This book analyses the verse of representative poets of the Hispanic Baroque to demonstrate that they occupy an Arcadia which is de-familiarised and yet remains connected to the classical origins of the mode. Holloway’s analysis includes recent manuscript discoveries from the Spanish Baroque (Fábula de Alféo y Aretusa, now attributed to the Gongorist poet Pedro Soto de Rojas), the poetry of Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza and Francisco de Quevedo. The study considers pastoral as a global cultural phenomenon of the Early Modern period, its reverberations reaching as far as Viceregal Peru. The tradition of the pastoral as a site for the discussion of ‘great matters in the forest’ has deep roots, and re-emerges to praise the urban hearts of empire. Furthermore, it proves to be a site of spiritual encounter – a poetic space that frames the staging of indigenous conversion in the poetry of Diego Mexia and Fernando de Valverde. Within the intricacies of this literary construct, surface artistry sustains an effect of artless innocence that is vibrantly contested across the secular, sacred, parodic and colonial text.

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THE POTENCY OF PASTORAL IN THE HISPANIC BAROQUE
ANNE HOLLOWAY

THE POTENCY OF PASTORAL
IN THE HISPANIC BAROQUE

TAMESIS
For my mother and father, and for Mark, Ruth, Amanda and Laura, companions in pastoral since 1980
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‘Es más difícil la parte que responde’:
The Challenge of Baroque Pastoral

A fable spoken aloud kindled another
Carol Ann Duffy, ‘Scheherezade’

The Renaissance has long been viewed as the site of Pastoral’s very own elusive ‘happy place’, that short-lived moment for popular forms that are at once of our world and not of it, prior to the tipping point wherein the familiar becomes hackneyed. The present study takes on board Nancy Lindheim’s recognition that pastoral served as a ‘vibrant, meaningful literary form for men and women in the Renaissance’ and her conviction that we ought to ‘recover their perception of its force’.¹ My focus, however, is the force exerted by pastoral within the poetry of Baroque Spain and Spanish America, and the invention that arises from testing the limitations of the mode. Urgent, unquiet and far from atemporal, it will be suggested that the pastoral mode of the Baroque period is something of a return to form. Pastoral poems have been readily acknowledged as epoch-defining texts; Garcilaso de la Vega’s eclogues, an artistic high point of the Spanish Renaissance, are generally understood to find their Baroque counterpart in the pastoral landscape of Luis de Góngora’s Fábula de Polifemo y Galatea and his Soledades.² The ambition inherent in Spanish pastoral composition following Garcilaso’s eclogues

cannot be disengaged from the imperial project, becoming implicated in the consolidation of a vernacular literary legacy. Even as the Gongorist texts are read as provocative responses to the classical and Renaissance modes, Baroque and pastoral have often proven uneasy bedfellows within critical appraisals of the texts. The irruption of violence within the Polifemo seems to inaugurate a new aesthetic order, a new world view which sets itself firmly apart from the world of the Renaissance pastoral novel. This rupture has been understood not merely in the aesthetic terms that correspond to the exhaustion of a form, but as the uncovering of a fissure revealing the pastoral mode’s incompatibility with an encroaching sociocultural reality. Amid a general recognition that the relationship between the artistry of the Hispanic Baroque and that of the Renaissance is one of both continuity and rupture, considerations of the pastoral context have tended to overstate rupture at the expense of continuity. In this study I will acknowledge lines of continuity; I will close Chapter 1 with a reading of a Virgilian eclogue to aim to set the parameters of my subsequent approach, which is based on a reading of the mode as apt for expansion, interrogation and deconstruction, able to explore the losses and uncertainties at the heart of empire.

In the first half of the twentieth century, a number of influential readings of classical pastoral privileged the distance of the Arcadian realm from the ‘real’ world. Bruno Snell’s 1953 study, for example, described the setting of the Virgilian Eclogues as ‘a faraway land overlaid with the golden haze of unreality’. For a recent consideration of poetry’s role within Spain’s imperial project, see Isabel Torres, Love Poetry in the Spanish Golden Age: Eros, Eris and Empire (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2013). See also Richard Helgerson, A Sonnet from Carthage: Garcilaso de la Vega and the New Poetry of Sixteenth-Century Europe (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007) and Leah Middlebrook, Imperial Lyric: New Poetry and New Subjects in Early Modern Spain (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2009).


