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2016

Rest, Sweet Nymphs: Pastoral Origins of the English Madrigal

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Recommended Citation

REST, SWEET NYMPHS: PASTORAL ORIGINS OF THE ENGLISH MADRIGAL

A thesis submitted to
the Graduate College of
Marshall University
In partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
in
Music
Music History and Literature
by
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Approved by
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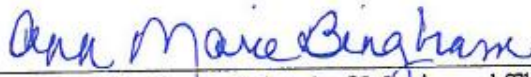
Marshall University
May 2016

APPROVAL OF THESIS

We, the faculty supervising the work of Danielle Van Oort, affirm that the thesis, *Rest Sweet Nymphs: Pastoral Origins of the English Madrigal*, meets the high academic standards for original scholarship and creative work established by the School of Music and Theatre and the College of Arts and Media. This work also conforms to the editorial standards of our discipline and the Graduate College of Marshall University. With our signatures, we approve the manuscript for publication.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

DEDICATIONS

I dedicate this thesis to my husband Jeff, as well as to my family, friends, and mentors, who have all encouraged my educational path thus far. Without your commitment, this project would not have been possible.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is an interdisciplinary study of the impact pastoral themes in art, literature, and music had on the stylistic and thematic development of the late-Renaissance English madrigal (ca. 1590–1620), specifically works by Elizabethan composers. Madrigals were profoundly influenced by poetry and visual art as the basis for text and subject matter. Consequently, many English madrigals, both light and serious forms, cultivated Arcadian themes presented in Italian idyllic art and literature of the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries. Works discussed throughout each chapter include Jacopo Sannazaro's poetic collection, *Arcadia* (ca. 1489), Edmund Spenser's seasonal eclogues, *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579), Oliver Isaac's portrait of *Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses* (ca. 1590), Francis Pilkington's madrigal "Rest, Sweet Nymphs" (1605), and Thomas Tomkin's ballett "See, See the Shepherds' Queen" (1622), among others. Analyses of rustic imagery, such as landscape, allegory, and expressive tone, in individual works draw thematic connections between pastoral repertoires throughout Europe, which affected the English pastoral tradition.

PROLOGUE

Revitalization of ancient Greek and Roman traditions during the Renaissance era (ca. 1400–1600) enriched the development of the literary, visual, and performing arts across Europe, from Italy to England.[1] Of the numerous subjects found in Renaissance literature, art, music, and drama, the manifestation of pastoral ideals conceived works of art fertile in splendor and intrigue. Pastoral qualities were initially established in the literature of Ancient Greek poets. The primary characteristic of pastoral literature was the poets' placement of their subjects in a rural landscape—predominantly among fields and forests with *flora* and *fauna* described in opulent detail. Pastoral characters were a combination of the real (shepherds, goatherds, hunters, and shepherdesses) and the mythological (gods, goddesses, and nymphs); the two worlds frequently collided as mortals interacted with their gods.[2] Artists, specifically painters, had transformed such literary characteristics in their own pastoral works during the mid- and late-Renaissance. By the end of the sixteenth century, composers, particularly of English origin, also employed pastoral themes in their madrigals and masques. Metamorphosis of the simplistic, classic pastoral over the centuries occurred when artists utilized the pastoral as a medium to convey personal beliefs concerning political matters through allegory; poets also used allegory to praise their patrons and esteemed monarchs. Additionally, numerous Renaissance artists emphasized human struggles, such as unrequited love and mortality, rather than basic human interactions through

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[1] Gilbert Highet, *The Classical Tradition: Greek and Roman Influences on Western Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949), 178–79. The "rebirth" of classical ideals began in Italy during the early Renaissance; from Italy, classical archetypes spread across Europe, eventually making their way toward England and other northern territories.
[2] Certain characters represent both real and mythological realms simultaneously. Daphnis, for example, was a shepherd whose connection to the mythological world was presented through his father, Hermes, god of commerce. The nymph, Daphne, was often portrayed as a huntress in pastoral works; furthermore, it is not uncommon for nymphs and shepherdesses to be synonymous within the pastoral tradition.

storytelling and song. Thus, plot and intention shifted from a simple narration of pastoral

existence to the complex chronicle of life, love, and death.

Artists contributing to the pastoral tradition (whether they were poets, artists,

playwrights, or musicians) developed thematic material, which permitted idyllic repertory to

flourish during the Renaissance. Such themes captivated the imaginations of not only their

audiences, but also other artists, as their art realized a balance between the innate beauty and

dark destruction of human existence within the natural world. Despite the role of the visual and

performing arts in the expansion of the Renaissance pastoral tradition, ancient Greek and Roman

poets first initiated the concept of *Locus amoenus* ("Beautiful place"), which became a unique

representation of Utopia as a non-existent land perceived as ideal or perfect.[3] Within pastoral

"Paradise," human life was humble and simplistic—merely a small detail among the expansive

landscape.

As the Renaissance era reached its final period (generally referred to by scholars as

Mannerism, circa 1530–1630), secular music, particularly madrigals, flourished throughout

Europe.[4] As pastoral themes developed within Italian madrigals of the late-sixteenth century, the

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[3] Theocritus, *Theocritus: A Selection: Idylls 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 10, 11, and 13*, ed. Richard L. Hunter (Oxford: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 12–13. *Locus amoenus* was an ideal established long before the pastoral tradition officially began, as classical scholars often referenced nature and landscape within their epics. Homer's (born ca. 1150–750 BCE) *Iliad* (ca. 760–710 BCE) and *Odyssey* (ca. 800 BCE), as well as Aristophanes' (ca. 446–386 BCE) *Peace* (ca. 421 BCE) demonstrate both "natural descriptions" and imagery "of the countryside in harmony."

[4] *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Renaissance," by David Young Kim. As the Renaissance era is considered the period between the Medieval and Baroque eras and spans a very large period of time (ca. 1400–1600), modern scholars have separated this large epoch into smaller periods of stylistic thoughts, particularly when referenced to Italian art. The three primary periods are Early Renaissance (ca. 1400–1490), High Renaissance (ca. 1490–1530), and Mannerism (ca. 1530–1580). All periods, including Mannerism, began in Italian art before disseminating through northern Europe. Typically, each period started in Italy before moving northward; intuitively, the periods would end in Italy before ending in northern countries. For instance, the Mannerist style carried on throughout the remainder of the century even though Italy had moved on to Baroque ideals around 1580. England, in particular, continued these traditions well into the Baroque era (ca. 1600–1750). English metaphysical literature and madrigals were

genre acquired a lighter tone, which quickly gained popularity in England. These lighter madrigal styles were *canzonetti* and *balletti* in Italy, which later manifested as canzonets and balletts in England. The late-sixteenth century English madrigal adapted the characteristics of the lighter styles; for instance, texture included alternating sections of homophony and polyphony. Due to these textual adjustments, Italian musician Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi (ca. 1554–1609) and Englishman Thomas Morley (ca. 1557–1602), along with various other light madrigal composers, incorporated nonsense syllables in between couplets or tercets of these sectionalized works, thus the "*fa-la* chorus" was created.[5] Further stylistic variations include the prominence of dance meters and lively rhythms previously established in instrumental repertoire, particularly *canzone* and *ballet*, which had influenced the name of the new madrigal styles. Light madrigals became staples among secular composers as the lighthearted style progressed northward toward France, the Netherlands, and England. Therefore, composers from the English Madrigal School did not develop their lighter madrigals (canzonets and balletts) on their own, but rather were greatly influenced by the lighter styles and pastoral themes from earlier Italian works of music and poetry.

The madrigal underwent drastic stylistic changes from its origins in Italian states through its northern expansion, including France, the Netherlands, and England. For the purpose of this study, only models from these specific countries will be examined; an important notice should emphasize, however, that the pastoral tradition was also found in other European countries, such as Spain and Germanic states. Geography affects internal chapter organization, which emphasizes the linear, chronological movement of pastoral works from Italy to England,

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highly influenced by Mannerism in Northern Europe. See, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Mannerism," by Denis Arnold and Tim Carter.

[5] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Balletto," by Suzanne G. Cusick.

specifically; French and Netherlandish works are interwoven into the structural fabric to provide complete insight of stylistic developments during its northern expansion. Accordingly, the continuum acts as a guide to trace the progression of the madrigal as the European pastoral tradition moved further north during the course of the late-Renaissance period. Though most of the selected compositions fit within this continuum, there are exceptions within the evidence selected for analysis. For instance, Italian and French ties to the medieval pastoral resurgence allowed both regions to develop customs early into the subsequent Renaissance pastoral tradition. Considering most French pastoral literature shadowed its Italian counterparts, a select number of early French works utilized a pastoral theme. French secular song (chansons, in particular) developed decades before its Italian counterpart (the madrigal) flourished. Therefore, most—but not all—evidence provided supports the northward progression of the pastoral tradition. Musical analyses highlight the transformation of secular song, particularly the madrigal, throughout the Renaissance era, which led to the genre's final manifestations in England at the end of the sixteenth century and into the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Moreover, investigative considerations of each chapter will isolate pastoral influences on the thematic material (particularly Arcadian landscape, allegory, and melancholy) in secular music of Elizabethan and early-seventeenth century England.

Various procedures are utilized to solidify the structural points of each chapter. Primary evidence is gathered through analysis of selected pastoral works from the primary mediums of music, poetry, and painting, as well as drama. For instance, direct connections between geographic regions are created through establishing relationships between musicians, artists, poets, court officials, and specific creative works. Due to the enigmatic nature of Renaissance repertoire caused by a lack of extant records and a scarcity of definitive answers, it is not always

plausible to provide absolute evidence for every association; when necessary, indirect connections between selected works may be created to fill in the lacunae surrounding the northern expansion of pastoral repertoire. Lastly, associations made between works are organized by the dominant theme, primarily works that revolve around life in Arcadia, royalty disguised as subjects through allegory, or unrequited love and death. The difficulty of this organization lies in identifying the similarities in thematic trends common across all mediums. Poetry, art, music, and drama must be tied together using common threads, such as the simple imagery of a gently flowing brook, or the complex representation of human emotions instigated by the loss of a lover. Pastoral literature does lend itself to physical descriptions within art, however, and the musical abilities of pastoral subjects are easily transcribed into the musical medium. Although there is plentiful research available that presents the pastoral tradition from one or two perspectives, little demonstrates such a comprehensive approach to pastoral repertoire. As poetry, painting, music, and drama are all interrelated during the Renaissance era, the study of how all four genres work together within the Renaissance is a logical progression toward furthering our understanding of the role the pastoral tradition played in cultivating and unifying the arts, especially English secular music.

The Classic Pastoral

Pastoral literature originated in Greek and Roman poetry during Classical Antiquity (ca. 800 BCE–476 CE).[6] Roman poets were the first to identify Arcadia, a regional unit of Greece, as the setting for their pastoral tales. Arcadia's geographic placement encompasses the central and

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[6] *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*, s.v. "Chronology," by Michael Gagarin and Elaine Fantham. Scholars generally refer to Classical Antiquity as the period of Greek and Roman cultural history following the Greek Dark Ages. The Classical Age in Greece (ca. 500–323 BCE) and the Hellenistic Age (ca. 323–146 BCE) mark the centuries in Classical Antiquity that contain the most significant output of literature and scholarship.

eastern portions of the Peloponnese peninsula, which isolates the territory from mainland Greece.[7] The extent of such isolation prevented influence from outside forces for many centuries until tensions arose between Arcadia and Sparta, a prominent city-state in ancient Greece.[8] Such isolation and exclusion from political turmoil allowed Arcadians to live a simpler lifestyle for much longer than was possible in other regions. Additionally, the territory's landscape of vast plains lent itself toward a rural existence, and many inhabitants lived as farmers or herdsmen.

Due to its isolation, Arcadia was a land shrouded in mystery for poets of other regions, where the "simplistic" country lifestyle was viewed as an escape from complicated or hectic urban living. Additionally, Arcadia was a natural choice as the iconic paradise of pastoral literature due to the territory's extensive connections with Greek mythology.[9] Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro; ca. 70 BCE–19 BCE), an ancient Roman poet of southern Italy, was the first to designate the land of Arcadia as an idealized world in his pastoral poetry, namely his *Eclogues* (ca. 40 BCE). Virgil preserved Arcadia's ties to mythology by incorporating pastoral gods, goddesses, and their legends in his Arcadian poetry. Yet, despite the influence Virgil's Arcadian

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[7] George Grote, *A History of Greece: From the Earliest Period to the Close of the Generation Contemporary with Alexander the Great*, vol. 2, 3rd ed. (London: J. Murray, 1862), 285, 597. Arcadia's eastern border is situated along the Argolíc Gulf; its surrounding borders were almost entirely mountainous. The Lampeia Mountains within the western portion of Arcadia extend into the region's western border with Elis. The Kyllêne mountain range of the Achaea region borders Arcadia in the north, and the Taygetus and Parrhasius mountain ranges run along Arcadia's southern border with Messinía and Laconia, respectively.

[8] John Boardman, Jasper Griffin, et al., *Oxford History of Greece and the Hellenistic World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 147–148. Arcadians were able to avoid political influence until the Spartans of Laconia forced the region into an alliance in circa 460–550 BCE, which caused internal struggle within Arcadia.

[9] Titus Livy, *The History of Rome, Books 1–5*, ed. and trans. Valerie M. Warrior (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2006), 11. One of the most significant examples of mythological folklore in Arcadia is its claim to being the birthplace of Pan, a god of nature, shepherds, rustic music, and hunters. Thus, the many fables of Pan and his exploits, including the infamous story of Pan and Syrinx, took place within the forests of Arcadia.

landscape made on pastoral repertoire of the subsequent medieval and Renaissance revivals, he was not the founder of pastoral poetry.

Virgil's ideal Arcadia derived from the *bucolic* (literally translated as "cowherd") works of the Greek poet, Theocritus (Theokritos; born ca. 300 BCE).[10] Theocritus created the bucolic poetic genre with his collection of *Idylls* (from Greek *eidullion* or "short poem;" ca. 280 BCE), and has since been credited with founding the classical pastoral tradition.[11] Consequently, the pastoral ideals and themes used by Theocritus became the standard of pastoral literature to follow. Writing in his natural Doric dialect, the author created a realistic, authentic version of the pastoral lifestyle. Furthermore, Theocritus's *Idylls* demonstrate not just the ideal world, but also the relationship between man, nature, and the gods. The *Idylls* take place within a world where shepherds and goatherds live a modest life in contrast to the lavish engagements of the gods. For instance, Theocritus's "Idyll I" emphasizes the frailty of human life in dichotomy with the immortal gods through the conversation between a goatherd and the shepherd Thyrsis as they mourned the death of Daphnis, a fellow shepherd and the mortal son of Hermes.[12] Thyrsis

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[10] *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, s.v. "Bucolic," by John Van Sickle. *Bucolics* were a collection of poems, originally conceived by Theocritus as *Idylls*, which were all based on pastoral themes. Early bucolics involved "concrete activities [such] as feeding, grazing, and controlling animals, to tending children or attending to anything the mind can make an object for cognition." Individual poems were not related and often presented multiple stories of many subjects. Traditionally, bucolics were large genres, considering the first poets to employ this genre, Theocritus and Virgil, had twelve and ten poems within their collections, respectively.

[11] Charles Stuart Calverley, trans., *The Idylls of Theocritus and the Eclogues of Virgil*, introduction by R. Y. Tyrrell (London: George Bell & Sons, 1908), xx. The only known substantial work with a pastoral theme prior to Theocritus is Hesiod's (ca. 750 BCE) *Erga kai Hĕmerai* ("Works and Days," ca. 700 BCE); Hesiod was an ancient Greek poet and a contemporary of Homer. Despite *Erga kai Hĕmerai* containing some pastoral references, the pastoral setting is not elaborated upon, nor is it the central subject of the composition; rather, the primary subjects are two farmer brothers. Hesiod used the pastoral lifestyle as a moral lesson of how hard work could teach responsibility. See, Hesiod, *Works and Days: The Originals*, trans. Hugh G. Evelyn-White (Raleigh: Hayes Barton Press, 2007). The very plot of *Erga kai Hĕmerai* is reminiscent of "The Parable of the Prodigal Son." See, *Bible*, New Testament, Luke 15: 11–32.

[12] Kostas Buraselis, et al., *The Ptolemies, the Sea and the Nile: Studies in Waterborne Power* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 41. Theocritus wrote many of his *Idylls* for his patrons, the Ptolemy

narrated Daphnis's final moments through song, which moved the mythological gods, as well as

the creatures of the fields and forests to pity the dying shepherd:

> O'er him the wolves, the jackals howled o'er him;
>   The lion in the oak-copse mourned his death.
> The kine and oxen stood around his feet,
>   The heifers and the calves wailed all for him.[13]

After Thyrsis sang about the woodland creatures' woes, the shepherd introduced Hermes, who

attempted to comfort his wounded son, and the goddess Aphrodite, who taunted him with the

irony that the fates of love would take his life. Throughout "Idyll I," Theocritus kept the role of

the shepherd humble while simultaneously emphasizing the power carried by gods. Theocritus's

interpretation of Daphnis's relationship with his father Hermes and the goddess Aphrodite

idealized the immortal gods and emphasized nature's power in conveying human emotions of

love and despair while also maintaining the shepherd's own modest station. Various modern

purists believe that the true pastoral ended with Theocritus and his contemporaries, as later poets

perverted their works with an over-saturation of political allegory, crude satire, and stylized,

unrealistic portrayals of the shepherd's role within Arcadian settings.[14] Frankly, it is unfair to

deny successive revivals of pastoral literature as essential elements of the pastoral canon.

Pastoral repertoire, regardless of its composition period, has its own unique set of qualities that

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family. Theocritus's seventeenth idyll, for instance, was dedicated to King Ptolemy II and his sister, Arsinoe. Theocritus directly references the King's superiority and military dominance due to the quality of his navy.

[13] Calverley, *Idylls and Eclogues*, 2. Quotation from *Idyll I: The Death of Daphnis*, lines 70–73. "Oak-copse" in line 71 is a small thicket of oak trees. In line 72, "kine" refers to a herd of cows. Original Greek text: [ἄρχετε βουκολικᾶς Μοῖσαι φίλαι ἄρχετ᾽ ἀοιδᾶς./τῆνον μὰν θῶες, τῆνον λύκοι ὠρύσαντο, /τῆνον χὤκ δρυμοῖο λέων ἔκλαυσε θανόντα. /ἄρχετε βουκολικᾶς Μοῖσαι φίλαι ἄρχετ᾽ ἀοιδᾶς]. See, Theocritus, "Idyll I," lines 70–73 from *Theocritus: A Selection, Idylls 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11 and 13*, ed. Richard L. Hunter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 35.

[14] S.K. Heninger, Jr., "The Renaissance Perversion of Pastoral," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 22, no. 2 (April–June, 1961): 254–261. See also, Alexander Pope, *The Prose Works of Alexander Pope*, ed. Norman Ault (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1936), 297.

meet the demands of the era and demonstrate the culmination of multiple centuries of stylistic development.

Virgil's *Eclogues* (Latin *Ecloga* or "selection") were written within 300 years of Theocritus's *Idylls*, yet Virgil's pastoral already exhibited dramatic transformations that altered the intention of the entire genre for generations to follow. Virgil wrote poetry in Latin, rather than an Italian vernacular dialect, and his historic *Eclogues* introduced the learned language to pastoral literature.[15] In this work, Virgil removed the innocent purity of Theocritus's original intention from the pastoral tradition; rather than portraying fictive characters as they truly were, Virgil utilized poetic allegory to cast historical figures into his poetry, and used these characters to recount the political turmoil of Rome during his lifetime.[16] Subjects represented political leaders, acquaintances of the poet, and even Virgil himself. Additionally, plots revolved not around the simple daily occurrences of pastoral life, but around Virgil's views on the current and future state of Rome, which was a significant step toward the expansion of pastoral repertoire.[17] In his "Eclogue IV," Virgil referenced Octavian (named Pollio within the poem) as the boy blessed by Lucina (goddess of childbirth), who led Roman civilization into a new Golden Age.[18]

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[15] Joseph Bickersteth Mayor and William Warde Fowler, *Virgil's Messianic Eclogue: Its Meaning, Occasion, and Sources: Three Studies* (London: J. Murray, 1907), 13–14. Virgil wrote many of his works, including several poems from *Eclogues*, for his noble patron, Gaius Asinius Pollio (ca. 75 BCE – 4 CE). Pollio was an active politician and consul who held great influence in ancient Italy. See, Elizabeth Denny Pierce Blegen, "A Roman Man of Letters, Gaius Asinius Pollio" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1922), 23. Aside from being a politician and elected official, Pollio was also a scholar and poet. In addition to being literary colleagues, Virgil was indebted to Pollio for returning his father's farm in Mantuan from another soldier of Octavian's army in 41 BCE. See, Ibid., 21.

[16] Livy, *History of Rome*, 273. Julius Caesar (born ca. 100 BCE), a leading figure in the rise of the Roman Empire, was assassinated on 15 March, 44 BCE, which was the same period that Virgil was writing his *Eclogues*.

[17] Allegory in literature is an elevated mode of the metaphor, often utilized in ancient Roman literature to symbolically represent modern events and people. Allegory in pastoral literature utilizes common themes (landscape, gods and goddesses, activities, etc.) to portray such events.

[18] Livy, *History of Rome*, 2–3. Caesar's adopted son, Augustus (Gaius Octavian, ca. 63 BCE – 14 AD) took over command after Caesar died and was named the first Emperor of the Roman Empire after its establishment in 27 BCE. There are many interpretations as to the identity of the child referenced

Indeed, Virgil's "Eclogue IV" appears to foretell Augustus's success in continuing Julius's ambition to bring peace and unity to Rome:

> Thou on the newborn babe—who first shall end
> That age of iron, bid a golden dawn
> Upon the broad world—chaste Lucina, smile:
> Now thy Apollo reigns. And, Pollio, thou
> Shalt be our Prince, when he that grander age
> Opens, and onward roll the mighty moons:
> Thou, trampling out what prints our crimes have left,
> Shalt free the nations from perpetual fear.
> While he to bliss shall waken; with the Blest
> See the Brave mingling, and be seen of them,
> Ruling that world o'er which his father's arm shed peace.[19]

Roman mythological beings, such as Apollo (god of the arts) are found throughout Virgil's *Eclogues*; these gods and goddesses are often portrayed as allegorical subjects in Classical poetry.[20] Within the above passage, however, Octavian's character was not named after mythological beings, but was actually inspired by Pollio, Virgil's friend and patron. Through a metaphorical interpretation of the character Pollio as Gaius Octavian, line 18 presents Octavian's rise to power as Augustus, First Emperor of the Roman Empire—an ambition that his adopted

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throughout "Eclogue IV." Author's Joseph Mayor and William Fowler believe the child to be the expected, but never realized, son of Octavian. See, Mayor and Fowler, *Virgil's Messianic Eclogue*, 29. These authors also suggest the possibility that the character Pollio may reference the son of Virgil's patron. These scholars do not consider the character Pollio to directly reflect Virgil's patron, Pollio, due to Pollio's age and his role in Roman politics. See, Ibid., 17–18. Additionally, many medieval poets and literary scholars, such as Dante, believed the child to be Christ. See, Ibid., 25.

[19] Calverley, *Idylls and Eclogues,* 201. Quotation from "Eclogue IV," lines 8–18. Line 11 honors Virgil's patron Pollio, whose character is the subject of this poem. Original Latin text: [*Tu modo nascenti puero, quo ferrea primum /desinet ac toto surget gens aurea mundo, /casta fave Lucina: tuus iam regnat Apollo. /Teque adeo decus hoc a*evi *te consule inibit, /Pollio, et incipient magni procedere menses. /te duce, si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri, /inrita perpetua solvent formidine terras. /ille deum vitam accipiet, divisque videbit /permixtos heroas, et ipse videbitur illis, /pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem*]. See, Virgil, "Ecloga IV," from *Virgil's Eclogues*, trans. Len Krisak, introduction by Gregson Davis (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 30.

[20] M. Lee Owens, *Death and Rebirth in Virgil's* Arcadia (Albany: SUNY Press, 1989), 14. Stesichorus (ca. 640–555 BCE), a Sicilian poet, incorporated pastoral mythology in his lyric poetry; Stesichorus was especially fond of the mythology surrounding Daphnis, and is attributed as the origin of the belief that Daphnis was the son of Hermes. Daphnis' death "may then once have symbolized the end of the solar year" since Stesichorus had Daphnis tending to "the sacred oxen of the Sun [God]." Stesichorus's emphasis on the death of Daphnis appears within pastoral literature of later poets, particularly Theocritus.

father, Julius Caesar, gave his life to help realize. Near the end of "Eclogue IV," Virgil further

prophesized Octavian as the harbinger of Roman peace. The boy of his poem grew into a man

who lived within a world of perfection, so that Pan may bless man within his own Arcady.[21]

Virgil's optimistic message of Rome as Arcadia further exemplifies the poet's use of allegory.

Such emblematic undertones found within Virgil's *Eclogues* set the tone for future pastoral

works and the poetic intentions of bucolic poets of the succeeding epoch. Virgil incorporated an

additional layer of subject allegory on top of Theocritus's established world, which had

emphasized the relationship between human shepherds and the gods living in an ideal, natural

world. Consequently, the pastoral literature created by Theocritus and cultivated by Virgil acted

as inspiration for idyllic repertory of the following epochs.

Revival in Medieval Poetry

Several centuries passed between Virgil's *Eclogues* and the next significant pastoral

revival, which occurred during the medieval era (ca. 400–1400).[22] Nevertheless, late-medieval

poets still drew upon Virgil's *Eclogues* for inspiration, which in turn created a pastoral tradition

that stressed human morality through allegory; consequently, the pastoral had evolved to meet

the expressive needs of the subsequent epoch. Religious conflict was prominent during the

medieval era. As the Roman Catholic Church gained influence and power in Western Europe,

corruption among numerous clerical leaders and political figures associated with the Catholic

Church also increased.[23] This uneasy ecclesiastical environment bolstered religious allegories in

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[21] Calverley, *Idylls and Eclogues,* 203. Virgil references Arcadia as Arcady, a common English cognate, in lines 64–65, including Arcadia's famous god of nature, Pan.

[22] George Holmes, *The Oxford History of Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 350. Scholars believe the beginning of the medieval era to occur after the death of Theodosius I, the last Roman emperor, which divided the Roman Empire; the era continued throughout the 14th century, and is believed to end between 1400–1450 with the beginning of the Renaissance.

[23] *Encyclopedia of Italian Literary Studies: A–J*, s.v. "Decameron, ca. 1350–1352; REV. CA. 1373, Novelle by Giovanni Boccaccio." Boccaccio's *Decameron* (1353) used satire to mock the Roman

pastoral repertoire. Many poets engaged in literature and allegory to express their personal

discontent with the state of the church; other poets chose to reflect upon virtuous Christian traits

in their works. Theocritus's and Virgil's shepherd subject, already a central character in classic

pastoral poetry, became the moral compass that guided his Christian followers. Shepherds

developed into symbolic depictions of Christ, the pope, or priests who led their flocks toward

Heaven.[24] When used in a positive light, these practices of allegory represent the "good

shepherd." On the contrary, many poets used allegory to portray religious corruption through the

narrative of the "bad shepherd," or one who has strayed from the responsibility of protecting his

flock for personal gain. Consequently, religious undertones remained a central component of

allegory within the Latin pastorals of the late-medieval era.

Dante (Durante degli Alighieri; ca. 1265–1321) was the first significant medieval poet to

revive the classic bucolic genre. As a scholar, he studied the bucolic literature of Virgil and

drew inspiration from the classical poet, which led to the creation of Dante's own *Eclogues* (ca.

1319–1320). Dante continued Virgil's traditional use of Latin text, and he maintained the high

number of verses within individual poems, which was a characteristic feature of the bucolic

genre.[25] He did not, however, preserve the large number of individual eclogues as his

predecessors, since the *Eclogues* were part of a poetic dialogue between Dante and Giovanni del

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Catholic Church. Boccaccio's allegory was not veiled entirely, however, as *Decameron* was censored by the Catholic Church during the Reformation.

[24] Helen Cooper, *Pastoral: Mediaeval into Renaissance* (Ipswich: D. S. Brewer, Ltd., 1977), 24. With the shepherd as the religious leader, his flock came to symbolize the damned in search of redemption. Arcadia, pure and ideal, became a representation of Heaven on Earth, or Eden.

[25] Virgil, *Virgil's* Book of Bucolics: *The Ten Eclogues Translated into English Verse*, ed. John Van Sickle (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 273. Virgil's ten *Eclogues* ranged in length, from 63 to 108 (*Eclogues IV* and *VIII*, respectively) verses, which included both narrative and song. Dante's two *Eclogues* are 68 and 97 verses, placing his works within the same range as Virgil's collection. See, Dante Alighieri, *The Commedia and Canzoniere of Dante Alighieri: Paradise. Canzoniere. Eclogues. Studies*, vol. 2, ed. and trans. Edward Hayes Plumptre (London: W. Isbister, 1887), 329–332, 337–341.

Virgilio (born ca. 1300).[26] Dante's "Eclogue I" displays many of the common characteristics

found in classical pastoral literature, such as pastoral imagery and personal allegory. Pointedly,

despite acknowledging his Christian God, Dante still incorporated references to ancient Greek

mythology, which is remarkably conventional in medieval literature.[27] Thus, it is evident that the

stories of Pagan Greek gods were still accepted in a society that worshipped only one Christian

God. Dante applied Christian themes within his *Eclogues*, even though Christianity was not the

central focus of his allegorical dialogue with Virgilio.[28] In addition to Dante, two other

Latin/Italian poets, Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca; ca. 1304–1374) and Giovanni Boccaccio (ca.

1313–1375) later escalated religious and personal allegories within their pastoral works, and

cultivate the medieval pastoral toward its fully mature state.

Petrarch and Boccaccio were contemporaries of the early- to mid-fourteenth century, and

as such, their pastoral repertoire contains significant similarities in methodological style,

including the use of Italian vernacular in their mature literature, lyric poetic forms, and classic

hexameter. Each poet, however, made personal contributions to the pastoral tradition that

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[26] Ibid., 329–41. Dante only composed two of the four *Eclogues* in the published collection, whereas Virgil had ten poems in his *Eclogues*. Virgilio initiated contact with Dante with his *Eclogue I*, written specifically for the master poet. Dante, in turn, responded with his own *Eclogue*. The poets exchanged poetic correspondences twice, each creating two *Eclogues* in the process. Little is known of Virgilio, despite his role in initiating the composition of Dante's *Eclogues*.

[27] Quote from Dante, lines 57–58: "And yet I own I fear / The thickets wild, and field that know not God." Original Latin text: [*Sed timean saltus et rura ignara deorum*]. Within the same poem, Dante also referenced the mythological tale of Daphne being transformed into a tree in lines 44–46: "My Mopsus summons me / To take the leaves that grow on Peneus' shore, / Where Daphne was transformed." Original Latin text: [*Vatificis prolutus aquis, et lacte canoro viscera plena ferens et plenus ad usque palatum, me vocat ad frondes versa Peneyde cretas*].

[28] Guy P. Raffa, "Dante's Mocking Pastoral Muse," *Dante Studies, with the Annual Report of the Dante Society*, no. 114 (1996): 272–273. Both Dante and Virgilio were represented as characters (Tityrus and Mopsus, respectively) within the former poet's *Eclogues*. Virgilio initiated the poetic dialogue with Dante in hopes of encouraging him to write allegorical poetry regarding Italian politics of the time. Instead, Dante used allegory to communicate his inability to visit Virgilio in Bologna due to his current state of exile. Despite his lack of political allegory, Dante still referred to Virgilian models "of setting, imagery, and action."

inevitably shaped the development of the successive Renaissance pastoral. Petrarch became one

of the most influential figures of his time, as his pastoral poetry influenced many artists of the

Renaissance era. His *Bucolicum Carmen* ("Bucolic Song," 1357) is largely considered the

pinnacle of pastoral achievement within the medieval era.[29] Thus, the poet restored the bucolic

genre to its full grandeur as a large genre, since his *Bucolicum Carmen* consisted of the

traditional twelve substantial eclogues established by Theocritus.[30] One reason for the

considerable interest in the *Bucolicum* is the sheer historical insight provided within its pages.

Scholar Stefano Carrai has listed various historical events that Petrarch alluded to within his

eclogues:

> Petrarch's twelve eclogues actually trace a journey through the fundamental stages of
> personal and social history during the decade he was composing them, from his brother
> Gherardo's entry into a Carthusian monastery to the death of Robert of Anjou; from Cola
> di Rienzo's attempted political reform to the poet's resignation from service to cardinal
> Giovanni Colonna; from the Black Death of 1348 to the Hundred Years' War.[31]

Undoubtedly, Petrarch's knowledge of political and religious events during his lifetime is

apparent throughout his eclogues. In comparison to other primary pastoral poets of the medieval

era, Petrarch used politically charged allegory most frequently, especially in expressing his

distaste for religious officials. "Eclogue VI," for example, characterized Pope Clement VI as

Mitio, whose corruption of power and greed are demonstrated through Mitio's ill-kept crops and

livestock:

> Gallowsbird Mitio, it's you? So not yet has the solid earth swallowed
> You and your crimes? Well, no longer should I find reason to wonder,

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[29] Thomas Roche, *Petrarch in English* (London: Penguin Books, 2005), 2. Petrarch's pastoral poetry was
highly influential on the development of Renaissance literature, as many amateur scholars and poets
became fascinated in translating his works.

[30] Heninger, "The Renaissance Perversion of Pastoral," 258. Petrarch expanded Virgilian allegory in
pastoral literature, which made his repertoire an important study for Renaissance poets.

[31] Stefano Carrai, "Pastoral as Personal Mythology in History: *Bucolicum Carmen*," in *Petrarch: A
Critical Guide to the Complete Works*, ed. Victoria Kirkham and Armando Maggi, 165–178 (Chicago:
University of Chicago Press, 2009), 165.

<blockquote>
Seeing the woods and the crops and everything else in disorder,
Blasted all hope of a fair harvest. Ah me, to whom was entrusted
Custody of the land and charge of the flocks at their grazing?
Ravished by death untimely the innocent lambs have vanished,
Gone are the weary cattle, leaving as sole survivors
Goats and the unclean swine by sloth and greediness fattened.[32]
</blockquote>

In this passage, the shepherd Mitio had abandoned all responsibilities, which left his land in disarray. Thus, the association between Mitio and Pope Clement VI allowed Petrarch to utilize the "bad shepherd" allegory as a moral lesson to denote the Pope's negligence. Within the same eclogue, the "good shepherd" is Pamphilus (Saint Peter), who chastises Mitio for his poor behavior.[33] Petrarch's portrayal of Pope Clement VI in his "Eclogue VI" is one of many instances where the poet used allegory to hide his personal opinions about the political climate in fourteenth-century Rome. Boccaccio, a valued colleague of Petrarch, took inspiration from the master's work when he authored his own *Bucolicum Carmen* (ca. 1366) less than a decade after Petrarch.[34] Despite his early experiments in the bucolic genre, Boccaccio primarily wrote his mature works in the Italian vernacular. For instance, Boccaccio's *Comedía delle ninfe fiorentine* ("The Comedy of the Florentine Nymphs," 1341–1342) was an allegorical attack against the political climate of Florence that also boasted the curative powers of love.[35] Although Boccaccio

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[32] Petrarch, *Petrarch's Bucolicum Carmen*, trans. Thomas G. Bergin (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974): 76–77. Quotation from Lines 21–28. Original Latin text: [*Furcifer hic, Mitio? Nec te durissima sontem /Sorbet adhuc tellus? Iam iam mirabile nullum est, /Si nemus et messes atque Omnia, versa retrorsum,/ Spem lusere meam. Cui proh! Custodia culti/ Credita ruris erat? Cui grex pascendus in herba?/ Intempestivis perierunt mortibus agni;/ Defessi periere boves, hircique supersunt,/ Immundique sues, quos luxus et otia tendunt:*].

[33] John Milton, *Variorum Commentary on the Poems of John Milton.* Vol. 2, *The Minor English Poems*, ed. Arther Sutherland Pigott and Douglas Bush (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972): 555.

[34] Martin Eisner, *Boccaccio and the Invention of Italian Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 93. Boccaccio assisted Petrarch in the revision of his *Bucolicum Carmen*, thus Boccaccio was very knowledgeable about the Latin work. As the poets' friendship strengthened, Petrarch encouraged Boccaccio to pursue his Italian lyrics, even though Boccaccio felt his works were inferior to other contemporary poets, such as Dante.

[35] Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Decameron*, ed. and trans. Wayne Rebhorn (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2014), 3.

was not the first Italian poet to describe the whimsical nature of love within the pastoral world,

he was the only substantial poet of the medieval pastoral restoration to do so in his vernacular

language. As the medieval era reached the end of the fourteenth century, the prominence of Latin

text began to fade in the pastoral literature. The rise of vernacular poetry by medieval poets such

as Petrarch and Boccaccio was the most influential contribution to the pre-Renaissance pastoral

tradition.

Renaissance Transformations

There was an interruption between the medieval and Renaissance restorations of the

pastoral tradition, despite the former revival's occurrence so late in the epoch. Indeed, there was

not a continual flow of pastoral works into the Renaissance era, as pastoral repertoire did not re-

emerge until the end of the fifteenth century, an entire century after the significant bucolic works

of medieval pastoral poets. Mantuan (Baptista Spagnuoli Mantuanus, 1447–1516) was one of the

first influential pastoral poets of the Renaissance. Mantuan's poetic style was greatly influenced

by Virgil, as he was the only Renaissance poet who still wrote strictly in Latin. Mantuan also

used allegory in his poetry to emphasize the hardship of the shepherd's life and the destructive

powers of love.[36] Mantuan expressed his personal political and religious beliefs within his

pastoral eclogue *Adulescentia* (1498), which was founded on Virgil's eclogues. Evaluating his

selected title, Mantuan apparently considered these eclogues as a youthful endeavor, yet

Adulescentia held an important role in the promotion of Reformation propaganda against the

corruption of the Carmelites.[37] Mantuan's allegorical writing influenced later poets, such as

Englishman Edmund Spenser (ca. 1552–1599) and Frenchman Clément Marot (1496–1544).

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[36] Cooper, *Pastoral*, 108. The "good shepherd" persevered over the daunting responsibilities of his task, whereas the "bad shepherd" was frequently distracted from his tasks by love or leisure.

[37] Lee Piepho, "Mantuan Revised: His *Adulescentia* in Early Sixteenth-Century Germany," *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature* 33, no. 1–2 (March–June, 2006): 62.

Mantuan, a humanist poet, attempted to create a more realistic, authentic version of the pastoral through rustic writing styles, although his continued use of Latin often conflicted with the pastoral tone of his literature.[38]

Language and tone of pastoral literature underwent significant transformations during the Renaissance era; these new developments occurred toward the beginning of the revival, and affected the pastoral for the remainder of the epoch. Traditionally, shepherds represented a low class, which was demonstrated through Theocritus's use of non-stylized, personal dialect.[39] According to Dr. S. K. Heninger, Jr., "he [Theocritus] depicted a real rural scene in the sense that actual flora and fauna and place-names are recognizable, and he simulated a Doric dialect to suggest genuine rusticity."[40] Therefore, shepherds naturally spoke in their vernacular language and dialect. As the pastoral progressed into late Antiquity, however, much of the original style was forgotten when Italian poets turned toward Latin text, which was a more formal language. Italian and French poets of the medieval era, on the contrary, had already begun creating a vernacular tradition that set the foundation for future Renaissance literature. The French *bergerie* (literally translated as "sheep keeping") tradition combined the artistic interpretations of Virgil while simultaneously engaging realism through use of the vernacular and with physical descriptions of shepherds and the natural world.[41] Within the *bergerie* convention, French poets developed the pastoral through "the elevation of the shepherd into an ideal, an image of the idyllic simple life set in explicit contrast to the court."[42] Hence, the language used in *bergerie* literature further romanticized shepherds and pastoral life; this exaggerated ideal of Arcadian life

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[38] Cooper, *Pastoral*, 132.
[39] Ibid., 129
[40] Heninger, "The Renaissance Perversion of Pastoral," 255.
[41] Cooper, *Pastoral*, 48.
[42] Ibid., 49.

became the foundation of the Renaissance pastoral tradition. As many Renaissance poets drew inspiration from the French *bergerie*, utilization of vernacular language became a staple characteristic of the Renaissance pastoral in Italy, France, and England.

