

Introduction: Neo-Latin and the Pastoral

From its earliest recorded beginnings with the *Idylls* of Theocritus, pastoral poetry has always been a somewhat knowingly self-conscious genre. The Alexandrianism of the third century BC, with which Theocritus was deeply imbued, was characterized by artificiality and sophistication, so at first glance, writing about the world of shepherds might appear to be an unlikely theme to appeal to a Hellenistic audience. However, the way in which the poet plays with his themes, most famously in the Polyphemus and Galatea poem (*Idylls* 11), where Homer's monstrous Cyclops is humorously presented as being infatuated with a sea-nymph, points to the enormous gap between the bucolic themes and the way in which they would have been read. Irony, then, characterizes the genre from its inception.

When Virgil came to imitate Theocritus in his *Eclogues*, he was not able to include all the elements of the Theocritean style, most notably in the area of language, where the Greek poet had written in a literary Doric dialect, but Virgil does take over Theocritus' metre, the dactylic hexameter, and many of the themes which had appeared in the *Idylls*: unrequited love, death, singing contests, etc. Crucially, what Virgil added to this was a strong element of allegory. The poet himself and his contemporaries appear in the guise of shepherds from the very first poem, with its allusions to the contemporary reality of the dispossessions of farmers in Italy in order to provide Julius Caesar's veterans with a reward for their loyalty. This ironic displacement would constitute one of the main appeals of the pastoral genre in the Renaissance, when princes, poets, and other prominent figures would appear with suitably rustic names in the works of pastoral writers. In addition, the humanist principle of *aemulatio* meant that changes and variations would be introduced, a notable example of which being the *Piscatory Eclogues* of Sannazaro, with their seaside setting allowing for a new range of imagery in the themes covered, however much they might have been criticized for following Virgil.

The Cambridge Neo-Latin symposium set out to examine pastoral compositions not just in the Virgilian tradition, but also in the area of drama,

religious writing, and prose. The resulting collection of essays examines an array of European figures from the fifteenth (with an eye to Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio) to the eighteenth century.

The Cambridge Society for Neo-Latin Studies thanks the British Academy for the award of a British Conference Grant. It is also grateful for support given by Clare College, Trinity College, the Faculty of Classics, and the Scandanavian Studies Fund of the Faculty of Modern and Medieval Languages at the University of Cambridge.

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Italy was of course at the forefront of the recuperation of the Greco-Roman pastoral tradition, as with the classical tradition more generally, providing fresh models which later generations of poets and humanists would treat with as much reverence as the ancient examples of the genre. Moreover, Italian writers often displayed a particular bond with the author of the *Eclogues*. Giovanni Pontano, who is the subject of Helene Casanova-Robin's paper, like Mantuan after him, makes abundant use of Virgil in his collection of six *Eclogae*, which were not, however, published until after his death. This paper concentrates on the first of the eclogues, *Lepidina*, which, unlike any of Virgil's bucolic poems, runs to over 800 lines, presenting a veritable eulogy of Pontano's adoptive city of Naples through a skilful variation on themes taken from Virgil and other Roman poets such as Catullus. Pontano's skills are apparent not only in the musical qualities of his poetry, but also in the striking visual elements, which bring his poetry alive. Here, then, we see the eclogue genre being closely linked with epideictic poetry at the hands of Pontano in a form of pastoral poetry on the grand scale, demonstrating how latter-day pastoral poets could ring the changes in scale as well as in setting.