In Paul Veyne’s discussion of Roman love elegy it takes place ‘outside the world, just like bucolic poetry’.7 At the heart of this distancing of pastoral from the reality of human experience is a vision of the bucolic world as impenetrable, excluding anguish, loss and worldly concerns. Thomas G. Rosenmeyer’s highly influential study returned to the origins of pastoral, placing the Theocritean _Idylls_ in the context of Epicurean philosophy and identifying within them an acceptance of the present, a life characterised by humour, freedom, equanimity, simplicity and _otium_.8 Renato Poggioli’s _The Oaten Flute_ is an exemplary statement of the idealist position: ‘If the Christian view rests on the cornerstone of creed, the pastoral ideal shifts on the quicksands of wishful thought. The bucolic dream has _no other reality_ than that of imagination and art.’9 Poggioli’s ‘wishful thought’ links his view to that held by Klingner and Snell of the eclogue as an _interior_ poetic landscape.

Such readings have since been challenged, first by Annabel Patterson’s examination of pastoral, which proved scathing towards entirely apolitical readings of the Virgilian _Eclogues_. Patterson argues that hostility to ‘the Servian hermeneutic’ can be seen as an occlusive attempt to depoliticise the eclogues, to represent them as comparatively pure art untainted by ideology.10 Her observations are sustained by Charles Martindale, who suggests that the dominant critical approach to pastoral has revealed escapist tendencies of its own, in that it omits a consideration of the world beyond the bower: ‘many of those who have been drawn to pastoral seem anxious to clear a space for the aesthetic uncontaminated by more banausic discourses in what can itself be seen as an exemplary pastoral process’.11 Assessing the degree of disdain which underpins

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9  Renato Poggioli, _The Oaten Flute_ (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975), p. 2. _All italics within citations are my own, and have been added for the purposes of emphasis, unless otherwise stated._
the prevalent notion of pastoral as an inviolable cocoon, obscuring harsh economic realities from a cosseted readership, Seamus Heaney posited the need for critics to find a middle ground:

This […] sociological filleting of the convention is a bracing corrective to an over-literary savouring of it as a matter of classical imitation and allusion, but it nevertheless entails a certain attenuation of response, so that consideration of the selected poems as made things, as self-delighting buds on the old bough of a tradition, is much curtailed. The Marxist broom sweeps the poetic enterprise clean of those somewhat hedonistic impulses towards the satisfactions of aural and formal play out of which poems arise, whether they aspire to delineate or to obfuscate ‘things as they are’.

If the analytical emphasis has tended to fall upon the meta-artistic allusions of the poems, it is because pastoral clamours for this form of engagement. This has resulted in a critical tendency to mute the resonances of the wider world that we also encounter in the realm. Heaney managed to reconcile these views, arguing in 2003 that pastoral’s continuing vigour might be found in its ability to alert readers to the ‘ill fit that prevails between the beautifully tinted literary map and the uglier shape that reality has taken in the world’. The bucolic artifice may be envisioned, therefore, as a ‘clearing’ which is nonetheless not impregnable; thus recent analyses point to an awareness among earlier commentators of the impossibility of a pastoral literature which completely disengages from its historical moment:

In Virgil, as in Horace, you constantly note their anxiety, their apprehension for the tottering fabric of the Roman state. This it was, I think, and not the contemplation of human fortunes alone, that lent Virgil his melancholy. From these fears he looks for a shelter in the sylvan shades.