Edmund Spenser was one of the first English poets to adapt the French *bergerie* into English pastoral practice.[43] In *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579), Spenser further adapted the vernacular language by incorporating a medieval English text to create a rustic tone.[44] Furthermore, the English poet demonstrated personal intentions for writing his calendar collection of eclogues. Spenser was among many Renaissance poets who used the eclogue genre as an exhibition of poetic mastery. Thus, the eclogue genre became a form of masterpiece meant to emphasize the poet rather than the content, which altered the intention of pastoral literature entirely. This new, elegant writing style not only juxtaposed Theocritus's pure pastoral vision, but it also contested the principles of *decorum* as defined by Horace (65 BCE–8 BCE) in his poem *Ars Poetica* ("The Art of Poetry," ca. 19 BCE). Horace believed that for poetry to be effective the textual descriptions and overall language should suit the characters, and the style must match the subject.[45] Consequently, the realistic language of shepherds was unsophisticated, yet numerous Renaissance poets disregarded these rules of *decorum*. Based on this evidence, modern scholars may question the appropriateness of including the Renaissance pastoral revival in the predetermined tradition. Nevertheless, there are many instances within the arts, such as the

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[43] Ibid., 115.

[44] Ibid., 153. According to Patrick Cullen, *The Shepheardes Calender* introduced the vernacular adaptation of Virgil's eclogue genre to England, although Spenser was influenced more by the writing style of Mantuan than Virgil. Furthermore, the language of Geoffrey Chaucer's (ca. 1343–1400) literature, an English poet of the late-Medieval era, directly influenced Spenser's use of archaic English. See, Edmund Spenser, *The Shepheardes Calender, Volumes 1–3*, ed. Heinrich Oskar Sommer (London: John C. Nimmo, 1890).

[45] Cooper, *Pastoral*, 128–29. Horace, *Epistles, Book II and Epistle to the Pisones* ('*Ars Poetica*'), ed. Niall Rudd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

rise of opera, that the discontinuation of antiquated procedures benefitted the future development

of the genre.[46] Therefore, one should approach the new developments of the pastoral tradition

within the Renaissance era as a typical progression that occurred naturally over time, rather than

an inexcusable perversion to the classic genre.

Literature was not the only artistic medium that flourished during the Renaissance; the

arts in their entirety were motivated by the pastoral literature. Italian artists, such as Giorgione

(Giorgio Barbarelli da Castelfranco, ca. 1477–1510), Titian (Tiziano Vecelli, ca. 1488–1576),

and Michelangelo (Michelangelo di Lodovico Buonarroti Simoni, 1475–1564), were among the

first to bring the pastoral landscape to life through painting, sketch work, and woodcut prints,

among other mediums. *Locus amoenus* ("pleasant place") was realized through seemingly

endless prairies of lush green or golden fields and blue-gray overcast skies. Although early

Italian paintings reflected subdued hues of greens, yellows, reds, and blues, later Mannerist

works displayed vibrant bursts of color, which seem to create visual competition between the

flattened rural background and its foreground subjects. As the pastoral focuses on natural life,

flora is in abundance within Renaissance paintings. Deciduous forests, fruit-bearing trees and

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[46] For instance, early opera was bound by the classical unities of time, place, and action while maintaining an uncomplicated plot. By the early-seventeenth century, however, those rules had already begun to unravel, as seen within Claudio Monteverdi's (1567–1643) *Orfeo* (1607). See, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Unities," by Roger Savage. Renaissance scholar Lodovico Castelvetro's treatise *Poetica d'Aristotele vulgarizzata e sposita* ("The Poetics of Aristotle in the Vulgar Language," 1576) reignited the rule of the unities within drama. Proper plays "must contain just one coherent action…and this action must work itself through in a single fictive day… [and] the action of the play should be set throughout in one place." See, Lodovico Castelvetro, *La Poetica d'Aristotile Volgarizzata da Lodovico Castelvetro*, ed. Pietro Metastasio (Milan: Giovanni Silvestri, 1831). Opera, too, has roots within the pastoral world, as it grew from liturgical drama, mystery plays, and pastoral plays of earlier generations. Adam de la Halle's (ca. 1245–1288) *Le Jeu de Robin det de Marion* (ca. 1283) is considered one of the first secular musical dramas, founded on the medieval *pastourelle* songs, which incorporated the story of two popular French pastoral characters: Robin and Marion. Jacopo Peri's (1561–1633) *Dafne* (1598) recounted the pastoral story of Daphne and Apollo, which is one of the first Italian operas. See, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Opera," by Nicholas Temperley and Denis Arnold.

bushes, miscellaneous shrubbery, and flowers (lilies are prevalent) are all common plant life

found within paintings. Various fauna found within pastoral art include hounds, livestock (sheep,

goats, horses, and cattle), and birds (pheasants, peacocks, swallows, and raptors), as well as

forest creatures, such as deer and amphibians. In the only exceptions of pastoral artwork that do

not depict an abundance of flora and fauna, painters often illustrate melancholic subjects, such as

death. Other dominant imageries include human and mythological subjects, as well as their

material possessions. Royalty, such as Queen Elizabeth with her Sovereign's Orb, clergymen,

and mythological gods or creatures are common allegorical figures. Primary subjects are, of

course, shepherds, hunters, and herdsmen; these characters often carry objects of their trade, such

as hunting equipment (bow and quiver) and farming equipment (scythes), as well as musical

instruments (recorders, viols, and lutes) used for pastime and leisure. Giorgione's *The Tempest*

(ca. 1508) displays many examples of such imagery.[47] The tempest within Giorgione's painting

refers to a mysterious woman sitting among shrubbery upon a knoll; across from this woman

stands a shepherd holding his staff. Despite the woman's questionable posture, the shepherd does

not appear to look directly at her, which has brought modern art scholars, such as Salvatore

Settis, to question the relationship between the shepherd and the tempest.[48] Furthermore, the

distant squall is interpreted as the inevitable end of paradise.[49] All of these common images are

found within pastoral literature, which stresses the literary art's influence on the development of

other artistic mediums.

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[47] See Appendix B, figure B.1.

[48] Salvatore Settis, *Giorgione's Tempest: Interpreting the Hidden Subject* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944), 118.

[49] Ibid., 113. Christian interpretations view the lightning as the wrath of God warning the shepherd (Adam) and his female companion (Eve) of the potential sins that may prevent them from entering Eden, the abandoned city of the background.

Madrigals of the late-Mannerist period, predominantly 1590–1615, demonstrated

significant influence from pastoral literature and artwork. Many composers used the text of

pastoral poetry as the basis for their compositions. For example, Luca Marenzio's (ca. 1553–

1599) "O Mirtillo, Mirtillo anima mia" (*Il Settimo libro de madrigali a cinque voci*, 1595) set the

text of Giovanni Batista Guarini's (ca. 1435–1505) *Il Pastor Fido* (1590), a pastoral drama.[50]

Similarly, Torquato Tasso's (1544–1595) *Aminta* (ca. 1580) inspired Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*.[51]

Certain musicians, especially of English descent, were motivated by the pastoral themes

presented in literature and art when creating the poetry for their musical settings. Textual content

varied depending on pastoral theme. Many madrigals suggest love in some form, whether it is

through the mingling of men and women as they dance "upon the greeny grass" or with the

"cruel spite" of death and rejected love.[52] Along with dancing, another common activity

mentioned in musical works is the performance of instruments, particularly bagpipes, horns, and

lutes. Shepherds were customarily musicians, not just within madrigals, but also in poetry, art,

and drama. To quote author Howard Mayer Brown, "a shepherd almost never appears on any

kind of fifteenth- or sixteenth-century stage without at least talking about music."[53] In madrigals,

references to pastoral subjects, humans or mythological beings, is a definitive characteristic,

namely shepherds and nymphs; veritably, Daphne's story is commonly presented within music.

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[50] Seth J. Coluzzi, "Speaking In (and Out of) Mode: Structure and Rhetoric in Marenzio's *O Mirtillo, Mirtillo anima mia* (1595)," *Music Theory Spectrum* 37, no. 2 (2015): 253.

[51] Arthur F. Kinney, *A Companion to Renaissance Drama* (New York City: John Wiley & Sons, 2008), 441.

[52] Thomas Morley, "Now is the Month of Maying," in *The English Madrigalists*, vol. 4, *First Book of Balletts (1595/1600)*, ed. Edmund H. Fellowes, 190–191 (London: Stainer & Bell, Ltd., 1965). Quote "upon the greeny grass" from Thomas Morley's "Now is the Month of Maying," line 4. Quote "cruel spite" derived from John Wilbye's "Come Shepherd Swains," line 10. See, John Wilbye, "Come Shepherd Swains," in *The English Madrigalist*, vol. 7, *Second Set of Madrigals (1609)*, ed. Edmund H. Fellowes, 1–6 (London: Stainer & Bell, Ltd., 1966).

[53] Howard Mayer Brown, *Music in the French Secular Theatre, 1400–1550* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963).

Allegorical characters are not absent from music, either, as exemplified in Thomas Morley's *The Triumphs of Oriana* (1601), a collection of madrigals by various composers. Each of the twenty-five madrigals concludes with the phrase "Long live fair Oriana!" in celebration of either Queen Elizabeth I or Anna of Denmark.[54] Lastly, the pastoral tradition is incomplete without descriptions of rural landscape; many of the images portrayed in art and literature are also present in music. From the peacefulness of the soft breeze, the reflection of the sky upon the sea, or the gentle singing of birds—musicians did not leave any stone unturned in physical depictions of the pastoral landscape through their compositions.

Masque composers also utilized physical descriptions in the songs of their plays. Masques originated primarily in England and were influenced by the *ballet* and the *ballet de cour* of the Italian and French courts, respectively. *Ballet de cour*, in particular, affected the characteristics of the English masque, including the emphasis on dance and choreography, which was performed to music. Masques in England developed from the merging of *ballet de cour* and English "disguisings," a Renaissance version of mumming, which originated as a medieval dramatic genre.[55] Mumming also had ties to the pastoral world; traditionally, masked characters were silent, accompanied only by instrumentalists, and acted out small skits. In a number of these documented short performances, the masked characters pretended to be shepherds.[56] Since

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[54] Thomas Morley. *The English Madrigalists*, vol. 32, *The Triumphs of Oriana (1601)*, ed. Edmund H. Fellowes (London: Stainer & Bell, Ltd., 1962). Since 1776, Sir John Hawkins's original theory of Oriana's identity had spurred a longstanding belief among English scholars, including Edmund Fellowes, that Oriana was an allegorical character meant to represent Queen Elizabeth I. See, Jeremy L. Smith, "Music and Late Elizabethan Politics: The Identities of Oriana and Diana," *Journal of the Musicological Society* 58, no. 3 (Fall, 2005): 513. According to a recent study performed by Jeremy L. Smith, however, he proposed that Oriana does not represent Queen Elizabeth I, but rather Anna of Denmark, wife to James VI of Scotland. See, Ibid., 508. This topic will be discussed in further detail in chapter two.
[55] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Masque," by Murray Lefkowitz.
[56] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Medieval drama, V: The end of the Middle Ages," by John Stevens, et al.

masques, the culmination of drama and music together in one performance, acted as entertainment within the court, this dramatic genre was established as an important social aspect of court life. Therefore, poets and composers, as well as content, were greatly influenced by the leaders of the court. For the purpose of this study, only English masques and pastoral plays have been selected for examination as an accompaniment to the analysis of the dissemination of English pastoral poetry and music.

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The pastoral tradition gradually mutated from its origins in ancient Greece through the end of the Renaissance era. Although the pastoral continued to appear in the works of later poets, artists, and musicians, much of the defining features developed before the seventeenth century. In this document, specific themes that manifested in the early pastoral tradition and were cultivated during the Renaissance era are explored throughout each chapter; three themes, in particular, emerge as significant to the study of pastoral repertoire. Investigations will analyze similarities and differences across European countries through the progressive analysis of Italian, French, Dutch, and English works. Literature is examined first, as literary works represent the genesis of the pastoral genre; this investigation is followed by an analysis of art and music with an insertion of courtly drama within the second chapter.

Unrequited love and death are subjects that best exemplify Renaissance literature as a whole, thus it is logical that those themes were incorporated in pastoral repertoire during the late Renaissance. Death and unrequited love within pastoral literature symbolize the dystopian perspective of human's flawed existence within a Utopian world. Despite representing beauty and simplicity, Arcadia was still an idyllic realm, unworthy and unobtainable to its mortal subjects. Imagery present in the selected literature determines how artists embodied Arcadia's

unattainable qualities through tragedy and misfortune, as surveyed in chapter three. Although Italians were the masters of this theme, English artists adapted their styles for English audiences. Edmund Spenser demonstrated death in *The Shepheardes Calender*, particularly in "November." Sir Walter Raleigh (ca. 1554–1618) followed suit with his poem *The Nymph's Reply to the Shepherd* (1600); William Browne of Tavistock (ca. 1590–1645) produced a late-Renaissance pastoral poem entitled *The Shepherd's Pipe* (1614). Within music, chosen English works with thematic content include John Wilbye's (ca. 1574–1638) "Come Shepherd Swains" (1609) and John Ward's (1590–1638) "Out from the Vale" (1613). Works of Italian and French origin precede analysis of these primary English works, as comparisons are made to determine common thematic progressions as approached through the concept of northern expansion.

Political allegory, as studied in chapter two, signifies another theme common in pastoral repertoire. Virgil's incorporation of allegory within his pastoral *Eclogues* presents the first mutation from Theocritus's chaste pastoral tradition. Many pastoral poets took inspiration from Virgil's metaphorical undertones. Medieval poets, such as Petrarch, wrote of injustice and discordance among religious officials, which was extended into the Renaissance revival through Mantuan's use of Reformation propaganda within his pastoral literature. Allegorical focus quickly shifted, however, as many Renaissance authors used the pastoral medium to praise their patrons, royalty, and other aristocracy of their time. The representation of such figures demonstrates the importance of the arts under the new patronage of the court systems. Furthermore, courtly patrons often imported artists from other countries, particularly Italy, which helped disseminate the pastoral tradition throughout Europe, specifically Italy, France, and England. Study of artists' connections to the courts further solidifies the concept of northern expansion. Characterizations of kings and queens in literature were among the most prevalent

examples of Renaissance political allegory, which included such subjects as King Louis XII, King Charles IX, and Queen Elizabeth I. Many English works paid homage to Queen Elizabeth I, such as "Aprill" from Edmund Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender*, Isaac Oliver's (ca. 1565–1617) rendition of the painting *Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses* (ca. 1590), Thomas Tomkins's (1572–1656) madrigal "See, see the Shepherds' Queen" (1622), and Sir Philip Sidney's (1554–1586) *The Lady of May* (1578) masque. The sheer number of works within Elizabethan English pastoral repertoire that exalt royalty proves both the importance of patronage and the significance of allegory in the development of the late-Renaissance pastoral tradition.

Additionally, the theme of Arcadian life and landscape emphasized the natural world, in which humans played secondary roles as they partook in their daily activities. Human characters acknowledged their roles as shepherds or goatherds and recognized their earthly duties; yet, these characters were also interwoven into the mythological tales of the Greek pastoral gods, blurring the threshold between Earth and the Heavens. As this theme most closely resembles the pure, classical pastoral of Theocritus, select Renaissance works that emphasize natural beauty through physical depictions of scenery, the shepherds' lifestyle, and recollections of mythological characters and their influence on mortal life is examined throughout the first chapter. As many Renaissance pastoral artists did not live in the rural countryside, there was often a dichotomy created within their repertoire that distinguished the simplistic Arcadia against the intricacies of urban life. Further, the apparent absence of pastoral art in England compared to other European countries during the Renaissance era will be explored during chapter one. As pastorals migrated northward, the classic theme underwent slight modifications, although many of its original features remained intact. These changes lead up to a primary analysis of English works,

including Edmund Spenser's "Maye" from *The Shepheardes Calender*, Dutch artist Joris Hoefnagel's painting of (1615–1675) *Fête at Bermondsey* (1569–1570), Thomas Morley's ballett "Now is the Month of Maying" (1595), and Francis Pilkington's (ca. 1565–1638) madrigal "Rest, Sweet Nymphs" (1605). These works either occur within an Arcadian landscape or emphasize Arcadian beauty and lifestyle through both textual and physical depictions, thus exemplifying the Renaissance version of pastoral's classic theme. Consequently, out of the three selected themes, the thematic characteristics of Arcadian landscape and lifestyle allow the pastoral tradition to uphold its purest connection with its origins in Antiquity.

CHAPTER ONE

THE SHEPHERDS' ARCADIA

Arcadia has been synonymous with the classic *Locus amoenus* since Antiquity and as such, was placed upon a pedestal by authors, artists, and musicians, alike. Whether Virgil's idyllic world was directly referenced, as found in Titian's *Two Arcadian Musicians in a Landscape* (ca. 1493–1576), or merely implied, as in Edmund Spenser's eclogues entitled *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579), Arcadia became the primary setting of Renaissance pastoral repertoire as a home to its many rustic subjects. As pastoral literature evolved, however, Arcadia began to represent more than its innate beauty; as an unobtainable ideal, Arcadia symbolized a realm beyond the grasp of human reality. Pastoral artists generally lived in urban communities, thus Arcadia began to represent the dichotomy of their complicated, real lives against the ideal life of simplicity found in rural locales. S. K. Heninger claims that the Renaissance pastoral poet "wanted real literature as well as an ideal life. Literature, like life, must take form within the human sphere; yet it should reflect the perfection glimpsed by the poet in his moment of ecstasy."[1] Even though many Renaissance artists approached pastoral literature with hidden, allegorical intentions, numerous poets, artists, and musicians emphasized characteristics that embodied the pure qualities of Theocritus's classic pastoral literature. Arcadian themes, many of which are common across all mediums of art, present themselves in the depictions of nature and the seemingly simplistic lifestyle of its mortal subjects. Specifically, Arcadian themes were stressed through descriptions of flora (flowers and green grass or foliage) and scenery (vast plains, valleys, hills, and forests), as well as the passive role of human subjects, namely shepherds/shepherdesses and nymphs, within the natural world. For instance, human life and

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[1] S.K. Heninger, Jr., "The Renaissance Perversion of Pastoral," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 22, no. 2 (April–June, 1961): 260–261.

interaction involved both realistic, but simple work, particularly gathering hay or tending to sheep, and idealistic leisure through singing and dancing. In contrast to these mortal subjects, certain mythological characters, such as Apollo, Daphne, Pan, and Flora, appear in repertoire to symbolize Arcadian idealism. Furthermore, physical descriptions of nature include representations of fauna, such as references to flocks of sheep or goats and singing birds. Additionally, Arcadian thematic repertoire is often set during the spring months, chiefly April and May, as spring is the season of rebirth and new life; the beauty of the season is equated with the splendors of youth, life, and love.

Implementation of thematic material varies between the literary, visual, and performing arts. For instance, pastoral painting brings the Arcadian landscape to life through illustrations of plains, mountains, fields, forests, creatures, and other subjects. Similarly, music may feature such physical descriptions through the application of text painting, a common characteristic of madrigals during the Renaissance era. To determine the progression of pastoral themes while simultaneously surveying the stylistic development of the madrigal over the course of the late-Mannerist period (ca. 1580–1620), analyses of selected repertoire will reveal thematic similarities and differences between individual works from Italy, France, the Netherlands, and England. Specifically, common imagery (descriptions of Arcadian landscape, flora, and fauna, as well as human activity, tasks, and leisure) creates a common thread between these pastoral works, regardless of medium, although variations represent thematic growth or national identities within the pastoral tradition. Textual analyses of literature and music are the foreground of this study, whereas other artistic characteristics, particularly visual and musical depictions of common imagery, supplement the poetic foundation of pastoral repertoire. Examinations of literature, such as Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (ca. 1489), and art, including Pieter Bruegel the

Elder's *Hay Making* (1565), lead into a primary investigation of music, with concentration

placed upon the English madrigalists, Thomas Morley and Francis Pilkington. Furthermore,

analysis of these selected works, among others, will solidify the expansion of pastoral repertoire

from its poetic background to its role as primary thematic material in English music with artistic

works representing the middle ground of pastoral development.

Pastoral Origins in Italy

Italian poets were the first to revive pastoral subjects during the Renaissance era.[2] Jacopo

Sannazaro (1458–1530) was among the first poets to revitalize interest in pastoral literature, and

successfully reintroduced Virgilian themes within his literary collection entitled *Arcadia*.[3] The

popularity of his *Arcadia* throughout Europe was vital to the dissemination of Arcadian ideals

and themes in pastoral poetry.[4] The collection emphasizes the activities of shepherds within an

ideal Arcadia, particularly *otium*, or "the idyllic state of leisure."[5] Thus, Sannazaro's shepherds

did not focus on realistic duties of tending to their flocks, and instead partook in games, jests,

and music.[6] Such Arcadian themes of lifestyle were equally important to the physical

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[2] Peter Burke, *The Renaissance* (London: Humanities Press International, 1987), 10–11. Ideals of the Renaissance era originated in Italy before disseminating across Europe; pastoral literature followed this trend, as early pastoral poets were primarily Italian.

[3] Sukanta Chaudhuri, *Renaissance Pastoral and its English Developments* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 61. Sannazaro wrote *Arcadia* with the sole intention of reviving the pastoral genre in Italy; indeed, *Arcadia* was one of his few significant works written in vernacular Italian. Arcadia was a large pastoral romance, which followed the *prosimetrum* form; Sannazaro combined twelve sections of prose in alternation with twelve sections of verse, or eclogues. In prose sections, the author maintains a narrative tone closer in form to fables than poetry, yet the verse sections typically contain a strict form of syllables and meter. Sannazaro was the first poet to popularize the *prosimetrum* form in pastoral literature, and later influenced the works of Rémy Belleau and Sir Philip Sidney. See, *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, s.v. "Prosimetrum," by T. V. F. Brogan.

[4] *The Encyclopæaedia Britannica: A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, Literature and General Information*, s.v. "Pastoral," by E.G. Sannazaro's *Arcadia* saw approximately sixty editions over the course of the sixteenth century. For instance, Jean Martin first translated *Arcadia* into French in 1544. See, John S. Powell, "The Dramatic Pastorale and *Pastorale en Musique*," in *Music and Theatre in France, 1600–1680*, 160–188 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 160.

[5] Helen Cooper, *Pastoral: Mediaeval into Renaissance* (Ipswich: D. S. Brewer, Ltd., 1977), 40.

[6] Chaudhuri, *Renaissance Pastoral*, 61.

descriptions of the Arcadian landscape where these shepherds reside, with love and melancholy maintaining a secondary role.[7] Each chapter introduces a new physical setting or group of shepherds, which acts as a narration before the character dialogue of the subsequent eclogue. Accordingly, prose in "Chapter I" and the verse of "Eclogue I" present identical subjects: two shepherds, Selvaggio and Ergasto.

In "Chapter I," Sannazaro introduces the scenic Mount Parthenion, home to the shrine of Pan. This setting is the place of many shepherd gatherings, where men partake in:

> …various strenuous contests, such as hurling the heavy stake, shooting with bows at a target, and making proof of their skill in light leaping and stout wrestling, full of rustic trickery: and most often in singing and in playing the shepherd's pipe in rivalry one with another, not without praise and reward for the victor.[8]

Along with descriptions of leisurely activities, Sannazaro also defines the landscape of Mount Parthenion as exceedingly beautiful with green grass, lush pastures, and magnificent trees formed by Mother Nature herself.[9] Within this beautiful, idyllic setting, Sannazaro introduces Ergasto, a dejected shepherd lost in thought, and Selvaggio, a youthful shepherd with intentions of comforting his dreary companion. "Eclogue I" consists of the dialogue between Ergasto and Selvaggio, in which the former defends his displeasure as the latter shepherd introduces Arcadian

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[7] Cooper, *Pastoral*, 100–104. Sannazaro admitted within the "Prologue" of *Arcadia* that contemporary poets, such as himself, could not "simply ignore the Petrarchan vision of the fallen world," yet Sannazaro does avoid emphasizing the themes, which is why he focuses on the joy of his subjects rather than the inevitable fates of death and destruction in many of his Chapters and Eclogues.

[8] Quotation from Jacopo Sannazaro, "Chapter 1," in *Arcadia & Piscatorial Eclogues*, trans. Ralph Nash (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1966), 31. Original Italian: [*…e quivi in diverse e non leggiere pruove esercitarsi: siccome in lanciare il grave palo, in trarre con gli archi al bersaglio, ed in addestrarsi ne' lievi salti, e nelle forti lotte, piene di rusticane insidie, e 'l piú delle volte in cantare, ed in sonare le sampogne a pruova l' un dell' altro, non sensza pregio e lode del vincitore.*] See, Jacopo Sannazaro, *Arcadia di M. Jacopo Sanazzaro*, ed. Luigi Portirelli, introduction by Giambattista Corniani (Milan: Dalla Società Tipografica de' Classici Italiani, 1806), 6.

[9] Ibid., 30. Although Sannazaro does not reference a specific goddess, "Mistress Nature" could derive from the Roman goddess Terra Mater (Mother Earth), or her Greek equivalent, Gaea. See, David E. Falkner, *The Mythology of the Night Sky: An Amateur Astronomer's Guide to the Ancient Greek and Roman Legends* (New York: Springer Science and Business Media, LLC, 2011), 17.

themes to entice his colleague to join him in leisure and merrymaking.[10] Selvaggio begins his

plea by reminding Ergasto of his duties as a shepherd and his responsibilities toward his flock,

which were lost without his guidance.

> *Ergasto mio, perchè solingo e tacito*
> *Pensar ti veggio? Omnè, che mal si lasciano*
> *Le pecorelle andare a lor ben placito.*
> *Vedi quelle che 'l rio varcando passano,*
> *Vedi que' duo monton che 'nsieme corrono,*
> *Come in un tempo per urtar s'abbassano.*[11]

> Ergasto mine, why do I see you meditating
> Solitary and silent? Ay me, that unhappily
> Your flocks are allowed to wander at their pleasure.
> See there some that are crossing the ford at the river,
> See those two rams that are running together,
> How at the same moment they lower their heads to joust.[12]

Ergasto's flock of sheep, the first example of fauna presented in the eclogue, appropriately

solidifies the character's role as a shepherd. Selvaggio warns Ergasto that, in the latter

shepherd's absence, his sheep have strayed freely. Interestingly, Selvaggio describes a scene

where the male sheep partake in their own contests of strength, much like the shepherds of

"Chapter 1." Upon completion, the celebrated winner and remaining herd shunned the defeated

ram. Perhaps Selvaggio is attempting to tell Ergasto that his own behavior has made him the

outcast among the other shepherds. Regardless, it is Ergasto's responsibility to maintain

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[10] Due to the *prosimetrum* form, only the eclogues within Sannazaro's *Arcadia* are metered, and even so, these meters remain flexible within individual verses and meter varying between eclogues. In "Eclogue I," Sannazaro utilized a common vernacular meter called *terza rima*, which utilized three-line stanzas and chain rhyme patterns; this meter was extremely popular in Italian poetry and music, particularly in early opera. The first 15 lines of "Eclogue I" have the following rhyme scheme: *aba bcb cbc bdb dbd*, etc. In *terza rima* forms, there is no limit to the number of chains performed in a single set. Sannazaro does not break the chain rhyme until line 50, ending with a couplet in lines 50–51. Sannazaro also halts his *terza rima* form in line 62 with a single line (the middle rhyme of the previous tercet), where he breaks into prose through line 90, where he resumed verse until the end, line 106. Rhythm in the Italian *terza rima* is not counted, much like French poetry; yet, the English equivalent (found in Sir Philip Sidney's *Old Arcadia*) utilizes iambic pentameter.

[11] Sannazaro and Portirelli, *Arcadia*, 9. Quotation from Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, "Eclogue I," lines 1–6.

[12] Sannazaro and Nash, *Arcadia*, 32.

solidarity within his own flock and keep them together, which he has failed to do. Moreover,

Selvaggio continues to provoke Ergasto with the risks of abandoning his duties:

> *E sai ben tu, che i lupi (ancorchè tacciano)*
>   *Fan le gran prede, e i can dormendo staunosi,*
>   *Però che i lor pastor non vi s'impacciano.*[13]

> And well you know that the wolves (although they are quiet)
>   Make great plunder, and the dogs lie around sleeping
>   Because their shepherds are not concerned for them.[14]

A scattered flock may seem like a minor concern until Selvaggio reminds Ergasto of the dangers

predators cause toward his flock. If a sheep or two stray from the herd, they may become

vulnerable to such predators as wolves, as they were stealthy hunters. Selvaggio continued his

reprimand, telling Ergasto that his dogs could help keep the flock together and safe during a

short absence; yet, the dogs, too, have dozed off due to boredom caused by Ergasto's lack of

interest.

Selvaggio then turns his attention away from the fauna of his trade, and redirects his

dialogue to discuss the beauty of Mount Parthenion's lush landscape during springtime,

including imagery to fit the change of seasons.

> *Già per li boschi i vaghi uccelli fannosi*
>   *I dolci nidi, e d' alti monti cascano*
>   *Le nevi, che pel sol tutte disfannosi.*
> *E par che i fiori per le valli nascano,*
>   *Ed ogni ramo abbia le foglie tenere,*
>   *E i puri agnelli per l' erbette pascano.*[15]

> Now through the woods the pretty birds are building
>   Their sweet nests, and down from the lofty mountains
>   Cascade the snows that by the sun are all unmade.
> And lo, the flowers spring to life in the valleys,
>   And every branch has tender leaves,
>   And the innocent lambs are grazing on the herbage.[16]

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[13] Sannazaro and Portirelli, *Arcadia*, 9. Quotation from Sannazaro's *Arcadia,* "Eclogue I," lines 10–12.
[14] Sannazaro and Nash, *Arcadia*, 32.
[15] Sannazaro and Portirelli, *Arcadia*, 9. Quotation from Sannazaro's *Arcadia,* "Eclogue I," lines 13–18.
[16] Sannazaro and Nash, *Arcadia*, 32.

Selvaggio also makes mention of the region's natural inhabitants, avifauna, who have returned to the mountain woods at winter's end to continue the life cycle of raising and preparing their youth for flight before the autumn migration. Sannazaro's description of the melting snow is quite breathtaking as he highlights the change in season as symbolizing the beauty of rebirth. New life is also presented through blossoming spring flowers, herbs, and the "tender leaves" on trees, which are common flora in idyllic landscapes. Sannazaro's descriptors of "tender" flora and "innocent" fauna reminds the audience of the fragility of youth—a temporary state that will eventually end with maturity.

Despite the knowledge of fleeting youth, the poet chose to keep Selvaggio's tone light and focused on Arcadian imagery and life, including shepherds' favorite pastime: song. Within the general pastoral tradition, music and singing are central activities of shepherd gatherings and contests, yet Sannazaro approaches the size of this particular gathering as a rare occurrence for Selvaggio and Ergasto:

> *A dire il vero oggi è tanta l' inopia*
>   *De' pastor, che cantando all' ombra seggiano,*
>   *Che par che stiamo in Scitia o in Etiopia.*
> *Or poi che o nulli o pochi ti pareggiano*
>   *A cantar versi si legiardri e frottole,*
>   *Deh canta omai, che parchei tempi il chieggiano.*[17]

> To tell the truth, today is such scarcity
>   Of shepherds (who sit singing in the shade)
>   That it seems that we are in Scythia, or Ethiopia.
> Now since none or few can equal you
>   In singing such lovely verses and ballads—
>   Come now, sing, for surely the times require it.[18]

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[17] Sannazaro and Portirelli, *Arcadia*, 9–10. Quotation from Sannazaro's *Arcadia,* "Eclogue I," lines 25–30.

[18] Sannazaro and Nash, *Arcadia*, 32. Scythia, derived from Agathyrsus – son of Hercules, refers to regions of northern Asia. See, *Classical Manual; or A Mythological, Historical, and Geographical Commentary on Pope's* Homer*, and Dryden's Æneid of Virgil*, s.v. "Scythians." Ethiopia, or Æthiopia, was a designation for the African territory south of Egypt. See, *Classical Manual*, s.v. "Æthiopia."

Selvaggio again moves his attention toward the gathering of shepherds, as described in "Chapter I," who join in singing. He hints at the rarity of such a large gathering, perhaps every spring, by referencing the faraway locations of Scythia and Ethiopia, which were relatively foreign regions to the Ancient Greeks and Romans. Generally, shepherds gathered to partake in *otium* in smaller groups, typically two to three or the number of shepherds participating in a single eclogue, rather than the magnitude of the gathering as described by Selvaggio. In a final attempt to prevent Ergasto from spoiling the rare occasion spent in self-pity, Selvaggio encourages him to join the other shepherds in singing, which was a pastime Ergasto usually enjoyed.

Arcadian themes divide into two ideas pertaining to mortal subjects: realistic and idyllic. Physical descriptions of landscapes may be either realistic or idyllic since real rural landscapes inspired the ideal beauty of nature. Realistic themes involve pastoral activities that describe the labors of shepherds, gatherers, and other rural trades, whereas idyllic themes involve all leisurely activities, such as singing and dancing. Idyllic Arcadia also contained mythological themes, which included allusions to mythological fables and the gods or goddesses surrounding the legends. Sannazaro referenced principal deities, such as Venus and Apollo, as well as the nymph Echo. The poet also combined mythology and fauna in Ergasto's following lament:

> *Selvaggio mio, per queste oscure grottole*
>   *Filomena né Progne vi si vedono;*
>   *Ma meste strigi ed importune nottole.*
> *Primavera e suoi di per me non riedono,*
>   *Ne trovo erbe o fioretti che mi gioveuo;*
>   *Ma solo pruni e stecchi che'l cor ledono.*[19]
> Selvaggio mine, among these shadowy haunts
>   Neither Philomel nor Procne is visible:
>   But sad screech owls and troublesome bats.
> Spring and her days do not return for me,
>   Nor do I find herbs or flowers that profit me;
>   But only thorns and splinters that lacerate the heart.[20]

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[19] Sannazaro and Portirelli, *Arcadia*, 10. Quotation from Sannazaro's *Arcadia,* "Eclogue I," lines 31–36.
[20] Sannazaro and Nash, *Arcadia*, 32.

In his sorrow, Ergasto ignores the beautiful calls of the nightingale, Philomela, and the swallow, Procne, and instead focuses on the unpleasant screeches of owls and bats. Sannazaro's choice to use Philomela and Procne is interesting yet significant, as the two are not typically associated with pastoral literature; even so, they represent two specific birds, which are common fauna in the pastoral tradition.[21] Lady Spring, possibly Persephone, and all the glories of her season cannot comfort Ergasto, who only sees thorny flora that wound the heart. Ergasto's sorrow stems from his encounters with Echo, a wood nymph frequently found in pastoral literature.

> *La pastorella mia spietata e rigida,*
>   *Che notte e giorno al mio soccorso chiamola,*
>   *E sta superba, e più che ghiaccio frigida;*
> *Ben sanno questi boschi quant' io amola,*
>   *Sannolo tiumi monti fiere ed nomini,*
>   *Ch' ognor piangendo e sospirando bramola.*
> *Sallo quante fiate il di la nomini*
>   *Il gregge mio, che già tutt' ore ascoltami,*
>   *O ch'egli in selva pasca, o in mandra romini.*[22]

> Unbending and unpitying my shepherdess,
>   Though night and day I call her to my aid,
>   And she remains proud, and colder than ice;
> Well do they know, these woods, how much I love her,
>   Rivers, mountains, beats and men they know it,
>   How weeping and signing every hour I need her.
> How many times a day I call her name
>   My flock knows, that hears me all the time,
>   Whether it is grazing in the woods or ruminating in the fold.[23]

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[21] Apollodorus, *Gods and Heroes of the Greeks: The Library of Apollodorus*, ed. Michael Simpson (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1976), 213–214. In ancient Greek mythology, Philomel and Procne were sisters transformed into a nightingale and a swallow, respectively, after the two sought vengeance on Tereus for raping Philomel and cutting out her tongue.

[22] Sannazaro and Portirelli, *Arcadia*, 11–12. Quotation from Sannazaro's *Arcadia,* "Eclogue I," lines 91–99.

[23] Sannazaro and Nash, *Arcadia*, 34. Echo is traditionally a mountain nymph from Mount Helicon, who was transformed in *Arcadia* to meet Sannazaro's forest setting on Mount Parthenion. Apparently, due to her ability to sing in "Eclogue I," Ergasto met Echo before Hera took away her ability to use her voice except when repeating another person's words. See, *Encyclopedia of Greco-Roman Mythology*, s.v. "Echo."

Echo is compared to a shepherdess by Ergasto in the above passage. An underlying emotion found throughout Sannazaro's *Arcadia* is melancholy, as demonstrated in "Eclogue I" through the unrequited love between Ergasto and Echo. This form of complicated love between a shepherd and shepherdess or nymph is customary in pastoral literature. Thus, even though unrequited love is a subordinate theme to idyllic landscape and leisure in "Eclogue I," it does command a secondary role in the overall message of the dialogue. In the end, Ergasto remained in bittersweet recollection of Echo's presence throughout the forest. Incorporation and description of Arcadian landscape, lifestyle, and mythology were common devices applied in pastoral literature to emphasize primary thematic material. Sannazaro's *Arcadia* employed all of these motifs and unlocked the pastoral tradition for future Renaissance artists.

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Italy was not only central to the rebirth of pastoral literature, but the country was also home to the creation of pastoral visual. Elaborate descriptions of the countryside in pastoral literature allowed artists to saturate their own works of art with Arcadian subjects and themes. Among the many famous Italian artists of the early Renaissance, Titian (ca. 1488–1576) was a leading Venetian painter of pastoral works. Due to severe political turmoil in the Venetian Republic during the early-sixteenth century, many artists turned toward idyllic subjects as a means to escape tensions of the real world.[24] In this context, pastoral imagery took on an allegorical meaning within art; for instance, Venetian townships were linked with ideals of Eden or Jerusalem, and the goddess Venus, associated with Venetian patriotism, began to take on the

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[24] Deborah Howard, "Giogione's *Tempesta* and Titian's *Assunta* in the Context of the Cambrai Wars," *Art History* 8, no. 3 (September, 1985): 271. During the first two decades of the sixteenth century, northern Italy struggled with the Wars of the League of Cambrai (1508–1516) against France, although other European countries and states joined, including England and Spain.

role of a nymph.[25] Titian, in particular, utilized images of Venus as unclothed and sensuous quite frequently. For instance, Titian's *Venus with a Musician* series (ca. 1548–1572) contains six adaptations inspired by his early painting, *Pastoral Concert* (ca. 1509).[26] By comparing the nymph (Venus) of Titian's *Pastoral Concert* with his other sketch titled *Two Arcadian Musicians in a Landscape*, we may determine Titian's founding inspiration for his continued setting of Venus among Arcadian themes of landscape.[27]

 Two Arcadian Musicians, shown in figure 1.1, as the sketch is commonly entitled, illustrates two musicians, a man and a woman, performing in a pastoral environment. The man plays a large viol and the woman, hypothetically acknowledged as Venus, holds a recorder. The male musician, a shepherd, stands facing her and gazes at his hands as he plays. Venus is holding her recorder, yet not playing, and is facing the man; her gaze is away toward the background landscape. To the viewer, drapery covers Venus's lower body, concealing her nudity and maintaining a level of innocence associated with nymphs, which is in contrast to his later *Venus with a Musician* series. Through later paintings, Titian exhibited physical female perfection through nude depictions of Venus in explicit poses fully open to the viewer, thus removing any

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[25] Ibid., 271. In ancient Greek and Roman mythology, nymphs were typically portrayed as innocent and pure, who often had their virginity taken from them by force. In Renaissance pastoral literature, however, nymphs became synonymous with shepherdesses, thus bestowing an innate sexuality upon the mythological subjects. See, Richard Burt and John Michael Archer, *Enclosure Acts: Sexuality, Property, and Culture in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 276–77.