Anne Bouscharain's essay is the first of two dealing with the Carmelite reformer Battista Spagnuolo (Mantuanus), one of the writers who helped to reestablish the popularity of pastoral poetry in the Renaissance. A native of Virgil's home city of Mantua, he could be seen as a natural successor to his eminent Roman model. Like Virgil, he uses the eclogue in his *Adulescentia* to present autobiographical and political matters in allegorical form, while including an important element of epideictic writing in his work. The success of the collection, which avoids the morally difficult celebrations of homosexual love amongst Virgil's pastoral poems, was assured by the Flemish humanist Josse Bade's school edition of the work, which brought Mantuan's poetry to

successive generations of schoolboys. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the autobiographical dimensions of the work are largely downplayed by Bade, with much greater emphasis being accorded to the moral implications of the work. This tendency is followed in Michel d'Amboise's successful French translation of *the Adulescentia*, which picks up on Mantuan's satire of the corruption of the Papal court. At the same time, the French poet adapts the original text to flatter his own patron, Catherine d'Amboise, in the ninth eclogue which is the focus of Bouscharain's study. This discussion raises questions about the generic variability of the eclogue form, which allows for a mixture of the personal, the satirical, occasional verse and epideictic writing, elements which might be given more or less emphasis by later editors, readers, and imitators.

Lee Piepho examines the reception of Mantuan's ten Latin eclogues in Northern Europe, focusing particularly on the German humanists around Jakob Wimpfeling at Strasbourg. The Judeo-Christian pastoral world supplants that of classical antiquity, with both the remote mountain-top and the remove of the cloister providing the necessary religious transplantation of pastoral shade to earthly paradise and the promise of heavenly reward. Moreover, Piepho draws out the specifically Carmelite nature of Mantuan's reshaping of Virgil: Elijah on Mount Carmel supplied an origin for an order lacking a more recent founder. Mantuan's impetus towards the eremitic was motivated by the perceived need to reform an Order corrupted by the *vita activa*, however clerical or apostolic. The essay explores the inevitable conflict between the celestial vision and the pastoral worlds of Theocritus and Virgil, further complicated by the rival claims of the pastoral wilderness. Thus Pollux's love for the Virgin in Mantuan's seventh eclogue promises heavenly reward, where in the first Faustus's and Galla's *honestus amor* ends in marriage. Furthermore, Piepho suggests how the commentary provided by Jodocus Badius (Josse Bade) for his Paris edition of the *Adulescentia* reveals the precarious balance between the two Mount Carmels at the end of the collection. Erotic love, slipping down the scales as *faz Adulescentia* progresses, finds little place at the conclusion, while the addition of the popular *Elegia contra amorem* hardens the final position. But matters were taken further in German humanist circles, where the edition of Gallinarius (1503), a former pupil of Wimpfeling, accommodated the *Adulescentia* for school use, and threatened to raise its pedagogical utility above that of Virgil's eclogues. Such German reformers required "a text free from venom," and set out to neutralize even the distractions of *honestus amor* as stolen pleasures. Piepho plots how the added poems impose a strain of *contemptus mundi* and anti-erotic cynicism which destroy the balance he regards Mantuan

as having achieved. Moreover, the very nature of Wimpfeling's reform programme is called into question by the apparent retreat from his initial prefatory letter in the edition of the following year. Now the strategic positioning of Mantuan's *De vita beata* (written on his entering the Order) at the end of the volume emphasizes the virtue of the cloister's solitude, whilst that of an epigram written far earlier, together with similarly moralistic contributions from the Strasbourg sodality, seem to attempt further constraint of the edition, to reflect the uneasy representation of the Italian poet in reform-minded Germany. Piepho finally considers how this form of the *Adukscentia* was overtaken by the German Reformation and its disposition towards demolishing rather than cleansing the cloister. In England, Mantuan's mountain top then appeared stripped of its eremitic spirituality in Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*, while his translator, Turberville, quietly omitted the final eclogue, in which reform of the Carmelite's pastoral world seemed, and for some yet remained, a sufficient conclusion.

