcadia. Furthermore, a type of masque presented by the rustic and pastoral characters adds to the bucolic flavor.

Greg notes that Shirley's play is distinctly pleasing; action is bright and easy, and some passages are charmingly written.<sup>112</sup> The sweetness and delicacy of several portions of the play are indicated by the beauty of the following lines in which Philoclea confesses her love for Pyrocles:

. . . such a truth  
Shines in your language, and such innocence  
In what you call affection, I must  
Declare you have not plac'd one good thought here,  
Which is not answered with my heart. The fire  
Which sparkled in your bosom, long since leap'd  
Into my breast, and there burns modestly;  
It would have spread into a greater flame,  
But still I curb'd it with my tears. Oh Pyrocles,  
I would thou wert Zelmane again! and yet,  
I must confess I lov'd thee then; I know not

---

<sup>112</sup>Greg, op. cit., p. 321.

With what prophetick soul, but I did wish  
Often, thou were no man, or I no woman.<sup>113</sup>

Passages such as this one demonstrate that the tone of The Arcadia is in keeping with the spirit of the conventional pastoral drama even though the work is not completely bucolic.

This play, the last monumental bucolic work of the period 1580 to 1642, is among the better known of its author's extensive writings. No English playwright gained fame primarily as a pastoralist, nor, indeed, did the pastoral become the principal form for any one author; however, the fact that The Arcadia comes to mind at the mention of James Shirley suggests that by the time he composed the play, late in the reign of Charles I, pastoralism had achieved such excellence and popularity that the English people were more than receptive to bucolic drama.

A consideration of the total picture of the English pastoral drama from 1580 to 1642, the degree of success that bucolic literature maintained following the Restoration, and its later development will be reserved for the final chapter of this study.

---

<sup>113</sup>James Shirley, The Arcadia, III, iv, 216. The reference is to The Dramatic Works and Poems of James Shirley, Vol. VI of 6 vols., collected by William Gifford (London, 1833).

## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUSION

In previous chapters of this thesis the chief characteristics of the pastoral genre have been pointed out, the history of bucolic literature has been traced, and specific English pastoral plays of the years 1580 to 1642 have been analyzed. This study has revealed that the English bucolic drama exhibited some of the major characteristics of the type and at the same time injected new elements into what had been a rather long history of development.

Insofar as students of pastoralism have been able to determine, the movement had its beginnings in early Greek writings. If any single person can be proclaimed father of the pastoral, it is Theocritus. The idyls of this originator of bucolic writings were composed in the third century B. C. Maintaining a realistic approach, they present the goodness of the pastoral life in the simple but sweet setting of rural regions. Artificiality in bucolic literature is traceable to Theocritus' immediate followers, Bion and Moschus. Longus introduced the romance as a vehicle of pastoral expression; it was he who enlarged the theme of love and presented a character who was discovered to be of noble birth.

Roman writers built on the works of the Greeks. The eclogues of Virgil were didactic and allegorical. The compositions of Calpurnius, who developed the panegyric as a pastoral form, emphasized the contrast between town and country.

The pastoral, like many other literary and artistic endeavors following the decline of Rome, lay dormant until it was rediscovered during the Renaissance. Two main lines of Continental Renaissance influence, the Italian and the Spanish, may be observed in the progress of pastoralism as a whole and in the development of the English bucolic drama particularly.

Outstanding fourteenth-century Italian authors made important contributions to the bucolic pattern. Petrarch, in his eclogues, satirized ecclesiastical practices and continued the use of allegory. The innovation of a blending of prose and verse is a significant feature of Boccaccio's romance Ameto.

Mythological material and perhaps the satyr as a pastoral character entered the genre through the fifteenth-century romance Arcadia, by Sannazaro. His contemporaries continued to write didactic and religious eclogues.

It remained for Tasso and Guarini in the late sixteenth century to provide the dramatic models for many subsequent pastorals. The first application of pastoralism to the drama was made by these two writers. In effect, it is from them that all pastoral drama ultimately stems. Aminta and Il



pastor fido inspired the beauty of composition and artificiality of structure of numerous English bucolic plays; furthermore, Guarini's drama supplied the plots or individual incidents for many works.