Critics of Spanish Renaissance pastoral have pointed to the appropriate choice of the pastoral form for the interrogation of concerns both literary and extra-

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13 Seamus Heaney, Eclogues in extremis: On the Staying Power of Pastoral (Dublin: Proceedings of Royal Irish Academy, 2003 – it is noted that the speech was read in 2002), p. 6.
Anthony Cascaridi’s ‘The Exit from Arcadia: Re-evaluation of the Pastoral in Virgil, Garcilaso and Góngora’ acknowledged continuities and constants: ‘The pastoral takes its primary impulse from the contrast between the ideal world it purports to represent and the one in which man lives. Yet, when the pastoral world is but a passing retreat – an oasis, as Poggioli terms it – it is a most poignant expression of man’s unfulfilled desires.’ Cascaridi’s reading locates the poignancy of pastoral in the notion of retreat and in the reluctant recognition of the unattainability of this ideal, noting that the pastoral world is seen through critical eyes in Virgil’s second and eighth Eclogues, the poems which impact most directly on Garcilaso’s first Eclogue and Góngora’s Fábula de Polífemo y Galatea. For Cascaridi, the Polífemo is presented as a ‘severely critical re-evaluation of the pastoral ideal’ (my emphasis), the culmination of a process already underway in the Virgilian Eclogues. Amid an ongoing reappraisal of the Spanish pastoral novel Rosilie Hernández Pecoraro has shown how ‘real, social contradictions, insurmountable in their own terms, find a purely formal resolution in the aesthetic realm’. The pastoral novel is not a central focus of the present study, although of course it cannot be ignored as a fundamental component of the legacy which is subject to interrogation in the Hispanic Baroque.

Within the present study, the poetic Arcadia of the Hispanic Baroque emerges as a shifting space, robust in its fluidity, providing a forum for the interrogation of literary convention and dominant ideologies. This monograph demonstrates that aesthetic and ontological anxieties continue to find diverse expression within the contrived textual artifice of the bucolic space. Drawing upon more expansive definitions of the Hispanic literary Baroque, the study analyses the pastoral verse of representative poets of the period to demonstrate that they re-enter an Arcadia that has been defamiliarised but is nonetheless inexorably connected to the classical origins of the mode. Pastoral, in common with other literary forms, is subject to a process of re-evaluation which was latent in its

18 Beverley, Aspects of Góngora’s Soledades; Kathleen Ross, The Baroque Narrative of Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora: A New World Paradise (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Chrystal Chemris, Góngora’s Soledades and the Problem of Modernity (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2008).
classical legacy. The readings offered here are underpinned by an awareness that counterpointed impulses are intrinsic in the foundational texts of the pastoral genre. Renaissance humanist poets cultivated and constructed their poetic voices from the classical authoritative texts of the past, in a process at once reverential and interrogative.

Within the intricacies of this literary construct, surface artistry sustains an effect of artless innocence that is vibrantly contested across the secular, sacred, parodic and colonial text. The axiomatic role of Góngora’s Polyphemus in Baroque rewritings and critical re-evaluations of pastoral poetry will be explored more fully in the subsequent chapters. As well as (re)birthing the colossal creation which looms over the poetic landscape of seventeenth-century Spain, the Baroque permits many other voices to resonate, by turns in homage and in opposition to other agents and catalysts in this long tradition.

Pedro Soto de Rojas, the first Baroque poet under discussion in this study, is associated with the Gongorist school. His Desengaño de amor en rimas (1623) has been largely excluded from considerations of the seventeenth-century literary polemic. Chapter 2 will suggest increased prominence for female voices in the imitative fables Góngora’s texts inspire – delving into the rich possibilities of the Metamorphoses, we find the Ovidian heroines writ large once again – cowed, pursued, transformed, but rarely silenced. Soto grapples with the paradoxes of Petrarchism, and encloses the devastation of the Gongorist Polyphemic vision within his Baroque Canzoniere. This chapter will also consider the significance of the discovery of Fábula de Alfeo y Aretusa, recently attributed to Soto, to a reading of his existing corpus, exploring in particular the poem’s links with the dark eroticism of his Fragmentos de Adonis (1652) and the early Fábula de la Naya (1623).