Adam Kay's essay takes us back to the Theocritean tradition in his assessment of the impact of *Idyll* 19, and its Anacreontic imitation, "Love amongst the Roses." While the subject matter of these two charming epigrams is at first sight relatively slight—Eros is wounded by a bee either as he is stealing honey or as he is surrounded by roses—the contrasts which they summon up in relation to the nature of love, especially the pain-pleasure relationship, was as appreciated in the Renaissance as it was in the ancient world, as much for its allegorical message as for its sensuous detail. Adam Kay explores in his article a number of the manifestations of this message in both literature and the visual arts of the period, focusing in particular on Andrea Alciato's use of it in his hugely popular *Emblemata*. In particular, he explores the image of Eros as bee, and the bitter-sweet implications of the bee's honey and its sting. In looking at the various commentators on Alciato, including Mignault and the Italian Pignoria, he places the discussion in the context of various moralizing approaches to love, including that of the Pauline tradition. What this shows, however, is the extent to which the allegorical implications of pastoral poetry were taken seriously by Renaissance humanists, even when the original poems may appear somewhat trivial in nature.

In his essay, "Paulo maiora canamus: The transcendence of pastoral in the neo-Latin eclogue," Sukanta Chaudhuri draws on a wide range of poets and critics to explore the importance and consequence of the "double argument" of pastoral, the sense that "under the cover of trifling fictions, pastoral dealt with graver matters." Drawing on such critical voices as Landino's prefatory

remarks to his edition of Virgil (1491), Minturno's *Depoeta libri sex* (1559) and Scaliger's *Poetices libri VII* (1561), he shows how the prevalent reading of the *Eclogues* tended to distinguish them from the "simple, delicate vein of pristine bucolic" found in Theocritus. This combined with the sense that the *Eclogues* remained rooted *vetustissimum*—the link between Hesiod's *Works and Days* and his *Theogony* is pertinent here—and thus associated with the ancient worshipping of gods. Yet the ancient commentators perceived *thepau/o maiora* vein not only in the fourth eclogue, but also in the sixth and, to an extent, the tenth. The essay draws on the eclogues of, among others, Eobanus Hessus, Cayado, Andrelini, Boiardo and Navagero to show how this metaphoric potential of pastoral allowed expansion of its scope which tended to destroy the distinctive fragility of the *Idylls*. Chaudhuri focuses in part on the figure of the wondering shepherd, whose *admiratio* for the court could jeopardize pastoral ethos, even if it need not destroy the integrity of the pastoral fiction. As Eobanus's *Encomium urbis Noribergae* sings, "Now the Muses, returning, call us to greater songs / [...] / Forgetful of the woods and of poor life among byways" (*Nos maiora vocant reduceres in carmina Musae / [...] / Oblitae sylvarum, inopisque per avia vitae*). Equally, epicedia could lament kings as demised shepherds. For Andrelini, Charles VIII of France becomes Pan himself (although *pace* Money, not perhaps with the fitting libidinous reference available when applied to Charles II), a god for whom "nothing should be sounded forth in a trivial manner" (*nihil est triviali more sonandum*). Here nature seems strained to supply the required song (*virgulta exilia poscunt / Stridentes stipulas et pastoralia verba*).

Virgil, in sustaining so exquisitely and suggestively the balance between the inner and outer worlds of the *Eclogues*, thus left pastoral vulnerable to those who wished to amplify metaphoric seriousness over the intrinsic charms of the bucolic setting. Scaliger emphasized pastoral's resemblance to the Platonic Silenus of Alcibiades. The sage shepherd could be transformed into the elite philosopher, with pastoral's ill-defined boundaries yielding easily to such metapoetic preoccupations; indeed, some "imitations" could encompass grander visions of history and geography, as well as the astronomy permitted to some star-gazing shepherd distracted from watching his flocks by night. As Chaudhuri concludes, the "anxiety of influence" fostered by this understanding I Virgilian pastoral encouraged neo-Latin poets to pipe strange matter from other modes and forms, a betrayal perhaps of the genre, yet one apparently encouraged by the received ranking of *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid*, which disadvantaged the *tennis avena*.