The second main stream of Continental influence was the Spanish. The chivalric tradition was the principal Spanish addition to pastoralism, for many elements of the bucolic school had been standardized before the movement reached Spain. Montemayor's romance Diana in the sixteenth century was to have extensive influence on British drama of the Renaissance through Sidney's The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia. The two most widely recognized Spanish writers, Cervantes and Lope de Vega, also composed works in the pastoral convention, the former in the field of the novel and the latter in both novel and drama.

Literary pastoralism manifested itself in England primarily in three types of works. The eclogue, belonging essentially to the allegorical mode, was introduced by Spenser, who received inspiration from Roman, Italian, and French sources.<sup>1</sup> The prose romance of the pastoral-chivalric tradition was imitated by Sidney and is traceable to Montemayor, thence to Sannazaro. The Arcadian drama of Italy, which influenced the English stage directly through the writings of Tasso and Guarini, was the third influence.

---

<sup>1</sup>Walter W. Greg, Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama (London, 1906), p. 418.

Thus Italy was the ultimate source of the three English pastoral forms: verse, romance, and drama.

By the time that the Continental bucolic trends reached England during the Renaissance, native impulses had already produced several versions of the pastoral. There are works in early English drama such as some of the miracle plays which can be said to have pastoral elements. The influence of these writings on the pastoral drama of the Renaissance is negligible; however, the purely English flavor of the miracle plays was to become merged with the conventionalized, stylized, and idealized pastoralism of Continental literary output.

In dealing with classical mythology, English Renaissance writers were exposed to certain pastoral elements. Therefore some pastoralism came to be included in various works such as the compositions of Peele and Lyly. By about 1580, then, there were plays being written and produced in England that were or at least approached being pastoral drama. The mythological phase, which lasted approximately ten years, was the first major period in the development of the recognized English bucolic drama.

Ushering in the second division of the English pastoral theater, the influence of the Spanish chivalric romance came to be felt after 1590; simultaneously the first translations of important Italian shepherd plays were made. Certain

works carried on the dramatizations of the romance form until the days of the Commonwealth. Fusion of some Spanish and Italian contributions had been accomplished, however, before 1642.

Finally there developed in the third stage of the genre in England what can be called a purely pastoral drama. This stage, the acclimatization of the Italian theatrical patterns, began about 1605. As has been shown, the period produced works imitating and rivaling Continental models and saw attempts at naturalization of pastoral drama.<sup>2</sup>

Although the British playwrights from 1580 to 1642 were heavily influenced by and often followed closely the Continental models of the bucolic drama, they made some significant contributions to the development of the dramatic form of the pastoral. Most English works exhibit vigor and strength not found in classical and Continental literature. Action is more pronounced, and many characters display

---

<sup>2</sup>Plays of the first, or mythological, period were Peele's The Arraignment of Paris (1581) and Lyly's Gallathea (1584), Love's Metamorphosis (1588), and The Woman in the Moon (1589). Works of the middle phase, during which chivalric features became important, were Shakespeare's A Midsummer Night's Dream (1595), As You Like It (1600), and The Winter's Tale (1611). The last period, that of the Italian pastoral influence, brought to light Daniel's The Queen's Arcadia (1605); Fletcher's The Faithful Shepherdess (1609); Jonson's The Sad Shepherd (1634); Randolph's Amyntas (1634); and Shirley's The Arcadia (1640), which, although it was a dramatization of Sidney's romance, undoubtedly absorbed some of the Italian spirit and therefore represents the blending of Spanish and Italian tendencies.

individuality and spirit unknown in their conventionalized predecessors. English authors developed the satyr as a good fairy-like creature rather than a wicked, beastly individual. Comic rustics were introduced by English pastoralists. The gaiety of life in the greenwood was yet another innovation, for the principal sylvan factor in early pastorals was simply peaceful scenery to serve as a convenient backdrop for the insipid occupations of lovesick shepherds; Renaissance playwrights gave to the forest an importance that it had not previously enjoyed in literature. Thus, although the pastoral drama of England absorbed many of the traditions--the love themes, settings, various character types, and tone--it made adaptations and contributions of a specifically Anglican quality.

The vivid coloring of English pastoral drama is at its best in Jonson's The Sad Shepherd. In this play pastoralism takes on a freshness and vigor that comes chiefly from the intentional effort to make it English in spirit. Jonson and some of his compatriot dramatists come closer to the freshness and realism of Theocritus than do the Continental writers or any English writers of nondramatic literature.