[26] David Alan Brown, et al, *Bellini, Giorgione, Titian, and the Renaissance of Venetian Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 16. For select illustrations of Titian's *Venus with a Musician* series, refer to Appendix B, figure B.2. Titian's *Pastoral Concert* (illustration on page 171) was once attributed to Giorgione; however, modern scholars credit the painting as completed by Titian in honor of Giorgione after his sudden death. Further discussion on this work may be found in Chapter three.

[27] Ibid., 31. The exact date of this sketch is unknown, although an inscription on the verso side of the paper indicates "Castelfranco" (Giorgio da Castelfranco, or Giorgione) and "1508" (see Appendix B, figure B.3), which could potentially designate Titian, around age twenty, as an apprentice under his master, Giorgione, during his work on this composition. Another interpretation to this inscription is that Giorgione began the sketch before his death, and Titian completed *Two Arcadian Musicians* at a later date. There is no way, however, to prove that the dated inscription accurately portrays the date of the work. Therefore, scholars are unable to determine whether *Concert* or *Arcadian Musicians* came first.

innocence from Venus's persona. From the male musician's perspective, her nudity is fully

exposed, which hints at Venus's sexuality.

Figure 1.1. Titian (Tiziano Vecelli), *Two Arcadian Musicians*, date unknown (ca. 1488–1576), ink on paper. The British Museum, London. Permission granted by The British Museum, London.

Other subjects include the only depictions of fauna in the sketch, which are two sheep lying

behind the shepherd. Flora, consisting of two trees and other shrubbery, is in the middle ground

of the painting, directly behind the shepherd and his small flock. Arcadian landscape fills the

background space, as partially overcast skies meet the peaks of distant mountains. At the far

edge of the empty escarpment, jagged peaks of distant city buildings break up the idyllic scene. The harshness of the city seen against the pastoral setting may represent the dichotomy between Titian's realistic urban placement and Arcadia's idealistic rural landscape.

Titian's emphasis on Arcadian imagery in his sketch *Two Arcadian Musicians in a Landscape* further exemplifies the significance of pastoral themes in Italian literature. Many similarities, as well as differences, occur between the two early-sixteenth century works: Sannazaro's romance *Arcadia* and Titian's sketch *Two Arcadian Musicians*. Sannazaro's "Chapter I" and "Eclogue I" emphasize trees created by Mistress Nature, whereas trees are the only elaborate depictions of flora in Titian's drawing. Of the many fauna listed in *Arcadia*, two sheep rest quietly behind Titian's shepherd; unlike the two rams of Sannazaro's poem, only one of Titian's sheep is a male. Another common thread between these two works is at the center of *Two Arcadian Musicians* and a large part of *Arcadia*, which is music. This association is logical considering shepherds were masterful musicians in classic pastoral literature. Even so, Titian's male musician does not play the typical hornpipes of the shepherd, although the recorder is a common instrument, especially when played by a shepherdess or nymph. The numerous similarities between Sannazaro's pastoral poetry and Titian's idyllic artwork truly demonstrate the impact these two artists had in implementing Arcadian themes into repertoire, as seen by the many poets, artists, and musicians who later imitated these Italian pastoral masters.

Pastoral in Northern Continental Europe

As pastoral repertoire gained popularity in Italy, poets and artists from more northern mainland countries, particularly France and the Netherlands, took inspiration and renewed pastoral traditions within their own nations. Indeed, Italian pastoralists were influential in France and the Netherlands, although artists of these nations created ideals different from their Italian

predecessors. Titian, for instance, held ties to France through his work painting court portraitures.[28] Additionally, many Dutch and Netherlandish artists imitated Titian's painting style, particularly the pose of his female subject within the *Venus with a Musician* series.[29] Similar to Titian, northern poets studied and imitated Sannazaro's pastoral literature. Parisian scholars translated *Arcadia* into French in 1544, which in turn influenced poets, such as Rémy Belleau (ca. 1528–1577). Belleau supported the realism of Mannerist interpretations regarding the "artifice of *ekphrasis*—the fundamental incoherence of any notion of French place as an ideal community" in his works.[30] Fundamentally, Belleau believed the world as it was could not exist in an ideal state, even within an imaginary existence; rather, the world must be reworked before it could be considered idyllic. Thus, Belleau drew upon Arcadian ideals founded in Sannazaro's *Arcadia* and applied its themes to the French landscape, found in his collection *La Bergerie* (1565).

  La Bergerie has a realistic and simple plot that is set in a château reminiscent of the House of Guise's castle in Joinville, where Belleau held a position tutoring the Duke's nephew.[31]

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[28] Luba Freedman, *Titian's Portraits Through Aretino's Lens* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 140. Pietro Aretino, an Italian poet, commissioned Titian to paint a portrait of King Francis I of France in 1538. Refer to Chapter three for further discussion of the court's involvement in the dissemination of pastoral repertoire.

[29] Ingrid Ciulisová, *Paintings of the 16th Century Netherlandish Masters: Slovak Art Collections* (Fresno: Veda, 2006), 52. Both Gillis Coignet (ca. 1542–1599) and Pieter Isaacsz (1568–1625) imitated Titian's depictions of Venus. Gillis Coignet, a Netherlandish painter, composed two illustrations of Venus as inspired by Titian (*Mars et Vénus*, 1590 and 1598). Pieter Isaacsz's painting *Allegory of Vanity* (1600) also utilizes Titian's iconic Venus. See, Juliette Roding and Badeloch Noldus, *Pieter Isaacsz (1568– 1625): Court Painter, Art Dealer and Spy* (Columbus: ISD Publishing, 2007), 50.

[30] Louisa MacKenzie, *The Poetry of Place: Lyric, Landscape, and Ideology in Renaissance France* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 96. Mannerist *ekphrasis* was a renewal of classical rhetoric that used detailed descriptions of specific imagery, in Belleau's case – French landscape, to invoke emotions, especially nostalgia. See, *The Princeton Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Ekphrasis," by G. G. Starr. Belleau wrote *La Bergerie* during a time of political tension; as such, his patrons were devote Catholics against the Reformation See, Ibid., 100.

[31] Chaudhiri, *Renaissance Pastoral*, 257. Joinville is a township within France's modern-day Haute-Marne department. During Belleau's lifetime, the Joinville castle was under control of Henry I, Duke of Guise.

For Belleau, who was primarily stationed in Paris, Joinville represented his personal interpretation of a realistic, achievable Arcadia. *La Bergerie* is a journey of the grounds in and surrounding the château, which was filled with shepherdesses, Antoinette de Bourbon's attendants, and shepherds, or court knights.[32] Although the journey unfolds through Belleau's prose and verse, the individual poems do not create a coherent plot. Rather, the poem's perspective is of Belleau himself as he wanders casually through Joinville's various locations; the poet recalls encounters with other characters as well as the natural beauty of the property. *La Bergerie* varies significantly from other pastoral literature written during the mid-sixteenth century; the most substantial alteration is the sparse application of the eclogue form throughout the collection. The first two poems, "Tenot, Bellot, Perot," and "Chant de la Paix," are both eclogues; however, Belleau shifts to other poetic genres, particularly odes, elegies (*tombeaux*), and romances, for more than ten poems before returning to the standard bucolic genre.

"Mai," the sixth poem, as well as one of the longest verses in the collection is not an eclogue. "Mai" takes place in a woodland scene behind the château, potentially a rose garden or vineyard.[33] Since this poem is set in a rural scene, Belleau utilized "Mai" to stress the beauty of

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[32] Ibid., 257.

[33] Rémy Belleau, *Oeuvres complètes de Rémy Belleau*, vol. 2, *Bibliothèque elzevirienne*, vol. 13–15, ed. A. Gouverneur (Paris: Librairie A. Franck, 1867), 46–50. There are nearly 150 poems within the expansive collection *La Bergerie*, as there are varieties of forms and genres utilized throughout. Some larger poems alternate between verse and prose freely, whereas other sets of poems alternate between verse and prose (*prosimetrum* form), as inspired by Sannazaro's *Arcadia*; this poetic form was quite uncommon among French literature during the 1560s. See, MacKenzie, *The Poetry of Place*, 100. Rather than writing in the common French Alexandrine (dodecasyllabic) meter, "Mai" is written in an octosyllabic meter, which is more commonly utilized in Spanish literature. See, *The Princeton Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Octosyllable," by T. V. F. Brogan and C. Scott. Octosyllabic meters were not uncommon in France, however, the combination of the octosyllable and the rhyme scheme of *aabccb*, which remains constant throughout the entire poem, is rather peculiar. Belleau's contemporaries, such as Pierre de Ronsard, chose to occasionally disregard rhyme. See, *The Princeton Encyclopedia*, s.v. "French Poetry," by G. Peureux. This particular sestet rhyme scheme is quite common in Spanish literature, as well. The combination of syllables and rhyme may create a link between Belleau's *La Bergerie* and the pastoral romance *Los siete libros de la Diana* (*The Seven Books of Diana*, 1559) by Spanish poet Jorge de

the French countryside. In comparison to other eclogues within the poetic collection, Belleau's use of highly detailed descriptions of nature and landscape in "Mai" present content that is most reflective of Arcadian themes.

"Mai" is not a typical eclogue since there is no dialogue to direct the reader, leaving the poem to unfold from the perspective of the poet, which represents an evolution of the pastoral tradition from its classical origins. "Mai" also does not contain any pastoral characters, shepherd or otherwise, although shepherds and shepherdesses are found in other poems of *La Bergerie*. Therefore, two very important characteristics of Arcadian-themed literature are missing—the shepherd and the shepherd's activities. Rather, Belleau leads his audience to view himself as a pastoral character, which was appropriate allegory utilized by other pastoral poets, namely Virgil. Naturally, Belleau portrayed himself as a shepherd, although there is no dialogue within "Mai" to identify himself as such, and Joinville was his Arcadia, solidifying the concept of a shepherd's Arcadia in *La Bergerie*—a location, *Locus amoenus*, idealized by the poet and inhabited by his allegorical self. Furthermore, there is no mention of any specific activity of leisure, but rather, the poem as a whole embodies the act of reflection.

Despite the lack of traditional pastoral characters carrying on their everyday lives or participating in *otium*, or leisure, Belleau established Arcadian thematic material through abundant descriptions of the natural, rural landscape in "Mai." The poet's observations of nature, particularly flora, idealized the scenic landscape of Joinville, creating a *Locus amoenus* of the French countryside. Nevertheless, Mother Nature's role in the creation of the scenery is subdued, as many examples of flora used in "Mai" are a by-product of man's manipulation of nature:

Montemayor (ca. 1520–1561). Like Belleau, Montemayor drew inspiration directly from Sannazaro's *Arcadia*. See, *The New International Encyclopædia*, s.v. "Spanish Literature."

Pendant que la vigne tendrette,
D'une entreprise plus secrète
Forme le raisin verdissant,
Et de ses petits bras embrasse
L'orme voisin, qu'elle entrelace
De pampre mollement glissant:[34]

While the soft vine,
In a more secret manner
Shape the grapes turning green,
And with its little arms hold
The nearby elm they entwine
With vine branches softly slithering:[35]

Belleau recounts a walk through the castle vineyard, where he observes the gentle curves and spirals of the grape vines; he compares the motion of the vines as it matures and grows to the movement of a serpent. Changes in fruit color on the vines presents a level of maturity that corresponds with the month of May as the end of spring and the beginning of summer. Grapes, in this work, are also equivalent to blossoming flowers, a more common flora in Arcadian literature, which sprout, grow, and bloom throughout the spring and summer seasons. Belleau references the château rose garden in the twelfth stanza, particularly the way the roses bloom only during the daylight hours of spring. There is a sense of Arcadian frailty in this statement, as Belleau recalls the death of these blooms as the days draw further and further from spring.[36]

Yet, Belleau does not linger on the negative Arcadian notion of inevitable decay, and instead focuses on the joy of new life and youth:

Et que les brebis camusettes
Tondent les herbes nouvelettes,
Et le chevreau à petits bons
Échauffe sa corne et sautelle
Devant sa mère, qui broutelle
Sur le roc les tendres jetons.[37]

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[34] Belleau and Gouverneur, *Œuvres completes*, 46. Quotation from Rémy Belleau, *Bergerie,* "Mai," lines 19–24.

[35] Ibid., 46. English translation by Nadine Maggard.

[36] Ibid., 49. French quotation, lines 67–69: [*Qu'il te souvienne que les roses/ Du matin jusqu'au soir écloses,/ Perdent la couleur et l'odeur…*].

[37] Ibid., 47. Quotation from Belleau's *Bergerie,* "Mai," lines 25–30.

And the pug-nosed sheep
Mowing the new grass,
And the young jumping goat
Warms its horn and bounces
In front of its mother who grazes
Some soft sprouts on a rock.[38]

As spring is the season of birth and rebirth, Belleau continues his theme of youth, shifting his attention from the newly grown flora to young fauna in the previous stanza. Both the grazing lamb and playful kid are primary fauna of the pastoral tradition; again, such playfulness is representative of youthful energy. Belleau's incorporation of these specific animals was deliberate, even though he makes no mention of a shepherd or goatherd keeping watch over the flocks. Feasibly, Belleau intended for the inclusion of sheep and goats to create an implied connection to their masters without needing to reference their existence, which could support the theory of Belleau's unspecified role as a shepherd. Regardless of his intentions, Belleau did not solely focus on pasture fauna, as he demonstrated his interest in avifauna throughout the entire poem.

Pendant que la voix argentine
Du Rossignol, dessus l'épine
Dégoise cent fredons mignards :
Et que l'Avette ménagère
D'une aile tremblante et légère.
Vole en ses pavillons bruyards.[39]

While the slivery voice
Of the nightingale, on top of the thorn
Performs a hundred lovely sounds:
And the worker honeybee
With light and shaky strokes
Flies with its flaggy and noisy wings.[40]

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[38] Ibid., Maggard translation.
[39] Ibid., 47. Quotation from Belleau's *Bergerie,* "Mai," lines 31–36.
[40] Ibid., Maggard translation.

Belleau mentioned various birds in "Mai," possibly since birds primarily call during the spring mating season. Bird song has always held an important role in literature and music, thus birds fit well into the pastoral tradition. The nightingale, well known for its variety in song, was a popular avifauna subject among French poets and musicians.[41] Yet, the nightingale is not the only bird presented by Belleau; the poet also describes swallows that praise "the most beautiful time of the year" with their song.[42] Doves and pigeons also make an unexpected appearance in "Mai," despite being atypical choices for pastoral poetry, although the birds serve as a reminder of Belleau's goal for realism.[43] Moreover, Belleau skillfully employed these birds as symbols of fertility, a primary characteristic of spring, which fits in the theme of youth and new life. Undoubtedly, Belleau was familiar with the flora and fauna he was referencing, as the detailed depictions of landscape and animal life are superior to pastoral characters and their activities, which are not represented within the poem.

Belleau goes further into Arcadian themes when he introduces mythological goddesses, such as Ceres and Venus, into "Mai." Interestingly, there are only allusions to goddesses in Belleau's poem, and no mention of Pan, the primary pastoral god. Allusions to goddesses may have been Belleau's method of praising the primary lady of the Joinville castle, Antoinette de Bourbon, mother of the Duke of Guise. Belleau also used Greek and Roman names for his goddesses, Ceres and Venus, rather than one or the other. For example, the poet could have used Demeter and Venus or Ceres and Aphrodite, yet he chose Ceres over her more common

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[41] Clément Janequin's (ca. 1485–1558) *Le Rossignol* (1537), Gilles Corrozet's (ca. 1510–1568) *Le conte du rossignol* (1547), Orlando de Lassus's (ca. 1530–1594) *Le rossignol plaisant et gratieux* (1561), and Claude de Jeune's (ca. 1528–1600) *Rossignol mon mignon* (1572) are just a few examples of Renaissance repertoire dedicated to the nightingale.
[42] Belleau and Gouverneur, *Œuvres completes*, 46. French quotation, lines 43–45: [*Pendant que les Arondelettes/ De leurs gorges mignardelettes/ Rappellent le plus beau de l'an…*].
[43] Ibid., 48. French quotation, lines 7–9: [*Ce pendant que les tourterelles,/ Les pigeons et les colombelles/ Font l'amour en ce mois si beau…*].

designation as Demeter.[44] Ceres and Venus work together within this poem to embody the

beauty and growth of all forms of flora, whether created by man or nature. Of course, Venus

would not be true to herself if there were not hints at love weaved into her role:

> *En ce mois Venus la sucrée,*
> *Amour, et la troupe sacrée*
> *Des Grâces, des Ris, et des Jeux,*
> *Vont rallumant dedans nos veines*
> *L'ardeur des amoureuses peines,*
> *Qui glissent en nous par les yeux.*[45]
>
> In this month sweet Venus,
> Love, and the sacred group
> Of Graces, Laughters, and Plays
> Will revive in our veins
> The ardency of love sorrows,
> That slips into us through our eyes. [46]

Venus was a clear decision as the deity to embody pastoral themes in Belleau's idyllic Joinville.

In Roman mythology, Venus's sacred month is April, as characterized by the rebirth of flora;

descriptions of blossoming flowers, sprouting leaves, and maturing fruit are established in

"Mai," even though the setting takes place in the month of May, rather than April. Of course,

flowers remain in bloom throughout both April in May, but it is possible that Belleau was simply

altering the mythology to accommodate Joinville's northern climate, where flowers may have

bloomed later in the spring in France than in Italy. The goddesses's role in fertility also ties

together the incorporation of avifauna, particularly the curious dove and pigeon references.

> *Va donc, et prend la jouissance*
> *Des soupirs, qu'une longue absence*
> *A fait renaître dedans toi :*

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[44] *Encyclopedia of Greco-Roman Mythology*, s.v. "Ceres." Ceres was the Greek goddess of vegetation and agriculture.
[45] Belleau and Gouverneur, *Œuvres completes*, 47. Quotation from Belleau's *Bergerie,* "Mai," lines 13–18.
[46] Ibid., Maggard translation. Venus was the Roman goddess of love, beauty, fertility, desire, and sexuality. See, *Encyclopedia of Greco-Roman Mythology*, s.v. "Venus."

Va que Paris ne te retienne,
Ma chère âme, et qu'il te souvienne
Des Muses, d'Amour, et de moi.[47]

There you go, and enjoy
Sighs, that a prolonged absence
Have revived in you:
Go without being held by Paris,
My dear soul, and remember
Muses, Love, and me.[48]

Muses are the final allusion toward mythology in the poem, which hints at Belleau's underlying reason behind the conception of "Mai," a secondary theme that subtly fits into the pastoral tradition.[49] Belleau clearly used Joinville as inspiration for the poems within *La Bergerie*, thus Joinville was his Muse. The poem "Mai," in particular, expresses Belleau's despair in being unable to leave Paris to seek out the comforts of Joinville. Therefore, Joinville was his escape as his Arcadia. Belleau's use of Arcadian themes emphasized the beauty of the natural world—a world that he had experienced first-hand. Nature and landscape were elevated to an idyllic level through mythological references to spring deities, who justified the creation of such splendor. Through Belleau's influence, the French pastoral was known for the amalgamation of the idealistic, Arcadian world with the realistic, natural French countryside. Emphasis on pastoral realism became a common theme in countries of northern continental Europe, particularly France and the Netherlands, during the Northern Mannerist period (ca. 1520–1620), which presented the visual arts with a foundation to cultivate a new genre of landscape painting.

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[47] Ibid., 50. Quotation from Belleau's *Bergerie,* "Mai," lines 97–102.
[48] Ibid., Maggard translation.
[49] *Encyclopedia of Greco-Roman Mythology*, s.v. "Musae." Muses hail from Greek mythology as the goddess daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne. Each daughter represents a different knowledge of the arts and sciences, thus they are often cited in literature as the inspiration behind a particular poem, work of art, or treatise.

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Pastoral art in France was much slower to gain momentum than pastoral poetry.[50] In fact, Netherlandish artists more prominently adapted works and themes of Italian artists, such as Titian; patrons of other countries, including France and England, hosted several Netherlandish painters throughout the period of Northern Mannerism. Nevertheless, it is evident that French audiences were not yet interested in pastoral scenery, as imported Netherlandish artists, such as the Flemish painter Janet Clouet (or Jean Clouet/Clowet, ca. 1480–1541), did not utilize landscapes in their paintings.[51] Despite the tendency of Netherlandish artists to work internationally, numerous painters remained within the Low Countries. Hans Bol (1534–1593) and Karel van Mander (1548–1606) were both Flemish landscape painters who had lived and worked in the Dutch Republic.[52] Similarly, Abraham Bloemaert (1564–1651) and Pieter Bruegel the Elder (ca. 1525–1569) were Dutch painters who illustrated landscapes as primary subjects, although Bruegel travelled to Rome to study Italian masters before returning to Antwerp for the remainder of his career. Bruegel, in particular, was instrumental in the development of landscape art that utilized pastoral themes through "genre" illustrations.[53] In the painting *Hay Making* (or *The Hay Harvest*, 1565), see figure 1.2, Bruegel combined landscape and genre to create an intricate narrative of pastoral life.

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[50] Sixteenth-century French artists, such as Francois Clouet (ca. 1510–1572), primarily painted miniatures and portraitures.

[51] *The Encyclopæaedia Britannica*, s.v. "Clouet, Jean," by G. C. W.

[52] *Dutch Art: An Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Landscape," by Alan Chong.

[53] Margaret A. Sullivan, "Bruegel the Elder, Pieter Aertsen, and the Beginnings of Genre," *The Art Bulletin* 93, no. 2 (June, 2011): 127. Genre painting is the illustration of scenes from everyday life. Genre gained popularity in Dutch painting of the mid-sixteenth century, through the compositions of Bruegel and Pieter Aertsen (ca. 1508–1575). Bruegel's *Ice Skating Before the Gate of St. George* (1558, see Appendix B, figure B.4) was the impetus for the style.

Hay Making depicts a colorful landscape of fields and farmhouses scattered among forests with a backdrop of expansive valleys and distant mountains. Bruegel's focus on realism in his painting is comparable to Belleau and his use of realism in *La Bergerie*; Bruegel obtained realism through the activities of his subjects. The lack of mythological characters further denotes Bruegel's emphasis on realism, despite the fact that mythical creatures or beings are typically present in pastoral repertoire. In the middle ground escarpment, workers collect hay with rakes and form the hay into piles or heaving formed piles onto a horse-drawn cart. In the foreground, an assortment of activity is seen among Bruegel's rustic subjects. In the bottom left corner, a man appears to be repairing or sharpening his scythe.

Figure 1.2. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Hay Making*, from the series, "The Seasons," 1565, oil on oakwood. Lobkowicz Collections, Lobkowicz Palace, Prague. Permision granted by Art Resource, New York.

A group of women wielding hay rakes walks along the path toward the foreground away from the main fields. Five workers carry fruit in baskets away from the foreground toward the field with the farthest worker already descending the hill; noticeably, each gatherer has a different posture and method for carrying the fruit baskets.[54] Horses are the only fauna in *Hay Making*—their role is to support humans with their farming tasks. Indeed, the role played by farmers and horses directly reflects authentic, everyday activities of rural living. Furthermore, Bruegel appears to have had very specific intentions for the placement of flora in his painting. Other than the wild flowers growing along the dirt path, flora consists of shrubbery and a single tree—used to border the lower and right-hand portion of the painting. He also used forests to separate the middle ground from the background of the illustration; distant townships and farmhouses are scattered along the divide between middle ground and foreground with forests acting as visual variety from the busy actions of the subjects. Scattered clouds appear in the mostly-sunny sky as the gradation from dark blue to white on the horizon hints at dusk—proof of a long day of work for his subjects, as well as evidence that in reality, life within such "Arcadian" scenery is not all song and dance. Yet, Bruegel does introduce certain Arcadian allegories, primarily the contrast between rural and urban. Far in the distance lies a harbor city, which stands out dramatically from the surrounding landscape. Conceivably, the placement of the city symbolizes realism through trade and commerce, a genuine duty for rural sustainability.

Despite their differt nationalities, both Bruegel and Belleau maintained a high level of awareness concerning realism in their pastoral painting and poetry, respectively. The sense of realism exhibited by the depictions of everyday rural duties and place-name locales was rather

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[54] Claudia Goldstein, *Pieter Bruegel and the Culture of the Early Modern Dinner Party* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2013), 53. The rise and fall of the five figures carrying fruit baskets appears to imitate the rolling landscape of the middle- and background escarpment.

uncommon when compared to the overall trend of the Mannerist period. For instance, Belleau's poem "Mai" described the maturation of man-grown flora, such as grapes in the vineyard, whereas Bruegel's painting *Hay Making* illustrated workers raking their plotted fields. Both artists depicted the importance of nature as a means of produce for human consumption, as food is a necessity of life. Nonetheless, Bruegel's depiction of flora is not as elegant as Belleau's poem, since the only flowers in bloom merely guide the eyes down the dirt path toward the fruit gatherers. Fauna are quite different between the two works, as well. Belleau uses pastoral animals (sheep and goats) to incorporate a more rustic tone, and Bruegel used working horses to show how man employed animals to ease their strenuous tasks. Bruegel also neglected any hint of Greek or Roman mythology, which was difficult to place in his genre painting. Belleau, on the other hand, applied mythological goddesses into his discussion of agriculture, love, and poetic inspiration. Although "Mai" and *Hay Making* do vary significantly in the roles of its characters or subjects, both works of art are highly representative of the primary Arcadian theme emphasizing landscape and nature. Therefore, one can conclude that pastoral repertoire did develop different, nationalistic ideals in the northern countries of France and the Netherlands when compared to its Italian predecessor.

Art and Literature in England

Pastoral traditions were by no means exclusive to continental Europe. England, specifically, saw an influx of pastoral repertoire, excluding art, during the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Indeed, art held an insignificant role in English culture outside of specialized functions in the court; the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation in England severely restricted advancements in the visual arts for the remainder of the epoch.[55] Additionally,

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[55] Sara Trevisan, "The Impact of the Netherlandish Landscape Tradition on Poetry and Painting in Early Modern England," *Renaissance Quarterly* 66, no. 3 (Fall, 2013): 872. Religious tensions in the Low

excommunication with The Vatican caused tensions between England and Italy, thus separating

England from the heart of Mannerist invention.[56] Dramatic shifts in patronage of the arts over the

course of the sixteenth century influenced artistic output as the disbanded Catholic Church in

England had previously supported musicians and artists. Protestant officials banned religious

imagery after the Reformation, which led to the destruction of countless English works of art.[57]

Similar to the trends of French Renaissance art, landscape painting was nearly non-existent in

Elizabethan England, despite the progressions of landscape painting in the Low Countries; there

are no extant records of English-born landscape artists during these years, and only select

English portrait artists held any authority against the prominent Netherlandish painters of the

Elizabethan court.[58] Dutch painter Joris Hoefnagel (ca. 1542–1601), for example, lived in

London for only a few months, yet contributed one of the only quasi-pastoral landscape paintings

in England's petite collection of pastoral repertoire. Hoefnagel utilized Bruegel the Elder's

"topographical view" in his genre painting *Fête at Bermondsey* (*A Marriage Celebration at

Bermondsey*, ca. 1570), see figure 1.3.[59] In his painting, Hoefnagel illustrates a populated market

of London's Bermondsey district on the outskirts of the city, as identified by the Tower of

London in the background.[60] Unfortunately, such depictions of English townscapes through

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Countries during the 1560–70s led to many Protestant Netherlanders to move to England; in turn, Dutch and Flemish artists gained popularity in the courts as portrait painters for English royalty, particularly Queen Elizabeth I, and aristocracy.

[56] Keith Thomas, "Art and Iconoclasm in Early Modern England," in *Religious Politics in Post-reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke*, ed. Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake, 16–40 (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2006), 16.

[57] Ibid., 16–17.

[58] Trevisan, "Painting in Early Modern England," 871. English art maintained similar trends to French art, which emphasized miniatures and portraitures over all other forms. Pastoral imagery was confined to background space, rather than being a highlighted feature of art.

[59] Edward Town, "*A fête at Bermondsey*: an English Landscape by Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder," *Burlington Magazine* 157, no. 1346 (May, 2015): 317. It has been recently challenged that the painter of *Fête at Bermondsey* is not Joris Hoefnagel, but Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder (ca. 1520–1590). Most modern scholars, however, still credit Hoefnagel with the creation of this genre painting.

[60] Trevisan, "Painting in Early Modern England," 872.

landscape art were the closest portrayals of pastoral painting in England during the late-sixteenth century.

Figure 1.3. Joris Hoefnagel, *Fête at Bermondsey* (*A Marriage Celebration at Bermondsey*), ca. 1570, oil painting. Private collection, Hatfield House, Hertfordshire. Permission granted by Art Resource, New York.

Although *Fête at Bermondsey* is one of the prime examples of non-urban scenery in sixteenth-century English art, pastoral themes in the painting are quite scarce, as they are limited to the background of the work. The district of Bermondsey was relatively rural in contrast with the main city of London, which allowed the painter to implement styles of Netherlandish landscape throughout the illustration. Thus, the inclusion of an analysis of Hoefnagel's painting offers great insight to English landscape and pastoral themes of rural living. Secondary observations in this painting include the portrayal of social class in England through

Netherlandish genre painting, or the depiction of subjects in a scene symbolizing daily activities. The gathering of people around the foreground building suggests a form of social event, potentially a wedding, considering the alternate title is *A Marriage Celebration at Bermondsey*. Attire suggests that these people are common folk rather than royalty or nobility. Nonetheless, Hoefnagel illustrates people of varying social class status in attendance at this gathering. Higher classes appear toward the middle and left zones of the foreground with the highest-ranking citizens riding on horseback toward the banquet building. Upper-middle-class citizens, specifically the women wearing bonnets and less sophisticated dress, appear toward the middle of the foreground; these women are in the right sector of the foreground behind the elegantly dressed man wearing a green hat. Lower class servants and public service workers are interspersed throughout these zones, as well. For instance, two violists sit near the outskirts of the scene as entertainment for the guests.

Figure 1.4. Hoefnagel, *Fête at Bermondsey* (*A Marriage Celebration at Bermondsey*), detail. Private collection, Hatfield House, Hertfordshire. Permission granted by Art Resource, New York.

The landscape of the background of the painting, found in the left-hand portion of the painting and shown in figure 1.4, where the lowest social class is located, demonstrates the only genuine pastoral element of Hoefnagel's painting. Civilians not invited to the feast are found in a

grassy field, which lies beyond a dirt road. On this road, a worker is depicted with a horse-drawn wagon transporting lumber, which was most likely cut at the sawmill beyond the field. Notably, several men appear to partake in a field game, while a group of men and women observe the event; in Arcadian literature, shepherds and maidens or shepherdesses often partook in games and contests. Accordingly, this specific zone of the painting contains hints of pastoral pastimes, perhaps even *otium*. Furthermore, pastoral or rustic characters were often associated with lower working classes in society, which is exemplified through Hoefnagel's placement of pastoral imagery in *Fête at Bermondsey*. Fishing boats appear on the distant river, with two men standing near the closest ship. Although anglers are not traditionally pastoral characters, Jacopo Sannazaro had juxtaposed the role of the shepherd with that of the fisherman in his *Le Egloghe Piscatorie* (*Piscatory Eclogues*, 1526), thus the idyllic fisherman was a subject found in pastoral poetry.[61] Whereas such interpretations regarding Hoefnagel's *Fête at Bermondsey* allude to Arcadian themes, very few of its characteristics fully embody the pastoral tradition in comparison to Italian and Netherlandish art of the same era. Nevertheless, the importance of *Fête at Bermondsey* as an English landscape painting exemplifies the scarcity of artwork involved in the English pastoral tradition.

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Netherlandish art of the late-sixteenth century, separate from portraitures, was used to complement English pastoral literature when bucolic poetry began to flourish in the last quarter of the sixteenth century (ca. 1579–1630). For example, an anonymous woodcut of a Flemish-

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[61] Henry Marion Hall, *Idylls of Fishermen: A History of the Literary Species* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1912), 43. Sannazaro had altered the traditional pastoral through the use of romanticized fishermen instead of shepherds, conch shells in place of bagpipes, and ocean gods, such as "Proteus, shepherd of the sea-calves, skilled in song and prophecy," instead of the rustic god, Pan. See, Ibid., 47.

styled landscape accompanied each eclogue of Edmund Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender*.[62]

Netherlandish poetry had little impact on the pastoral tradition, as Netherlandish poets held no

prominence in England. Similarly, few French poets (save Clément Marot (ca. 1463–1523),

Pierre de Ronsard (1524–1585), and Rémy Belleau) motivated later English pastoral poets, who

drew their primary inspirations from the medieval and early-Renaissance literature of Petrarch

(1304–1374), Geoffrey Chaucer (ca. 1343–1400), and Mantuan (1447–1516).[63] Alexander

Barclay (ca. 1476–1552) was the first English poet to introduce pastoral literature in Renaissance

England with his *Eclogues* (ca. 1515).[64] Barclay utilized Mantuanesque themes established by

the early-Renaissance Italian poet, Mantuan, to portray his Arcadian world as redemption from

the urban locale, which was "the bayting place of Hell."[65] Yet Barclay was ahead of his time, as

he wrote his *Eclogues* well before pastoral traditions had circulated northward. Consequently,

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[62] Ibid., 875. Attribution of these woodcuts is still under dispute, although both the artists Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder and Lucas de Heere (ca. 1543–1584) are possibly candidates, as either artist could be credited with the etchings in Jan van der Noot's (ca. 1539–1595) prose *Het Theatre oft Toon-neel* (1568), which match the style of the woodcuts found in Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender*. See, Louis S. Friedland, "The Illustrations in *The Theatre for Worldlings*," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 19, no. 2 (Februrary, 1956): 118.

[63] Chaudhiri, *Renaissance Pastoral*, 85. Very few translations of French literature were available in Elizabethan England; in fact, Philippe Desportes (ca. 1546–1606) was one of the few French poets to have print publications in England, and his *Bergeries et masquarades* (1573) was his largest publication. Although Desportes did draw publishing techniques from the famous *La Pléiade* poets Rémy Belleau and Pierre de Ronsard, little poetic devices are reminiscent of these poets' works.

[64] Walter Wilson Greg, *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama: A Literary Inquiry, with Special Reference to the Pre-Restoration Stage in England* (London: A. H. Bullen, 1906), 79. Barclay most likely began his *Eclogues* while residing as a monk in the Ely monastery.

[65] Patrick Cullen, *Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), 21. Quotation from Barclay's *Eclogue I*, line 586. See, Alexander Barclay, *The Eclogues of Alexander Barclay (ca. 1515)*, ed. Beatrice White (London: Early English Text Society, 1928). Mantuan carried on the medieval utilization of the pastoral to portray religious themes, particularly propaganda. Within the Mantuanesque pastoral, Arcadia was non-existent, and shepherds fell into two categories, the responsible, faithful "good shepherd," and the careless, luxurious "bad shepherd."

Barclay is not credited with the rise of pastoral literature in England.[66] Rather, Elizabethan poet Edmund Spenser (ca. 1552–1599) brought new life to the bucolic eclogues in English literature.

Spenser's inaugural publication was *The Shepheardes Calender*, which combined Arcadian and Mantuanesque pastoral themes. Dichotomy of the Arcadian and Mantuanesque pastorals created internal conflict between *Calender* characters who represented each ideal; specifically, Arcadian shepherds of Spenser's eclogues sang praises of love, leisure, and beauty against the Mantuanesque shepherd's disapproval of such earthly desires, who favored devotion to a higher power. Accordingly, Spenser drew influence from classical eclogues, particularly those of Virgil, and early Renaissance eclogues, especially Mantuan's *Adulescentia* (1498) and Marot's *Eglogue de Marot au Roy, soubz les noms de Pan et Robin* (1539).[67] Spenser approached his *Calender* collection as a narrative of human life as told through the eclogues of individual months of the year.[68] Textual analyses specifically stress Arcadian themes of nature, landscape, and pastoral life in *Calender*, which is epitomized during the first and second phases of human life: *spring* and *sommer.*

"Maye" is the fifth eclogue of *The Shepheardes Calender* and functions within the entire work as a transitional eclogue between the end of spring and the beginning of the summer months.[69] Spenser harkened back to medieval literature with his incorporation of "neo-medieval couplets" and flexible use of iambic pentameter.[70] Medieval text, as inspired by Chaucer, was

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[66] Cooper, *Renaissance Pastoral*, 119. Barclay was unable to authenticate realism in the subjects of his poems, as he had internal conflict between "the high mission of pastoral literature and of its differences from rustic life."

[67] Ibid., 112.

[68] Ibid., 52.

[69] Cullen, *Spenser*, 137–138. The entirety of the summer months – May, June, and July – act as a transitional period between spring's sowing of seeds and autumn's harvest.

[70] Spenser deviates from the overall rhyme scheme in lines 117–119 and 182–84, where he uses triplets, and lines 89–92, where a quadruplet rhyme scheme occurs. The remainder of the poem, 320 lines total, remains in couplets (*aabbcc*, etc.).

also used throughout the poem to create a sense of rusticity.[71] Only two subjects are included in the poem, Palinode and Piers, who argue over the morality of shepherds straying from their duties. Indeed, Palinode's character reflects the desires of Arcadian leisure associated with youth in contrast to Piers's character, who promotes the responsibilities of shepherds through Mantuanesque morality, similar to Sannazaro's shepherds, Selvaggio and Ergasto, in "Eclogue I" (*Arcadia*).[72] Although Spenser shifts his poetic intention of "Maye" at line 37, the first section of the poem emphasized Arcadian themes through physical depictions of nature and pastoral entertainments.[73] First observations occur immediately in line 1–2, as Palinode asks Piers, "is not thilke the mery moneth of May, when love lads masken in frsh aray?"[74] Spenser associates "the merry month of May" with love, joy, and the advancement of spring's new life. Palinode continues with rich descriptions of nature and its ties to human happiness:

> How falls it then, we no merrier bene,
> Ylike as others, girt in gawdy greene?
> Our bloncket liveryes bene all to sadde
> For thilke same season, when all is yeladd
> With greene leaves, the bushes with bloosming buds.[75]

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[71] Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Romaunt of the Rose*, ed. Walter William Skeat (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1892), 87. Through a comparison of Spenser's text to Chaucer's language in his poem *The Romaunt of the Rose* (quotation from lines 2321–328), it is apparent that Spenser remained true to the medieval poet's text: [Also to you it longith ay/ To harpe and giterne, daunce and play;/ For if he can wel foote and dance,/ It may him greetly do avaunce./ Among eek, for thy lady sake,/ Songes and complayntes that thou make;/ For that wol meve hem in hir herte,/ Whan they redden of thy smerte.] Spenser borrowed Chaucer's references to musical instruments (especially the horn pipes), which were the latter poet's only bucolic gestures. See, Cooper, *Renaissance Pastoral*, 54.

[72] Cullen, *Spenser*, 32. Patrick Cullen uncovers Spenser's deeper moral intention by stating, "the eclogue's exemplary fable suggests that although distrust of instinct is a necessary part of caution and restraint, carried too far it may also extinguish the good in instinct – sympathy, compassion, and so on."