Emma Herdman explores the allegorical dimension of pastoral poetry as a means of representing political threat, particularly in the context of the religious troubles of sixteenth-century Europe. In this case, the fact that pastoral themes may be found in the Bible only adds to the numerous allegorical resonances of the bucolic tradition: David the Psalmist, first presented as an ideal shepherd, Christ as the Good Shepherd in John's Gospel, the presence of the shepherds at the Nativity. Various emblematic figures of the pastoral tradition, in particular the she-wolf (*lupa*) with all its various connotations of cruelty but also of prostitution, are explored in this article to show how Reformation writers build on the development of this pastoral imagery at the hands of earlier Italian poets such as Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. Once again, the presence of the Cyclops Polyphemus in much of this imagery demonstrates the Theocritean as well as the Virgilian sources which Renaissance poets exploit in their adaptation of the pastoral tradition.

Like the majority of pastoral poets, Jacques-Auguste de Thou, the subject of Ingrid De Smet's paper, was essentially a city-dweller. Written during the turbulent period of the French Wars of Religion in the second half of the sixteenth century, de Thou's pastoral poems, conserved in manuscript form, see the countryside as a refuge from political troubles, despite the fact that in reality it often suffered from the ravages of marauding armies. While borrowing to a large extent from the Theocritean tradition of pastoral verse as well as from Sannazaro's piscatorial variations on Virgil, de Thou nevertheless introduces political reality into his poems, once again in allegorical form, with Henri III appearing in the guise of Iolas, for example. This allows the author to make his views known on the King's liaison with Gabrielle d'Estrees. Thus, in his ironic use of the ancient genre, de Thou, like the poets considered by Emma Herdman during the same period in France, is closely following in the footsteps of Virgil.

Drama could also exploit the traditions of pastoral in a variety of ways. Douglas Paine's essay, "The Scholar and the Rustic in Neo-Latin Pastoral Comedy," contrasts the politics of two early seventeenth-century plays, Samuel Brooke's *Melanthe* (1615) and the anonymous *Mercurius Rusticans* (c. 1610-18), in examining the treatment of "mirth" and the figure of the scholar in university drama. Building on "new historicist" work on pastoral in the English Renaissance, Paine observes that "how pastoral plays interacted with these audiences casts light on the pastoral's 'cultural work,' as well as on the operations of academic theatre in the early seventeenth century." As shown by the edition of Jonson's *Sad Shepherd* (unfinished at his death in 1637), by 1640

the association of mirth and pastoral had widespread currency in the Cyclops-like amorous aspirations of figures like Lorell, a reworking of the Theocritan Polyphemus who had caught Spenser's attention in his translation, *Six Idyllia*. Earlier in the sixteenth century, Minturno's *Depoeta* (1559) had likewise aligned pastoral's rusticity with the potential for condescending laughter.

When Brooke's *Melanthe* was played before James I on his visit to Cambridge, this "showcase theatre" not only sought to reflect the fashionable tastes of the court—with Latin adding a patina of academic display to Italian tragicomedy—but also performed political work which inevitably involved a bid for patronage. Thus the resolution of *Melanthe* represents the loyalty and obedience of the university: both the faithful shepherds and the learned Muses are made available for royal service. Moreover, the figure of Nicander (a young peasant, *subrusticor*, or scholar-clown) and his humiliating, although finally successful, pursuit of the nymph Ermilla, provides a vantage for courtly superiority. Disparities between rich and poor, simplicity and sophistication, far from being erased or sublimated by the final social unions are reinforced and enriched for those enfranchised in the required literary conventions: as Paine concludes, "even if pastoral pretends to eliminate difference, it excludes the uninitiated."

In comparison, *Mercurius Rusticans* seems unusual and more parochial in its mingling of Chaucerian fabliau with neo-Latin pastoral to subject "rustic" Town to humiliation by Gown. Paine's reading here illuminates how the superiority of the academic community, for whom, and by whom, the drama was written and performed, is asserted through the warped sound and syntax of barbaric Latin. Mocking rustics' ignorance runs to a medley of bad puns, fashionable etymology and literary allusion which, although aimed culturally over the heads of its targets, hits home for its exclusive audience. Thus the innkeeper's daughter—victimized perhaps as a student fantasy of revenge on antipathetic if not exploitative landlords—is wooed by a student impersonating a knight. This ironic reuse of medieval pastourelle leads eventually to persuading her to take a laxative which induces transformations quite distinct from her hopes of social aggrandizement. During this descent, the knight's knowing employment of classical quotation, especially from Virgil's *Eclogues* and *Aeneid*, sharpens the degree and nature of her incomprehension and distance from the academic audience's understanding of the generic distinctions on which the humour depends: moreover, "part of the joke is that the play's language is in itself socially exclusive." A knowing exploitation of generic expectations of pastoral in these plays thus serves to define an academic