In spite of the fact that pastoral drama often seems to the modern reader or playgoer very conventional and even stereotyped, one should not dismiss lightly a literary type which achieved the considerable measure of popularity that bucolic drama maintained for a period of more than sixty

years. As evidence of its importance to the Elizabethans, it should be noted that most of the major writers of the time dealt in one way or another with the pastoral. Spenser, Sidney, Shakespeare, Jonson, and Milton as well as many less famous authors composed works of various types which belong to the genre.

The source of the pastoral's appeal to both playwrights and the public was probably the relief it afforded from the petty irritations and vexations of urban existence. Escapism, in fact, was one of the foundations on which pastoralism had rested for centuries. A disillusioned city dweller might restore his diminishing zest for life as well as his belief in the innate goodness of mankind by viewing on the Elizabethan stage a happy, even frolicsome presentation of the herdsman's activities and sensing the supposed perfection of country persons. If the possibility of release from mounting tensions drew patrons to the theaters, then, playwrights might well capitalize on the public's taste by conforming to or at least trying their hands at a popular literary convention. Thus many bucolic plays contrasting town and country were written, even though no dramatist took the pastoral as his principal vehicle of expression.

After having been brought to its full flower in the first half of the seventeenth century, dramatic pastoralism went into a period of decline. In England this decline was certainly precipitated by the closing of the theaters in

1642; furthermore, the beginnings of satire against the mode in pastoral plays themselves were noted early in the Restoration period. In Italy the realm of the pastoral was largely taken over by opera; in Spain the picaresque literature superseded it; and in France the affectations of minor writers brought it into contempt.<sup>3</sup>

The pastoral had definitely reached a low point in its history. During the Restoration numerous bucolic plays showing French influence were produced;<sup>4</sup> the drama of this period appears pale and spiritless in comparison with the robust Renaissance works. Decadence of the form continued during the eighteenth century,<sup>5</sup> and there was seemingly little bucolic composition after the early days of the nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup> In fact, Greg, writing at the beginning of the twentieth century, expressed the belief that the pastoral had ceased to exist when he stated:

No literature based on the accidents of a special form of civilization, or upon a set of artificially imagined conditions, can ever hope to outlive the civilization or the fashion that gave it birth. . . . Every literature wears the livery of its age, but where the body beneath is instinct with human life, it can change its dress and pass unchanged itself from one order of things to another. Where livery is all, the form cannot a second time be galvanized into life.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup>Homer Smith, "Pastoral Influence in the English Drama," Publications of the Modern Language Association, XII (1897), 358.

<sup>4</sup>Greg, op. cit., p. 318.

<sup>5</sup>Smith, op. cit., p. 358.

<sup>6</sup>Greg, op. cit., p. 420.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 421.

Life never completely left the pastoral form, however; the genre was only lying dormant. In recent years bucolic drama has in effect changed its livery and entered a new phase of existence. The spirit of the modern age will not admit of the cloying sweetness, the delicacy, and the charm of the early pastorals, but some bucolic conventions live on in other modes of expression.

One unlikely garb in which pastoral drama emerges today is that of the "western," or "horse opera," familiar to television and motion-picture audiences. The relief that the western offers its viewers is that of a change of scenery--a brief vacation, one might say, from the city, its sophisticated inhabitants, and the urban way of life. Basically, then, the popular appeal of this twentieth-century pastoral--escapism--is the same as that of classical, Continental, and English pastorals.

The desire for release from the annoyances of everyday life was not confined to any given people or era; it exists in the modern American, as it does in all persons. That pastoral literature can fulfill the need for temporary freedom in an ideal world should insure continuing acceptance and popularity for the genre. From time to time it may seem to have lost the favor of the public, but as life becomes increasingly complex and urban-centered, the wish to avoid unpleasant realities if only in imagination and for a brief span will express itself again. The romantic aura of

country life will once more become important, and the pastoral--perhaps in its English Renaissance manifestations or perhaps in yet another incarnation--will achieve new vitality as the means of escape to a happier existence.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Books