Chapter 3 will consider the pastoral verse of Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza, a figure whose corpus would appear to be more easily located within a tradition of sacred pastoral. In her writings we encounter a striking example of the composite nature of the mode in the Early Baroque, her verse bespeaking a very particular perspective. While heralding her

19 Judith Haber lists her wish to account for the persistence of the ‘anti-pastoral’ in pastoral poetry as one of the founding principles of her study, Pastoral and the Poetics of Self-Contradiction: Theocritus to Marvell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 1. An application of the term is found in Peter Lindebaum, Changing Landscapes: Anti-Pastoral Sentiment in the English Renaissance (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1986). The term is prevalent in English literary criticism and often assigned to texts which manifest disillusionment with agrarian lifestyles, are considered in some way ‘anti-idyllic’, or incorporate an element of protest. The study New Versions of Pastoral: Post-Romantic, Modern, and Contemporary Responses to the Tradition, ed. David James and Philip Tew (Madison, WI: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2009), includes considerations of ‘anti-pastoralism’ and engages with writers as varied as Fleur Adcock and Samuel Beckett.
as a ‘lost poet of the Golden Age’, Glyn Redworth suggests that Carvajal’s pastorals are ‘often anything but bucolic’. Paul Alpers highlighted the tensions between poetic continuity and rupture – how innovation can impact on our understanding of forms and modes:

I think we all assume that good poems either extend the possibilities of expression or in some way revitalize the capacities of literary forms and language. The question is whether we regard these effects as enabled by existing forms and modes – so that new works realize or develop or extend something implicit in them – or whether they come about through resisting and undermining them.

Carvajal employs a range of ‘existing forms and modes’ to construct a coherent pastoral love story between the female lyric subject and Christ, in an intricate fusion of secular and sacred lyric, poetic texts which were already overwritten with conflicting associations. The implicit potential for self-inscription within Garcilaso de la Vega’s Renaissance pastoral is transmuted into the intimate verse of Carvajal, the creation of ‘Silva’ enabled by the sixteenth-century legacy of pastoral self-fashioning. Carvajal’s life is a rich study in the adept negotiation of societal constraints, and while her autobiography will not be a central focus of my study, I will examine the textual strategies and concerns with self-presentation that are a feature of her poetry. The verse reveals a subject simultaneously implicated in the forging and shedding of a sense of self, a literary representation of the tribulations of intense Counter-Reformation spirituality.

Chapter 4 will explore Francisco de Quevedo’s engagement with pastoral, which may have involved the compilation of a coherent corpus of silvae. A particular trajectory of pastoral enchantment casts light (and shade) on the metaphysical inquiry of Quevedo’s amorous lyric. I will argue that the *silva Farmaceutria o medicamentos enamorados* (1606) reveals one of his most explicit critiques of Petrarchan poetics. A defamiliarised bucolic grove stages an unnerving enchantment, in which the legacy of Petrarchism is ruthlessly dismembered and consigned to the flames. The final section of Chapter 4 will examine the debased carnality of Quevedo’s satirical pastoral poetry. In the


vehemence of his opposition to Gongorist poetries, Quevedo adopts a more overtly confrontational stance, both towards the Renaissance legacy and the contemporary literary polemic.

Heaney has referred to pastoral poems as ‘self-delighting buds on the bough of tradition’; my final chapter explores a separate ‘branch’ of the central bough which flourishes and develops in Spanish America, to suggest that the reverberations of the cyclopean voice travel as far as Lake Titicaca, in viceregal Peru. When pastoral emerges in the poetry of Spanish America, it echoes the intimate connection to epic which we find in the second Garcilasian Eclogue as well as in the classical legacy of the mode. The tradition of the pastoral as a site for the discussion of ‘great matters in the forest’ has deep roots, and re-emerges to praise the urban hearts of empire. Furthermore, it proves to be a site of spiritual encounter — a poetic space that frames the staging of indigenous conversion in the poetry of Diego Mexia and Fernando de Valverde.