community both in relation to social superiors in displays of deference, or reflexively in relation to those defined as inferiors, to whom the insult is linguistically unavailable even if they had access to the performance. In this latter coarser fare, pastoral's refinement seems purposefully degraded at the expense of those insufficiently learned to appreciate it. Both *Melanthe* and *Mercurius Rusticans* thus reveal how pastoral "mirth" is used to locate strategically the figure of the scholar in engaging with the social and political dynamics of the early modern university.

If the Reformation encouraged the appropriation of pastoral for religio-political ends and made, for some, Mantuan's *Adukscentia* the preferred pedagogical text to Virgil's *Eclogues*, the latter's achievements remained the first step on *thegradus* towards epic, whether of the Spenserian or Miltonic flavour. It is Milton's profound engagement with Virgil as a writer of pastoral which is the subject of Victoria Moul's essay, "Of hearing and of failing to hear: the allusive dialogue with Virgil in Milton's *Epitaphium Damonis*." This reading builds on the identification of the structural and linguistic debts to Theocritus and Virgil, the local similarities of sound and rhythm, towards a fuller understanding of larger intertextual relationships, or "structural Virgilian allusion." The essay's exploration of this dense and involved allusive practice establishes the claim that Milton's loss of his friend is figured as the loss of Virgil, where alienation from classical anteriority also involves Milton's like anticipation of both Virgil's *Georgics* and thus also the labour of epic. In this way, Milton's encounter with the *Eclogues* through elegy invokes to supersede, and absorbs the loss of his friend, Charles Diodati, into the very loss of pastoral itself, "of a mode and a language," even of Latin itself. Moul shows how dialogue is reduced by the loss of a contesting shepherd's song, structurally to convey what can no longer be expressed. The essay's interplay between close readings and larger structural considerations brings out Miltonic omission as central to a poetic strategy consuming the pastoral tradition. Thus Virgilian allusion, far from remaining external, becomes a dynamic, indeed dramatic aspect of Thyrsis's song and its reception by the singer himself. Where Theocritus and Virgil presented amoebic contests, Milton exploits the absence of Damon to suggest the refusal to acknowledge pastoral poetry, a deafness which marks the separation of singer from reader, who may now be thought to hear a refracted Virgil now unavailable to the singer. Moul concludes by underscoring Milton's expressions of grief in the *Epitaphium Damonis* as a programmatic witness and enactment of the loss of this Virgil and his language.

As the *Poems* of 1645 intimate more widely, Milton's further use of Virgil awaited matter somewhat loftier.

Just as the use (or abuse) of pastoral in these academic dramas has unusual range, so David Money observes in his essay, "Eclogues in the English Universities," that "neo-Latin pastoral poetry appeared in many unexpected places, including the volumes of commemorative poetry regularly issued by Oxford and Cambridge." He reckons that perhaps as many as fifty university pastorals merit attention between the late-sixteenth and mid-eighteenth centuries. Money focuses his attention on the period roughly 1685-1714, and on the themes of love, names, and politics. The death of Charles II and the accession of James II in 1685 furnished a salient opportunity for elegy and panegyric, especially at Oxford. James Norris (All Souls College, Oxford), for example, compared the dead king to Pan in his "Carmen Pastorale" to allow grief for the "semi-divine" to play off Virgil's first and second eclogues towards political rather than just amatory vexation. George Smalridge (Christ Church, Oxford) took the opportunity to represent Oxford's Royalist loyalties in having his two interlocutors, Thamesis and Isis, discuss the treatment of the ill-fated Charles I: "when a Catiline and a Brutus stood everywhere, with these hands I protected you, Charles, my [or, our] love" (*Undique cum steterit Catalina, atque undique Brutus, / His te, noster amor, protexi, Carole, palmis*).