- Bethell, S. L., The Winter's Tale: A Study, London, Staples Press Limited, 1947.
- Bullen, A. H., editor, England's Helicon, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899.
- Chambers, Edmund K., English Pastorals, London, Blackie and Son Limited, 1906.
- Cheney, Sheldon, The Theatre: Three Thousand Years, New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1929.
- Chubb, Thomas G., The Life of Giovanni Boccaccio, New York, Albert and Charles Boni, 1930.
- Congleton, J. E., Theories of Pastoral Poetry in England, 1684-1798, Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 1952.
- Crawford, J. P. Wickersham, The Spanish Pastoral Drama, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1915.
- Daniel, Samuel, The Dramatic Works, Vol. III of The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Samuel Daniel, edited by Alexander B. Grosart (5 volumes), London, Hazell, Watson, and Viney, Limited, 1885.
- Elton, Oliver, The English Muse, London, George Bell and Sons Limited, 1950.
- Empson, William, Some Versions of Pastoral, London, Chatto and Windus, 1935.
- Fletcher, John, The Works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, edited by A. H. Bullen (4 volumes), London, George Bell and Sons and A. H. Bullen, 1908.
- Gow, A. S. F., The Greek Bucolic Poets, Cambridge, University Press, 1953.
- Greg, Walter W., Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama, London, A. H. Bullen, 1906.

- Harrison, T. P., The Pastoral Elegy, Austin, The University of Texas, 1939.
- Hutton, Edward, Giovanni Boccaccio, A Biographical Study, New York, John Lane Company, 1910.
- Jonsen, Ben, Ben Jonson, edited by G. H. Herford, Percy Simpson, and Evelyn Simpson (10 volumes), Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1941.
- Kermode, Frank, editor, English Pastoral Poetry from the Beginnings to Marvell, New York, Barnes and Noble, Incorporated, 1952.
- Lang, Andrew, Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus, London, Macmillan and Company, 1932.
- Lyly, John, The Complete Works of John Lyly, edited by R. Warwick Bond (3 volumes), Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1902.
- Marks, Jeannette, English Pastoral Drama, London, Methuen and Company, 1908.
- Nitze, William A., and Dargan, E. Preston, A History of French Literature, New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1938.
- Patchell, Mary, The Palmerin Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction, New York, Columbia University Press, 1947.
- Peele, George, The Arraignment of Paris, Malone Society Reprints, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1910.
- Randolph, Thomas, Poetical and Dramatic Works of Thomas Randolph, edited by W. Carew Hazlitt (2 volumes), London, Reeves and Turner, 1875.
- Rennert, Hugo A., The Spanish Pastoral Romances, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1912.
- Romera-Navarro, M., Historia de la literatura española, Boston, D. C. Heath and Company, 1928.
- Saintsbury, George Edward Bateman, French Literature and Its Masters, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1946.
- 
- \_\_\_\_\_, A Short History of French Literature, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1937.

Schelling, Felix E., Elizabethan Drama, 1558-1642 (2 volumes), Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1908.

Shakespeare, William, As You Like It, edited by William J. Rolfe, New York, American Book Company, 1918.

\_\_\_\_\_, The Complete Works of Shakespeare, edited by George Lyman Kittredge, Boston, Ginn and Company, 1936.

Shirley, James, The Dramatic Works and Poems of James Shirley, collected by William Gifford (6 volumes), London, John Murray, 1833.

Sidgwick, Frank, compiler, The Sources and Analogues of "A Midsummer Night's Dream", New York, Duffield and Company, 1908.

Ward, Adolphus W., A History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne (3 volumes), London, Macmillan and Company, Limited, 1899.

#### Articles

Friedland, Louis Sigmund, "The Dramatic Unities in England," Journal of English and Germanic Philology, X (1911), 56-89.

Jeffery, V. M., "Italian and English Pastoral Drama of the Renaissance," Modern Language Review, XIX (1924), 435-444.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Italian Influence in Fletcher's Faithful Shepherdess," Modern Language Review, XXI (1926), 147-158.

Shackford, Martha H., "A Definition of the Pastoral Idyll," Publications of the Modern Language Association, XIX (1904), 583-592.

Smith, Homer, "Pastoral Influence in the English Drama," Publications of the Modern Language Association, XII (1897), 355-460.

Thorndike, A. H., "The Pastoral Element in the English Drama Before 1605," Modern Language Notes, XIV (1899), 114-123.