Leading theorists, including Wolfgang Iser, have cited Renaissance pastoral as exemplary of the reception process, in its explicit privileging of the reader, and thematising of the competitive nature of song: ‘The referee represents the public before whom the contest takes place and who expect a definite outcome. He also represents the reader, who is likewise confronted by the game’s agonistic reversals and successes, and who must ultimately resolve the clashes between all the different possibilities.’ The agonistic nature of song has underpinned key explanations of compositional practices in the Renaissance, such as Pigman’s, which has proved an invaluable resource for the modern analyst faced with an imitative poem. Borrowing the concept of eris from pseudo-Longinus’ treatise on the sublime, Pigman develops the idea of ‘eristic’ imitation, which he locates at the heart of the imitative practices of the early modern period. Pseudo-Longinus uses the example of Plato and Homer to propose strife or competition as a necessary condition for creativity:

I do not think there would have been so fine a bloom on Plato’s philosophical doctrines, or that he would have embarked on poetic subject-matter and

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23 Heaney, ‘In the Country of Convention’, p. 134
phraseology, had he not been striving heart and soul with Homer for first place […] for as Hesiod says ‘This strife is good for mortals.’

Metapoetic readings of Góngora’s *Polifemo*, in particular, are strengthened by Mercedes Blanco’s recent suggestion that Longinus’ treatise may have circulated in Spain and had an impact upon Góngora. The modern concept of intertextuality has also been exploited by pastoral critics such as Hubbard to emphasise the need for analysis to move beyond the observational towards the interpretive. He notes that allusions are often multiple and calculated, involving strings of prior texts – they must not only be noted but analysed in depth. Hubbard’s observations complement Alicia de Colombí-Monguió’s prevailing view of imitation in early modern Spain as an eclectic exercise: ‘En nuestra literatura nunca se siguió, que yo sepa, la posición que exige el modelo único y absoluto […] puesto que es obvio que desde Boscán y Garcilaso los modelos, aun dentro de un mismo poema, suelen ser múltiples.’ Hubbard does not portray an author engaged in an unconscious battle with an ancestor, but an informed, dynamic reader and respondent: ‘authorial intent is certainly not irrelevant […] what is needed for a fuller understanding of allusion in poetry is thus a symbiotic union of intertextual theory with reader-response criticism.’ Soto de Rojas, as Chapter 2 will outline, privileges the role of the erudite reader with his *Apuntamientos*, inviting an exploration of his intertextual models. This study aims to adopt the approach of the symbiotic union to which Hubbard refers, employing intertextuality and reader response to illuminate an understanding of Baroque pastoral poetry. Conscious that pastoral utterances exist within a concatenation of responses to earlier utterances, it explores the differing ‘contestations’ of these writers to the demands of their age.

The poetic texts considered here reveal the self-evaluating core of each reconfigured pastoral vision. In his 1580 appraisal of the Garcilasian eclogues, Herrera presents the amoeban song associated with pastoral as a model of emulative composition: ‘La lei d’este verso es dezir cosas mayores o contrarias

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27 Mercedes Blanco, *Góngora o la invención de una lengua* (León: Universidad de León, 2012), pp. 11–63.
que el primero, i assi es mas dificil la parte que responde. The Baroque poets
considered here do not disappoint, with their replies to tradition splendid,
squalid, mystical, satirical, even desolate. This chapter grounds the later readings
in a consideration of the generic roots of pastoral, considering the centrality of
the Renaissance commentary tradition, and highlighting two components of
Theocritean verse which are later revisited. It ends with a reading of Virgil,
foregrounding self-inscription and memorialisation, as indicative of the emerging
self-consciousness of the mode, to underline the speed with which convening
becomes convention. Aurora Egido has foregrounded the protean generic nature
of pastoral in the context of early modern Spain, a position sustained by the
canonical Spanish pastoral texts. The first mention of pastoral poetry occurs
in the Prohemio by the Marquis of Santillana. He writes of the usefulness of
poetry’s ‘fingimiento de cosas útiles, cubiertas o veladas con muy fermosa
cobertura’ and declares: ‘e de unos en otros grados aun a los pastores en cierta
manera sirven; e son aquellos dictados a que los poetas bucolicos llamaron’. By 1580, in Fernando de Herrera’s commentary on the poetry of Garcilaso de
la Vega, the descriptive vocabulary of the genre (égloga, idilio, bucolico) is
used indiscriminately. Herrera’s acknowledgement of the origins of the term
‘bucolic’ is followed by a categorisation of the eclogue as ‘the oldest genre of
poetry’, investing Garcilaso’s pastoral compositions with auctoritas by
associating them with the most ancient poetic traditions, as old as shepherding
or cowherding:

Llamóse bucolico este género de poesía del nombre de los boyeros…

Las églogas, llamadas propriamente églogas, verbo griego que en el lenguage
romano sinifica seligo, i en el nuestro escojo, como versos escogidos i bien
compuestos, son el más antiguo género de poesía. (pp. 687–8)

Herrera traces the origins of the tradition to Theocritus, and acknowledges the
compositions of Bion and Moschus:

31 Fernando de Herrera, Anotaciones a la poesía de Garcilaso, ed. Inoria Pepe and José
María Reyes (Madrid: Cátedra, 2001), p. 975. All further references to Herrera are given in
parentheses in the text.
32 Aurora Egido, “‘Sin poética hay poetas’: Sobre la teoría de la égloga en el Siglo de Oro’,
33 Doris R. Schnabel, El Pastor Poeta: Fernando de Herrera y la tradición lírica pastoril
Corominas, Diccionario critico y etimológico castellano e hispánico (Madrid: Gredos, 1981),
Schnabel notes that Corominas cites the Marquis of Santillana’s Prohemio as the first documented
example of the use of the terms égloga and bucolico.
Los más antiguos poetas bucoliógrafos de cuyos escritos se tiene noticia, porque de otros que fueron por ventura primeros no nos queda algún rastro en la memoria, son Mosco, Teócrito i Bión. (p. 691)

By the Renaissance, therefore, the term bucolic was already synonymous with pastoral, within an accepted history of a genre pioneered by Theocritus and Virgil. The extant corpus of the Greek poet Theocritus of Syracuse comprises thirty *Idylls* and twenty-seven epigrams, thought to have been authored in the third century BC. A minority of critics have acknowledged the possibility of the penumbra of a female-authored pastoral vision informing Theocritean verse. Jane McIntosh Snyder observed that ‘Anyte, writing perhaps about 300 BC, or slightly earlier than Theocritus, seems to have been among the first Hellenistic poets to describe pastoral settings within the context of the epigram.’

Theocritus’ realistic depictions of rural life, which included prosaic agricultural details and bawdy humour, led to conclusions such as that by Theon, son of Artemidorus: ‘In as much as possible, this poetry imitates the manner of rustic men, pleasantly characterizing in a lifelike way their rustic peevishness. It avoids the excessive grandeur and pomposity of poetry.’ Despite some dissent among Theocritus’ contemporaries, this remark was known to Latin commentators on Virgil, whose principal source of knowledge about Greek bucolics was probably Theon’s work. The assimilation of Theon’s interpretation enabled

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34 The terms ‘bucolic’ and ‘pastoral’ continue to be used interchangeably in modern criticism and I will not distinguish between them in this study.


Servius to distinguish categorically between the Virgilian *Eclogues* and the Theocritean *Idylls*:

Et aliquibus locis per allegoriam agit gratias Augusto, vel aliis nobilibus, quorum favore amissum agrum; in re tantum dissentit a Theocrito. Ille enim ubique simplex est: hic necessitate compulsus aliquibus locis miscet figuras, quas perite plerumque etiam ex Theocrito versibus facit: quos ab illo dictos constat esse simpliciter. Hoc autem poetica urbanitate.