The birth of the Prince of Wales in 1688 furnished Edward Lloyd (Jesus College, Oxford) with another occasion for expressions of dynastic loyalty, this time mixed with Welsh pride, in his reworking of Virgil's "prophetic" fourth eclogue. It is thus Merlin's song, not the Sibyl's, which foretells the golden age in the offspring of James II and Mary of Modena, who provides a less surprising geographical connection to Virgil. But, as Money remarks, any awkwardness, even inscrutability, of some of the classical comparisons accommodated into these pastoral dialogues—John Read's royal family of Dido, Aeneas and Ascanius, for example—is as nothing in comparison with the problem of celebrating the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688. Universities required royal patronage, so 1689 spawned suitable poetic offerings, including Joseph Crabbe's (Exeter College, Oxford) exploitation of the prophetic strain of the fourth eclogue and the pregnant verses on the hard oaks which bear golden apples from the eighth: "Crabbe's apple-omen may be read as both a conventional, harmless Virgilian fantasy, and a rather more interesting and ambiguous play on a thoroughly modern symbol," that of Charles II and the restoration of his son. But if this poem ends with the Thames suddenly bursting its banks, others from 1689 flow from strident Protestant sources,

such as that of Benjamin Mander. His Corydon brings urgent report to the ears of fellow shepherd, Meliboeus, that a god, "how much greater even than Pan, has put how many wolves to flight from among us, and as many lions as Rome sent from her have at Cassino, or lairs of Douai" (Quis Deus, et quanto major vel Pane, fugavit / Quotque lupos nobis, et quotquot Roma leones / Cassineove specu misit, latebrisve Duaci?). Equally, Pan and Phyllis, who in Mander's poem has been preoccupying Meliboeus, could stand for William and Mary in the similarly forceful celebrations of James Buerdsell (Brasenose College, Oxford), where again modern names intrude on the pastoral allegory to insist on the political application of the poetry.

Oxford seems to have been more abundant than Cambridge in this sort of writing. Cambridge's *Gmtulatio* of 1697, on William III's return from the peace, contains celebrations by Francis Bennet (Queens' College) on the king's valiant wounding of a threatening boar, which then "cried miserably as a suppliant, and asked for peace" (Aper illico fugit, / Ingemuit misere supplex, / Pacemque poposcit). Another *Gratulatio* on another peace, this time of Utrecht in 1713, contains a more unusual offering by John Covel, Master of Christ's College, in which an earlier eclogue is counterpointed by a short elegy. The former bewails the miseries of war, most poignantly the suffering of continental allies at a time when Palatine refugees near London were attracting criticism. The accompanying elegiacs celebrate the triumph of diplomacy in Minerva's command to Mars to staunch the rivers of blood. Mars returns in the Cambridge *Epicedium* of 1709 for the death of Prince George of Denmark, husband of Queen Anne, where William Towers's (Christ's College) pastoral allegory is supported by explicit reference to recent military successes in Flanders. Having provided a key to the identity of Daphnis in one poem, others by other poets need not assert the equivalence.

The mixing of ancient and modern throughout these collections allowed political issues to be addressed more or less obliquely through the updating of prophecy and omen to serve immediate purposes. Poets composed both to come to the attention of some patron and to reflect the political views of a university sodality. As Money states, the neo-Latin eclogue in such hands had vigour and versatility, however uneven the quality: "the eclogue offered university poets a chance to relax, to approach formal panegyric from a different angle, and so to alleviate the strains of creating variation in flattery." Yet this essay also shows clearly how controversial topics could be handled obliquely and at the protective distance offered by such artificiality.