[73] Beginning in line 37, Spenser shifts to a Mantuanesque pastoral tone as Piers begins his speech, which reprimands the behaviors of the youthful shepherds, who care more for their own leisure than tending to their flocks.

[74] Edmund Spenser, *The Shepheardes Calender, Volumes 1–3*, ed. Heinrich Oskar Sommer (London: John C. Nimmo, 1890), 68. Quotation from Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*, "Maye," lines 1–2.

[75] Ibid., 32. Quotation from Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*, "Mai," lines 3–7. "Bloncket liveryes" in line 5 translates to "gray coats." See, *The Encyclopædic Dictionary: A New, Original and Exhaustive Work of Reference to All English Words…*, s.v. "Bloncket."

Within the first ten lines, Spenser references an abundance of summer flora: green grass, new green foliage, and blooming buds on flower-producing shrubs. Each of these references are signs of growth and development. Accordingly, the association of spring and summer months with playful youth is logical, as elaborated upon in Palinode's continued address:

> Yougthes folke now flocken in every where,
> To gather may buskets and smelling brere:
> And home they hasten the postes to dight
> And all the kirke pillours eare day light,
> With hawthorne buds, and swete eglantine,
> And girlonds of roses and sopps in wine.
> Such merimake holy saints doth queme,
> But we here sytten as drownd in a dreme.[76]

In this passage, Spenser cites very specific flora, briar in the fields, hawthorn (a white flower that blossoms in groups), and roses (including eglantine, a sweetbriar). Palinode observes the youth "flocking" toward these flowers to make their May baskets.[77] Of course, May Day was a secular holiday, thus the "holy saints" frowned upon the actions of these young subjects. Piers rebukes Palinode for his youthful thinking with the statement, "For younkers, Palinode, such follies fitte, but we tway bene men of elder witt."[78] Palinode disregards Piers, though, and continues his reflections on the young shepherds' activities:

> I sawe a shole of shepeheardes outgoe
> With singing, and shouting, and jolly chere:
> Before them yode a lusty tabrere,
> That to the many a horne pype playd,
> Whereto they dauncen eche one with his mayd.

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[76] Spenser, *Calender*, 32. Quotation from Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*, "Mai," lines 9–16. "Brere" in line 10 is the first appearance of grain above the soil after it has been sown ("Brere," in *The Encyclopædic Dictionary*, 707). In line 12, "kirke pillours" refers to church towers (Ibid., 1002).

[77] George Lillie Craik, et al, "The History Manners and Customs," in *The Pictorial History of England: Being a History of the People as Well as a History of the Kingdom*, vol. 3, bk. VI, 855–898 (London: Charles Knight and Co., 1839), 894. May baskets are a part of the May-Day (the first of May) tradition, which was one of the most important holidays in Elizabethan England. May baskets were a traditional form of gift giving, typically among children.

[78] Spenser, *Calender*, 32. Quotation from Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*, "Mai," lines 17–18.

> To see those folks make such joysaunce,
> Made my heart after the pype to daunce.[79]

Spenser presents an exact account of leisurely activities the shepherds partook in, with music as a central activity. Shepherds, who are quite skilled in music, performed on hornpipes, which was among the principal musical instruments of pastoral repertoire. Accordingly, the musical accompaniment to song and dance fits well into classical Arcadian themes of lifestyle, falling under the spectrum of idyllic and leisurely, rather than realistic and labored. Lastly, the inclusion of mythological beings in "Maye" is another Arcadian trait among pastoral repertoire:

> And home they bringen in a royall throne,
> Crowned as king; as his queene attone
> Was Lady Flora, on whom did attend
> A fayre flocke of faeries, and a fresh bend
> Of lovely nymphs. O that I were there,
> To helpen the ladyes their maybush beare![80]

In "Maye," Spenser used standard examples of mythological creatures, particularly the nymphs. Specifically, Palinode mentions Lady Flora, the Roman goddess of youth, fertility, nature, flowers, and spring.[81] Flora, therefore, is associated with the month of May, even if Spenser's *Calender* marks the month as the first of summer. Similarly, Piers references Pan (primary Greek god of the shepherds) when asking Palinode what the shepherds would tell him after they had failed their duties as caretakers of Pan's flocks.[82] As the poem shifts into a Mantuanesque lesson on morality, Piers recalls the fable of the crafty fox, which deceived,

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[79] Ibid., 32. Quotation from Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*, "Mai," lines 20–26. The "lusty tabrere" in line 22 is a woman playing the *tabour*, or *tambour de basque*, a type of membranophone used primarily to accompany hornpipes. See, Sir David Lyndsay, *The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount: Lion king at arms, under James V*, ed. George Chalmers (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1806), 481.

[80] Ibid., 32–33. Quotation from Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*, "Mai," lines 29–34.

[81] *Greek and Roman Mythology, A to Z*, s.v. "Flora." In ancient Italy, a festival held in Flora's honor, titled Floralia, occurred at the end of May. As the goddess of spring, she is often accompanied by floral imagery, particularly mayflowers.

[82] Ibid., Lines 51–54.

killed, and ate an unsuspecting kid that ignored its mother's warning. Despite the dichotomy created between Arcadian and Mantuanesque ideals, Spenser's use of Arcadian motifs in the first portion of "Maye" clearly drew inspiration from classical pastoral literature, which was evident throughout *The Shepheardes Calender*, particularly in the *spring* and *sommer* eclogues.

Unfortunately, neither Hoefnagel nor Spenser truly isolated pastoral themes of nature, landscape, and lifestyle in their works. Both of these men, nevertheless, were bucolic pioneers of Elizabethan repertoire. Whereas Hoefnagel incorporated landscape as background features of his genre painting, he successfully portrayed scenes from everyday life. Among these scenes were the field games played in the faraway grassland. Spenser also utilizes themes of *otium* ("idyllic leisure") as his shepherds enjoyed a carefree spring day of dancing, singing, and merrymaking. Hoefnagel maintained realism by illustrating only human figures in his painting, yet Spenser mixed realism with idyllic themes, which utilized mythological gods, including Pan and Flora. Both poem and scene contain musical instruments; Spenser's instruments (the hornpipe and tabour) are clearly pastoral, whereas Hoefnagel's viols represent a middle-class amateur musician. *The Shepheardes Calender* depicts pastoral flora and fauna more regularly than *Fête at Bermondsey*, with authentic regional flowers in bloom, shrubbery, fresh grass, and green foliage on trees—signs that spring is over. Hoefnagel, on the other hand, relies only on trees and grassy plains in the background of his painting, which further exemplifies the lack of an English pastoral art tradition. During the last quarter of the sixteenth century, pastoral themes were relatively new to England. Spenser ignited a tradition among English poets almost immediately, although many more decades passed before pastoral or landscape art took hold as an influential medium of pastoral repertoire.

As the pastoral tradition moved northward from Italy to England through France and the Netherlands, there was a slight shift of primary characteristics as literature transformed to meet the needs of each nation's audience. Viewing the progression of pastoral repertoire from this perspective demonstrates how artists from each country utilized prior resources, primarily Greek and Roman, in the creation of their nation's pastoral identity. With regard to Renaissance literature, Italian contributions laid the groundwork for the rebirth of classic pastoral repertoire while scaffolding new elements into the overall structure. Unmistakably, Sannazaro's *Arcadia* was one of the founding works to inspire the pursuit of pastoral ideals. Titian's youthful sketch *Two Arcadian Musicians* demonstrates many motifs similar to those in *Arcadia*, from the emphasis on trees and sheep to the inclusion of musicians and mythology. Indeed, Italian pastoralists were inclined to incorporate every aspect of Arcadian life into their works of art. When pastoral traditions gained favor in the northern continental countries of France and the Netherlands, themes changed. French poetry de-emphasized the underlying darkness surrounding Arcadia, a form of melancholy always present within Sannazaro's *Arcadia*. Rather, poetry and art took solace in highlighting Arcadian themes through a greater sense of realism. Bruegel fostered "genre" painting, which depicts people in scenes of everyday life, and consequently he illustrated a true rural lifestyle of hard work and agricultural labor set upon a beautiful rustic landscape. Belleau also wrote of beauty through idealized depictions of Joinville, a region of northern France, in *La Bergerie*; the poem "Mai" revealed aspects of nature's beauty one by one, as though each element was another observation of a person strolling amid the outskirts of the château. French and Netherlandish poets and painters, such as Belleau and Bruegel, wished to make Arcadia more obtainable to city-dwellers such as themselves through transmuting the

familiar landscape to an idyllic pastoral paradise, rather than illustrations of some faraway utopia unknown to them and their readers.

The Renaissance pastoral expansion ended with England; English poets regularly drew from early Latin and Italian archetypes, such as Virgil, Mantuan, and Sannazaro, for inspiration. These connections are clear in Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender*, which creates an internal dichotomy between Arcadian and Mantuanesque ideals, typically through character dialogue. Activities of *otium* in "Maye" reflect Arcadian themes through descriptions of singing and dancing, also found in Sannazaro's "Chapter I" from *Arcadia.* Despite the success of Spenser's *Calender* in popularizing pastoral poetry in England, there were no such gains in art of the same period. In the wake of the Protestant Reformation, English visual art had all but disappeared. Consequently, no true "pastoral" paintings, or native-born painters, were in England until the end of the Renaissance era. If it were not for the many Flemish artists immigrating to England during the Protestant Reformation, pastoral artwork may not have developed as early during the late-Renaissance and early-Baroque eras. Fortunately, landscape art had begun to gain prominence by the end of the sixteenth century, as seen in the background of Hoefnagel's *Fête at Bermondsey*. English repertoire focused on creating allusions and illustrations of people and environments familiar to its audiences, which had developed from French literature and Netherlandish art. From subtle hints toward Queen Elizabeth I to the portrayal of English social classes, artists desired to please those whom they served, especially when their patrons included royalty.

One cannot simply ignore the poetic similarities between Sannazaro, Belleau, and Spenser. As the primary medium for pastoral repertoire, these three poets clearly drew from the same classical inspirations for their poetry. Mythological beings—Flora, Mistress Nature, Venus, and Ceres—glorified the setting of the poem, particularly the scenery and the beauty of new life

in spring. Significantly, these goddesses all correspond to the months of spring, which was the season of choice for all three poets. Furthermore, every poet associates spring with physical and mental youth. Even if a subject were to argue against such Arcadian themes of *otium*, particularly singing and dancing, those characters were mature, stubborn, and wise. Seasonal changes from winter into spring brought new life to flora, as well. Sannazaro, Belleau, and Spenser described scenery in elaborate detail in their poesy. Fresh, green grass was always present, whether it existed for frolicking upon in youthful joy, or as a source of nourishment grazed upon by petite lambs. Hawthorns, roses, and grapes, among other flower- and fruit-yielding flora, bloomed and matured by April and May. Sannazaro, Belleau, and Spenser were keenly aware of what Arcadian imageries were represented in nature, and which images could be justified within the pastoral tradition, such as Belleau's reference to uncommon avifauna. Visual art supplemented the dissemination of pastoral characteristics and promoted, with the exclusion of England, a sense of national identity in the pastoral tradition. As pastoral ideals spread to music, national distinctions became clearer, thus allowing one to trace the development of secular vocal music throughout the Mannerist sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries.

Pastourelle to Chanson

Despite the emphasis of this study on English madrigals, many renditions of pastoral music predate the rustic madrigals of late Italian and English musicians. Comparisons of stylistic developments in the madrigal coincide with the northern expansion of pastoral ideals in music. Specific musical selections from Italy, France, and England exemplify the national identity of music in each country, consequently uncovering any alterations in style over the course of approximately 100 years (ca. 1530–1630). Renaissance chansons held a similar role in French music as madrigals did in Italy; fundamentally, chansons were polyphonic, secular songs set to

French poetry. Although the term "chanson" may refer to any French lyric song from the medieval era through the twentieth century, chansons of the sixteenth century that do not incorporate *formes fixes* are stressed.[83] Interestingly, pastoral ideals were well established in French music by the sixteenth century. Whereas pastoral literature flourished primarily in Italy during the Renaissance, Arcadian themes had developed in French music during the medieval era. For instance, the *pastourelle* was a lyric song that incorporated Arcadian themes, including dialogue (similar to the poetic eclogue or *bergerie*) between a man and a shepherdess.[84] As the Renaissance era progressed, pastoral representations in French music remained constant. Furthermore, the chanson saw a larger period of growth and development, spanning over several centuries. By 1500, the chanson had experienced tremendous stylistic evolutions in the hands of musicians much like Guillaume Du Fay (ca. 1397–1474), Gilles de Binchois (ca. 1400–1460), and Johannes Ockeghem (ca. 1410–1497), who were all from the Netherlandish School. During the 1500s, the chanson underwent drastic alterations, particularly in the hands of the Parisian School during the mid-sixteenth century. For instance, French musicians sharpened the "manipulation of a single motif" that emphasized technical imitative counterpoint, with homophonic sections included for contrast.[85] These textural tendencies culminated in the Franco-Flemish concentration of polyphony and the French interest in homophony, since both schools specialized in chanson composition.

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[83] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Chanson," by Howard Mayer Brown and David Fallows.
[84] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Pastourelle," by Frank Dobbins. Interestingly, the male character in pursuit of the shepherdesses love was traditionally not a shepherd, but a knight, thus combining high-class ideals of the later "courtly love" with the rustic charms of troubadour songs. This theme is evidenced in the goliards of the *Carmina Burana.* See, Patrick Gerard Walsh, *Love Lyrics from the* Carmina Burana (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993), xxiii.
[85] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Chanson."

One significant French composer well known for setting pastoral texts was Claudin de

Sermisy (ca. 1490–1562). Sermisy engaged the Parisian chanson, more accurately called the

French chanson, through his characteristically lyrical compositions. Such features of the French

lyric chanson include a predominately homophonic or homorhythmic texture, a superius voice

containing the entire lyrical melody, clear endings to phrases and sections, and repetition of

sections, particularly at the end of the work.[86] French text setting used syllabic declamation to

avoid distorting the meaning of the text. Naturally, French musicians borrowed lyrics from

French poets; Clément Marot's (ca. 1496–1544) poetry was highly popular during the first

quarter of the sixteenth century, and as such, Sermisy used many of Marot's verses in his

chansons.[87] Sermisy was highly selective regarding the poetry he set, yet his chanson "Ung jour

Robin alloit aux champs" (*Trente et sept chansons musicales a quatre parties*, 1531) was

inspired by a seemingly anonymous poem.[88] Sermisy selected a subject, Robin, who held a very

prominent role in French literature, and added his own interpretation on the pastoral poem.

Sermisy's "Ung jour Robin" is considered a pastoral drinking song. Whereas later

musicians chose to set text emphasizing pastoral landscape and love, Sermisy selected a comical

text that solely discussed a state of *otium*. Structurally, "Ung jour Robin" was similar to the

formes fixes ballade form in that the first section was repeated, creating an AAB bar form,

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[86] Allan W. Atlas, *Renaissance Music: Music in Western Europe, 1400–1600* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1998), 425.

[87] Ibid., 425. Sermisy set Marot's poetry in 22 chansons, which was more than any other Renaissance musician. See, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Sermisy, Claudin de, 4: Secular works," by Isabelle Cazeaux and John T. Brobeck. Marot had reestablished the tradition of Robin's character and the romance between Robin and Marion in French literature. See, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Pastourelle."

[88] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Sermisy, 4." Sermisy's particular chanson "Un jour, Robin allait aux champs" does not fit into the concept of northern expansion due to the nature of French music. Since secular vocal music using pastoral themes developed at a different rate than Italian music, there are many examples of French literature preceding Italian literature. By no means, however, does this fact belittle the concept of northern expansion, as Italian poets inspired a vast amount of the canon pertaining to pastoral repertoire during the Renaissance era.

although that was the only influence the formerly popular *formes fixes* had on the structure of the

chanson.[89] For instance, the first quintet has an *abcbb* rhyme scheme, whereas the second sexain

is *aabaab*, demonstrating a disconnection in form and rhyme between the two stanzas. The

message of the text is light-hearted and humorous—quite opposite of the themes popular in early

madrigals of the same period.

> *Ung jour Robin alloit aux champs jouant,*
> *gallant au tour de sa bouteille.*
> *Mettant souvent le nez dedans,*
> *riant des dens que c'etoit grande merveille.*[90]

> One day Robin went to the fields,
> Gallivanting around with his bottle.
> Sticking his nose in repeatedly,
> Laughing and showing off his marvelous teeth.[91]

The first Arcadian reference is Robin, a well-known character in French and English literature.[92]

Sermisy's story, then, depicts a drunken shepherd wandering through a field and enjoying his

leisure time. In setting this poem to music, Sermisy kept the melody, found in the superius voice,

simple and playful, with a small range remaining in the F or G hexachords throughout most of

the chanson.[93] Sermisy composed his "A" section, excerpted in figure 1.5, in a homorhythmic

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[89] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Chanson." In comparison to Italian secular music, this form was common in French chansons, yet nearly unheard of in madrigals; simply put, madrigals were still through-composed during the 1530s, whereas chansons, such as "Ung jour Robin" had clearly marked sections.

[90] Quotation from Sermisy's "Un jour Robin alloit aux champs," lines 1–5.

[91] Ibid., Maggard translation.

[92] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Pastourelle." The tales of Robin were first introduced by the French trouvère Adam de la Halle's (ca. 1245–1288 or ca. 1306) pastourelle *Jeu de Robin et de Marion* (ca. 1283–1285). Furthermore, Marot's *Eglogue au Roy, soubz les noms de Pan et Robin* (1539) was one of his most well known pastoral works. Robin was also a central character of English folklore tied to spring festivals. See, Gary R. Varner, *The Mythic Forest, the Green Man and the Spirit of Nature: The Re-emergence of the Spirit of Nature: The Re-emergence of the Spirit of Nature from Ancient Times into Modern Society* (New York: Algora Publishing, 2006), 135.

[93] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Musica Ficta: Musica ficta [musica falsa]," by Margaret Bent. There are three hexachords total (C, F, and G) that encompass the entire *gamut* (diatonic scale) of modal music. Each hexachord is symmetrical in pattern, containing a single half-step interval between the solmization syllables *mi-fa* in the middle of each hexachord. Solmization, created by Guido d'Arezzo (ca. 991–1033), was implemented in early music as a singing aid for singers.

texture with the lower three voices accompanying the superius. French chansons had different

stylistic characteristics during the middle of the sixteenth century than Italian madrigals of the

same time, which still emphasized thick polyphonic textures. Prominence of homophonic

textures exemplified in "Ung jour Robin" was not matched by Italian madrigals until the rise of

Italian lighter forms, such as the canzonetta, which occurred approximately 40–50 years later.

Rhythms are also quite straightforward, rarely straying from the basic declamation via the

quarter note, with the exception of the syncopated superius line in measure 5. Harmonically,

Sermisy demonstrates vertical and horizontal relationships predictable for the early-sixteenth

century. Melodic placement within the F and G hexachords, as well as the inclusion of B♭ and E♭

musica recta ("true music"), dictates the modal center of F mixolydian. Most cadences, including

the final cadence, occur on F, although internal cadences commonly occur on C. In these

instances, *musica ficta* ("false music") is implied with the B♭ to raise it a half step, bringing it

closer to the resolution on C, as shown in the third and fourth measures. Dissonances are

uncommon, as the homophonic "A" section contains mostly triadic harmonies. The penultimate

fifth measure of section "A" introduces an innovative progression. There is an important

soprano-bass counterpoint which creates a modern 4–3 suspension between the bassus C and the

superius F descending to E, which then sets up the ascending half-step figure into the cadence on

F. Intriguingly, neither the sixth-measure cadence nor the final cadence contain the open fifth

interval. It is common for internal cadences to remain incomplete, yet every cadence contains the

interval of a third.

Figure 1.5. Claudin de Sermisy, "Un jour Robin alloit aux champs," mms. 1–6. Homorhythmic "A" section.

Another difference between chansons and madrigals is the apparent lack of text painting by French musicians. Sermisy does not use his music to bring textual expression to the next level.[94] Rather, Sermisy created a lighter tone in the "B" section by converting to polyphonic textures and utilizing long-short rhythms, which matched Robin's level of drunken fervor:

> *Le piot luy sembla si bon,*
> *qui prent serpe et serpillon*
> *pour vendanger la treille,*
> *et puis reprint son boutillon.*
> *Pour mieulx fourrer son coquillon*
> *du vin à une oreille.*[95]

> The wine tasted so good to him,
> He grabbed his sickle and scythe
> To harvest the vine,
> He grabbed his basket again
> To better fill his vessel
> Some wine spilled into his ear.[96]

Sermisy's second stanza presents Robin harvesting grapes into a basket, likely hoping to produce more wine. In order to do so, Robin uses two very common tools also found in Bruegel's *Hay*

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[94] Willem Elders, *Symbolic Scores: Studies in the Music of the Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 50. French musicians used rhetoric in more elaborate ways, ways that were subtler than word painting, often created through hidden structural symbolism. An example is number symbolism found in Josquin Desprez's *Missa Gaudeamus* (1502).

[95] Quotation from Sermisy's "Un jour Robin alloit aux champs," lines 5–10.

[96] Ibid., Maggard translation.

Making; of course, these tools are not necessarily pastoral, yet, they are a realistic part of rural living. Measure 7 marks the beginning of the "B" section and a new contrapuntal texture centered on imitation. As illustrated in figure 1.6, a long-short rhythmic motive, first presented in the tenor, is imitated at the beginning of each consecutive entrance until all voices are participating in the texture.

Figure 1.6. Sermisy, "Un jour Robin," mms. 7–10. Imitative counterpoint in "B" section.

The lilting feeling created by this rhythmic figure is the main motive throughout the second section of the chanson, as it is the only rhythmic deviation away from the semibreve and minim declamations. Lastly, despite the change to the polyphonic texture, Sermisy still avoided excessive dissonance created through clashing melodies of the independent voice lines. There is one instance of dissonance created through a form of passing neighbor tone in measure eighteen, depicted in figure 1.7. Dissonance here occurs between both the superius and altus voices, the first half of the measure, and the tenor and bassus voices in the second half of the measure. Furthermore, Sermisy continued the prevalence of thirds and triads in his vertical harmonies, which had become common practice by the sixteenth century.

Figure 1.7. Sermisy, "Un jour Robin," mm. 18. Dissonance in "B" section.

Sermisy's chanson was set during the 1530s when madrigals were still in a stage of infancy and over half a century before the rise of rustic themes in Italian madrigals. Textual disposition does lean toward comedy, and such themes of satire and humor were often found in medieval pastourelles. Sermisy's use of simplified harmonies demonstrates the early conception of this work; the basic use of textures and dissonances establish a more refined level of artifice that was popularized near the end of the fifteenth century. Ultimately, Sermisy's "Un jour Robin alloit aux champs" demonstrates a closer resemblance to the origin of pastorally themed music, such as the pastourelle, when compared to Italian madrigals of the same period.

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Secular music of the Renaissance held very strong ties to poetry in both French and Italian music. Poetry acted as the muse for musical composition, whether it was madrigals, chansons, or any form of departure from these two genres. In Italian music, such madrigal departures include canzonette and balletti, which later translated into English as canzonets and balletts. Music of the Mannerist period was essentially the last artistic medium to utilize pastoral themes, with the exception of masques, which were exclusively an English practice. Madrigals underwent significant alterations over the course of the sixteenth century, introduced around

1520, as each generation or school of musicians implemented their stylistic ideals into the musical characteristics of the genre. Italian madrigalists were immediately preceded by their Netherlandish counterparts of the sixteenth century's second quarter (ca. 1535–1550), who were responsible for introducing and contributing to the stylistic development of the madrigal genre in mid- and late-sixteenth century Italy.[97] Two primary musicians of the fourth generation Netherlandish School were Adrian Willaert (ca. 1490–1562) and Jacques Arcadelt (ca. 1507–1568); both men held appointed positions in Italy where their compositions helped contour the future of Italian vocal music.[98] Arcadelt pushed the madrigal out of its infancy whereas Willaert's compositional techniques demonstrated a mature madrigal style. During these first few decades, primary characteristics began to develop. Foremost, the madrigal developed from the frottola by replacing the bottom instrumental line with vocals and adding inner voices.[99] Since madrigals were set to poetry, musicians often drew from esteemed classics, particularly Petrarch, and employed word painting to bring the text alive through the music. Madrigals maintained a through-composed form, with varying amounts of internal repetition rather than the outdated *formes fixes* ("fixed forms") of the previous century. During the 1530s, the madrigal was polyphonic, yet did not have a dense texture despite the inclusion of some imitative counterpoint. By the 1540s, however, the madrigal had already become much more complex.

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[97] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Madrigal, 3. 1535–1550: Arcadelt, the madrigal in Venice," by James Haar.

[98] Ibid. Willaert was appointed a position at St. Marks in Venice where he remained for the rest of his life. Arcadelt spent time in Florence before accepting a position in St. Peter's Basilica of Rome; he later returned to France to continue work as composing chanson. See, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Arcadelt, Jacques, 1: Life," by James Haar.

[99] Atlas, *Renaissance Music*, 429. Early madrigals typically had four voice parts, which later expanded as far as six or seven voices.

Willaert's *Musica nova* (1559) contained madrigals for seven voices, which created a very thick texture when sung in full polyphony.[100] The inclusion of homophony was more subdued, allowing polyphony to stand out as a primary texture. Willaert was also very rigid in his text setting, often placing "the declamatory and syntactic values of the text" on an equal or greater plane than "in distinctive melodic patterns."[101] Willaert aimed to create a balance between music and poetry, yet he did not always strike a perfect balance, which eventually served as a catalyst for a new madrigal style. By the mid-sixteenth century, a group of northern Italian-residing musicians altered the face of the madrigal entirely. Cipriano de Rore (ca. 1515–1565) was another Franco-Flemish musician who worked in Venice alongside Willaert.[102] Rore's madrigals heralded the genesis of the *seconda pratica* ("second practice"), which directly opposed the meaningless dissonances found in the *prima pratica* ("first practice") of earlier musicians, such as Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1525–1594), who placed emphasis on artifice rather than musicality. A primary concern of these competing fields was the relationship between music, especially harmony, and text. Rore and his followers believed that expression was best led by text, rather than the text being slave to the music. Many Italian musicians followed the *seconda pratica*, including Luca Marenzio (1553–1599), Carlo Gesualdo (1566–1613), and Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643)—the latter of whom was one of the most influential Mannerist musicians of the late-sixteenth century.

Claudio Monteverdi was a true innovator of tonal language, whose repertoire was the epitome of musical expression.[103] Indeed, Monteverdi's madrigals characterize a period of

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[100] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Madrigal, 3."
[101] Ibid.
[102] Atlas, *Renaissance Music*, 634.
[103] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Monteverdi, Claudio, 4: Theoretical and aesthetic basis of works," by Geoffrey Chew.

Mannerism in music, the breakdown of Renaissance modality transitioning into Baroque tonality, where the *seconda pratica* had begun to flourish.[104] Monteverdi, among other *seconda pratica* musicians, routinely incorporated intentional triadic harmonies to establish tonic and dominant relationships, and utilized prepared chromatic and harmonic dissonances in their madrigals.[105] The *seconda pratica* also departed from the rigid contrapuntal style that ruled the composition of "serious" madrigals; these compositions became more segmented, as musicians included alternating sections of polyphony and homophony, or chordal textures. Consequently, this style facilitated a new, "lighter style" madrigal for vocal repertoire, canzonette. Canzonette were simple songs (derived from *canzone*) that fused characteristics of the madrigal with the lighter villanella genre.[106] One of the most significant stylistic differences of the canzonetta in comparison to the madrigal is subject matter. "Serious" madrigals of the previous decades primarily used poetic sources from a Petrarchan level, which demanded a dramatic musical interpretation of the highly artistic and expressive text. In these extravagant tales, there was no room for the common man as a subject or light-hearted texts. By the last quarter of the sixteenth century, musicians had begun using text from Sannazaro, Torquato Tasso (1544–1595), and Giambattista Guarini (1538–1612). All of these poets were well versed in pastoral poetry, which was equally well received by musicians. Thus, canzonette and other lighter forms introduced rusticity and satire as key thematic material.[107] Subjects turned from nobles and knights to common people and shepherds, while plots shifted from courtly love and heroic deeds to rustic leisure and satire. Additionally, other important characteristics of the canzonetta include "stanza

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[104] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Monteverdi, Claudio: 5. Tonal language," by Geoffrey Chew.
[105] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Monteverdi, 4."
[106] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Canzonetta," by Ruth I. DeFord.
[107] Ibid.

forms…clearly separated phrases, homophonic or lightly imitative textures, sprightly rhythms, high tessituras and text painting reflecting the text of the first stanza."[108] As such, canzonette were first employed in the works of Italian musician Orazio Vecchi's (1550–1605) *Canzonette a quattro voci, libro terzo* (1585), yet the style was also highly effective in the hands of Monteverdi.[109] Monteverdi's "Ecco mormorar l'onde" (*Il secondo libro de madrigal a cinque voci*, 1590) represents the pinnacle of Monteverdi's canzonetta style.[110] Originally, the fourteen-line poem "Ecco mormorar l'onde" had neither rhyme schemes nor parallelisms to denote a preset form or rhythm. Therefore, Monteverdi relied on rhetorical devices and syntactic relationships to rhythm in structuring his madrigal.[111] To accentuate the text of his madrigals, Monteverdi emphasized the functions of dissonance versus consonance through experimentation with textures. "Ecco mormorar l'onde" combined contrapuntal elements with homorhythmic sections to depict changes in mood or scenery. Through his belief that music should enhance text, rather than hide it, Monteverdi was able to structure "Ecco mormorar l'onde" in a way that truly revealed the meaning of the text.

Monteverdi's text selection, although not readily apparent, is entirely representative of the Arcadian landscape theme. In fact, "Ecco mormorar l'onde" captures the beauty of nature during the morning hours.[112] His decision to set Tasso's poetry was intentional, as Tasso was considered an Italian master poet well known for his landscape poetry. The first sentence alone illustrates flora, fauna, the sun, wind, and water:

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[108] Ibid.
[109] Atlas, *Renaissance Music*, 646.
[110] Gary Tomlinson, *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 46. Monteverdi used Torquato Tasso's poetry (from *Libro II: Rime per Laura Peperara*, ca. 1563–1567) as inspiration for many of the canzonette in his Second Book, including "Ecco mormorar l'onde."
[111] Ibid., 49
[112] Ibid., 49.

Ecco mormorar l'onde
e tremolar le fronde
a l'aura mattutina e gli arboscelli,
e sovra i verdi rami i vaghi augelli
cantar soavemente
e rider l'oriente.[113]

Now the waves murmur,
and the boughs and the shrubs tremble
In the morning breeze,
and on the green branches the pleasant
birds sing softly
and the east smiles.[114]

There is an overall sense of calm and peace in Tasso's "Ecco mormorar l'onde" text at the beginning of the poem, which Monteverdi made evident by utilizing rhetoric devices, namely text painting. Stillness of the murmuring water is felt in the opening, polyphonic phrase, as depicted by a monotone repetition of the opening note in the basso voice. The line moves up by step at the height of the phrase for a single note before returning to the opening C, thus reaching the first point of imitation and the fifth of the triad, as shown in figure 1.8.

Figure 1.8. Claudio Monteverdi, "Ecco mormorar l'onde," mms. 1–3. Rhetorical monotone figure.

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[113] Quotation from Tasso's "Ecco mormorar l'onde," lines 1–6.
[114] Rebay Luciano, ed., *Introduction to Italian Poetry: A Dual-Language Book* (Mineola: Courier Corporation, 2012), 82.

Figure 1.9. Monteverdi, "Ecco mormorar l'onde," mms. 4–6. Rhetorical mordent figure.

Additionally, descriptions of a gentle breeze softly stirring the foliage on trees and shrubbery allow for further use of text painting, shown in figure 1.9, on the word *tremolar*, or "tremble." Monteverdi used a rhetorical figure, in the form of a mordent, to recreate a melody that "trembled." The *l'aura*, or "breeze," of line three is structured musically with a long, ten-note melismatic passage to emulate the sensation of a gust of wind, shown in figure 1.10.[115] Scalar passages were often used to depict quick, rolling motions in vocal music, which is best noted in the ascending minor seventh scale from E to D shown in the basso voice (or D to C in the imitated canto). These rhetorical figures become motives used throughout the entire work to highlight the meaning of the text through music. Monteverdi strung each of these rhetorical figures together to form an entire musical story from the first several lines of text, which encompasses the entire first section of the madrigal.

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[115] Tomlinson, *Monteverdi*, 50.

Figure 1.10. Monteverdi, "Ecco mormorar l'onde," mms. 17–21. Scalar rhetorical figure.

The fourth line of the first stanza introduced a new mood, as Monteverdi shifts from the polyphonic texture to a lighter and quicker canzonetta style.[116] Figure 1.11 presents the basso and tenore voices removal from the overall texture, leaving a bird-like duet between the canto and quinto voices with an alto accompaniment. Monteverdi emphasized the soft singing of birds sitting upon among the green foliage of a tree. Since birds primarily sing during the morning hours, and are commonly associated with pastoral literature, this passage contains clear Arcadian influences. *E rider l'oriente* ("the east smiles") is the final line of text for the lively middle section. In this passage, the smiling Orient refers to the sun rising in the east. Musically, Monteverdi interpreted Tasso's text with an ascending-descending scalar figure, depicted in figure 1.12. This ascension is clearly linked with the rising sun, which reaches its peak in the middle of the day before descending in the west. Even during the final recitation of the phrase, where the melody is moving at a much slower, less melismatic pace, there is still an ascending pattern at the beginning of the word *l'Oriente* to symbolize the rising sun.

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[116] Measure 27 is marked with *un poco più mosso*, denoting the change in tempo, although these markings appear to be placed there by the editor rather than Monteverdi.

Figure 1.11. Monteverdi, "Ecco mormorar l'onde," mms. 30–32. Example duet passage.

Figure 1.12. Monteverdi, "Ecco mormorar l'onde," mms. 34–36. Scalar rhetorical figure.

Melodic and rhythmic rhetoric were not the only interesting features of Monteverdi's setting of "Ecco mormorar l'onde," as the composer was also an advocate for contemporary harmonies. As a mannerist composer, Monteverdi hovered on the edge of tonality, thus his works demonstrate an amalgamation of tonal concepts with pre-established modal models. Monteverdi harmonically centered the entire madrigal in a quasi-F major tonality.[117] Furthermore, many of the scalar passages presented above demonstrate "thinly disguised 5–3 chords" with neighboring passing tones.[118] Implementation of triadic harmonies emphasize the final-F "tonality" in "Ecco

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[117] Tomlinson, *Monteverdi*, 50. Monteverdi borrowed many concepts from his Netherlandish contemporary, Giaches de Wert (ca. 1535–1596), and his madrigal *Vezzosi augelli* (*Ottavo libro de madrigal a cinque voci*, 1586), which is heavily prominent in his use of monotonal motives centered on the modern tonality of F major.
[118] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Monteverdi."

mormorar l'onde," representing a shift in Monteverdi's compositional techniques toward his

mature style. Monteverdi's second book of madrigals was merely the beginning of his

development as a composer. "Ecco mormorar l'onde" does not include chromatic passages, for

example, which was a common feature of the composer's maturity. His demonstration of text-

music relationships epitomized the ideals of the *secondo pratica* as he brought Tasso's pastoral

morning scene to life through rhetorical figures, such as word painting. Rhetoric in music soon

became one of the leading compositional techniques of textual expression in all genres of music.

With Monteverdi's assistance, these devices helped lead Italy, and Europe, away from

Mannerism and into the Baroque Era.

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English musicians had translated, edited, and published Italian madrigals in England

since the 1530s, although their representation in overall English repertoire was trivial.[119] During

the first three-quarters of the sixteenth century, English musicians did not compose madrigals,

since Italian verse was considered more advanced than English poetry.[120] Consequently, Italian

madrigals were translated into English verse.[121] Conversely, the contrapuntal style of the serious

Italian madrigals was not as popular with English audiences, who valued the role of a lyrical

melody. Accordingly, Englishman Thomas Morley (ca. 1557–1602) played a large role in

disseminating the Italian lighter styles, canzonetta and balletto, into English literature through

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[119] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Madrigal, IV. The English Madrigal, 1. Origins," by Joseph Kerman.

[120] Ibid. Edmund Spenser and Sir Philip Sidney improved the quality of English poetry dramatically in the 1570s and beyond, which promoted the evolution of English music. Interestingly, both poets emphasized pastoral themes in their literature, which later translates into pastoral music.

[121] Eric Lewin Altschuler and William Jansen, "Musica Transalpina and Marenzio's Interpolator: Gentlemen at Large," *The Musical Times* 144, no. 1885 (Winter, 2003): 20. Nicholas Yonge (ca. 1560–1619), an English publisher, instigated the interest in translations of Italian madrigals in his collection *Musica Transalpina* (1588).

translations and original compositions imitating these Italian styles.[122] In fact, Morley "produced

two anthologies of Italian music of the lighter sort in 1597 and 1598."[123] Morley credited the

Italian musician Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi (ca. 1554–1609) with the creation of the balletto in

his collection *Balletti a cinque per cantare, suonare, e ballare* (1591).[124] Four years later,

Morley published his own set of English ballets, *First Booke of Balletts to Five Voyces* (1595),

which derived directly from Gastoldi's compositional techniques. Both Gastoldi's balletti and

Morley's ballets incorporated characteristics common to lighter madrigal forms, such as the use

of strophic texts, syllabic text setting, predominately-homophonic textures, and distinct

sections.[125] A stylistic addition exclusive to the ballett was an insert of nonsense syllables at the

end of couplets or tercets.[126] Inclusion of nonsense syllables also hints at the influence of

instrumental music on this vocal genre, for dance meters and rhythms became a common

characteristic. Even subject matter heavily revolves around activities such as dancing and

singing, which also happen to be common pastimes for shepherds of pastoral literature. Morley's

four-voiced ballet "Now is the Month of Maying" (*First Booke of Balletts to Five Voyces*, 1595)

may be one of his most infamous compositions, and the work is bursting with pastoral themes.

Despite his renown as a well-rounded musician, Morley did not write the pastoral text for

"Now is the Month of Maying," which was created by his English colleague, Michael Drayton

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[122] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Morley, Thomas," by Philip Brett and Tessa Murray. Thomas Morley was an extremely influential musician in late-Elizabethan England. He worked as a composer, translator, editor, arranger, and publisher.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Lionel Pike, *Pills to Purge Melancholy: The Evolution of the Engish Ballett* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 7. Gastoldi and Vecchi were the two Italian musicians to compose balletti.
[125] Ibid., 7. Repetition is essential to the balletto form, as individual strains of music were usually repeated once, creating an *aabb* form.
[126] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Balletto, 2: Vocal," by Suzanne G. Cusick. These brief phrases acted as a break between different sections of the music. Although the words or music may change, the nonsense section remained constant. For this reason, these phrases are now referred to as the *fa-la* chorus; although other pairs of syllables were also used, the *fa-la* combination was the most popular.

(1563–1631). The lighthearted text fit the lighter style of the ballett, which in English literature served as a means of communicating not just happier moods, themes, and subjects. Therefore, English balletts derived from not only the Italian balletto, but English folk music, as well. Drayton's text utilizes many of the pastoral elements from said folk music that is Arcadian in subjects' activities, inclusion of mythology, and slight hints at nature.