And in certain places by means of allegory Virgil gives thanks to Augustus or to other leading men, by whose favour he received back his lost estate; *in which he greatly departed from Theocritus. For Theocritus is always simple.* Compelled by this necessity, Virgil mingles figures in certain places, which for the most part he skilfully constructs out of Theocritus’ verse; things well known to be spoken literally by Theocritus. But this makes for poetic sophistication.39

Kathryn Gutzwiller pointed out the self–interest inherent in this somewhat reductive reading of Theocritus, which ignores the mythical element of the *Idylls*: ‘It was the Virgilian commentators, then, who selected out the mimetic conception of Theocritus in order to showcase the “advance” of their own poet.’40 Whether accurate or not, the repercussions of Servius’ interpretations would be felt until the Renaissance, as Annabel Patterson observed: ‘It is irrelevant whether Theocritean pastoral can in fact be accurately described as written simply without any figurative intention […] what Servius had seen in Virgil, and Petrarch in Servius, became part of the genetic structure of pastoral and could never be completely unwritten.’41

In returning to Theocritus, recent studies have pointed to the generic anxieties at the heart of pastoral’s dialectical relationship with epic poetry.42 For Halperin, the term pastoral denoting genre is the invention of late antiquity, even the Renaissance, since pastoral functioned as a purely descriptive rather than generic term in classical times.43 Furthermore Halperin actually situates this poetry within the epic tradition, a position anticipated by John Van Sickle: ‘The ancient critics classified bucolic as a subspecies of epic, partly because it uses the dactylic

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41 Patterson, *Pastoral and Ideology*, p. 22.
42 See particularly Haber, *Pastoral and the Poetics of Self-Contradiction*.
hexameter, partly because its existence depends on implicit or overt play with the grandeur of heroic epic and the communal values of martial epic. Three essential and often overlapping facets of the song may be identified as constants in pastoral poetry from Theocritus’ *Idylls* to the eclogues of Garcilaso: namely the amorous song, the competitive song, and the commemorative or elegiac element. All three are present in the opening poem of the Theocritean corpus, with Thyrsis praised for his rendition of the tale of Daphnis, who wasted away from unrequited love. Daphnis’s voice within it is a love lamentation; the unnamed companion goatherd introduces the competitive element of pastoral interaction, while the song of Thyrsis is a commemorative one. The exclamations of the love-lorn shepherds in *Idylls* 3, 6 and 11 have also become mainstays of pastoral song. The topoi most synonymous with the genre originate in the lament of Polyphemus, related in *Idylls* 11. The cyclops appeals to the nymph Galatea, berating her indifference:

O White Galatea, why dost thou repulse thy lover – whiter than curd to look on, softer than the lamb, more skittish than the calf, sleeker than the unripe grape.

Virgil appropriates components from the song of the cyclops for his shepherds Corydon and Damon, who feature in *Eclogues* II and VIII, respectively. The love-stricken Corydon in Virgil’s second *Eclogue* makes a similar appeal to the fair Alexis (‘O crudelis Alexi, nihil mea carmina curas? Nil nostri miserere? mori me denique coges’, *Eclogues* II.6–7). The Polyphemus figure embodies the conflicts which Judith Haber identifies as present at the very inception of pastoral. The insatiable monstrosity of this figure and the incongruity of his depiction as a lover has been exploited to various effects, as Kathryn Gutzwiller has noted:

It is incongruous that the Polyphemus ‘of old’ the one Euripides called the raw flesh-eating, mountain roaming cyclops, should now love Galatea […] The Homeric cyclops’ lawlessness and arrogant disregard for the social institutions established by the gods for men, represents nature in its most animalistic form. The Theocritean Idylls entail the partial suppression of his bestial qualities.46

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One of the most familiar elements of the cyclopean song is the reference by the shepherd to his physical appearance, either expressing insecurity provoked by the beloved’s indifference, or in an impassioned defence of his physical attributes. The motif occurs several times in the Theocritean *Idylls*, but it is the image of Polyphemus admiring his reflection in water which has, via Virgilian imitation, had the most longevity in pastoral poetry. 47 In *Idylls* 6 Damoetas adopts the voice of a somewhat deluded Polyphemus:

For truly I am not even ill-favoured, as they say; for of late I looked into the sea, and there was a calm, and fair, as my judgment goes, showed my beard and my one eye, and it reflected the gleam of my teeth whiter than Parian marble. (35–40)

Virgil retains the calm sea as a mirror for his earnest Corydon, but discards the monstrous elements and the associated humour of the image:

nee sum adeo informis: nuper me in litore vidi,
cum placidum ventis staret mare; non ego Daphnin
iduice te metuam, si numquam fallit imago.