Robert Cummings's essay, "Sannazaro and the Crisis of English Pastoral Poetry," reads the translation of Sannazaro's *Eclogae piscatoriae* in the rich, vibrant, and often ill-tempered English literary politics of the period from Dryden to Pope. He examines the place of the Neapolitan poet in late seventeenth-century neo-Latin anthologies and the attraction the Piscatorial had for English translators. Pastoral is shown to have been subject to acute critical pressure during this period, with assertions of its unviability met with, or stimulated by, equally committed and not entirely unjustified opposed claims of anthologists and translators alike. For some, the emergence of the Piscatorial was an aberrant excrescence requiring unequivocal denunciation, a view which belied a deeper hostility to neo-Latin pastoral in any guise; for others, Sannazaro's attractions were far from unproblematic. This essay traces the discontinuities between theorists and poets, Tory and Whig, and the related claims of Englishness and charges of Frenchification, to survey the dangerously riven terrain of the pastoral landscape, especially where it descended to the littoral. The cacophony of critical voices provides the disputatious ground for the later reading of Sannazaro's English translators: Johnson in *The Rambler and The Adventurer*, Pope in *The Guardian*, together with the prefaces to anthologies of neo-Latin eclogues and translations both from those and from Virgil, establish the sinuous and discontinuous fronts between which skirmishes were repeatedly, but inconclusively, fought. These quarrels lingered partly because the usefully tendentious opposition between the "natural" and the "elegant," as Cummings notes, "could be reformulated as a version of whatever quarrel was current." For Pope, for example, the rescue of pastoral, or its alleged degradation through the wayward liberalization of its terms, was doomed, whether or not it was supported by a revival of Englishness along Spenserian lines (and most probably not), or through Milton.

Sannazaro's *Eclogae piscatoriae* suffered sundry and contrary attacks, from lacking true invention in their slavish regard for Virgil to the unjustifiable idiosyncrasy of their ostensible desertion of the pastures. Some critics like Fontanelle high-handedly rejected the Piscatorial, claiming that the fisherman's lot couldn't provide the shepherd's *otium*, a view echoed by English critics who mocked the attempt to put "the elegant language of the Mantuan Muse into the mouths of the crew of a fishing smack." Although Beaupre Bell's qualified apology for the *Piscatoriae* is thrown into relief by the poised account Cummings gives to this translator's version of Sannazaro's bankside *Salices*, it is the enigmatic translator, Rooke, who serves to open the debate further, as the essay turns to examine in detail the handling of Sannazaro's problematic offshore

"pastoral." Creech, as a translator of Rapin, and Atterbury both assert Sannazaro's success in having avoided over-refinement and ingenuity. But we are also reminded that being Virgilian would not attract unmitigated praise, when even the Mantuan could be censured for unevenness by a Dryden. How Sannazaro's achievement was understood is drawn out in the later part of the essay, where his translators are shown to have been at times preoccupied more with immediate stylistic concerns for English than in registering Sannazaro's Latin and its debts. Nor are these aspects ever easily separated. In Tate's case, copiousness and a heightening of poetic colour supply the vitality lacking in Rooke's careful renderings. Cummings brings out richly how the pressure on pastoral itself was expressed in these differing approaches to translation. Refinement was seen as being at odds with rusticity, yet a required refinement, as those unsympathetic voices exposed, was vulnerable to charges of falseness. The detailed examination of Rooke's version illuminates vividly the earlier discussion of the literary politics of the late-seventeenth and eighteenth-century neo-classicism and its impact on the assessment and understanding of Sannazaro, whose *Eclogae piscatoriae*, for Scaliger in the mid-sixteenth century, were the only pastorals worth reading after Theocritus and Virgil. Rooke emerges as having found "an equivalent for Sannazaro's echoic elegance," fulfilling in some part Pope's critical strictures as well as matching his poetic achievement in his *Pastorals*, where the reader is offered disinterested contemplation because "what is said is at a remove from what we suppose is going on." Rooke, as is finally argued, achieves an analogous remoteness in his translation through successfully refining the manner rather than the matter of the poem.

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