> Now is the month of Maying,
> When merry lads are playing, *Fa la la.*
> Each with his bonny lass
> Upon the greeny grass, *Fa la la.*[127]

Foremost, the namesake phrase suggests that the setting of the poem takes place in the month of May. As previously noted, the spring months, including May, represent youthful endeavors: playfulness, dancing, singing, love, and flora. Each of these themes is present throughout the poem. The first stanza presents a group of young men and women, supposedly lovers, dancing and playing in a grassy field. "Greeny grass" is the only hint at pastoral landscape in the poem; however, descriptions of green flora, primarily grass, trees, and shrubbery, are one of the most consistent themes in Arcadian literature. Evidence of the ballett is clear by observing the end of each couplet, which contains the "*fa-la* chorus," as depicted in figure 1.13. These couplets demonstrate the rhyme scheme of each stanza, *aabb*; each pair of couplets repeats after the nonsense syllables, creating a binary (AABB) form, before returning to the first measure at the beginning of the new stanza. The second stanza emphasizes an entirely different set of Arcadian themes, mythology and music:

> The Spring, clad all in gladness,
> Doth laugh at Winter's sadness, *Fa la la.*
> And to the bagpipe's sound
> The nymphs tread out their ground, *Fa la la.*[128]

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[127] Quotation from Morley's "Now is the Month of Maying," lines 1–4.
[128] Ibid., lines 5–8.

Spring's and Winter's personification hints toward more than just their designations as seasons. Sannazaro's *Arcadia* has already identified Spring as a goddess, hypothetically Persephone. By extending that same hypothesis to Drayton's poem, spring and winter are hence united under Persephone's mythology.[129] Therefore, spring's laughter at winter could symbolize Hades's temporary defeat in the yearly cycle of seasons.

Figure 1.13. Thomas Morley, "Now is the Month of Maying," mms. 5–9. First "*fa-la* chorus."

Another acknowledgement of mythology is the presence of the nymphs, who dance to the bagpipe accompaniment. Nymphs, shepherdesses, and bagpipes are commonly found in pastoral literature. Bagpipes emerge in literature as one of the most common instruments, save hornpipes, played by shepherds during their times of leisure. Morley embodies this joy of dance and play through his light-hearted and lively melody. Interestingly, Morley did not compose an entirely

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[129] *Encyclopedia of Greco-Roman Mythology*, s.v. "Demeter." Persephone was the daughter of Demeter and Zeus, who, like her mother, represented spring's bounty. Greek mythology states that Persephone was abducted by Hades and taken to the underworld. Time passed and Demeter's sorrow left the land cold and desolate. When Persephone was found, Hades tricked her into eating fruit before being rescued; thus, she had to return to the underworld for six months of the year. Upon Persephone's return to Earth, she and Demeter celebrated with spring and summer; upon her required return to the underworld, Demeter's sadness created fall and winter.

original melody in the madrigal. The Englishman was inspired by Orazio Vecchi's balletto "So ben mi ch'a bon tempo" (*Selva di varia ricreatione*, 1590); an excerpt of the beginning melodic lines of both madrigals is shown in figure 1.14.[130] There is an overall rise-and-fall motion in the cantus voice from G to D and back to G during the first two phrases. By no means is the melody scalar, however, each voice part contains many skips and leaps between pitches, which solidifies the playful and lively tone of the poetry.

Figure 1.14. Morley, "Now is the Month of Maying," mms. 1–3. Melodic comparison to Orazio Vecchi, "So ben mi ch'a bon tempo," mms. 1–6.

Figure 1.15. Morley, "Now is the Month of Maying," mms. 14–15. Scalar imitation in "B" section.

Variation in rhythm also adds to the overall excitement of the music. Morley (and Vecchi) combined many rhythmic figures together to prevent the melody from becoming repetitious.

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[130] For a comparison of full excerpts of the Morley and Vecchi, see Appendix B, figure B.5.

Such variation is especially prevalent in the "*fa-la* chorus" at the end of each couplet, which is polyphonic and traditionally imitative in texture, as shown in Figure 1.15. Despite Morley's imitation of Vecchi's melodic and rhythmic motifs, the former composer did not implement the traditional text painting commonly associated with the Italian madrigal. Due to the repetitive form of Morley's ballett, he did not isolate any specific text from the three verses to depict through music.

Drayton's last stanza of text continues the theme of pastoral leisure, demanding the subjects halt their periods of reflection upon life's sorrows, particularly unrequited love, to resume the joyful festivities. Drayton also called upon the nymphs of the prior stanza to join the subjects in a game of barley-break:

> Fie then! why sit we musing
> Youth's sweet delight refusing? *Fa la la.*
> Say, dainty nymphs, and speak,
> Shall we play Barley-break?[131] *Fa la la.*[132]

Morley's implementation of vertical and horizontal harmonies in "Now is the Month of Maying" presents both modal and tonal tendencies, which was a common characteristic of music at the turn of the seventeenth century. Much may be learned from examining the "B" section alone, excerpted in figure 1.16, as the tenth and thirteenth measures present chromaticism new to the harmonies of late-sixteenth century compositions. Measure 10 contains an F♯ in the altus voice, which creates a full D-major triad at the cadence. Morley's music was merely cadencing on the fifth of his primary tone of G, hence the madrigal is set in the G mixolydian mode. Interestingly,

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[131] Jeffrey L. Forgeng, *Daily Life in Elizabethan England* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2009), 201. Barley-break is a game of catch/keep away between three couples. At the beginning of the game, one couple stands in the middle of the other two couples; they are in "Hell." When one of the outside couples yells, "Barley!" the second outside pair yells, "Break!" which causes the couples drop hands and run toward "Hell." If both members in "Hell" catch both members of the same couple from the outside, they switch places.
[132] Quotation from Morley's "Now is the Month of Maying," lines 9–12.

the key of G has a long history of association with pastoral subjects, which was firmly

established by the 19th century as "everything rustic, idyllic, satisfied, every tender and peaceful

emotion of the heart lies in this key."[133]

Figure 1.16. Morley, "Now is the Month of Maying," mms. 10–13. Chromatic writing in "B" section.

Further examinations of measure thirteen's A-major triad with an added C♯ in the quintus voice

suggests that Morley had actually modulated from a G tonality to its dominant D tonality. If

Morley does modulate to D Major at the beginning of the "B" section, it is brief. The composer

returns to G as his central pitch by the end of the couplet, which created a final cadence on a G-

major triad. Both of these harmonic traits were originally exemplified in the balletti of

Monteverdi, Gastoldi, and Vecchi, thus Morley's incorporation of near-tonal harmonic devices

solidify the advancement of music away from the early ideals of the Renaissance into the new

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[133] Rita Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Ann Harbor: UMI Research Press, 1983), 171. Quotation translated from Christian Schubart's treatise *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (1806), which was published posthumously by his son, Ludwig Schubart. Original German: [*G dur, alles Ländliche, Idyllenmäfsige, Befriedigte, jede fanfte und ruhige Bewegung des Herzens liegt in Diesem Tone*]. This citation is an abridged version of Schubart's G major designation. For the entire original quote, see, Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart and Ludwig Schubart, *Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart's Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (Vienna: Bey J. V. Degen, 1806), 380.

era. Today's scholarship considers "Now is the Month of Maying" one of the prime examples of ballett literature; yet, Morley was not necessarily innovative in its conception. Inspired by poetry of Englishman Michael Drayton, Morley set this text to music that imitated Orazio Vecchi's earlier ballett. Regardless, Drayton's text is brimming with pastoral elements, particularly the inclusion of nymphs, pastoral games, and dancing. Even Morley's imitation is a mere gesture toward Vecchi's direction; the Englishman still added many original elements to the melodic, rhythmic, and harmonic structures of "Now is the Month of Maying." Most importantly, Morley's ballett exemplifies the strongest link between late-Mannerist Italian and English musical repertoire.

English madrigalists continued to compose for the genre well into the first quarter of the seventeenth century, even when other countries had all but abandoned the genre. This phenomenon is due to the nature of the northern expansion of knowledge, ideals, and styles; mannerist styles simply lingered in northern Europe longer since they had arrived later than its genesis in Italy. Francis Pilkington (ca. 1570–1638) was part of the progressive school of instrumental lute composition and vocal ayres (*The First Book of Songs or Ayres of Four Parts*, 1605), yet the composer, in general, lacked the sophisticated palette for such serious compositions.[134] Among this set of ayres, however, is an intriguing madrigal "Rest, sweet Nymphs." Pilkington composed these songs sung by all four voices or for solo voice with lute accompaniment.

As a "satellite" composer, Pilkington extended many of Morley's accomplishments toward secular polyphonic music into the first two decades of the seventeenth century.[135] "Rest,

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[134] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, "Pilkington, Francis," by David Brown.
[135] Pike, *Pills to Purge Melancholy*, 201. The primary three composers of English madrigals are Morley, Thomas Weelkes (1576–1623), and Thomas Tomkins (1572–1656). All other composers, including Pilkington, Michael Cavendish (ca. 1565–1628), Thomas Greaves (unknown, fl. ca. 1600), William

sweet Nymphs" combines the harmonic progressions, internal section repetitions, and nonsense

syllables commonly found in Morley's balletts with the smooth, lyrical melodies and extended

phrases of John Downland's (ca. 1563–1626) ayres. Furthermore, Pilkington's nymph subjects

are deeply rooted in the pastoral tradition. This nocturnal setting tells an anonymous poet's story

of a shepherd wishing to sneak a kiss from an unsuspecting nymph resting in the forest.

> Rest, sweet nymphs, let golden sleep
> Charm your star brighter eyes,
> While my lute the watch doth keep
> With pleasing sympathies.
> Lulla, lullaby. Lulla, lullaby.
> Sleep sweetly, sleep sweetly,
> Let nothing affright ye,
> In calm contentments lie.[136]

In the first stanza, the shepherd lulls the nymphs to sleep by playing his lute. Although this

shepherd does not play the iconic pastoral bagpipe or hornpipe, string instruments, such as lutes

and viols, were still prevalent instruments in pastoral repertoire, depicted especially in artwork.

The shepherd eases the nymphs with his soothing melodies and waits for them to drift to sleep

before making his next move; this theme is ordinary in pastoral repertoire. Indeed, nymphs and

shepherdesses were often depicted in literature and art as objects of sexual desire to gods and

shepherds, especially in ancient Greek and Roman literature, which often resulted in rape.[137]

Holborne (unknown, fl. 1597), Robert Jones (unknown, fl. 1597–1615), Thomas Vautor (unknown, b. ca. 1580), and Henry Youll (unknown, fl. 1608), among others, are considered "satellite" composers by Pike, as their works were secondary to the main three, yet still supported the primary composer's stylistic characteristics. Of these many secondary English madrigal composers, Pilkington was one of the most well known due to his madrigal "Sing we, Dance we" (*The First Book of Songs or Ayres of Four Parts*, 1605), another pastoral madrigal referencing the "Summer's Queen."

[136] Quotation from Francis Pilkington's "Rest, sweet Nymphs," lines 1–8.

[137] *Encyclopedia of Greco-Roman Mythology*, s.v. "Europa." For instance, Titian's *Rape of Europa* (ca. 1560–62) depicts the mythological scene in which Europa, the daughter of a shepherd (other legends claim she was the daughter of the King of Tyre or Sidon), was deceived and raped by Zeus, who had disguised himself as a white bull to lead her away from her followers.

Despite the sinister origin of relationships between pastoral males and females, Pilkington's selected poem expresses a tone of innocence, as the shepherd's goal is merely a kiss. Each verse of text consists of the entire musical work, which then repeats back to the beginning with each consecutive stanza. Internal repetition starts with the nonsense syllables "Lulla, lullaby" to create an unbalanced binary (ABB) form. As such, the rhyme scheme, *ababcddc*, is divided at the "*fa-la* chorus," splitting each octave into two quartets. Pilkington also altered meter between these quartets to create melodic and rhythmic variation.

> Dream, fair virgins, of delight
> And blest Elysian groves,
> While the wandring shades of night
> Resemble your true loves.
> Lulla, lullaby. Lulla, lullaby.
> Your kisses, your blisses,
> Send them by your wishes,
> Although they be not nigh.[138]

"Your kisses, your blisses," and the remaining verses of this stanza, are written in iambic hexameter; thus by structuring the measures in perfect minor (modern $\frac{3}{4}$ time signature), Pilkington created a lilting motion, shown in figure 1.17, that matches the text revealing the sneaky shepherd's advancements on the sleeping nymphs. Repeated rhythmic patterns throughout this section also assist in creating the light tone. Another example of recurrent motifs is found in an ascending melodic pattern in the fourth measure of the madrigal. In the first two stanzas, this particular figure could be a rhetorical device, as the ascending notes highlight the "brighter eyes" text of the first verse; the second verse has "Elysian groves" text set to these motifs. Reference to Elysian groves here is both a hint at Greek mythology and a direct quote from Virgil's *Aeneid* (ca. 29–19 BCE).[139] Pilkington's Elysian grove could refer to the idyllic

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[138] Quotation from Pilkington's "Rest, sweet Nymphs," lines 9–16.
[139] *Encyclopedia of Greco-Roman Mythology*, s.v. "Elysium." Elysium was originally Greek in mythology, but equated to Heaven in Roman literature. Elysium was the spiritual place of eternal spring,

landscape where the nymphs are sleeping, or perhaps Greek mythology was altered to associate

Elysian with pleasant dreams and the state of unconsciousness. The rising motion could signify

transcending to the Elysian planes, or simply the act of passing into a nearly lifeless slumber.

Figure 1.17. Francis Pilkington, "Rest, sweet Nymphs," mms. 13–16. Lilting rhythms in "B" section.

In the final poetic stanza, Pilkington's shepherd has seized his moment; with his lute, he

"eased" the nymphs into a peaceful sleep, when he "pleased" them with a kiss before slipping off

into the night:

> Thus, dear damsels, I do give
> 'Good night', and so am gone:
> With your hearts' desires long live,
> Still joy, and never moan.
> Lulla, lullaby. Lulla, lullaby.
> Hath pleased you and eased you,
> And sweet slumber seized you,
> And now to bed I hie.[140]

Smooth, stepwise motion of the melody has an especially soothing effect in Pilkington's "Rest,

sweet Nymphs," representing the qualities of a lullaby. Only one leap is found throughout the

entire treble melody, found in figure 1.18, and the leap is approached and left by stepwise

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where the blessed dead finds eternal peace; in Greek mythology, Elysium was a set of isles, and the plane of spiritual existence was the "Elysian forests," although Virgil altered the phrase to say "Elysian groves."
[140] Quotation from Pilkington's "Rest, sweet Nymphs," lines 17–24.

motion, thus negating any undesirable affects the unexpected leap may cause for the listener.

Additionally, all skips in the treble voice are the interval of a minor third, which is considered a

gentle interval.[141] Naturally, as lower voices fill out the harmonies of this primarily homophonic

texture, more skips and leaps are functionally necessary. The alternative role of this madrigal as

an ayre nevertheless denotes the treble voice as dominant over the other three voices. Pilkington

had already adapted many of the tonal progressions found in early-seventeenth century lute

tablature. Figure 1.18 presents the first phrase as examined in the tonality of G minor, the

parallel minor of the rustic G major and a key of discontent.[142] For example, these opening

measures reveal a [i-V-i-VII-i-V-v-VI-ii°-iii] progression in G minor. Although this progression

does not follow every tonal tendency of the subsequent tonal system, the chords still present

accurate tonic-dominant relationships through a complete understanding of tendency tones.

During the shift from [V-v] in measure three, Pilkington includes chromatic writing to avoid

measure four appearing aurally as a cadence, consequently drawing our attentions to the haunting

resolution [ii°-i] in the fifth measure. Similarly, the composer employed chromaticism in the

final measure of the work. Surely influenced by Dowland and lute compositions of the time,

Pilkington's final cadence used a B♮ instead of B♭, causing an unexpected major tonality in place

of the predictable minor (see figure 1.19). The technique, referred to now as the Picardy third,

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[141] Timothy R. McKinney, *Adrian Willaert and the Theory of Interval Affect: The* Musica nova *Madrigals and the Novel Theories of Zarlino and Vicentino* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2010), 44. According to Zarlino (1517–1590), an Italian theorist, "…when we wish the counterpoint to be languid or sad, or perhaps sweet and soft, we must proceed with sweet, soft progressions. Among such steps are the semitone, minor third, and similar intervals." Quotation from Zarlino's treatise *Le istitutioni harmoniche*, "Book 3. 57," (1558). Original Italian: [*che vorrà fare il Contrapunto alquanto languido, o mesto; simigliantemente dolce, o soave, debbe procedere anco per movimenti dolci, & soave; come sono quelli, che procedeno per il Semituono, per il Semiditono, & per altri simili*].

[142] Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics*, 122. Interestingly, Steblin also translated Schubart's belief that G minor indicated a "worry about a failed scheme," ("*Zerren an einem verunglückten Plane*"), which could suggest the shepherd's fear of waking the nymphs before successfully stealing a kiss.

developed in France and became a staple in Baroque repertoire. Thus, the switch to a G-major

tonality at the end of the work further solidified the pastoral character of the madrigal.

Figure 1.18. Pilkington, "Rest, sweet Nymphs," mm. 8. Sole descending melodic leap.

Figure 1.19. Pilkington, "Rest, sweet Nymphs," mm. 21. Picardy third in "B" section.

"Rest, sweet Nymphs" presents us with an alternative side to English vocal music that was

pastorally centered, but also sentimental. This compositional technique was strikingly different

from Morley's lively balletts of the decade prior. For instance, Pilkington incorporated text

painting, whereas Morley generally avoided the procedure. In comparison, both composers

utilized different spectrums of the same central key of G, which was considered rustic in its

major form; although Pilkington remained in the contemplative G minor tonality for a majority

of the work, his inclusion of a Picardy third in the final cadence brought forth the rustic key. Surprisingly, Francis Pilkington is one of the last late-Renaissance English composers, yet was often overshadowed by his predecessor Thomas Morley, as well as major contemporary madrigalists, such as Thomas Weelkes and Thomas Tomkins. "Rest, sweet Nymphs" includes pastoral mythology, namely nymphs, and the tale of a witty, love-lusting shepherd, whose actions could potentially be conceived as an act of *otium*, although he had ulterior motives for playing music. Lastly, Pilkington used melody and meter to create the illusion of drifting dream while harmonically engaging the audience in near-standard tonal progressions. Such a masterful work should receive more recognition, rather than its current state of loss among the forest of other equally successful English composers.

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There is a distinct level of development in secular vernacular music during the sixteenth century. For instance, Sermisy's chanson demonstrates a musical style closer in foundational characteristics to medieval pastoral song. "Ung jour Robin alloit aux champs" still contains many characteristics of late madrigals, however, as the chanson contained a predominantly homophonic texture with a polyphonic "B" theme for added contrast. Early-sixteenth century chansons are interesting in that they have developed past the point of excessive artifice: heavy polyphony, buried text, archaic *formes fixes* structures, and unnecessary/unprepared dissonance created by independent voice lines. Conversely, Italian madrigals during the same decades demonstrated characteristics of such artifice, excluding the fixed forms. Half a century ensued before the Italian madrigal matched the level of textural and expressive refinement as the chanson—exemplified by Monteverdi's "Ecco mormorar l'onde." Similar in style to the canzonette of his contemporaries Gastoldi and Vecchi, Monteverdi presented a level of tonal

harmony similar to the full tradition that arose in the early-Baroque era by emphasizing triadic harmonies and apparent tonic-dominant relationships. Staying true to the common "madrigalisms" of his period, Monteverdi expressively mastered rhetoric through text painting to embody each phrase of Tasso's text as a musical manifestation. English composition brought the madrigal into the seventeenth century through the efforts of Morley, Pilkington, and their contemporaries. Thomas Morley exposed the Italian lighter styles of Gastoldi and Vecchi to English audiences; his own balletts and canzonets, in turn, were quick successes among his listeners. "Now is the Month of Maying" is a playful, lively ballett that utilizes many characteristics of the preceding Italian genre, such as sectional repetition, emphasis on homophony, hints toward tonality, and "*fa-la* choruses" placed between each tercet at the repetition of the section. Pilkington extended functions of tonality in his seventeenth-century madrigal "Rest, sweet Nymphs," by presenting clear examples of tonic-dominant and tonic-subdominant relationships. During Pilkington's later years of composition, he primarily wrote lute music, thus the progressive harmonies and structures of his lute compositions transferred into his vocal ayres and madrigals. Furthermore, the selected works of Pilkington, Morley, Monteverdi, and Sermisy all shared one common non-musical thread: Arcadian themes.

Throughout the chapter, many specific pastoral themes have emerged; numerous examples are found in poetry, art, and music, whereas others occur in instances that are more isolated. Many works of art include multiple motifs—implications of spring, *otium*, and musical performance, as well as physical descriptions of landscape, flora, and fauna—whereas select examples contain merely one or two Arcadian themes, such as physical descriptions of nature and realistic human activities, such as physical labor. Literature, the root of pastoral traditions, emphasizes all of the Arcadian themes one could expect to find in pastoral poetry. The visual arts

best exemplify shepherd activities and large-scale depictions of landscape. Music is particularly fond of capturing the light-heartedness of *otium*, or shepherds' leisurely activities. Combined, the arts represent the full spectrum of Arcadian themes, such as nature, idyllic landscape, shepherd pastimes, and mythology. Nymphs and Greek deities, for instance, are present in these works, such as Mistress Spring by Sannazaro and Morley, Venus by Titian and Belleau, Pan and Lady Flora by Spenser, as well as many mentions of nymphs or muses. All of these deities have a place within pastoral literature, whether they reign over the sacred months of rebirth and harvest or represent spring's love and youth. Landscape, as best illustrated by Titian, Bruegel, and Hoefnagel, is represented through descriptions of flora and fauna in poetry and music. Blossoming flower, growing grass, budding trees, and maturing fruit are prevalent examples of flora, and fauna emphasize sheep, goats, and birds. Of course, the pastoral tradition would not be complete without mention of shepherds and their activities. Sannazaro, Morley, Spenser, Hoefnagel, and Bruegel all contain particular activities, such as playing games, dancing and participating in contests, in their works, yet there is one specific pastime central to the pastoral tradition. Music is often the focus of shepherd gatherings, as many artists reference singing and instrumental performance. Titian's painting, Sannazaro's poem, and Morley's madrigal all introduce music making as a primary pastime. The most consistent pastoral idea among these works is the association between spring and youth, love, and beauty. These positive human characteristics are exemplified in the natural occurrences of spring, such the growth of new life, warm temperatures, pleasant weather, and the end of winter's desolateness. Seasonal roles in pastoral repertoire are directly linked to human life and emotion, as epitomized in Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*, Titian's *Two Arcadian Musicians*, and Morley's "Now is the Month of

Maying," among others. These themes of nature, leisure, and mythology are all primary components of the classic pastoral tradition reincarnated into the Renaissance era.

Renaissance sensibilities toward dramatic—and often melancholic—tones did not completely overshadow the pure Arcadian themes of classic pastoral literature. Many fifteenth- and sixteenth-century poets, artists, and musicians chose to emphasize Arcadian motifs in their works of art; artists included mythology in these works to elevate the level of beauty and prosperity of these Arcadian-inspired locales to a surreal level. Whereas these pure approaches to the pastoral depict natural beauty, many artists used the pastoral tradition as a median for political allegory. In the following chapter, pastoral literature containing allegorical themes pertaining to the courts, or written for specific royalty or aristocracy, is examined. Analysis of allegory in bucolic literature written in the courts is essential to understanding the dissemination of the pastoral tradition throughout Europe.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SHEPHERDS' QUEEN

Allegory, an important poetic device used in the arts throughout many centuries, finds expression in rustic repertoire as classical pastoral literature did not solely focus on the purity of idyllic scenery. Virgil had introduced political allegory in his *Eclogues* before the beginning of the Common Era. Medieval and early-Renaissance poets accentuated religious allegory in their pastoral poesy. Consequently, the utilization of allegorical themes by Renaissance pastoral writers marks the natural progression of an entire expressive practice. Furthermore, events veiled by allegory represent personal, political, and religious climates during the lifetime of each poet.[1] In Renaissance literature, pastoralists created subjects and settings that symbolized not only themselves, but also their colleagues and patrons, church officials, and sovereign leaders within their works of art. Specifically, literary characters (shepherds, hunters, nymphs, and deities) were often symbols of royal or aristocratic patrons, depicting their beauty, cunning, bravery, and other redeeming qualities of their character. Some poets chose to honor their current patron through eclogues, whereas other poets paid respect to the recently deceased through elegies. Additionally, many artists honored patrons through dedication of specific works, or by indirect references allegorically portraying symbols of their patron's sphere of influence. Furthermore, many of these same works contain other points of interest, such as descriptions of nature (landscape, flora, and fauna) and iconographic symbolism through personal possessions, which were frequently used to highlight the strengths of the honored patron.

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[1] Stefano Carrai, "Pastoral as Personal Mythology in History: *Bucolicum Carmen*," in *Petrarch: A Critical Guide to the Complete Works*, ed. Victoria Kirkham and Armando Maggi (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 165. Petrarch's *Bucolicum Carmen* (ca. 1357) is an example of poetic allegory serving as an interpretation into not just personal developments of the poet, but also the "social history" that occurred during Petrarch's productive years.

Pastoral acknowledgements of noble patrons help define the identity of the artist, since the interest of the patron often dictated the qualitative properties of the artist's yield. More importantly, connections between artists and patrons provide an insight to the dissemination of pastoral traditions throughout Europe. For instance, relocation of royalty through marriage or travel of artists for various obligations led to the subsequent spread of artistic ideals between countries. Literary and visual arts, for example, were among the first mediums of pastoral repertoire to spread influence across Europe. As such, Poliziano's poem "Ambra" (*Silvae*, ca. 1485) and Ambroise Dubois's painting of *Diana the Huntress* (1590) are two examples of pastoral works composed for specific patrons. Performing arts, such as music and drama, also celebrated royal patrons through allegory. Both Sir Philip Sidney's masque *The Lady of May* (1578) and Thomas Tomkin's madrigal entitled "See, see the Shepherds' Queen" (1622), for instance, were dedicated to Queen Elizabeth I of England, one during her reign and one after her death. In fact, numerous English works of art were dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, as many of the Queen's followers elevated her determination to remain unwed to an idyllic status comparable to Diana, whose mythology gained undertones of chastity in England.[2] These selected works serve as models of allegory in pastoral literature, art, music, and drama. Associations created between artists and their patrons of the court are vital to understanding the character of pastoral repertoire during the Renaissance era.

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[2] *Encyclopedia of Greco-Roman Mythology*, s.v. "Diana." Diana was the Roman goddess of childbirth, as well as an armed huntress, which made her a symbol of both protection and strength. Diana was also one of three goddesses who swore not to marry, which is presumably where her chaste qualities originated in English literature. Queen Elizabeth I was often referred to in Elizabethan poetry as Diana, Cynthia, and Phoebe, all goddesses represented by the moon, to represent Elizabeth's control over the surrounding oceans with her impressive naval fleet. In art, such symbolism is shown through depictions of a crescent moon. See, Susan Dora, *Queen Elizabeth I* (New York: New York University Press, 2003), 124.

The Pastoral in the Italian Court

Artists relied on patronage support throughout the Renaissance era, thus poets, artists, and musicians worked closely with the aristocracy and their sovereign leaders. Italian nobility was particularly attached to the arts, as many leading officials were also amateurs at one particular craft or another. Lorenzo de' Medici (1449–1492) was the powerful ruler of the Medici clan and a prominent patron of the arts.[3] He was also fond of poetry, and the politician wrote numerous verses of pastoral poesy, although his collections primarily emphasized the dichotomy between love and melancholy.[4] Lorenzo was introduced to Poliziano (Angelo Ambrogini, 1454–1494), considered the "Homeric youth," during the 1480s when he brought the young poet under his patronage.[5] During these years (ca. 1482–1486), Poliziano completed *Silvae* (ca. 1482–1486), a collection of rustic prose and poetry. Lorenzo de' Medici enjoyed keeping the company of clever minds, and he had created a circle of poets, scholars, and

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[3] William Roscoe and William Hazlitt, *The Life of Lorenzo De' Medici: Called the Magnificent* (London: David Bogue, 1846), 68. Lorenzo de' Medici came from a long line of powerful men; he was the son of Piero di Cosimo de' Medici, thus his grandfather was Cosimo de' Medici, who were both highly wealthy and influential men of Florence. As a politician, Lorenzo had gained the favor of Pope Paul II, Ferdinand I of Naples, and the Duke of Milan, Galeazzo Maria Sforza, who assisted in Lorenzo's election as a chief politician of the Florentine Republic in 1470.

[4] Andre Chastel, "Melancholia in the Sonnets of Lorenzo de' Medici," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 8, no. (1945): 61–62. A particular sonnet, "Lontano degli occhi di Lei, ricorda tristamente il suo commino amoroso" (*Opere*, "Rime" C. III, ca. 1470–1492) contained the common tale of a man contemplating the sorrows love in a pastoral scene. At first glance, "Lontano degli occhi di Lei" contains no pastoral elements other than the subject sitting on a rock. This exact scene, however, was imitated from Petrarch's "Di pensier in pensier, di monte in monte" (*Canzoniere*, No. CXXIX, ca. 1327–1368), where a "solitary walker describes the rural surroundings" where "near a gushing spring, beneath a fir-tree, he might at last find a lonely rock, the symbol of his woeful fate."

[5] Alfred von Reumont, *Lorenzo De' Medici, the Magnificent*, vol. 2, trans. Robert Harrison (London: Smith, Elder, & Company, 1876), 49. Lorenzo was Poliziano's primary patron, offering him residency at his Florence estate; the patron also appointed Poliziano an esteemed position as lecturer at the University of Florence. See, F. W. Kent, *Lorenzo De' Medici and the Art of Magnificence* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2006), 55. Furthermore, Lorenzo entrusted Poliziano with the education of his children. See, Reumont, *Lorenzo De' Medici, the Magnificent*, 63.

philosophers, of which Poliziano became a member.[6] Collaboration within this intellectual circle

brought Poliziano and Lorenzo closer as friends, and Poliziano often spoke fondly of his patron's

literature. Indeed, even in Poliziano's "Greeting" dedication of *Silvae* to Lorenzo de' Medici's

cousin, Lorenzo Tornabuoni, a poet-scholar of Homer, Polizano expressed fond admiration of his

patron, "Lorenzo de' Medici, an illustrious and pre-eminent man, who, as we know, selected

Ambra at Poggio a Caiano, an estate, so to speak, that produces everything, as a place of

relaxation from civic responsibilities."[7] Hence, the title of the third poem in *Silvae* was titled

"Ambra" (ca. 1485), inspired by Lorenzo de' Medici's idyllic rural estate. Interestingly, Lorenzo

de' Medici composed his own prose, retrospectively entitled "Ambra," which depicted his

country villa as his personal Arcadia, where he allegorically characterized himself as the *pastor*

alpino ("Alpine shepherd") charged with guarding over the well-being of his land.[8] Poliziano

carried these superimposed pastoral themes on the Ambra estate into his own *Silvae*

interpretation of Lorenzo de' Medici's private Arcadia.

Poliziano's study of classical Greek literature stimulated his interest pastoral prose.[9]

Thus, the poet-scholar's *Silvae* collection was a combined study of pastoral poetry, philosophy,

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[6] Richard Stapleford, *Lorenzo De' Medici at Home: The Inventory of the Palazzo Medici in 1492* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013), 8–9. Lorenzo and his circle of poets studied and imitated pastoral poesy, specifically Virgil's *Eclogues*. See, Kent, *Lorenzo De' Medici*, 115.

[7] Angelo Poliziano, "Ambra" from *Silvae*, ed. Charles Fantazzi (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 68–69. Original Latin: [*Debetur haec silva tibi, vel argumento titulo, nam et Homeri studiosus es quasique noster consectaneus, et propinquus Laurentii Medicis, summi praecellentisque viri, qui scilicet Ambram ipsam Caianam, praedium (ut ita dixerim) omniferum, quasi pro laxamento sibi delegit civilium laborum*].

[8] Corinna Salvadori Lonergan, "Lorenzo de' Medici's *Ambra:* due poesie diverse?" *Hermanathena*, no. 121 (Winter, 1976): 160.

[9] Clare E. L. Guest, "*Varietas*, *poikilia* and the *silva* in Poliziano," *Hermanetha* 183 (December, 2007): 12. The term *Silvae*, first used by Publius Papinius Statius (ca. 45–96), means a collection of Latin poetry written for a specific occasion. Inspired by Statius, Poliziano's *Silvae* were recited as introductions to his lectures on specific poets, including Hesiod, Homer, and Virgil. "Ambra" was one of the largest of the *Silvae* with 625 lines of prose.

and pedagogy.[10] Of the four poems in the *Silvae* collection, "Ambra" united the pastoral promise

of Lorenzo de' Medici's rural estate with Homeric philosophies as a form of Neoplatonic

commentary.[11] Similarly, Poliziano's Medici patrons, particularly Cosimo de' Medici and

Lorenzo de' Medici, were also interested in the literature of Plato. Cosimo commissioned

Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), a fellow poet-scholar and humanist philosopher under the Medici

patronage, to translate works by Plato.[12] Humanism was certainly a driving force in Renaissance

literature, particularly in fifteenth-century Italy. Since "Ambra" also served as a pedagogical

introduction on Homeric lectures, Poliziano's mention of Homer in the opening lines of the prose

is anticipated:

> *Utque laboriferi ferrum lapis Herculis alte*
> *erigit et longos Chalybum procul implicat orbes*
> *vimque suam aspirat cunctis, ita prorsus ab uno*
> *impetus ille sacer vatum dependet Homero.*[13]
>
> As the stone of the laboring Hercules draws the iron
> upwards and intertwines at a distance the long rings of metal and
> breathes its power into them all, so
> the sacred impulse of poets depends entirely on Homer alone.[14]

Poliziano remarks on the significance of Homer's literature in the development of contemporary

verse. Poliziano associated Homer with Hercules, a classical Roman hero known for his strength

and valor, which was a common pastoral practice utilizing allegory as a means to exalt subjects

to a position of prominence.[15] Mythology surrounding Hercules included the twelve great labors,

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[10] Ibid., 14.

[11] Ibid., 12. Essentially, Poliziano's commentary expressed the dichotomy between allegorical and philosophical approaches toward poetry. Through imitating the style of Homer, Poliziano aimed to move toward a concept of "universal poetry" that could appeal to a wider audience.

[12] Maryanne Cline Horowitz, "Ficino: Neo-Platonic Ascent through Love and Education," in *Seeds of Virtue and Knowledge*, 81–96 (New Haven: Princeton University Press, 1998), 81.

[13] Poliziano and Fantazzi, *Silvae*, 70. Quotation from Poliziano's *Silvae*, "Ambra," lines 13–17.

[14] Ibid., 71.

[15] *Encyclopedia of Greco-Roman Mythology*, s.v. "Hercules." Hercules originated as Heracles, a hero from ancient Greek mythology.

or adventures, when Hercules performed a specific task to demonstrate his strength.[16] Poliziano likened Homer to Hercules in that, even centuries after his death, the poet was still a source of inspiration and imitation for Renaissance poets, as though he himself breathed life into the philosophies of Poliziano's contemporaries.

In addition to the tales of Hercules, Poliziano quoted other Greek and Roman mythologies regularly throughout *Ambra*, which is also consistent with pastoral themes of mythology. Various young deities gather by the sea, much like shepherd gatherings in classic literature. Poliziano describes each of the gods and goddesses by their common attributes, such as clothing, weapons, and roles in mythology. The following excerpt, in particular, presents another god, Hermes, typically associated with classic pastoral literature:

> *Fert pedibus pinnas puer Arcas, crine galerum*
> *et chelyn incurvam atque incurvam sustinet harpen*
> *paciferaque duos virga discriminat angues;*[17]

> The Arcadian youth, wings on his feet and cap on his head,
> holds a curved lyre and a curved sword, and with his rod,
> symbols of peace, he separates the two serpents;[18]

Poliziano's "Arcadian youth" has the physical characteristics of the Greek god Hermes.[19] His winged shoes and cap represented his role as the gods' messenger.[20] As a god tied to the pastoral Arcadia, Hermes was naturally skilled at music, and had created the first lyre by "stringing

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[16] Ibid., 189. Although the specific details of these adventures vary, the first labor always tells the fable of how Hercules slayed the Nemaean Lion, a minion of Hades, and (according to select legends) used its pelt as armor since mortal weapons could not penetrate the fur.

[17] Poliziano and Fantazzi, *Silvae*, 72. Quotation from Poliziano's *Silvae*, "Ambra," lines 48–50.

[18] Ibid., 73.

[19] *Encyclopedia of Greco-Roman Mythology*, s.v. "Hermes." Hermes was Greek messenger to the gods. He was also the protector of herdsmen, thieves,

[20] Nicholas Sekunda, *The Ancient Greeks* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 1986), 19. Hermes's cap, called a *petasos*, was also symbolic of rural living, as ancient Greek farmers and travelers were often illustrated with a similar hat.

cowgut across a tortoise shell covered with an ox hide."[21] Hermes was worshipped alongside

Pan, his brother and god of rusticity and nature in ancient Arcadia, thus he is subsequently

associated with pastoral literature, especially in relation to his mortal shepherd son, Daphnis.

Yet, references to ancient Greek and Roman deities were not the only examples of pastoral

themes in *Ambra*. As stated in the "Greeting" of the prose, Poliziano associated Lorenzo de'

Medici's rural estate as a real-life Arcadia that was self-sustaining through agriculture and acted

"as a place of relaxation from civic responsibilities" for the Medici clan.[22] Poliziano had spent

considerable time at his patron's estate, and he continued Lorenzo de' Medici's association of

Ambra at Poggio a Caiano with idyllic ideals comparable to Arcadia. Poliziano used these

qualities as inspiration for his prose, naturally including pastoral themes, as shown in the

following excerpt:

> *Pastores sparsere Palem, spumantia postquam*
> *complerant olidam supra caput ubera mulctram;*
> *primitias et quisque sui fert muneris auctor;*
> *cur ego non vocem hanc,*[23]
>
> If shepherds sprinkled peaceful Pales with fresh milk after the
> foamy udders had filled the sweet-smelling milk-pails to over-flowing and
> each one brings the first fruits of his tribute;
> why should I not give free rein to this song,[24]

Yet another pastoral deity is referenced in this phrase, as Pales was a Roman goddess of

shepherds and their flocks.[25] Poliziano directly references shepherds partaking in a pagan ritual,

as they present offerings of produce to Pales so she may continue to bless their flocks. This

portion of the quotation is completely representative of the idyllic themes of Arcadian life, which

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[21] *Encyclopedia of Greco-Roman Mythology*, s.v. "Hermes." This first lyre was created with seven strings, which were associated with the seven Greek vowels. This lyre was eventually gifted to Apollo, the Greek god of music. See, *Encyclopedia of Greco-Roman Mythology*, s.v. "Apollo."

[22] Poliziano and Fantazzi, *Silvae*, 69.

[23] Ibid., 70. Quotation from Poliziano's *Silvae*, "Ambra," lines 5–8.

[24] Ibid., 71.

[25] *Encyclopedia of Greco-Roman Mythology*, s.v. "Pales."

is glorified through the interventions of their deities. The more realistic process of gathering milk into pails is also represented in Lorenzo's "Ambra." Nevertheless, even this realism through rural labor evokes a sense of the ideal, as the milk is sweet and the harvest is bountiful. Despite his pedagogical objective for writing his "Ambra," Poliziano masterfully combined the idyllic and realistic elements of pastoral literature in his literary depiction of his patron's rural estate. Undoubtedly, Poliziano greatly respected his patron and fellow poet, Lorenzo de' Medici, and wished to honor him through their mutual interest in pastoral literature. Under the Medici patronage and Lorenzo's own pen, the pastoral tradition thrived in Florentine literature.