Nor am I so unsightly; on the shore the other day I looked at myself, when, by grace of the winds, the sea was at peace and still. With you for judge, I should fear not Daphnis, if the mirror never lies! (*Eclogues* II.25–7)

The Polyphemic lament is thus performed by the Theocritean shepherds, and is subsequently latent within the refined Virgilian love plaint. The epic associations of the cyclops would later be restored in Virgil’s *Aeneid*, which rewrites the Homeric episode of the outwitting of the fearful Polyphemus. Virgil intensifies his terrifying and repulsive traits in *Aeneid* III.618–38, while reminding the reader of his role as ‘pastorem’ (v. 657).

Polyphemus also appears as both unlikely lover and barbarian in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, in an account which is relayed to the reader by Galatea, the unwilling recipient of his attentions. 48 Ludic associations continue in this account of the attempted wooing, but the nymph’s fearful account serves to remind the reader that the cyclops’s barbarism is only temporarily dampened by infatuation (14.168–215). However, the most important aspect of the cyclopean lament for later poets is his claim regarding his abilities as a singer:

47  See *Idylls* 3.6–9; also 11.30–3 and 20.19–25.
‘And I can pipe as none other Cyclops here, as often in the depths of night I sing of thee, my sweet honey-apple, and of myself’ (*Idylls* 11.38–40)⁴⁹

In the Spanish Renaissance, Garcilaso’s choice of Galatea as the name for Salicio’s errant beloved in his first eclogue recalls the frustrated love of Polyphemus. While the Theocritean account offered occasional glimpses of a playful and coquettish nymph, Galatea is absent from Garcilaso’s first eclogue and the reader must glean a fragmented picture from the words of the betrayed shepherd-lover Salicio; the imagery suggests the cold and unyielding *dama* of courtly love lyric.⁵⁰ Salicio’s song also evokes elements of Virgil’s *Eclogue* VIII, in which Damon’s anguished lament bemoaned the giving of his lover Nysa to a rival. The overriding sentiment of Salicio’s song is of bitterness, reproach and accusation. There could be no Gongorist *Polifemo* without Garcilaso’s Salicio, whose upbraiding of Galatea provided the model for many spurned shepherds in the Spanish tradition.⁵¹ Herrera maintained that the first eclogue illustrated the essential qualities of the pastoral genre:

> En nuestra España, sin alguna comparación, es príncipe Garci Lasso, i de sus églogas, esta primera es avantajada de las otras en todas las partes que requiere este género. I no sé si Italia tiene algun que pueda venir a paragon com ella, si ya no pone delante la última de l’Arcadia. (p. 694)

Virgil’s supremacy as a model for later imitators is a point on which critics concur almost universally.⁵² In the early Italian Renaissance, Dante, Petrarch

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⁴⁹ The unnamed shepherd of *Idyll* 20 makes a similar claim: ‘Sweet is my music whether on the panpipe I play, or on the pipe discourse, or reed or flute’, *Idylls* 20.22–9.

⁵⁰ In *Idyll* 6, for example, a light-hearted tone is evident: ‘Galatea pelts thy flock with apples, Polyphemus, and calls thee cursed in love and goatherd’, *Idylls* 6.6. She is characterised as both elusive and playful: ‘Even from there she coquets with thee, and, wanton as the dry thistledown when the bright summer parches it, she flies the wooer, and when one woos not, she follows and leaves no move untried’, *Idylls* 6.15.