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The Medici clan was not just known as patrons of literature, but of all arts. Paintings were highly esteemed works of art among Italian nobles, and Lorenzo de' Medici was famous for having patronized many artists, including Michelangelo (ca. 1475–1564) and Benozzo Gozzoli (Benozzo di Lese, ca. 1421–1497). As a devout Christian, Gozzoli became renowned for his sacred scenes, but he also decorated many of his paintings with pastoral themes, particularly in his depiction of landscape.[26] Piero di Cosimo de' Medici summoned Gozzoli to Florence circa 1459 to begin work under his patronage. Gozzoli honored his Medici patron with one of his most beautiful frescos to be painted during the Italian Renaissance, titled *Journey of the Magi* (or *Procession of the Magi*, ca. 1459–1460), as depicted in figure 2.1.[27] This large, vibrant fresco

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[26] Jameson, "Lives of the Early Painters: Benozzo Gozzoli," *The American Art Journal (1866–1867)* 6, no. 3 (November, 1866): 39. Gozzoli's most famous sacred paintings were created during his stay in Tuscany, and include the *History of St. Augustine* (ca. 1463–1465) in San Gimignano's Basilica of Sant'Agostino and a tribute to the *Death of St. Sebastian* (ca. 1464) in the Nave of Sant'Agostino, near the choir.

[27] Philippe De Montebello, ed., *The Vatican: Spirit and Art of Christian Rome*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Guide (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1983), 257.

encompasses the nave walls of the Magi Chapel within the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi.[28] *Journey of the Magi* contained allegorical portraits of many members of the Medici family as they advanced toward a religious service in honor of Christ the Savior.[29] The most esteemed detail of *Journey of the Magi* is the southeast panel described as "Caspar with Entourage of the Medici," which depicts a ten-year-old Lorenzo de' Medici surrounded by members of the Medici clan.

Figure 2.1. Benozzo Gozzoli, *Journey of the Magi*, "Caspar with Entourage of the Medici" detail, 1459–1460, tempera and oil fresco. Magi Chapel, Palazzo Riccardi. Permission granted by Art Resource, New York.

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[28] David Mateer, *Courts, Patrons and Poets* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 181. Interestingly, Gozzoli painted a self-portrait of himself within the fresco, found on the east wall.

[29] Malcolm Oxley, "The Medici and Gozzoli's *Magi*," *History Today* 44 (December, 1944): 16. Each portion of the wall depicts specific officials. The sanctuary, the northern portion of the nave, presents *The Heavenly Host*; this head scene contains Mantuanesque pastoral themes with "shepherds preparing for their worship." Leading the processional, on the northeast corner of the nave, is Piero, followed by Lorenzo. The southern wall, parallel to *The Heavenly Host*, is a depiction of Emperor John VIII Paleologus, followed by Simeon, Patriarch of Constantinople, on the southwest corner. Lorenzo's younger brother, Giuliano, trails behind with his pet leopard at his side.

Gozzoli's *Journey of the Magi* occurs along a mountainous path as the clan descends

from a castle, possibly one of the Medici's many rural villas, which is shown as the highest point

of the painting. In this scene, the outskirts of Florence, where the Medici resided, are displayed

among the distant escarpment. Tuscany's expansive and rugged terrain is fully represented in the

background of the fresco, as well as the intense colors of green that make up both Tuscan forests

and fields. The northeastern panel presents a detailed portrait of young Lorenzo de' Medici

among this rich landscape, who Gozzoli portrayed as one of the three Biblical Magi, or the three

kings of Orient.[30] Lorenzo's features are highly adorned in comparison with other members of

the Medici family, as his attire is prominently gold. Lorenzo's crown, specifically, appears to be

made of gold and is embellished with pearls and precious stones. Interestingly, the placement of

a young laurel tree directly behind Lorenzo's crown symbolizes the young Medici's interest in

poetry.[31] Other flora depicted in the painting include miscellaneous shrubbery, among them holly

and lavender bushes, as well as various trees, such as palm, orange, and laurel trees. Lastly,

Journey of the Magi contained many illustrations of fauna through pastoral scenes with

shepherds, herdsmen, and hunters. The "Caspar" detail has an illustrated hunting scene in the

middle ground directly behind Lorenzo de' Medici, which contains both secular and sacred

implications. The House of Medici was well known for demonstrating their higher class in

society through regular hunts, as "the hunt, especially of noble beasts such as boar and stag,

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[30] Bard Thompson, *Humanists and Reformers: A History of the Renaissance and Reformation* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1996), 200.

[31] Horowitz, *Seeds of Virtue*, 82–83. Gozzoli was the first to associate Lorenzo with the laurel branch, which becomes a primary symbol of the politician "after the death of Cosimo de' Medici in 1464" and his rise of power in Florence. *Lauro*, which translates to laurel, became a literary play on words representing Lorenzo, which is described by Poliziano as the "emblem" for "uninjured virtue," since the laurel tree could not "be struck down by Jupiter's lightning."

was…an occupation for gentlemen, a pleasure for great lords."[32] The hunter, mounted on horseback, and his hounds chase a roe deer over a mountain ridge. Other than horses in the procession, avifaunae are the only other depictions of wildlife outside the hunting scene, and include a dove and jackdaw as well as many other varieties of birds. Gozzoli also utilized pastoral elements in two of his other panels that encompass both sides of the northern nave walls before the sanctuary chamber, as shown in figure 2.2.
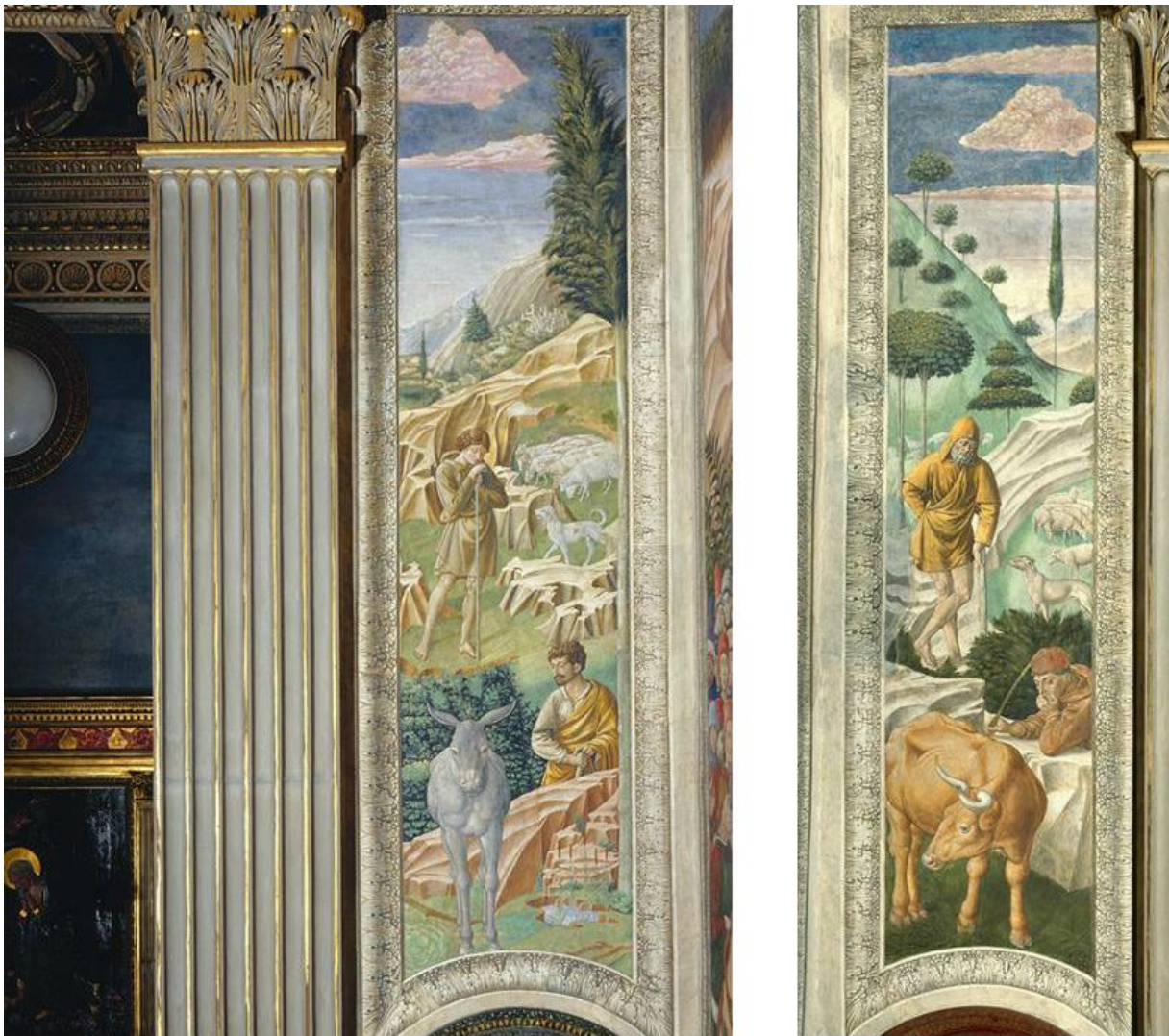
Figure 2.2. Gozzoli, *Journey of the Magi*, "Pastoral Scene with Shepherds" northeast corner (left) and northwest corner (right) details. Magi Chapel, Palazzo Riccardi. Permission granted by Art Resource, New York.

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[32] Sergio Bertelli, *The Courts of the Italian Renaissance* (London: Pan Macmillan, Ltd., 1986), 174. Other interpretations view the hunting scene as a metaphor for the Medici's hunt for Christ. See, Ibid., 173.

These panels depict the best Arcadian fauna in the entire fresco, although they contain religious connotations. Many parallelisms between the two panels are evident, which creates a balance on both sides of the sanctuary. For example, Gozzoli had situated the herdsman and shepherds, as well as the ox and donkey, in similar locations in both panels; additionally, the hound and flock placements are nearly identical. The ox and donkey on either side of the sanctuary opening are the two animals typically found in the Nativity scene during Christ's birth. Paradise or Heaven is illustrated in the Magi Chapel sanctuary through depictions of Bethlehem angels. As such, the Heavenly sanctuary panel is the final destination of the Medici pilgrimage to attend a service celebrating the birth of Christ.

The House of Medici had profound influence on the Italian Renaissance visual and literary arts. Through the patronage of Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici, many works were created that were inspired by both religious themes, such as Benozzo Gozzoli's *Journey of the Magi*, and the pastoral tradition, as seen most prominently in the poems and prose of Angelo Poliziano and Lorenzo de' Medici himself. Depictions of mythology (including gods, goddesses, and angels) and shepherds, whether milking or watching over their flocks, are both common characteristics of pastoral literature. During the early Renaissance, many artists, including those under the Medici's patronage, remained in their country of origin for the duration of their careers. As the Renaissance progressed into the sixteenth century, however, artists ventured to various courts for work, especially between Italy, France, and the Netherlands.

French Patronage of the Arts

Undeniably, the High Renaissance of the early-sixteenth century opened many doors for the spread of Italian Humanist ideals, and ultimately, assisted in the spread of the pastoral tradition northward. Despite tensions between major European nations, including France and

Italy, caused by the Italian Wars, many artists sought patronage in a country different from their birth country.[33] For instance, Leonardo da Vinci (Leonardo di ser Piero da Vinci, 1452–1519), who was an ambassador to the Medici court and briefly served under the patronage of Lorenzo, moved to France in the first decade of the sixteenth century, where he served under the patronage of King Francis I of France.[34] Medici ties between Italian and French courts extended into the period of Mannerism through Catherine de' Medici's (1519–1589) marriage to King Henry II, which gave her the title Queen of France from 1547–1559.[35] Catherine carried on the Medici legacy as a patron to the arts, and consequently hosted many poets and artists in her court. Pierre de Ronsard (1524–1585) was among one of Catherine's favorite French poets, and had served under her patronage beginning in the early 1560s.[36] Indeed, the poet paid respects to his Queen, presented as a beautiful nymph, in his "Eclogue I, Bergerie" (*Les Eclogues*, 1565). A few modern scholars believe that the dramatic tone of "Bergerie" allowed for a dramatic performance, which may have occurred at the 1564 Fêtes de Fontainebleau as entertainment for Catherine de' Medici and her guests, although others have dismissed these claims due to lack of

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[33] Michael Edward Mallett and Christine Shaw, *The Italian Wars, 1494–1559: War, State and Society in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2014), 1–2. Dispute over the leadership of Italy's regional states (Naples, Milan, Florence, Venice, and the Papal States were among the largest states) was the underlying concern during the Italian Wars. The House of Orléans, for example, claimed the region of Milan belonged to the French crown through Louis d'Orléans, whose grandmother was Valentina Visconti, daughter of the first Duke of Milan.

[34] Mateer, *Courts, Patrons and Poets*, 129. Scholars speculate that Leonardo da Vinci was brought to France by Francis I to construct the architectural plans for his Château de Chambord. Structurally, the construction of this estate has clear Italian influences, as it is architecturally similar to Lorenzo de Medici's Ambra estate designed by Giuliano da Sangallo (ca. 1443–1516) in the late-fifteenth century. See, Robert J. Knecht, *Francis I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 100.

[35] Leonie Frieda, *Catherine de Medici: Renaissance Queen of France* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, LLC, 2006), 20. Catherine was the great-granddaughter of Lorenzo (*il Magnifico*) de' Medici and the daughter of Madeleine de La Tour d'Auvergne, Countess of Boulogne, who died months after her birth.

[36] Virginia Scott and Sara Sturm-Maddox, *Performance, Poetry and Politics on the Queen's Day: Catherine de Médicis and Pierre de Ronsard at Fontainebleau* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2007), 2.

recorded evidence.[37] Regardless, the poem "Bergerie" served as an important connection between the court of Catherine de' Medici of France and Queen Elizabeth I of England. Catherine had Ronsard revise "Bergerie" from his collection *Elegies, Mascarades et Bergerie* (1565), dedicated to Elizabeth I, to allude to Catherine's desire to marry Elizabeth I to her son, Francis, the later Duke of Anjou.[38] Ronsard's "Bergerie" was a literary link between France and England during the third quarter of the sixteenth century.

Although only select stanzas contain references to Catherine de' Medici and her son, Charles IX of France, "Bergerie" invokes a spirit of hopefulness at the reign of the young Charles IX, who had just turned fifteen and was deemed able to rule the country without the guidance of his mother.[39] Thus, the text appears to be an elegy in honor of Catherine, although she had not died, which suggests that the poem referenced her retirement from official power. Before introducing Catherine, however, Ronsard describes an Arcadian pagan ritual used to celebrate idyllic gods.

> *Quand nous irons baigner les grasses peaux*
> *De nos troupeaux,*
> *Pour leur blancher ergots, cornes et laines,*
> *Semant partout des roses à mains pleines,*
> *Sur les fontaines,*
> *Et du vin sur les ruisseaux;*
>
> *Quand nous ferons aux nymphes le service,*
> *Et d'annuel office*
> *Irons versant le sang d'un aignelet*

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[37] Ibid., 91. Scholars such as Margaret McGowan (1968) and J.T.D. Hall (1989) believe there is enough evidence of common practice during the period to justify the performance of "Bergerie" to the French court. Numerous scholars, including Virginia Scott (2007), Paul Laumonier (1948), and Alice Hulubei (1938), have disputed this claim, however.

[38] Ibid., 93. Catherine de' Medici commissioned Ronsard to revise a poem from his collection to be presented to Queen Elizabeth I as a demonstration of cooperation between their two countries.

[39] Frieda, *Catherine de Medici*, 144–145. Charles IX came to rule France in 1560 when he was only ten years old, thus Catherine de' Medici was the unofficial ruler of France until 1565, when Charles IX turned fifteen years old.

> *Dedans du laict*
> *Pour un rustique sacrifice.*[40]

> When we will submerge the greasy hides
>   Of our herds of sheep,
> Bleaching theirs spurs, horns, and wools,
> Scattering hand roses everywhere
>   In the fountains,
> And some plum coloring in the streams;

> When we will celebrate Mass to the spirits,
>   And with yearly Service
> We will be pouring the blood of the lamb
>   In milk
> For some primitive offering.[41]

This passage holds significance as it presents the dark side of the Arcadian narrative; the shepherd does not protect his herd of sheep, but rather, sacrifices their young for the "yearly Service." The bones, skin, and wool of these sheep were then harvested for the offering, rather than milk. Likely, this section describes practices that actually occurred in religious worship; the sacrifice of the lamb, due to its symbolic innocence and purity, is common, and even appears in records of Christianity.[42] Emphasis on Christian symbolism, such as the paschal lamb representing Christ, denotes Catherine de' Medici's devotion to the Roman Catholic faith. This particular rustic service is in honor of nymphs, who are ruled by their queen, Catherine de' Medici.

> *Lors nous ferons de gazons un autel*
>   *Tout couvert de branche myrtine,*
>   *Et par un vœu solennel,*
>   *De la nymphe Catherine*
> *Invoquerons le renom eternal :*

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[40] Pierre de Ronsard, "*Les Eclogues*, Eclogue I: Bergerie" in *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 4, ed. M. Prosper Blanchemain (Paris: Chez Pagnerre Libraire, 1860), 7–8. Quotation from Ronsard's *Les Eclogues,* "Bergerie," lines 54–64.

[41] Ibid., English translation by Nadine Maggard.

[42] *Bible*, "The Passover and the Festival of Unleavened Bread," Old Testament, Exodus 12: 5–6. "Your lamb shall be without blemish, a male of the first year: ye shall take it out from the sheep, or the goats. And ye shall keep it up until the fourteenth day of the same month: and the whole assembly of the congregation of Israel shall kill it at twilight."

> *Puis d'âge en en âge,*
> *En humble homage,*
> *Nous respandrons sur l'autel mille fleurs*
> *Honorant son visage.*[43]

> Then we will build an altar of grass
> Fully covered with branches of myrtle,
>   And by a solemn vow,
>   Catherine the nymph
> We will appeal her everlasting renown:
>   Then maturing,
>   As a humble tribute,
> We will spread a thousand flowers on the altar
>   Honoring her image.[44]

Catherine de' Medici is referenced directly as "*de la nymphe Catherine*," who is honored in the ritualistic service. Flora, in this poetic excerpt, is now more prevalent, as Catherine's shrine was made from grass and myrtle branches, which bloomed pink flowers in the spring. Catherine was clearly influential in French politics, and had spent her early career attempting to prevent the inevitable French Civil War, although she later gave up and resorted to persecution of the Huguenots.[45] Yet, during the period that Ronsard had composed "La Bergerie," the war was in its early years, and hope was on the horizon as French citizens yearned for Charles IX to retake the throne from the aggressive actions of his mother and lead France down the path of peace.

> *Au bon Carlin le ciel face la grace*
> *De voir çà bas la race de sa race,*
> *Tout courbé d'ans ainsi que fit Nestor,*
> *C'est ce Carlin promis des Destinées,*
> *Sous qui courront les meilleures anées*
> *Du vieil Saturne et du bon siècle d'or.*[46]

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[43] Ronsard and Blanchemain, *Oeuvres complètes*, 8. Quotation from Ronsard's *Les Eclogues,* "Bergerie," lines 65–73.

[44] Ibid., Maggard translation.

[45] Frieda, *Catherine de Medici*, 165–170. The French Civil War, or Wars of Religion, began in 1562 due to the conflict between French Catholics and Protestants protestors (Huguenots). Catherine de' Medici, ruling as Charles IX's mother, attempted to ease tensions by moderating the two sides. By the 1570s, however, she had turned to a more violent approach, which eventually led to the St. Bartholowmew's Day massacre in 1572. See, Ibid., 248–255.

[46] Ronsard and Blanchemain, *Oeuvres complètes*, 9. Quotation from Ronsard's "Bergerie," *Les Eclogues*, lines 90–95.

God gives thanks to the great Charles
To guard down there His people,
Bowed with age like Nestor,
This is the Charles promised by the Destinies,
Under his reign the best years
Of old Saturn and the great golden century will flourish.[47]

With the Religious Wars that scourged Europe during the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, monarchs of divided countries were often considered to have a "divine right" for their throne.[48] Catherine de' Medici, for instance, used her influence to pass sovereignty to her sons after the death of King Henry II to maintain the House of Valois legacy.[49] Ronsard hints at this belief, stating that Charles (Carlin) was ordered by God to watch over "His people," thus not just the people of France, but of all Christians, whether Catholic or Protestant. Furthermore, Ronsard cites Greek and Roman mythology to create the hopeful air of Charles IX's future reign; for instance, Charles's youth was compared to the great King of Pylos, Nestor, who rose to power after Heracles assassinated his siblings.[50] To tie Charles IX's character into the pastoral theme of "La Bergerie," the French king's reign was compared to the ruler Saturn (Roman god of agriculture) as the signal of a new French Golden Age.[51] The French people, including Ronsard, had hoped that Charles IX could lift France out of its despair. Unfortunately, Charles was unsuccessful at fulfilling Ronsard's hopes. Ronsard's anticipation for a Golden Age, as compared to the pastoral Arcadia, was a desire for Charles IX to foster a resolution to end the

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[47] Ibid., Maggard translation.

[48] John Neville Figgis, "Henry of Navarre and the Salic Law," in *The Divine Right of Kings*, 107–136 (London: Cambridge University Press, 1922), 107. Although Kings Henry III and Henry IV of France were the first monarchs to establish the theory of "divine right" in their sovereignty, the idea re-emerged in the Renaissance during the Religious Wars, which in France, began during Charles IX's reign.

[49] Frieda, *Catherine de Medici*, 8. Catherine's and Henry IV's sons, the future Valois Kings of France, were descendants of the Capet dynasty, along with the Bourbons. After Henry II's death, Catherine became dedicated to establishing heirs to the Valois throne through marriage of her sons to prevent control passing to the House of Bourbon.

[50] *Encyclopedia of Greco-Roman Mythology*, s.v. "Nestor."

[51] *Encyclopedia of Greco-Roman Mythology*, s.v. "Saturn(us)." Saturn was the god of time and agriculture, as well as the god of Capitol, since his reign was a time of liberation, renewal, and peace.

French Wars of Religion and return France to a nation of idyllic peace and beauty. Although Catherine de' Medici did not help reduce religious tensions in France, Ronsard could not speak ill of his patron, thus he praised her as the queen nymph; yet, his admirations were written in such a way as to celebrate the retirement of Catherine from leading her son's duties as the King of France. Her designation as a nymph, as well as the reference to the pagan ritual in her honor, demonstrate basic pastoral subjects and themes, whereas Saturn, god of agriculture, exemplified pastoral mythos as allegory for Charles IX's anticipative Arcadian Golden Age. Though Charles IX did not end the war, Ronsard's "La Bergerie" demonstrated the political tone of the era, especially how the arts had elicited hope for the future in dark moments of history.

<p align="center">*****</p>

Art in France flourished under the courts, especially considering the value of noble portraitures as the leading genre of visual arts in the nation during the Renaissance era. Although many French-born painters, such as Martin Fréminet (1567–1619) and Toussanit Dubreuil (ca. 1561–1602), gained prominence near the end of the sixteenth century, numerous Netherlandish painters were still imported into the French courts. These artists, such as Ambroise Dubois (ca. 1542–1614), brought with them a greater sense of pastoral imagery than their French counterparts. Dubois, a native of Antwerp, joined the French court at Fontainebleu by 1595, where he took up the title as King IV's primary painter upon the death of Toussanit Dubreuil.[52] Dubois was best known for his union of mythology and portraits in his paintings, and often portrayed patrons as mythological characters.[53] He also included many landscape scenes, such as

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[52] *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Dubois, Ambroise," by Gordon Campbell. Dubois became associated with the Mannerist style of the second School of Fontainebleu artists.
[53] Stefano Zuffi, *European Art of the Sixteenth Century* (Los Angeles: Getting Publications, 2006), 198. Dubois portrayed *King Henry IV Dressed as Mars* in circa 1600, where the King was depicted in traditional Roman garb.

the ones found in the fresco paintings of Queen Marie de' Medici's cabinet in the Château de

Fontainebleu (ca. 1606).[54] Aside from his royal patrons, Dubois painted mythically infused

portraits of other French nobility, such as Gabrielle d'Estrées (ca. 1573–1599), in his decisively

pastoral *Diana the Huntress* (or *Gabrielle d'Estrées en Diane*, ca. 1590).[55] Interestingly, this

same painting has also been attributed to Francesco Primaticcio (ca. 1504–1570) as a portrait of

Diane de Poitiers (1499–1566), noble mistress of King Henry II, rather than Gabrielle

d'Estrées.[56] The estimated creation date of the painting, however, was almost twenty to thirty

years after the death of both Primaticcio and Diane de Poitiers, which suggests Gabrielle as

Dubois's true subject. This secondary association to Diane de Poitiers may be due to the

mistress's preferred portrayal as Diana, goddess of the hunt, in visual art, including *Diana the*

Huntress (1550), attributed to the Italian painter Luca Penni.[57] Allegorical connections between

Diana's mythology, pastoral imagery, and both women's role in French politics are quite similar,

particularly the mistress's embodiment "of a female figure of male desire."[58] In his painting of

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[54] *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Dubois." Marie de' Medici enjoyed the French translation of
Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberate* (1581), thus she had Dubois paint stories of the romance
between Tasso's main characters, Tancredo and Clorinda.

[55] Adrien Desclozeaux, *Gabrielle D'Estrées* (London: Arthur L. Humphreys, 1907), 23. Gabrielle
d'Estrées, Duchess of Beaufort and Verneuil and Marchioness of Monceaux, was painted by Dubois on
multiple occasions, likely due to her connection to Fontainebleau as King Henry IV's mistress. In fact, if
Gabrielle had not died prematurely from unknown causes, potentially poison, the night before her
marriage to Henry IV, she would have become Queen of France, which may have created significant
political turmoil upon the death of Henry IV in 1610. See, Kathleen Wellman, *Queens and Mistresses of
Renaissance France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 351–352. Unfortunately, since the
Gabrielle d'Estrées en Diane painting remains in the Châteaux de Chenonceau's private estate, copyright
permissions could not be obtained for the image in this document.

[56] Juliana Schiesari, "Versions of Diana: Gender and Renaissance Mythology," in *Beasts and Beauties:
Animals, Gender and Domestication in the Italian Renaissance* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press,
2010), 113.

[57] Ibid., 108–110. For the portrait of Diane de Poitiers as *Diana the Huntress*, please see Appendix B,
figure B.6.

[58] Ibid., 112. Although similar visual imagery between Dubois's and Penni's paintings include only the
depiction of Diana and her canine companions, the allegorical associations between these women and
their kings are identical. Both Diane and Gabrielle were seen as primary mistresses to Henry II and Henry

Diana the Huntress, Dubois wished to capture the elegant beauty of King Henry IV's mistress, Gabrielle d'Estrées, as well as her rise to noble status through the manipulation of her king's affections, in this mythological pastoral portrait.

Although Diana is the Roman goddess of childbirth, Dubois's portrait of Gabrielle d'Estrées as this mythological goddess represents her strength of character more so than her fertility, despite the fact that she mothered three of King Henry IV's nine children.[59] Gabrielle's relationship with King Henry IV gave her an unfavorable reputation among the French aristocracy, who believed her to be a "clever courtesan who used him for her sport."[60] Dubois may have demonstrated such an adverse criticism of Gabrielle in the slightly offset placement of her blouse, which exposes her right shoulder, as well as a portion of her upper breast. Gabrielle is portrayed with many of the woodland goddess's features, particularly in her attire. To symbolize Gabrielle's rise to aristocracy, Dubois blended the rustic features of Diana, such as the tunic, with a more extravagant dress and corset befitting her stations bestowed upon her by Henry IV. Furthermore, her role as a huntress, perhaps of King Henry IV, is clearly displayed in her possession of a quiver of arrows and longbow, which are strapped to her back, as well as the renowned hunting horn; Diana's hunting horn here may symbolize the Frenchwoman's unofficial role as King Henry's consul.[61] Lastly, the crescent moon medallion on Gabrielle's forehead is the most identifying feature of Diana's persona, since Romans associated Diana with the moon.

IV, respectively, who had gained higher favors with their kings than their wives, Catherine de' Medici and Marie de' Medici, respectively.

[59] Ibid., 230. Due to the probable creation of this painting in 1590, a year before she became Henry IV's official mistress, it is unlikely that Dubois likened Gabrielle's fertility to Diana's role as the goddess of childbirth.

[60] Ibid., 9. Court officials believed Gabrielle used Henry IV to gain access to the throne, especially since she had convinced Henry IV to legitimatize their children.

[61] Wellman, *Queens and Mistresses of France*, 336. Gabrielle is credited as being the final push toward King Henry IV's conversion to Catholicism in 1593, which instigated the unification of France, although religious tensions lingered, and the eventual end of the French Wars of Religion (1562–1598).

Gabrielle was rendered allegorically as Diana in this painting, and her portrait was supported by pastoral themes surrounding Diana's imagery, as displayed in the background of the painting.

Fauna in Gabrielle's portrait illustrate both mythological and pastoral themes, as the deer in the background are one of Diana's symbols, especially in early Roman mythology; these creatures are ordinarily found in woodland regions, and are referenced in rustic literature throughout the pastoral tradition. Diana's hunting dogs, the only other depiction of fauna, are also referenced in pastoral literature, as dogs typically aid shepherds in tending to their flocks. Green grass and foliage are the only representations of flora, and demonstrate Diana's association with forests. Ultimately, Dubois's portrait of Gabrielle d'Estrées is primarily allegorical, with the background landscape adhering to a secondary role. Nevertheless, the use of pastoral, however secondary, was prevalent during the French Renaissance, as both Dutch and French patrons valued portraits over any other form of decorative painting. Indeed, the goddess Diana could also be considered a pastoral deity since she was considered a Roman goddess of hunting, woodlands, and stags.

Both Catherine de' Medici and Gabrielle d'Estrées were powerful women of the late-Renaissance French royal court, as both women gained access to leadership positions through their corresponding kings: Catherine and her son Charles IX, and Gabrielle and her lover Henry IV. At the time of Ronsard's *Les Eclogues* publication, Catherine de' Medici had been indirectly ruling France for seven years. Although Charles IX was Ronsard's beacon of hope for a new age in France, it was his mother, Catherine, who was Ronsard's patron. In "La Bergerie," Catherine was nymph, and Charles IX was compared to Saturn, the god of agriculture; both of which were pastoral subjects. Similarly, Gabrielle was allegorically portrayed as the goddess Diana, a huntress. Due to the lack of pastoral art in France, however, there were few pastoral elements in

Dubois' *Diana the Huntress*, save the pastoral iconography of Diana, including her crescent moon headdress, hunting dogs, hunting hornpipe, and deer. As pastoral literature held a stronger presence in France during the late-sixteenth century, Ronsard's "La Bergerie" utilized many pastoral images, such as flora (fields of green grass, roses, and trees), fauna (sheep, goats, nightingales, and wolves), and shepherds and their activities, particularly with music and the bagpipes. Both works demonstrate the importance of the pastoral tradition as a medium for allegorical representations of patrons associated with the French court. Unification of such allegorical and pastoral imageries in idyllic repertoire continued northward during the last quarter of the sixteenth century, specifically to the Elizabethan court, as a culmination of Italian, French, and Netherlandish literary and artistic styles.

Patrons of Elizabethan England

England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth developed many connections with other countries, especially France and the Netherlands, through the importation of artists, particularly poets and painters. Pierre de Ronsard, for example, spent the early years of his life connected to the Scottish court through Madeleine of France's marriage to King James V of Scotland. Ronsard remained in James V's court as a French diplomat until he was sixteen years old, which gave him personal access to courtly affairs.[62] Whereas itinerant poets and artists led to more direct French and Netherlandish artistic ties to Elizabethan England, fewer Italian artists worked in England, thus primary Italian influences on English poetry and art were limited. Due to Reformation tensions, communication between Catholic and Protestant countries was limited,

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[62] *Encyclopedia of British Writers: 16ᵗʰ and 17ᵗʰ Centuries*, s.v. "Ronsard, Pierre de." Although Ronsard remained in Edinburgh, he frequently traveled between England and Scotland. During diplomatic tasks that sent him between Scotland and France, Ronsard was struck by a severe fever that left him almost entirely deaf. Unable to continue French diplomacy, he turned to literature, where he was first inspired to make French translations of classic literature, particularly Petrarchan poetry.

although there was open mercantile trade between England and the Italian cities of Florence and Genoa.[63] Queen Elizabeth, however, was highly educated in the Italian language, thus Italian poetry flourished during her reign. Consequently, many editions and translations of Renaissance Italian poems, such as Edmund Spenser's English-language volume of Petrarch, entitled *Petrarches Visions* (1569), were published during the late-sixteenth century. Spenser wrote many of his literary works in an attempt to gain the favor of Queen Elizabeth and placed under her patronage; yet, Elizabeth's chief advisor, Lord Burghley, prevented such.[64] Spenser did not receive what he believed to be the appropriate compensation for either his famed *Faerie Queen* (ca. 1590–1596) or his inaugural collection, *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579) because of Burghley's interference, although both were well-received by the general public. Nonetheless, both of these works allude to Queen Elizabeth and sing her praises. "Aprill" from the *Shepheardes Calender*, for instance, praises her Majesty as Elisa and honors the late King Henry VIII as Pan, god to all shepherds and nymphs.

Spenser professes his intentions of his "honor and prayse" of Queen Elizabeth I in the "Argument" of Eclogue IV, "Aprill," from *The Shepheardes Calender*, which also summarizes the plot of the entire poem:

> This Æglogue is purposely intended to the honor and prayse of our most gracious sovereigne, Queene Elizabeth. The speakers herein be Hobbinoll and Thenott, two shepheardes: the which Hobbinoll, being before mentioned greatly to have loved Colin, is here set forth more largely, complayning him of that boyes great misadventure in love, whereby his mynd was alienate and withdrawen not onely from him, who moste loved him, but also from all former delightes and studies, aswell in pleasaunt pyping as conning ryming and singing, and other his laudable

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[63] Mary Augusta Scott, *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1916), xxxviii. Elizabeth was formally educated by Giovanni Battista Castiglioni, was an Italian tutor and native of Mantua.

[64] Andrew Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 6–7. Lord Burghley (William Cecil, First Baron Burghley, 1520–1598) did not approve of Spenser's desires for political reform, and was especially hostile toward the poet's allegorical accusations in *Mother Hubberd's Tale* (*Complaints*, 1591), which depicted Burghley as a deceitful fox.

exercises. Whereby he taketh occasion, for proofe of his more excellencie and skill in poetrie, to recorde a songe which the sayd Colin sometime made in honor of her Majestie, whom abruptely he termeth Elysa.[65]

In *The Shepheardes Calender,* "Aprill" symbolizes Spenser's idyllic Golden Age, an everlasting spring, within the pastoral world protected by Elisa, the "golden-age messiah."[66] Elisa, no doubt, is Spenser's allegorical representation of Queen Elizabeth:

> Of fayre Elisa be your silver song,
>   That blessed wight:
> The flowre of Virgins, may shee florish long,
>   In princely plight.
> For shee is Syrinx daughter without spotte,
> Which Pan the shepheards God of her begot:
>   So sprong her grace
>   Of heavenly race,
> No mortall blemishe may her blotte.[67]

Spenser describes Elisa as a virgin Muse, daughter to the god Pan, King Henry VIII, and the nymph Syrinx, or Ann Boleyn.[68] The above passage justifies Elisa's existence through a reimagined approach to the mythos behind Pan and Syrinx. Elisa is "no mortall" offspring, but rather, she is the "heavenly" result of Pan molding Syrinx into a panpipe.[69] Consequently, Elisa is the allegorical manifestation of pastoral "silver song." As both a divine art and leader, Elisa (Queen Elizabeth) possessed the ability "to reorder and perfect life into one harmonious and golden whole," consequently creating a modern-day Arcadia, or Elizabethan Golden Age.[70]

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[65] Edmund Spenser, *The Shepheardes Calender, Volumes 1–3*, ed. Heinrich Oskar Sommer (London: John C. Nimmo, 1890), 22. Quotation from the "Argument" to Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*, "Aprill."

[66] Patrick Cullen, *Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), 112. "Aprill" contains multiple forms, such as a modified (hendecasyllabic rather than decasyllabic) iambic pentameters with variations of dactylic hexameters and pentameters. Rhyme schemes typically alternate between alternating rhymes (*abab*) and a modified Medievel couplet (*aabba*), creating longer stanzas with a (*ababccddc*) rhyme scheme. See, Leicester Bradner, "The Latin Translations of Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*," *Modern Philology* 33, no. 1 (August 1935): 24.

[67] Spenser and Sommer, *Shepheardes Calender*, 24. Quotation from Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*, "Aprill," lines 46–54.

[68] Cullen, *Spenser and Renaissance Pastoral*, 113–114.

[69] Ibid., 114.

[70] Ibid., 115.

Spenser did not reference Elizabeth solely with his own fictional character, as he also utilized

another allegorical subject frequently found in Elizabethan repertoire: Cynthia, a Greek

equivalent of the Roman goddess Diana. In the following stanza, Spenser adds to Elizabeth's

narrative as a goddess of the moon:

> Shewe thy selfe Cynthia with thy silver rayes,
>   And be not abasht:
> When shee the beames of her beauty displayes,
>   O how art thou dasht?
> But I will not match her with Latonaes seede,
> Such follie great sorrow to Niobe did breede.
>   Now she is a stone,
>   And makes dayly mone,
> Warning all other to take heede.[71]

Since Cynthia was synonymous with Diana, both goddesses were represented by imagery of the

moon.[72] Accordingly, Spenser was praising Queen Elizabeth on her beauty, which, in his words,

beamed like the light of the moon. Cynthia, as Artemis, was daughter to Latona; yet, Spenser's

desire not to "match her with Latonaes seede" was a reminder of Elizabeth's humbleness. After

all, arrogant behavior on her part led Niobe to her own fate, for she was turned to stone on

Mount Sipylus, and her tears formed an eternal stream down the mountainside.[73] Spenser's

secondary mention of Elizabeth's modesty further solidified her role as the virgin Elisa, reflected

in her desire to remain "married to her people" throughout her term as Queen of England.

Elisa's personification of rustic "silver song" signified the importance of music and

musical activities as primary Arcadian themes in "Aprill." As leader of song, Elisa attracted

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[71] Spenser and Sommer, *Shepheardes Calender*, 25. Quotation from Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*, "Aprill," lines 82–90.

[72] *Encyclopedia of Greco-Roman Mythology*, s.v. "Cynthus." Cynthia was another name of the Greek goddess, Artemis.

[73] *Encyclopedia of Greco-Roman Mythology*, s.v. "Leto." Latona (Leto) was mother to the great twins Apollo and Artemis, yet Niobe, who had twelve or fourteen children, insulted her infertility. Angered at Niobe's insults, Apollo and Artemis killed all but one of her children. Zeus, Apollo's and Artemis's father, then cast Niobe into the mountain formation.

shepherds, nymphs, and muses, alike. "After her the other Muses trace," denotes the role of

Muses (likely Elizabeth's personal attendants) as musical performers, who accompanied Elisa

"with their Violines."[74] Strings were among the group instruments commonly depicted in

pastoral literature, although violins usually represented performers of a higher class.

> Lo, how finely the graces can it foote
>   To the Instrument:
> They dauncen deffly, and singen soote,
>   In their merriment.[75]

Implementation of song and dance in Spenser's eclogues was a seemingly "ritualistic," or

systematic, part of the pastoral tradition by the last quarter of the sixteenth century.[76] Hence,

merrymaking through such song and dance was the most prevalent Arcadian theme representing

shepherds' pastimes. Naturally, Spenser also included another vital pastoral theme, physical

descriptions of nature, particularly flora and fauna.

> See, where she sits upon the grassie greene,
>   (O, seemely sight)
> Yclad in Scarlot like a mayden Queene,
>   And Ermines white.
> Upon her head a Cremosin coronet,
> With Damaske roses and Daffadillies set:
>   Bayleaves betweene,
>   And Primroses greene
> Embellish the sweete Violet.[77]

Spring is the season of blossoming flowers, thus Spenser dedicated to his "mayden Queene,"

whose crown was made of an assortment of flowers. The primary color of her coronet was

crimson, perhaps to symbolize her hair, although pink damask roses, yellow daffodils, and purple

violets were interspersed throughout to create a spectacle of color. Green primroses and foliage,

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[74] Spenser and Sommer, *Shepheardes Calender*, 61. Quotation from Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*, "Aprill," lines 102–103.

[75] Ibid., Quotation from Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*, "Aprill," lines 109–112.

[76] Cullen, *Spenser and Renaissance Pastoral*, 85.

[77] Spenser, *Shepheardes Calender*, 24. Quotation from Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*, "Aprill," lines 55–63.

bay leaves from a laurel tree, represent the Queen's interest in poetry and prose. Color symbolism is also depicted in Elisa's attire, as she is dressed mostly in scarlet red and white. Considerably, the "Ermine white" symbolized Elizabeth's role as "the Virgin Queen," and the animal symbolism was also illustrated in portraits.[78] Spenser strategically selected such iconography and mythology to stress the narrative of Elizabeth's purity, which became the primary theme throughout the entire "Aprill" eclogue. Even typical Arcadian themes, such as the incorporation of music or the physical descriptions of flora and fauna, were used to accentuate Queen Elizabeth's characteristics. Remarkably, Queen Elizabeth I's "Virgin" narrative was undoubtedly established throughout Elizabethan culture, and was equally matched in both the literary and visual arts.

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Unquestionably, English nobles were patrons to the visual arts since royal portraits and portrait miniatures were the most highly represented medium of art in Elizabethan England. Therefore, lack of artists was no concern in the northern courts of England and Wales, although many painters were still imported from the Low Countries and France.[79] Isaac Oliver (Isaac Olivier, ca. 1565–1617) was one of the few French miniature portraitists working in the English courts, although he was not an import from a French court.[80] Oliver began his patronage under

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[78] Frances A. Yates, "Allegorical Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I at Hatfield House," in *Astraea*, vol. 5, 215–220 (London: Routledge, 1999), 215–216. Nicolas Hilliard (1547–1619) painted a famous *Ermine* (1585) portrait of Queen Elizabeth I, which illustrated a white ermine on her arm wearing a collar made of gold and topaz. The collar is reminiscent of Petrarch's "Triumph of Chastity" in *I Trionfi* (ca. 1351–1374).

[79] Simon Wilson, *British Art: From Holbein to the Present Day* (London: Tate Publishing, Ltd., 1979), 17. George Gower (ca. 1540–1596), Nicolas Hilliard, and William Larkin (ca. 1580–1619) were the only true, English-born painters of the Renaissance era.

[80] *The Oxford Companion to Western Art*, s.v. "Oliver, Isaac," by Karen Hearn. Oliver moved to England at the age of three, where he later trained with the English miniature portraitist, Nicholas Hilliard. As Oliver matured, his portraits shifted as his primary influences shifted from Netherlandish to Italian art, thus softening his overall style.

Robert Devereux, the second Earl of Essex, in 1596, which allowed him access to other nobility, including Anna of Denmark and Queen Elizabeth I herself. Before Oliver's period of study in Italy during the 1590s, he took inspiration from Netherlandish paintings. Most significantly, Oliver recreated a Flemish painting entitled *Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses* (ca. 1588), which was originally painted by Hans Eworth (ca. 1520–1574), although this attribution has come into question in recent scholarship (see figure 2.3).[81] Eworth, in turn, in this work had recreated the ancient Greek story of *The Judgment of Paris*, a subject that became a form of artistic tradition in the Netherlands.[82] Oliver then revitalized this tradition, specifically through imitation of Eworth's original painting, with northern Mannerist styles in a miniature no larger than the size of a modern postcard.[83] Oliver's precise detail and re-envisioned mythology demonstrated his praise of Queen Elizabeth I.

The *Judgment of Paris* is the ancient Greek tale of a beauty contest, judged by Paris, between the three most beautiful Olympian goddesses: Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite.[84]

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[81] *The Oxford Companion to Western Art*, s.v. "Eworth, Hans," by Elise L. Smith. For the original illustration, please see Appendix B, figure B.7. Eworth was an active artist in England, although his open Catholicism caused him to fall out of favor with Queen Elizabeth; thus Eworth primarily worked under Mary Tudor. Eworth's distinct philosophical differences lead modern scholars, including Oliver Miller (1963) and Roy Strong (1966), to reconsider Eworth as the artist. Strong believes the artist of the original *Queen Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses* to be a Protestant Flemish artist under the influence of Frans Floris the Elder. See, Roy Strong, "Hans Eworth Reconsidered," *The Burlington Magazine* 108, no. 758 (May, 1966), 231.

[82] Malcolm Bull, *The Mirror of the Gods: Classical Mythology in Renaissance Art* (London: Penguin Random House, 2006), 345–347. Since the beginning of the sixteenth century, numerous Netherlandish artists painted their own version of *The Judgement of Paris*, including Lucas Cranach the Elder (ca. 1512–1514, ca. 1528, and ca. 1530), Frans Floris the Elder (ca. 1548 and ca. 1550–1559), and Henrick van Balen the Elder (ca. 1599).

[83] Helen Hackett, "A New Image of Elizabeth I: The Three Goddesses Theme in Art and Literature," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 77, no. 3 (Autumn, 2014): 225. The entire dimensions of Oliver's miniature portrait are 115 mm by 157 mm.

[84] *Encyclopedia of Greco-Roman Mythology*, s.v. "Judgment of Paris." Oliver's three goddesses are the Roman equivalent. Juno (Hera) was the goddess of women and marriage, as well as the queen of the gods. See, *Encyclopedia of Greco-Roman Mythology*, s.v. "Hera." Minerva (Athena) was the goddess of wisdom, courage, and war. See, *Encyclopedia of Greco-Roman Mythology*, s.v. "Athena." Venus (Aphrodite) was, of course, the goddess of beauty, love, and procreation. Paris, the son of King Priam,

Ultimately, Paris chose Aphrodite and gave her the prize of a golden apple inscribed with "the fairest one," which caused outrage with Hera and Athena and set in motion the series of events that eventually led to the Trojan Wars and Troy's demise.[85] Oliver's *Queen Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses* illustrates Elizabeth emerging from Windsor Castle to the scene of a beauty contest between the three Olympian goddesses (left to right): Juno, Minerva, and Venus. Oliver highlighted the queen's beauty as "the fairest one" by replacing her sovereign's orb with the prized golden apple, thus implying that the Queen had won the beauty contest over the three goddesses, who appear with shocked demeanors in the painting. The artist also adorned Elizabeth I nearly head-to-toe in gold and black, with white trim and accents of red; Elizabeth was portrayed in these colors often, since gold and red in iconography was reserved for royalty and nobility.[86] Overall, this attire made Elizabeth much more prominent against the goddesses in comparison to Eworth's 1560s portrait discussed earlier. The positioning of the subjects of this painting splits the painting into two parts: reality on the left and mythology on the right. Furthermore, the central placement of Juno and her peacock, both symbols of marriage and fertility, seem to dictate her as the mediator between the mortal and godly realms, although Oliver altered her position slightly from the original painting to heighten Mannerist styles.[87] Juno's surprised demeanor in Oliver's portrait better reflects the original Latin inscription from the Flemish version, stating:

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was abandoned at birth on Mount Ida, due to the prophecy that he would lead to the downfall of Troy, where shepherds raised him. See, Ibid., "Judgment of Paris," 305.

[85] Ibid, "Eridanus," 125. In original Greek mythology, the inscription read "καλλίστῃ."

[86] Jill Condra, ed., *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Clothing Through World History*, vol. 2, *1501–1800* (London: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2008), 17.

[87] Simona Cohen, *Animals as Disguised Symbols in Renaissance Art*, *Brills Studies on Art*, Art History, and Intellectual History, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 115. Scholars, such as Roy Strong, believe Juno's original hand placement appears to gesture Queen Elizabeth I to join her, as if the painter had a political agenda in favor of the Queen's marriage. See, Roy Strong, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (New York: Penguin Random House, 2003), 68.

> Pallas [Minerva] was keen of brain, Juno was queen of might,
> The rosy face of Venus was in beauty shining bright,
>   Elizabeth then came.
> And, overwhelmed, Queen Juno took to flight;
> Pallas was silenced; Venus blushed for shame.[88]

Juno and Artemis reveal their surprise the most, demonstrated in the raised placement of their arms. Venus, in contrast, remained composed in the portrait, she is shown protecting Cupid, who is also stunned by Elizabeth's arrival. According to Helen Hackett, an art scholar, Venus's nudity is the demonstration of her vulnerability, rather than her physical posture or expression, which remain relaxed.[89] The astonished disposition of these three goddesses also symbolizes Elizabeth's greatness as a monarch, for in their wonder, they forfeit their primary qualities—majesty, wisdom, and beauty—and bestow them onto Elizabeth I.[90] Monarchs were often equated to deities within the pastoral tradition to symbolize their sovereignty. Oliver's miniature was among many portraits of Queen Elizabeth I that admired her greatness through symbolism. Furthermore, the volume of allegory and symbolism present in praise of Queen Elizabeth I is a hallmark of the artistic output in Elizabethan England, which could represent the devotion of her citizens.

Although many of the symbolic qualities of *Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses* were present in the original Flemish version, Oliver incorporated many new, northern Mannerist styles into his reworking of the portrait.[91] For instance, he included much more saturated hues of green, blue, and red, which stand out significantly from the more subdued tan and gold tones that

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[88] Strong, *Gloriana,* 65. Original Latin text: [*Iuno potens sceptris et mentis acumine Pallas, Et roseo Veneris fulget in ore decus, Adfuit Elizabeth Iuno perculsa refugit, Obsupuit Pallas erubuitq[ue] Venus*].
[89] Hackett, "A New Image of Elizabeth I, 236.
[90] Ibid., 225.
[91] Manfred Wundram, "Mannerism," in *Oxford Companion to Western Art*. The Netherlandish and Fontainebleu Schools heavily influenced northern mannerism in England. Main characteristics of Mannerist art includes 1) clashing vibrant colors that often obscure the focal point, 2) use of allegory, 3) lack of direct focal point and obscurity between the foreground and background, and 4) inclusion of *contrapposto*, or unusual body postures, with elongated proportions and small heads.

dominate the painting. The background of the painting appears relatively flat, despite the

depiction of a pastoral escarpment, river, and distant mountains, which obscures the sense of

space between the women in the foreground and the scenery in the background.

Figure 2.3. Isaac Oliver, *Queen Elizabeth* ('*Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses*'), ca. 1590, watercolour and bodycolour on vellum. National Portrait Gallery, London. Permission granted by the National Portrait Gallery, London.

Oliver's most significant demonstration of Mannerist style, however, is shown in his subjects;

the goddesses, in particular, have peculiar postures. An examination of Juno's stance shows a

Mannerist twist of the torso to make the upper and lower bodies face different directions,

exaggerated further by the tilt of her head. Her right arm is outstretched, yet her right hand

remains relaxed and elegant, which contrasts with her twisted left wrist and tightly contracted

left hand. Juno's neck and Minvera's torso are elongated past normal proportions, and

Elizabeth's feet should not be displayed so far forward. Lastly, Oliver reduced the size of the women's heads and rounded them into the shape of an oval, an effect most noticeable in Venus. Mannerist art was an experimentation of the artistic styles perfected during the High Renaissance to near-grotesque proportions. Due to these features, Oliver's *Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses* painting is a true representation of northern Mannerist art. His attention to detail is even more remarkable when considering the sheer size of the miniature. Miniatures and portraits were the most accepted forms of visual artwork in England during Elizabeth's reign, and pastoral elements were incorporated either sparingly as background landscapes or as iconography symbolic of her reign.

Despite a thirty-year span between the creation of the original *Queen Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses*, Oliver's reproduction, and the publication of Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*, the symbolism surrounding Elizabeth I remains remarkably similar. For example, Elizabeth's fair beauty is demonstrated in both her possession of Paris's golden apple and her allegorical role as Cynthia, whose beauty beams like the moon. Similarly, although Elizabeth I's late-sixteenth century iconographic crescent moon is not found in Oliver's painting, his inclusion of Minerva, a virgin goddess, as well as the presence of Cynthia in Spenser's poem, perpetuates the "Virgin" narrative created through her unwillingness to wed. Likewise, Elizabeth's purity and the "Virgin" narrative are symbolized through animal iconography, as shown through Spenser's ermine and Oliver's peacock. The ermine symbolism in "Aprill" introduces another similarity between the two compositions: representation of color surrounding Elizabeth. Both Spenser and Oliver link Elizabeth I with royal colors, such as yellow/gold and red, with white used to symbolize her purity. Comparisons of the flora in the poem and painting may also be made, as both include laurels; Spenser's laurel is found in the bay leaves surrounding Elizabeth's crown,

and the foliage behind Venus contains leaves patterned after laurels. Ultimately, the most significant difference between the two works is the lack of musical iconography in Oliver's portrait, which is an important theme in pastoral repertoire. Nonetheless, both Oliver's portrait of *Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses* and Spenser's eclogue "Aprill" of *The Shepheardes Calender* depict widespread themes of pastoral art in Elizabethan England.

<p style="text-align:center">*********</p>

Establishing various connections between the patrons of the previous six works of Italian, French, Dutch, and English origin establishes the importance of royal and aristocratic patronage on the dissemination of the pastoral tradition throughout Renaissance Europe. Poliziano's *Ambra* and Gozzoli's *Journey of the Youngest King* of Italy, Ronsard's "La Bergerie" and Dubois's *Diana the Huntress* of France, and Spenser's "Aprill" and Isaac's *Queen Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses* of England are connected through the various court systems. The first patrons are the de' Medici family of Piero di Cosimo and his son Lorenzo; the former Medici had commissioned Gozzoli's painting and the latter Medici's rural estate was the setting of Poliziano's poem. Progressing northward toward France, the Medici clan had married into the royal court. Catherine de' Medici, for instance, married King Henry II of France; Catherine was a direct descendent of Lorenzo de' Medici (*the Magnificent*) as his great-great granddaughter. Furthermore, Catherine's daughter, Margaret of France, married King Henry IV, thus making Henry IV her son-in-law. Although Margaret was married to Henry IV, his formal mistress was Gabrielle d'Estrées, the subject of Dubois's portrait. Henry IV had Margaret exiled so he could marry Gabrielle, but her sudden death caused Henry IV to marry Marie de' Medici instead, Catherine's distant cousin. Catherine de' Medici organized the marriage of her eldest son, Francis II, to Mary, Queen of Scots, which gave her Catholic connections in the northern

countries. Likewise, Catherine attempted to arrange the marriage of either of her youngest sons, Charles IX and Henry III, to Elizabeth I, although her grand scheme of uniting France and England through marriage was unsuccessful. Despite Catherine's failure to make Elizabeth I her daughter-in-law, a peace treaty between the two countries was announced by Elizabeth's court in 1564.[92] A year later, Ronsard presented Queen Elizabeth I with a revised version of his *Elegies, Mascarades et Bergerie* that emphasized Catherine's desire of a union between France and England. Similarly, Oliver was a French citizen, whose parents moved to England to avoid the Wars of Religion, yet he was primarily considered an English painter. Spenser had also dedicated numerous poems to Elizabeth I, although politics were not in his favor, and he never gained significant status in the Elizabethan court. The connections drawn between the court systems of these particular artistic patrons are truly fascinating. These sources epitomize the necessity of courtly patronage for the conception of these poems, paintings, and musical selections, as well as the spread of pastoral ideals throughout the European continent during the Renaissance era.

Entertainment in the Elizabethan Court

As pastoral themes began to dominate late-Renaissance English literature and were slowly introduced into portraitures, it was only natural that English musicians and playwrights also began to utilize such themes in their own compositions. It was the combination of these artistic mediums, however, that became one of the leading forms of courtly entertainment in the Renaissance. Courtly masques, which developed in England during the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, became a favorite of Queen Elizabeth I. Her appreciation of masques is confirmed in the *Rainbow Portrait* (ca. 1602), a depiction of Elizabeth I in masque costuming,

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[92] Scott and Strum-Maddox, *Performance, Poetry and Politics on the Queen's Day*, 218–219.

which further designates the importance of courtly patronage to the spread of artistic ideals.[93]

Thus, it is no surprise that many of the first English masques contained pastoral themes. For

instance, masques centered on mythological and allegorical tales with the inclusion of elaborate

and scenic designs.[94] Masques derived mostly from medieval dramatic practices, particularly

English "disguisings" that were common entertainment in the court of King Henry VII, although

the genre underwent many international influences before its maturity during the reign of Queen

Elizabeth I and her successor, James I of England.

King Henry VIII created initial interest in the extravagant performances of masques when

he presented the Italian *masquerie* to his court in 1512; the Italian *masquerie* brought classical

mythology to drama in England.[95] Additionally, French *masquerades* and *ballet de cour* inspired

the inclusion of dance and choreography in the English masque, as evidenced by King Henry

VIII's gift of a masque to King François I of France in 1527.[96] By the second quarter of the

sixteenth century, the English masque had already united allegory, poetry, scenery, costuming,

dance, and music into one unique art form. Music in masques was almost entirely inspired by

compositions of English musicians; in particular, vocal music was appropriated from both

popular and sophisticated genres of music, whereas instrumental music was predominately dance

styles.[97] Due to the lack of extant full scores in sixteenth-century masque manuscripts, it is

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[93] Daniel Fischlin, "Political Allegory, Absolutist Ideology, and the *Rainbow Portrait* of Queen Elizabeth I," *Renaissance Quarterly* 50, no. 1 (Spring, 1997): 177. Queen Elizabeth I's *Rainbow Portrait*, likely painted by either Isaac Oliver or Marcus Gheeraerts, depicts an extensive amount of iconographic allegory.

[94] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Masques," by Murray Lefkowitz.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Ibid. By the 1520s, the masque had already amalgamated Italian and French influences to become a truly English identity. One of the first true masques was given to the King of France as a sign of peace between the two countries.

[97] Ibid. According to Lefkowitz, "the instrumental music of the masque was derived from…basses danses, measures, pavans, galliards, branles, voltas, and other" styles of dance, and "the vocal music was strongly influenced by…choirboy songs, ayres, ballads, canzonets, madrigals, and the dramatic monodies, *récits*, and continuo songs of the Italian, French, and English courts."

impossible to determine if specific or borrowed musical compositions were performed; vocal selections were depicted by italicized sections of text in the manuscript and were not accompanied by a permanent musical score.[98] By the seventeenth century, however, there is evidence of music written specifically for masque performance, as seen in Benjamin Jonson's (1572–1637) *Masque of Blackness* (1605), although only one song remains today.[99] Before introducing the Jacobean masques of Jonson, however, it is first important to look at one of the first pastoral masques written exclusively for Queen Elizabeth I.

Elizabeth I was known for her love of music and dance and was involved in the production of many performances, including Sir Philip Sidney's (1554–1586) one-act play, *The Lady of May* (1578). Though this pastoral play does not contain all of the production qualities of Elizabethan masques, the inclusion of music and sole dedication to the Queen, as well as the emphasis placed on pastoral themes, make it an important addition to English pastoral repertoire. Indeed, Sidney's treatment of the masque highlighted the literary qualities of the genre.[100] The poet attempted to bring the Petrarchan ideal pastoral together with a sense of realism by setting the play in the very gardens of the estate where the play was performed for Queen Elizabeth I: House Leicester at Wanstead. Sidney introduced his play with the "Supplication" to the Queen, which served as his attempt to draw Elizabeth I into the story as a performer:

> Most gracious Soueraigne,
> To one whose state is raised over all,
> Whose face doth oft, the bravest sort enchant,
> Whose mind is such, as wisest minds appall…

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[98] Ibid. Music was likely printed separately from the libretto manuscript, which was discarded after the performance. Masques depicted vocal music through italic fonts, rather than musical scores. Specific dances usually included stage directions, which also dictates when instrumental music was performed.

[99] Ibid. Jonson often collaborated with Alfonso Ferrabosco the Younger (ca. 1575–1628), an Italian descent who spent his entire life as an English composer. There are records demonstrating Ferrabosco's involvement in seven of Jonson's masques. In *Masque of Blackness*, Ferrabosco's ayre was titled "Come Away," and was later published in his personal collection (*Ayres*, 1609).

[100] S.K. Orgel, "Sidney's Experiment in Pastoral: The Lady of May," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 26, no. 1–2 (1963): 198.

Your State is great, your greatnesse is our shield,
Your face hurts oft, but still it doth delight,
Your mind is wise, your wisdom makes you mild,
Such planted gifts enrich even beggers sight:

So dare I wretch my bashfull feare subdue,
And feede mine eares, mine eyes, my hart in you.[101]

Following the lament, presented by the mother of the shepherdess named the Lady of May, to Queen Elizabeth, the plot unfolds, revealing a love triangle between her daughter, the Lady of May, a forester, Therion, and a shepherd, Espilus.[102] Sidney's allegorical connections between these characters and English aristocracy are quite intriguing. References between Elizabeth I and the months of spring as The Lady of May were nothing new to English repertoire, considering eternal spring was representative of Elizabethan England's "golden age" narrative, as formerly examined in Spenser's eclogues. Yet, the men of the masque, Therion and Espilus, were actually allegorical embellishments on the romantic interests between Elizabeth I and her two primary suitors, Robert Dudley, the first Earl of Leicester, and Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Chancellor of England.[103] In his play, the suitors compete in a classic pastoral singing match in order to win the heart of the Lady of May.[104] Amusingly, Sidney left the fate of his subjects' love entirely up to the will of Queen Elizabeth during the performance at the Manor of Wanstead.[105] Even more fascinating is the fact that Sidney made Espilus's character more appealing as a suitor, which may have swayed Queen Elizabeth's decision to select his character (an allegorical

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[101] Sir Philip Sidney, *The Last Part of Countesse of Pembroke's Arcadia and The Lady of May*, ed. Albert Feuillerat (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 208. Quotation from Sidney's *The Lady of May,* "The Suiter's Supplication," lines 1–10.

[102] Ibid., 208–209.

[103] Helen Cooper, *Pastoral: Mediaeval into Renaissance* (Ipswich: D. S. Brewer, Ltd., 2004), 149–150. Earl Dudley and Lord Hatton were Therion and Espilus, respectively. Cooper believes Therion, a Greek name meaning "wild beast" represents Earl Dudley's emblem of a bear, whereas Espilus is Greek for "felt presser," thus "hatter" or Lord Hatton.

[104] Sidney and Feuillerat, *The Lady of May,* 212–213.

[105] Orgel, "Sidney's Experiment in Pastoral," 202.

representation of Hatton) as the winner of the contest, in spite of the performance occurring at

Dudley's estate. Of course, the Queen never chose a suitor, although Sidney was not the only

artist to hint toward a desire for her marriage. The dedication to, performance for, and allegorical

connections with Queen Elizabeth I makes Sidney's quasi-masque *The Lady of May* a very

fascinating selection of pastoral repertoire in Elizabethan England.

Even though Queen Elizabeth I's death came before Benjamin Jonson's active years as a

playwright, his masques correlate with the full maturity of the dramatic genre. Of his many

masques, *The Sad Shepherd* (incomplete upon his death, 1637) was one of his last projects to

epitomize pastoral drama as England transitioned from the northern Mannerist period of the

Renaissance to the Baroque era of the seventeenth century. Since none of Jonson's allegorical

representations applies to Queen Elizabeth I, the primary interest in Jonson's *Sad Shepherd* here

is the connection with the legend of Robin Hood in English literature, as well as the motif of the

"Green Man." Subtitled "A Tale of Robin Hood," Jonson's *Sad Shepherd* presents rustic ideals

more commonly found in literature of Elizabeth's reign, rather than his contemporaries. The plot

centers on Robin Hood, his usual female suitor, Marian the maid, and the troubles his fellow

shepherds and shepherdesses encountered at the hands of supernatural beings.[106] Yet, the story of

Robin Hood originated much earlier than Elizabethan literature, even as far back as the medieval

era. The "Green Man" was first identified as such in Lady Raglan's article, "The *Green Man* in

Church Architecture," and has since become the title associated with these enigmatic faces made

from foliage, particularly oak and ivy leaves.[107] Raglan was also the first scholar to associate the

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[106] Benjamin Jonson, "Argument to Act I," in *The Sad Shepherd: or, A Tale of Robin Hood, A Fragment*, ed. Peter Whalley, continuation by Francis Godophin Waldron (London: J. Nicols, 1783), 7–8.
[107] Lady Raglan, "The *Green Man* in Church Architecture," *Folklore* 50, no. 1 (March, 1939): 45–47. Dozens of "Green Men" carvings can be found in cathedrals throughout England. See Appendix B, figure 8 for an example carving.

"Green Man" with the rustic character Robin Hood as the central figure of early May Day

celebrations.[108] By the fifteenth century, Robin Hood had become the May King and Marian his

queen.[109] Thus, Robin Hood was the Green Man, according to the records of ancient

ceremonies.[110] At the end of the May Day festivities, one last ceremony remained; a procession

of civilians that marched to the church. The eldest community leader placed a garland of

mayflowers on the King of May statue's head, where it then remained for the rest of the year. In

the ballads of minstrel singers, Robin Hood rose to a heroic status as a righteous outlaw and

national icon of English literature.[111] This legend became the most prevalent story of Robin

Hood in Renaissance England, and is demonstrated in Jonson's *The Sad Shepherd, or A Tale of

Robin Hood*. Jonson emphasized pastoral themes by turning Robin Hood's band of thieves into a

gathering of shepherds and hunters, which fit the desire for rusticity in literature at the turn of the

seventeenth century. Unfortunately, the music for Jonson's masque does not exist, likely because

it was never performed during his lifetime. Although neither Jonson's *Sad Shepherd* nor

Sidney's *Lady of May* contain extant musical manuscripts, both represent the amalgamation of

music and drama with underlying pastoral themes throughout their subject and use of scenery.

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[108] Ibid., 50. Robin Hood, according to Raglan, was really Robin of the Wood, and that wood "originally meant a twig, and then a mass of twigs or bush, so that Robin Hood would be Robin of the twigs or bush, and this would very well describe the headdress worn by the Green Man to this day."

[109] Gary R. Varner, *The Mythic Forest, the Green Man and the Spirit of Nature: The Re-emergence of the Spirit of Nature…*, (New York: Algora Publishing, 2006), 135. May Day represented the uniting of nature with city life, similar with how the "Green Man" brought nature into the church. Robin in the May Day ceremonies would die and be reborn, which was used to encourage the summer months and high crop yields.

[110] Raglan, "The *Green Man* in Church Architecture," 53.

[111] John Frederick Rowbotham, *The Troubadours and Courts of Love* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Company, 1895), 293.

Music in Praise of Royalty

Renaissance musicians were also housed under the patronage of nobility and aristocracy. Over the course of the Renaissance era, patronage gradually shifted from sacred venues, such as cathedrals and basilicas, to secular locales, particularly the courts of national leaders.[112] During these centuries, patron interest strictly regulated artist creations, since artists were unable to sustain themselves independently with their craft; this trend was especially true of musical output. Many compositions were made in celebration of specific nobility or aristocracy. Each of the selected works were composed in honor of specific patrons: Marenzio and Clelia Cesarini, Lassus and William V of Bavaria, Cavendish and either Queen Elizabeth I or Anna of Denmark, and Tomkins and Queen Elizabeth I. Each monarch held a role in the chanson or madrigal, especially when these royal patrons were used as allegorical subjects. Furthermore, certain pastoral themes were presented through compositional characteristics, such as text painting. These analyses are approached chronologically from the scope of northern expansion, beginning in Italy, to further demonstrate the change in style over the sixteenth century. Lassus's ties to Italy, France, and Bavaria create an interesting twist on the concept of northern expansion, thus the Netherlandish composer's "Germanic" madrigal will replace a French representation of northern continental music.

Italian nobility and aristocracy were among the most influential patrons of Renaissance musicians. Yet, papal leaders of the Roman Catholic Church also affected secular music. Under the patronage of Cardinal Luigi d'Este, Luca Marenzio (ca. 1553–1599) became one of the most

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[112] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Patronage," by Michael Hurd. The patronage by the church continued well into the eighteenth century, yet nobility and aristocracy became increasingly influential in artistic output beginning in the fifteenth century, eventually superseding the church.

influential composers of the late-sixteenth century.[113] Throughout his life, his compositions demonstrated a new style that was "pleasing to the ear, with easy points of imitation without extraordinary artifice" as Marenzio became one of the leading Italian "lighter style" composers.[114] Marenzio's first book of madrigals was dedicated to Cardinal d'Este; through his patron, Marenzio gained access to Alfonso II, Duke of Ferrara, and Lucrezia d'Este, Duchess of Urbino, siblings of Cardinal d'Este.[115] Furthermore, Marenzio's connection in Ferrara led him to the House of Farnese through his participation in the union of Vincenzo Gonzaga and Margherita Farnese.[116] Marenzio's association to the Farnese family is further demonstrated in his allegorical representation of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese's daughter, Clelia Farnese, in his madrigal "Come inanti de l'alba ruggiadosa" (*Il primo libro de madrigali a sei voci,* 1581).[117] Marenzio's textual allegory in this madrigal fully embraces the pastoral tradition while demonstrating the musician's compositional techniques during his early career.

Due to the conception of Marenzio's *Il primo libro* early in his compositional career, "Come inanti de l'alba ruggiadosa" still demonstrates stylistic characteristics of the "serious" Italian madrigal. Most significantly, the form is through-composed, rather than containing

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[113] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Marenzio, Luca, 1. Life," by Steven Ledbetter and James Chater.

[114] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Marenzio Luca, 4. Reputation."

[115] Mauro Calcagno, *From Madrigal to Opera: Monteverdi's Staging of the Self* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 159. Marenzio dedicated both his second and third madrigal books to Alfonso II and Lucrezia d'Este, which were written during Marenzio's stay in Ferrara before his return to Rome in circa 1581.

[116] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Marenzio, 1."

[117] James Chater, "Review: Luca Marenzio, *The Secular Works,* VI, *Il sesto libro de' madrigal a sei voci (1595).* Edited by Patricia Myers. New York: The Broude Trust, 1983. xxxviii, 220 pp.," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 38, no. 2 (Summer, 1985): 378. Chater claims that Marenzio's "Come inanti de l'alba ruggiadosa" was composed for Cleria Cesarini, the supposed daughter of Cleria Farnese and Giovan Giorgio Cesarini; however, this statement is inaccurate. Cleria Farnese and Giovan Giorgio Cesarini had only one son, Guiliano Cesarini II. Cleria Cesarini was the daughter of Guiliano Cesarini III and Margherita Savelli, born in 1655, over 50 years after Marenzio's death. See, George L. Williams, *Papal Genealogy: The Families and Descendants of the Popes* (London: McFarland and Company, Inc., 2004), 112.

formalized sections and an overall preset structure. Marenzio's text, an anonymous poem,

dictated the structure, as the entire poem was a single sestet. Furthermore, the poem's rhyme

scheme consists of an enclosed rhyme with an extra couplet on the end (*abbacc*). Although this

madrigal has traits of the earlier madrigal style, Marenzio still drew from the *secondo pratica*

(second practice) of his contemporaries when focusing his attention on the text in his music. The

entire poem is devoted to recognition of Clelia Farnese's beauty and symbolizes her newly found

identity after her marriage to Giovan Giorgio Cesarini.[118] Thus, Marenzio's textual references to

"discovering" her "beautiful light" are comparable to the pastoral dawn.[119] Moreover, Marenzio

extends this allegory into the realm of Arcadia by referencing Clelia's heavenly beauty as an

opening to the path to Paradise, often synonymous with Arcadia in pastoral literature. The

composer took symbolism further by implementing word painting in his music to highlight the

text even more. Specifically, Marenzio altered the texture from polyphonic to homophonic, with

one inner voice subdividing the pitch durations, during the first appearance of the text *con ogni*

parte ("with all sides"), shown in figure 2.4. Clelia became known as one of Rome's most

beautiful women, thus the homorhythmic block triadic chords created a sense of unity, a mutual

understanding of Clelia's heavenly beauty.

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[118] Andrea Bayer, "Wives, Lovers, and Art in Italian Renaissance Courts," in *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy*, 29–42 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 37. Due to the illegitimacy of her birth, Clelia's father, Alessandro Farnese, hid her existence to prevent any concerns as he rose through the papal ranks. Not until after Alessandro earned the cardinal title and married Clelia to Giovan Giorgio Cesarini, did her life become fully public.

[119] Original Italian quotation, lines 1–3: [*Come inanti de l'alba ruggiadosa/ La belle luce sua n'apporta Clori/ E de più bei colori*].

Figure 2.4. Luca Marenzio, "Come inanti de l'alba ruggiadosa" (1622), mms. 11–14. Word painting example.

Figure 2.5. Marenzio, "Come inanti de l'alba," mms. 30–34. Tonic-Dominant relationships at final cadence.

Harmonically, Marenzio's first set of madrigals was not yet innovative. In "Come inanti de a'lba," he had not begun utilizing highly expressive chromaticism of his mature style. Rather, all pitches fit diatonically into the C mixolydian mode, with the exclusion of a few raised pitches at cadence points. In fact, many internal cadences resolve on the primary tone, or a modern C major chord. The most harmonically interesting feature of Marenzio's madrigal occurs in the penultimate and final measures, depicted in figure 2.5. By the late-sixteenth century, musicians

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were already exploring tonal tendencies, and carried with them the two most important pitches: the root and the fifth. Triadic harmonies are a feature consistent with Marenzio's period of composition; his use of triadic chords is shown in the predominant G major chord of the penultimate measure leading into the primary C major of the final authentic cadence. These two measures alone demonstrate the harmonic progression into tonality, as G to C creates a "dominant-tonic" relationship, which is one of the strongest harmonic tendencies in tonal music. Furthermore, emphasis on G major and C major demonstrate a rustic tone of simplicity and innocence.[120]

Marenzio utilized a mixture of traditional *primo practia* (first practice) and contemporary *seconda pratica* textures in "Come inanti de a'lba." Despite the madrigal containing six voices, its full-voiced textures were never excessively thick or buried the text behind artifice. Marenzio achieved this lighter polyphonic texture, shown in figure 2.6, by pairing voices into homorhythmic duets and trios, which were inserted into sections of imitative counterpoint or call-and-response. The *seconda pratica* elimination of artifice allowed composers to expand subject matter from formal, serious characters and plots to more informal themes, such as rusticity. Unlike the lighter styles Marenzio later composed, this madrigal contains no phrases in true homophony, although he does appear to be working his way toward more unified textures. The imitative sections of the work also yield other interesting characteristics: melodic and rhythmic motives. "E de più bei colori" ("and the most beautiful colors") in measures 7–10 demonstrate these motives very clearly, as seen in figure 2.7.

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[120] Rita Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Ann Harbor: UMI Research Press, 1983), 171. 223.

Figure 2.6. Marenzio, "Come inanti de l'alba," mms. 24–27. Imitative counterpoint.

Figure 2.7. Marenzio, "Come inanti de l'alba," mms. 7–10, Melodic and rhythmic motives.

Melodically, Marenzio emphasized stepwise motion and scalar patterns throughout this madrigal, although the lower three voices contained more skips and leaps due to their role as a harmonic foundation. At the beginning of the imitated "E de…" phrase, the melody usually either descends or ascends by step using a dactylic rhythmic motive. As a duet, each voice has either a melodic motion parallel to each other at the interval of a third, or the melodic motive is inverted, with one voice ascending and the other descending, in which the voices are separated by a fifth.

Luca Marenzio's early madrigals, though traditional in many aspects, mark the gradual stylistic changes in Italian madrigals at the end of the sixteenth century. Such alterations are most

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significantly demonstrated in Marenzio's simplified polyphonic texture and pre-tonal harmonies. Tonic-dominant relationships are the foundation of tonal harmony, thus the inclusion of such harmonies within Marenzio's madrigal demonstrates the harmonic transition between modality and tonality, which was a staple of late-sixteenth century repertoire. Similarly, whereas a majority of the work is polyphonic, the voices are divided into smaller ensembles of homorhythmic textures, which prevented an overly complex texture from distracting one's attention away from the text. Marenzio's music emphasized his poem through word painting, which highlighted to overall symbolic quality of text. In a pastoral context, Clelia's beauty was elevated to a heavenly position, comparable to the idyllic dawn, which could only be found in an Arcadian Paradise. Raising artistic patrons to an idyllic level was a common practice, after all, and was demonstrated by musicians in every European nation (especially England, as well as the Germanic states) since their music was highly influenced by Italian styles.

<div align="center">*****</div>

Although many Italian-born musicians rose to authority during the late Renaissance, Netherlandish musicians still influenced music in Italy throughout most of the sixteenth century. These Netherlandish composers were leading figures in the development of the serious Italian madrigal. Orlande de Lassus (ca. 1532–1594) was one such Franco-Flemish composer who had spent much of his early career in Italy, beginning in the Mantuan court.[121] By 1556, however, Lassus joined a surge of Netherlandish musicians to serve under the patronage of Albrecht V, Duke of Bavaria.[122] During this time, Lassus was primarily a chapel musician and choirboy

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[121] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "de Lassus, Orlande, 1. Early years" by James Haar.

[122] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "de Lassus, Orlande, 2. Munich." Lassus often traveled between Italy and France; he was awarded the title of Knight of the Golden Spur by Pope Gregory XIII, and was highly praised by King Charles IX of France. Thus, the composer experienced a considerable amount of compositional techniques that was varied between nations.

instructor, although he also composed secular music for the court.[123] After Wilhelm V ascended

to the title of Duke of Bavaria, Lassus remained under his courtly patronage. During these later

years, Lassus was removed from Italy during the musical expansions set in action by musicians

such as Marenzio; therefore, Lassus became known for his more traditional Italian compositional

techniques.[124] Such conservatism is demonstrated in his madrigal honoring Wilhelm V, entitled

"Al gran Guglielmo nostro" (ca. 1584). Although written in Italian, Lassus's text clearly presents

the musician's personal friendship with his German patron.

As the title states, Lassus's madrigal was dedicated "To our Great William," his

sovereign patron during the musician's life in Munich. Lassus described his monarch as "the

example of all goodness, and the Temple of virtue" who was worthy of the immortality of an

eternal spring.[125] Hence, Lassus had placed his patron upon the idyllic pedestal of Arcadia,

where the green grass and blooming flowers never died—an eternal land often reserved for the

gods. Lassus demonstrated such an eminent status in his madrigal through text painting, as

exemplified in figure 2.8. As the text moves into the "immortal spring," the superius voice leaps

an octave, as the lower voices also ascend into a higher tessitura for the remainder of the phrase.

This higher tessitura represents the prominent status of William's position, as well as the glory of

life everlasting. Additionally, Lassus selected a sestet poem with a simple rhyme scheme

(*abbaaa*) consisting of an enclosed rhyme and an added couplet using the first rhyme.

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[123] Ibid. Lassus composed occasional music for marriages, particularly of Wilhelm V and Renée of Lorraine, hunting parties, and *Tafelmusik* for courtly banquets. Furthermore, Lassus composed music for, and performed in, one of the first documentations of a *commedia dell'arte* performance.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Original Italian quotation: [*Al gran Guglielmo nostro/ d'ogni bontad' essempio,/ e d'ogni virtù tempio,/ degno d'immortal pena e eterno inchestro*].

Figure 2.8. Orlande de Lassus, "Al grand Guglielmo nostro," 1584, mms. 12–16. Word painting example.

Figure 2.9. Lassus, "Al grand Guglielmo nostro," mms. 1–5. Polyphonic introduction.

Musically, Lassus also applied reserved compositional techniques in his madrigal. Due to either his un-involvement in Italy's musical scene or a direct opposition to its progressive styles, the later years of Lassus's life revealed a more traditional, conservative style. For example, "Al gran Guglielmo" was through-composed without any distinction between structural sections. Figure 2.9 demonstrates the nearly continuous five-part polyphonic texture allows the text to flow uninterrupted throughout the entire work. In fact, only the penultimate phrase contains an almost homorhythmic texture, which quickly returns to a polyphonic texture for the final statements of the phrase, "sen viva'l paro." Although the texture is predominantly polyphonic, Lassus created

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points of unity, typically found after a significant cadence, in which the voices started homorhythmically before breaking into independent lines.

Melodic and rhythmic conventions were also conservatively written; rhythmic variety displayed minute inventiveness, and although he was a traditional composer, there was no rhythmic syncopation or elaborate use of melodic melismas. Although he demonstrated refrained melodies, Lassus did include many skips and leaps in every voice, rather than just the lower voices. One melodic line, depicted in figure 2.10, demonstrates a series of descending thirds, which Lassus used as a point of imitation in the other voices. The melodic pattern begins in the tenore voice, which is imitated by the superius at the octave; the bassus and cantus imitate the same descending melody at the interval of a fourth. This passage also demonstrates the harmonic variety of internal cadences. Overall, the madrigal is in the A Phrygian mode, however, Lassus obscures the modality through his harmonic language. Measures 16–20, alone, contain tonal D-major, C-major, and G-minor seventh chords.[126] As a final surprise, Lassus ended the entire madrigal on a Picardy third, solidifying Lassus's positive message of William V's immortal image. In general, despite the slightly later compositional date of Lassus's madrigal "Al gran Guglielmo nostro" than Marenzio's "Come inanti de a'lba ruggiadosa," Lassus still employed the stylistic practices of Italian traditionalists even though he was living in Bavaria. Although both composers demonstrated a culmination of traditional and contemporary techniques, the fact is that Lassus was, in the 1580s, reaching the end of his life, whereas Marenzio had just begun his career as a composer.

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[126] *As marked in figure 2.11, measure 16-17 contains the cadence on D major, measure 17 has the cadence on G major, and measure 20 has the D-minor cadence following F-major harmonies in measure 19.

Figure 2.10. Lassus, "Al grand Guglielmo," mms. 16–20. Internal cadence variety.

Lassus was conservative in his treatment of melodic, rhythmic, and textural devices; his most

innovative feature was the harmonies used throughout the madrigal. Lassus experimented with

his cadential figures, creating interest through a seemingly constant change in modality all the

way through the end of the work, where the incorporation of the Picardy third instantly altered

the tone of the entire work, elevating it to a work of joy in dedication to his friend and leader,

Wilhelm V of Bavaria.

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Royal patronage also had an influence on music in Elizabethan England, as prominent

musicians composed primarily for the Chapel Royal. Michael Cavendish (ca. 1565–1628) was

connected to the English court, particularly during the reign of James I, although Cavendish was

also active as a composer during Elizabeth I's sovereignty.[127] Cavendish was one of many

English composers to contribute to Thomas Morley's *The Triumphes of Oriana* (1601), a

collection of madrigals inspired by Angelo Gardano's *Il Trionfo di Dori* (*The Triumphs of Doris*,

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[127] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Cavendish, Michael," by David Brown. Interestingly, Cavendish came from a wealthy Suffolk family who were well-known patrons of the arts. In fact, John Wilbye (1574–1638) had dedicated multiple collections of his madrigals to relatives of Cavendish.

1592).[128] Cavendish composed "Come Gentle Swains" (1601) specifically for Morley's

collection, which is traditionally believed to be in dedication to Queen Elizabeth I.[129] Despite his

connection to Morley and his madrigal collection, Cavendish was more renowned for his ayres,

rather than his madrigals, as it was difficult to compete with Morley's stylistic invention.

Cavendish's signature compositional technique was to include a middle section of triple meter in

an overall duple-metered madrigal.[130] This musical procedure, along with other compositional

devices, is present in "Come Gentle Swains."

Cavendish's madrigal fit into the character of Morley's *Oriana* collection in refrain text,

pastoral influences, and lighter form, such as canzonets and balletts, which were a continuation

of the Italian lighter styles. A distinguishing feature of these lighter genres found in "Come

Gentle Swains" is the sectionalized form (ABCDD) with the inclusion of a repeated refrain, the

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[128] Ibid. The Italian *Trionfi* were dedicated to the wife of a Venetian noble and patron, Leonardo Sanudo; these madrigals all contained the refrain, "Long live beautiful the beautiful Doris!" Doris was a sea nymph of Greek mythology. See, *Encyclopedia of Greco-Roman Mythology*, s.v. "Doris." Cavendish and Morley, in particular, were inspired by Giovanni Croce's (ca. 1557–1609) "Ove tra l'herba e i fiori" (1592). Cavendish took musical inspiration from Croce's homorhythmic sections, and Morley translated the madrigal and set it to his own music, "Hard by a Crystal Fountain" (1601). See, *Dictionary of Music and Musicians (A.D. 1450–1889)*, s.v. "Oriana, The Triumphs of," by W. H. H.

[129] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Cavendish." The refrain of each madrigal in *The Triumphs of Oriana* reads as follows: "Then sang the shepherds and nymphs of Diana: Long live fair Oriana!" The Diana and Oriana attributions to a specific monarch is challenged by Smith (2013), who stated that Oriana's original designation was not to Queen Elizabeth I, but to Anna of Denmark, the future Queen of England. Smith also believes the *Oriana* collection to be related to the Catholic conspiracies that desired Elizabeth to be removed from power. See, Jeremy L. Smith, "Music and Late Elizabethan Politics: The Identities of Oriana and Diana," *Journal of the Musicological Society* 58, no. 3 (Fall, 2005): 507–558. With this interpretation, the text is calling for the men and women (shepherds and nymphs) under Elizabeth's (Diana) reign to sing the praises of Anna of Denmark (fair Oriana), thus masking the political intention under false praise. Smith, however, argues that Elizabeth I openly rejected the nickname "Oriana," which initiates a concern that Elizabeth I would have seen through the composer's allegorical message. This case is especially true when considering the evidence used by Smith, himself, in Queen Elizabeth's remark toward a Spanish ambassador: "if he had been her subject, she would have pursued him with the utmost rigor of the law." See, Ibid., 516. The seeming impossibility to determine the true dedication of this madrigal collection allows for a probable case that both Elizabeth I, Diana, and Anna of Denmark, Oriana, were represented simultaneously, although greater evidence and tradition lead toward Queen Elizabeth I as the original dedicatee, regardless of political message.

[130] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Cavendish."

unifying feature of the *Oriana* collection, which contained the same text in every madrigal. The polyphonic "A" section features imitative counterpoint, as the contrasting "B" section begins in homophony before returning to the overall polyphonic texture. The only true homophonic portion of the work is the short "C" section, which interestingly, also switches to a triple meter, shown in figure 2.11.

Figure 2.11. Michael Cavendish, "Come Gentle Swains," 1601, mms. 32–36. Homophonic texture.

This section was likely used as a transitional phrase into the refrain. The contrapuntal nature may suggest that the madrigal is a canzonet, as the English version was more contrapuntal than its Italian counterpart; however, it is rather problematic to distinguish the difference between English lighter styles as they were in contemporary practice.[131] Text of the refrain, "Then sang the shepherds and nymphs of Diana, Long live fair Oriana," is an important identifier as to the dedicatee of the work; whereas the conclusions on both sides of the Elizabeth/Anna debate both have valid conclusions, the sensible solution is to attribute "Diana" as Queen Elizabeth I and "Oriana" as Queen Anna of Denmark. Yet, the allegorical attribution is not the only textual

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[131] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Canzonetta," by Ruth I. DeFord.

interest to the text.[132] Cavendish fully employed pastoral themes throughout the poem, including

singing and dancing between shepherds' daughters and their lovers, as well as the call to praise

from shepherds and nymphs, who symbolized the men and woman of England.

> Come, gentle swains, and shepherd's dainty daughters,
> Adorn'd with courtesy and comely duties,
> Come sing and joy and grace with lovely laughters,
> The birthday of the beautiest of beauties.
> Then sang the shepherds and nymphs of Diana:
> Long live fair Oriana![133]

Elaborate polyphonic texture allowed the melodic voices to be relatively independent of

one another. Furthermore, Cavendish had separated his sections not just by texture, but rather, by

melodic contour. The "A" section contains a lively melody with many skips and leaps without

regard to the large interval rule of the previous centuries, which stated that balance created by

writing a small motion (preferably stepwise) in the opposite direction of the preceding large

motion. In the "B" section, however, the composer wrote mostly-stepwise motion and a more

neumatic setting of the text, which contrasts with the syllabic declamation of the first two

stanzas. His use of rhythms also changed between sections; the "A" section contained more

varied rhythms, dotted rhythms, and syncopations than the lyrical "B" section. Figure 2.12

exemplifies text painting in "Come Gentle Swains," as the liveliest melodic and rhythmic figures

are centered on the word "joy," thus symbolizing the meaning of the word through music. Text

painting was increasingly common in English secular song, although Cavendish did not

incorporate it to the extent of his colleagues, such as Thomas Weelkes (1576–1623) and his "As

Vesta was from Latmos Hill Descending" (1601). Harmonically, Cavendish has already reached

into the practice of tonality, as his madrigal is in the F Ionian (F Major) mode, as evidenced by

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[132] The "Come Gentle Swains" poem is a sestet with the rhyme scheme of *ababcc*, with "*c*" being the refrain. This particular rhyme pattern was quite common in English Elizabethan literature.

[133] Quotation from Cavendish's "Come Gentle Swains," lines 1–6.

the strong representation of "tonic" F-major chords and "dominant" C-major chords. Although "Come Gentle Swains" is not in the pastoral key of G, the strong presence of F-major and C-major chords depicts tranquility, purity, and innocence.[134]

Figure 2.12. Cavendish, "Come Gentle Swains," mms. 26–30. Melodic text painting.

Unlike his Italian contemporaries, however, Cavendish remained mostly diatonic without the use of expressive chromatic harmonies; therefore, he was less harmonically innovative in comparison with his colleagues. Although Cavendish contributed to Morley's collection of madrigals composed by various English madrigalists, he was not necessarily specialized in the genre. After the great success of Morley, however, it was difficult for other composers to follow his lead and be considered innovators of the genre. Regardless, Cavendish utilized very active characteristics in his music reminiscent of keyboard genres, which is the root of lighter madrigal styles, particularly the English canzonet. Rhythmic variety, particularly the metrical modulations, and polyphonic textures, such as imitative counterpoint, were among the prominent features of "Come Gentle Swains" that evoked keyboard compositional characteristics.

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[134] Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics*, 165.

By 1601, the madrigal was in decline throughout continental Europe; not long after the success of Cavendish, Morley, and the other contributing composers of the *Oriana* collection, did the madrigal begin to lose its attractiveness in England, as well. Over the next two centuries, the genre began to fade as the Baroque era slowly eradicated Mannerist styles from England. Yet, during its age of decline, one composer remained, and gave the Renaissance madrigal its final moment in the courts of England. Thomas Tomkins (ca. 1572–1656) was part of the final generation of the English Madrigal School composers; in fact, Tomkins did not publish his set of madrigals until the genre was declining in popularity. After the publication of Morley's *Triumphes of Oriana*, for which Tomkins was a contributing member, the latter composer was established in the Chapel Royal.[135] Tomkins continued to serve in the Chapel Royal under the rule of James I, and had supplied music for the King's coronation in 1603.[136] Tomkins continued to reference Queen Elizabeth I posthumously through allegory while under James I's patronage. For instance, the composer dedicated an early-seventeenth century madrigal to his late monarch, entitled "See, See the Shepherds' Queen" (*Songs*, 1622), which utilized allegorical subjects and pastoral themes commonly associated with Elizabeth I during her sovereignty.[137] As Tomkins matured, his compositional output included more sacred works, rather than secular, which is likely linked to his dwindling appearances at the Chapel Royal and his nearly lifelong employment at the Worcester Cathedral. He excelled in his sacred psalms, anthems, and liturgical service composition, where he demonstrated great variety in thematic, structural,

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[135] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Tomkins, Thomas, 1. Life," by Peter Le Huray, et al. Tomkins composed *The Fauns and Satyrs Tripping* for Morley's *Oriana* collection.
[136] Ibid., "Be Strong and of Good Courage" (1603) was written for King James I of England; Tomkins also composed "Know ye" (1612) for the funeral of James I's son, Prince Henry.
[137] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Tomkins, Thomas, 2. Works." Tomkins later used the melody of "See, See the Shepherds' Queen" as a contrafactum for his motet, "Holy, Holy, Holy" (*Musica Deo Sacra*, published posthumously 1566).

textural, and rhythmic devices.[138] In contrast, and when compared to his contemporaries, such as William Byrd (ca. 1540–1623), Tomkins had a relatively small collection of consort music. He was considered the last Virginalist, however, and incorporated many stylistic characteristics of his mentor, William Byrd.[139] Therefore, although Tomkins was an important figure at the end of the English Renaissance, he was not as innovative in either his secular vocal or instrumental compositions. Most importantly, Tomkins's madrigals represent the end of a century-long tradition that was carried on in England long after Italy had progressed fully into the ideals of the Baroque era.

Tomkins alludes to Queen Elizabeth I as "Fair Phyllis," the "Shepherds' Queen," which was another common designation for the queen, along with Diana and Eliza.[140] English madrigalists were especially successful at incorporating pastoral themes into their poetry, likely because Arcadian ideals fit well into narratives in praise of Elizabeth I.

> See, see the shepherds' queen,
> Fair Phyllis all in green, *fa la.*
> The shepherds home her bringing
> With piping and with singing, *fa la.*
> Then dance we on a row,
> And chant it as we go, *fa la.*[141]

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[138] Ibid.

[139] Ibid. As a virginalist, Tomkin's keyboard compositions were primarily fugal forms, plainsong settings, fantasias, and dances; thus, he used the keyboard as a crossover between sacred and secular realms. By the late-1640s, Tomkins had seemingly resigned from public view.

[140] Louis Adrian Montrose, "*Eliza, Queene of Shepheardes*, and the Pastoral of Power," in "Monographs of the English Renaissance," *English Literary Renaissance* 10, no. 2 (Spring, 1980): 153–154. Queen Elizabeth was established as the Queen of Shepherds as early as Edmund Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender.* As Phyllis was a common shepherd name, it was merely a matter of time before her character was associated with the Elizabeth I. Phyllis (Phillis) as a subject, likely allegorical for Queen Elizabeth, is also present in the following madrigals: Thomas Morley's "Miraculous love's wounding" (1595), John Wilbye's "Flora Gave me Fairest Flowers" (1598), Thomas Weelkes's "Phyllis, Go Take Thy Pleasure" (1598), John Farmer's "Fair Phyllis I saw sitting all alone" (1599), Thomas Bateson's "Those Sweet, Delightful Lilies" (1604), Michael East's "See Phyllis shamed" (1609), and Francis Pilkington's "Amyntas with His Phyllis Fair" (1613).

[141] Quotation from Tomkin's "See, see the Shepheards' Queen," lines 1–6.

Tomkins's poem fully encompasses pastoral themes, such as the shepherd and shepherdess (Fair Phyllis) subjects, the color green, and references to music through instruments (likely the hornpipe), singing, and dancing. In his madrigal, Tomkins utilized the popular text-painting device only once, to emphasize the meaning of the text in the third couplet, shown in figure 2.13.

Figure 2.13. Thomas Tomkins, "See, See the Shepherds' Queen," 1622, mms. 53–58. Static melodic word painting.

This final couplet references a row, which is perceived visually as a flat contour; the second phrase of this couplet mentions chanting, which is similarly a relatively flat method of speaking. Hence, Tomkins created a static melodic line throughout all voice parts, especially in the upper three voices, to symbolize the line dancing and chanting of the subjects. Text is very important in determining the form of this madrigal; the chain form (AABBCC) contains a sestet of couplets (which dictates an *aabbcc* rhyme scheme) with a written-out repeat to alternate the melody between different voices.[142] Furthermore, the madrigal is likely a ballett, due to the inclusion of "*fa-la* choruses" between couplets and alternating sections of polyphonic and homophonic texture. Each section of poetic text in *Shepherds' Queen* consists of mostly homophonic textures, as the "*fa-la* choruses" are polyphonic. During these sections, Tomkins created duets that he

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[142] The outer couplets are hexasyllabic (meter) and the inner couplet lines are septasyllabic, yet the added syllables are weak iambs, thus the overall meter is a loose iambic trimeter. In the music, this corresponds to three-bar phrases for each line of text.

exchanged between multiple pairs of voices, depicted in figure 2.14. These pairs acted in imitation with each other, and although there are multiple points of imitation, the duets were always in thirds, fifths, or the inversions.

Figure 2.14. Tomkins, "Shepherds' Queen," mms. 16–20. Polyphonic duet textures.

All voices contain lively melodies and rhythms, a key feature of lighter madrigal styles. Additionally, English balletts maintained a very lyrical melodic style through mostly-stepwise motions, which allowed amateur singers to perform the works with greater ease. Tomkins utilized this tradition while also including carefully placed skips and leaps to maintain the joyful mood.

"Crisp" rhythms also added to the energized tone of the madrigal, which frequently followed the long-short rhythms of the poetic meter. Between the verse sections and choruses, the "*fa-la* chorus" melodies and rhythms are much more active, as shown in figure 2.15. At the beginning of each "*fa-la*" motive, the duet voices move homorhythmically in a descending short-short-long-long-long pattern, which is then imitated in a new pair of voices. Tomkins certainly conformed to the melodic and rhythmic expectations of the genre, although the composer did experiment more with his harmonic techniques. Naturally, the composer's harmonic language was different from the other English madrigalists, since his collection was published twenty to thirty years later than the height of the genre's popularity in England. "Shepherds' Queen" was

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not yet tonal, as it was written in the A mixolydian mode, yet the overall harmonies lean toward

a modern A-major tonality. In fact, many internal cadences occur on either an A-major chord

(acting as the tonic in tonal music) or an E-major chord (the dominant). As explained in the

Cavendish analysis, tonic-dominant relationships were a standard harmonic device in late-

Renaissance music, which was an important precursor to the rise of tonality during the

seventeenth century. Yet the internal cadence at measures 58–59 (demonstrated in figure 2.14)

presents a tonal technique that surpassed the idea of tonic-dominant relationships. This passage

displays a harmonic convention that was very innovative, as well as unusual, in modal music. By

prolonging his cadence on the dominant E, Tomkins created a B-major chord within the A

tonality. In tonal practices, this technique is a secondary dominant, which became increasingly

important as music grew in harmonic complexity. The execution of this technique demonstrates

the rise of tonal thinking, even in predetermined modal compositions. All of these characteristics

are exemplary samples of English madrigals at the turn of the seventeenth century, as

popularized by Michael Cavendish, Thomas Tomkins, and their contemporaries. Both Tomkins

and Cavendish were inspired by the compositional practices of Thomas Morley, who was crucial

in introducing and adapting the lighter Italian madrigal styles.

Figure 2.15. Tomkins, "Shepherds' Queen," mms. 29–32. Descending scalar patterns.

Unfortunately, after Thomas Morley had set the standard of the genre, there was little room for invention. Except for a few exceptions, such as Tomkins's interesting secondary dominant chord, English madrigalists of lighter styles simply repeated the same conventions in different compositions. Over the first quarter of the seventeenth century, the madrigal gradually fell out of favor in England, just as it had in the rest of continental Europe. Yet, even with the rise of new genres during the Baroque era, such as opera, pastoral themes continued to inspire wonder through musical settings of classic pastoral tales.

<p style="text-align:center">*****</p>

Unquestionably, madrigals had adapted throughout the nearly fifty-year period that Marenzio, Lassus, Cavendish, and Tomkins were active composers. Marenzio's "Come inanti de l'alba ruggiadosa" was one of his first madrigals ever composed, thus it contained characteristics of both the *primo pratica* (first practice) of Italian traditionalists and the *secondo pratica* of his generation. For this reason, Marenzio's early style was quite similar to the later style of Lassus and his madrigal written for "Al gran Guglielmo Nostro." Both compositions had non-sectionalized, through-composed forms, although Lassus rarely incorporated large sections of homophony. Marenzio's mixture of polyphony and homophony created some segmentation between text couplets; although, formalized structures did not appear in his works until his lighter madrigal genres. Lighter genres were highly conducive to pastoral repertoire, due to the importance of realistic and rustic subjects. In comparison to Marenzio, Lassus was clearly more conservative in his melodic, rhythmic, and harmonic devices, although the former composer had not yet begun composing chromatic harmonies. Many of these musical characteristics, particularly those of the *secondo pratica*, had fully developed into the lighter genres within the next decade, which were quickly introduced to England through Thomas Morley and the English

Madrigal School. English madrigalists wrote a significant amount of pastoral repertoire in praise of Queen Elizabeth I. Cavendish's "Come Gentle Swains" and especially Tomkin's "See, see the shepherd's Queen" are examples of the late madrigal style utilizing pastoral themes. As either a canzonet or a ballett, these light madrigals contained clearly defined, segmented forms, which aligned with the couplets of the poetry. Distinct separation between sections of polyphony and homophony helped delineate each section of the work. Melodies and rhythms were lively, with many variations between rhythmic and melodic motives, while still maintaining a level of difficulty that allowed amateur performances, again matching the casual formality of rustic repertoire. A unifying feature of these four madrigals is the utilization of text painting to enliven the pastoral text through the music. Text painting in these madrigals was typically achieved through rhythmic or melodic motives, rather than harmonic or textural. For instance, Tomkin's static melodic motion on the words "on a row" creates a sense of standing in a straight line. In addition, Lassus's octave leap into a high tessitura passage on the words "immortal spring" represents the uplifting spirit of the Arcadian spring as associated with everlasting life. Although Lassus's later compositions exhibit more conservatism than Marenzio's early works, an examination of these four composers' stylistic characteristics corresponds with the development of the madrigal as it progressed northward.

The connection between Lorenzo de' Medici and Queen Elizabeth I through Catherine de' Medici has already established the importance of courtly patronage to the spread of artistic, especially pastoral, ideals. Though these works create a similar path, the selected compositions link Italy and England through Bavaria, rather than France or the Netherlands. In Italy, Marenzio was tied to many patrons, including Cardinal Alessandro Farnese in Ferrara, of whose daughter Clelia was referred to as a pastoral dawn in "Come inanti de l'alba ruggiadosa," and Ferdinando

I de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, in Florence.[143] Lassus also had patrons in Italy before

moving to Munich to serve under William V, whose greatness was worthy of immortality in an

eternal spring in "Al gran Guglielmo nostro." Lassus's most significant Italian patron was

Cosimo I de' Medici in Rome, father to Ferdinando I and Grand Duke of Tuscany until 1569.[144]

Lassus also attended the marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots and England and King Philip II of

Spain, as an ambassador of Ferdinand I, the Holy Roman Emperor.[145] In England, both

Cavendish's "Come Gentle Swains" and Tomkin's "See, see the shepherd's Queen" allegorically

portray Queen Elizabeth I as the leader of the idyllic world, comparable to their English Golden

Age. Hence, these madrigals are also connected by the pastoral tradition with rustic or idyllic

allegory. Further pastoral themes used in these musical examples that are also present in

literature and art include: 1) references to colors (particularly green) as in Fair Phyllis's attire and

Catherine the nymph's altar, 2) pastoral leisurely activities (such as song and dance) such as

Diana's nymphs singing the praises of Oriana and Elisa's dancing nymphs, 3) references to flora

and fauna, as in Diana the Huntress's deer and many references to grassy pastures, and 4) use of

mythos to elevate the subjects upon an idyllic pedestal—placing them in between the worlds of

the mortals and the gods—such as Elizabeth as Diana or Lorenzo as a Magi King. Pastoral

repertoire had a special place in the arts of the royal Renaissance court, especially in Elizabethan

England. Through the power of the courts via art patronage, pastoral themes were able to spread

easily throughout Europe. Since patron interests influenced the development of thematic material

in the pastoral tradition, the genre was very flexible in adapting to popular themes of

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[143] Iain Fenlon, *Music and Culture in Late Renaissance Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 213.

[144] Andrew L. Thomas, *A House Divided: Wittelsbach Confessional Court Cultures in the Holy Roman Empire, c. 1550–1650*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, ed. Andrew Colin Gow (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 94.

[145] J. R. S. B., "Lassus," in *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 94.

Renaissance repertoire. A primary theme in Renaissance literature, particularly poetry and music, is the concept of unrequited love. Sannazaro had first introduced this theme into Renaissance pastoral literature, and the concept of fallen love and death became synonymous with the inevitable end of Arcadia, its innocence, and its beauty.

THE SHEPHERDS' LAMENT

Artistic mediums, specifically music, literature, and visual art, are more than the physical representations as works of art, as they also embody the manifestation of personal expression—a canvas for the depiction of human emotions that became an important theme in pastoral repertoire. Interestingly, both joyful and sorrowful sentiments were portrayed in the arts, thus fulfilling the entire spectrum of human emotion. Consequently, lamentation over unrequited love became a central artistic theme during the Renaissance era. Many of these themes were adapted from medieval or Classical practices, such as courtly love and unanswered affections that manifested in medieval poetry and folk songs of minstrels, such as the *troubadours* of France.[1] These poets idealized the concept of *fin' amors* ("refined love") as the "source of all goodness," including feelings of joy, passion, or sexual liberation.[2] Eventually, ideals of love were elevated from minstrel poetry to literary masterpieces, such as Geoffrey Chaucer's (ca. 1343–1400) *The Canterbury Tales* (ca. 1386–1390, published in 1475). Chaucer's renowned tales of love typically portray the emotion in a positive light, yet he includes characters in his verse who share varied opinions on the subject:

> You also liken woman's love to hell,
> To barren land without a stream or well,
> And also to a wildly raging fire –
> The more it burns, the stronger its desire
> To consume all that will burn. You say to me

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[1] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Minstrel, 1. Terminology," by Lawrence Gushee, et al.

[2] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Troubadours, 3. *Fin' amors*," by John Milsom. The earliest recorded troubadours (*trouvère, trobairitz*) hailed from the twelve and thirteenth centuries. Whereas troubadours were not the inventors of romantic themes in music, their poetry epitomized love and romance in secular vocal music. These motives include "love and courtesy; love and the hostile spies…; the 'service' of love and the idolatry of the lady; resistance to sensual desires; the deception and despair of love; love-sickness and death; the joy of love…; the lady's power; the personification of love as attacker, or god; and so on." Interestingly, many of these themes are considered examples of unrequited love.

> That just as little worms destroy a tree
> A wife destroys her husband.[3]

In this passage, Chaucer's character, the Wife of Bath, recalls her love games in previous

marriages, and the torments of her husbands, which were her greatest pleasure. "The Wife of

Bath's Tale" also highlights the late-medieval theme of unrequited love and tales of love games

from a female perspective, as demonstrated in the repertoire of the French *trobairitz*.[4] Clearly,

disdain toward love, or lack thereof, was already a common subject in literature by the beginning

of the Renaissance era. Death was another subject that found expression as negative human

emotions in the arts, cultivated by poets of the medieval and Renaissance eras. Troubadours also

composed songs of lamentation, called *planctus* or *planh*.[5] Although twelfth-century

manifestations of the planctus and onward emphasize dramatic lamentations of the Virgin Mary,

earlier planctūs (ca. 9th–11th centuries) were often dirges for deceased family, colleagues, lovers,

or historical figures (*grands personnages*, "great patrons"), such as royalty.[6] Similarly, poet-

musicians of the Renaissance incorporated similar elegies of patrons or monarchs in their

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[3] Quotation from Geoffrey Chaucer, "The Wife of Bath's Tale: Prologue," in *The Canterbury Tales*, Fragment III, Group D, lines 371–377, trans. Nevill Coghill (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 268. Original medieval English: [*Thou lykenest wommanes love to helle,/ To bareyne lond, ther water may not dwelle./ Thou lyknest it also to wilde fyr;/ The more it brenneth, the more it hath desyr/ To consume every thing that brent wol be./ Thou seyst, that right as wormes shende a tree,/ Right so a wyf destroyeth hir housbonde;*]. See, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, vol. 4: *The Canterbury Tales*, ed. Reverend Walter William Skeat (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900), 331.

[4] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Troubadours."

[5] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Planctus," by John Stevens. The Italian equivalent to the French *planctus/planh* is the *pianto* or *lamento*, while the German equivalent is the *Klage*.

[6] Ibid. Whereas early planctus were secular in nature, the twelfth-century planctus imitated the *cantus firmus* ("fixed melody") found in Gregorian chants, consequently altering the intention of the genre to a sacred tone. The troubadour Gaucelm Faidit wrote the most famous secular planh for the death of the King of England, Richard I (also the Duke of Normandy, d. 1199), who was known as Richard Cœur de Lion or Richard the Lionheart.

repertoire.[7] Death symbolized the inevitable fate of all life; hence, the subject was frequently utilized in pastoral repertoire. Interestingly, both death and unrequited love were represented with similar imageries in the Renaissance pastoral tradition.

Illustration of unrequited love and death imagery in pastoral repertoire often alluded to the fragile state of Arcadia; each medium of art maintained its own thematic representations specific to its field, whereas some characteristics are consistent throughout the arts. In poetry, the text often presents, from the perspective of the crestfallen lover or friend, the physical and emotional pain of the subject, as well as the effect one's great sorrow has on their surrounding environment, particularly nature. Musical portrayals of melancholic texts symbolized such sorrowfulness through specific church modes, particularly those "minor" in sound, and word painting.[8] Furthermore, art depicted these themes through illustrations of mythological tales, subject relationships, overcast skies, and stark contrast between deep shadows and brilliant highlights. Other pastoral imageries found within these thematic works include representations of the natural world (flora, fauna, and landscape) and Greek or Roman mythos relating to the pastoral tradition. Nature in pastoral works utilizing these subjects are far from idyllic, as barren landscapes desolate of beautiful flowers and bright foliage dominate both literary and visual portrayals of the juxtaposed Arcadian world. Themes of unrequited love or death, as well as

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[7] Many late-Renaissance English poets allegorically honored Queen Elizabeth I through poetry and music even after her death in 1603.

[8] Oliver Strunk, "Gioseffe Zarlino – From the *Istituzioni armoniche*," in *Source Readings in Music History: The Renaissance*, 128–261 (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1965), 155–157. Renaissance theorist Gioseffe Zarlino (1517–1590) followed Horace's (65 BCE–8 BCE) guidelines in *Art of Poetry* (ca. 29 BCE) that states, "a theme for Comedy refuses to be set forth in the verses of Tragedy" [*Versibus exponi tragicis res comica non volt*]. Throughout early music history, music and poetry were ruled by the affections. Therefore, melody, harmony, and rhythm had to match the tone of the underlying text. As summarized by Zarlino, the musician "must use joyful harmonies and rapid rhythms in joyful matters, and in mournful ones, mournful harmonies and grave rhythms, so that everything may be done in proportion."

pastoral imagery, are present in the selected works of this chapter, and as such, each analysis will feature the similarities and differences in thematic material across mediums of art, as well as national identities. Following the prevailing concept of northern expansion, many works of poetry, art, and music are analyzed chronologically by nation, starting with Italy, moving northward to France and the Netherlands, and eventually leading toward England. Many French chansons, such as the one presented in this chapter, predate the rise of Italian madrigals, due to France's extended history of secular polyphonic vocal music. Regardless, this chronological order sufficiently presents the development of musical style throughout the sixteenth century. As music serves as a primary focus of this study, pastoral works such as Thomas Crecquillon's "Ung gay bergier" (1543), Andrea Gabrieli's "O in primavera eterna" (1582), and John Ward's "Out from the Vale" (1613), demonstrate the influence of chapter themes in correspondence with the development of music during the period of Mannerism. Preceding these analyses is the study of thematic material in art and literature, particularly Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (1489), Edmund Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579), Honoré d'Urfé's *L'Astrée* (1607), and Hendrick van Balen's *Pan Pursuing Syrinx* (1615), among others. Each of these works is a part of the pastoral thread woven together by tragic themes of death and unrequited love.

Italian Art and Literature

Italy was often the epicenter of innovation during the Renaissance era, which is especially true in the literary arts. Many artistic trends began in Italy before disseminating throughout the remainder of Europe. Jacopo Sannazaro and his *Arcadia* (ca. 1489), as formerly examined, instigated the rise of pastoral themes in not just Italian literature, but the Spanish, French, and English pastoral traditions, as well. By successfully revitalizing the bucolic genre, Sannazaro laid the groundwork for Renaissance poets during the sixteenth century. Although

Arcadia emphasizes the classic pastoral themes of idyllic landscape and shepherds' *otium*, or

leisure, Sannazaro's poetry contains numerous melancholic passages. Within the mind of the

shepherd, any woman is:

> …a host of contradictions. Kind and cruel, repentant and unrelenting, compassionate and
> unpitying, seductive yet cold, she is as beautiful and perfect as the nature of which she is
> a part of, and masks as many ambiguities. If she is anonymous, it is because she needs no
> name. She is not an individual character, but the enticement of *eros*.[9]

Hence, love is a complicated affair that often brings Sannazaro's shepherds into fits of despair.

In many instances, such as Ergasto's scenario from "Eclogue I" discussed in chapter one, the

woman ignores the passionate pleas of the shepherd, leaving him to wallow in his misery alone.

Yet, unrequited love was not the only despair found in the eclogues of *Arcadia*; the death of

Androgeo was another source of the shepherds' grief. Another specific lament, retrospectively

entitled "Lamento di Androgeo" from "Eclogue V," describes Ergasto's sorrow while at

Androgeo's tomb.[10] The preceding "Chapter 5" prose introduces the scene of Ergasto and his

fellow shepherds performing a ritualistic ceremony in memory of Androgeo's glory. As *Arcadia*

was set in a *prosimetrum* form, each set of prose chapters and verse eclogues illustrated similar

characters, physical settings, and plots. At the beginning of "Eclogue V," however, Ergasto had

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[9] Barbara Mujica, "The Italian Precedent: Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia*" in *Iberian Pastoral Characters*, 11–42 (New York: Digitalia, Inc., 1986), 16. *Eros* is the Greek god of love, synonymous with Cupid. *Eros* was coined by Plato (ca. 428 BCE–348 BCE) as love, or the basic impulse for human desire. See, *Encyclopedia of Greco-Roman Mythology* s.v. "Diana."

[10] *Arcadia*'s overall *prosimetrum* form creates distinction between the prose chapters and the metered verses, or eclogues. "Eclogue V" is 68 lines long, separated into five 13-line stanzas and a final tercet. Meter and rhyme schemes are scattered; despite the poems other elegiac characteristics, it does not contain the elegiac couplet. For instance, lines 1–5 contain a rhyme scheme of *aabaa*, which is already unusual, yet the remainder of the stanza follows the *c* rhyme (*aabaaccccccc*). The first five lines also have the following syllable pattern: heptasyllabic, octosyllabic, dodecasyllabic, heptasyllabic, and decasyllabic. Sannazaro frequently used mixed meters throughout *Arcadia,* which is demonstrated within "Eclogue V."

broken off from the rest of the shepherd gathering, and his monologue professed his own personal pain.

Ergasto, the shepherd who intentionally removed himself from the social gathering in "Chapter 1," had thrown himself into the middle of the group in "Chapter 5." Even though Ergasto stood in the center of a shepherd gathering at a funeral rite in celebration of Androgeo's life, he was still more solemn than his colleagues were. Ergasto led his group in song, praising Androgeo's name and questioning the future of himself and his men in their leader's absence: "O reverend father and teacher of all our band, where shall we find one equal to you, whose teaching we shall follow? Under what discipline now shall we live secure?"[11] Sannazaro described Androgeo as the head of the Arcadian shepherd clan, of which Ergasto was a member. In Greek mythology, Androgeos (Androgeus) was the son of Minos, King of Crete, and Pasiphaë, eldest daughter of Helios, the sun god.[12] Virgil's (70 BCE–19 BCE) epic *Aeneid* (ca. 29 BCE–19 BCE) presented Androgeos as a Greek soldier in the battle of Troy. Aside from Virgil's character Androgeos, Sannazaro also referenced other shepherds of Virgil's classic *Eclogues* (ca. 44 BCE–38 BCE) in the subsequent passage, including Meliboeus and Daphnis; the latter shepherd was a renowned shepherd of pastoral repertoire:

> *Tal fra suavi odori*
> *Dolce cantando all' ombra*
> *Tra Dafni e Melibeo*
> *Siede il nostro Andrógéo,*
> *Et di vaga dolcezza il cielo ingombra,*
> *Temprando gli elementi*
> *Col suon di novi inusitati accenti.*[13]

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[11] Jacopo Sannazaro, "Chapter 5," in *Arcadia & Piscatorial Eclogues*, trans. Ralph Nash (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1966), 59. Original Italian: [*O nobile padre e maestro di tutto il nostro stuolo, ove pari a te il troveremo? i cui ammaestramenti seguiremo noi? sotto quale disciplina vevremo ormai sicuri?*]. See, Jacopo Sannazaro, *Arcadia di M. Jacopo Sanazzaro*, ed. Luigi Portirelli (Milan: Dalla Società Tipografica de' Classici Italiani, 1806), 52.

[12] *Encyclopedia of Greco-Roman Mythology*, s.v. "Androgeos."

[13] Sannazaro and Corniani, *Arcadia*, 57. Quotation from Sannazaro's *Arcadia,* "Eclogue V," lines 20–26.

So amid soft odors
Sweetly singing in the shade
Between Daphnis and Meliboeus
Our Androgeo sits;
And with a rare sweetness fills the heavens
Tempering the elements
With the sound of fresh unheard-of harmonies.[14]

Incorporation of these three characters, Androgeo, Daphnis, and Meliboeus, all from the works of Virgil, was not a coincidence. Both Daphnis and Meliboeus, like Androgeo, were shepherds, and all three men suffered at the hands of death in pre-Renaissance poetry. In Virgil's "Eclogue V," the shepherds Mopsus and Menacles mourn the unexpected passing of Daphnis, who was "slain by ruthless death."[15] Meliboeus, a shepherd of both Virgil's *Eclogues* and Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, faced the near-demise of his daughter, who was brutally assaulted by thieves while he and his wife were out in the fields.[16] Similarly, each classical story of Androgeos results in his murder; although Sannazaro made no mention of the cause of Androgeo's death, the response of the shepherds clearly denotes the unexpectedness and tragedy surrounding his demise. Hence, these three shepherds understood a great deal of pain, which explains why Sannazaro placed Androgeo between Daphnis and Meliboeus in heaven. To these shepherds and their companions, particularly Ergasto, death was a cruel, inevitable fate.

Ahi cruda morte, et chi fia che ne scampi,
se con tue fiamme avvampi
le più elevate cime?
Chi vedrà mai nel mondo
pastor tanto giocondo,
che cantando fra noi sì dolci rime

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[14] Sannazaro and Nash, 61.

[15] Charles Stuart Calverley, trans., *The Idylls of Theocritus and the Eclogues of Virgil*, introduction by R. Y. Tyrrell (London, George Bell & Sons, 1908), 205. Quotation from Virgil's *Eclogues*, "Eclogue V," line 27. In Greek mythology, Daphnis was the mortal son of Hermes, and was physically blinded by his nymph lover, either Nomeia or Echenais, after being seduced by another nymph, possibly Chimaera. See, *Encyclopedia of Greco-Roman Mythology*, s.v. "Daphnis."

[16] Chaucer and Coghill, "The Tale of Melibee," in *The Canterbury Tales*, Fragment VII, Group B², 185–86.

sparga il bosco di fronde,
et di bei rami induca ombra su l' onde?[17]

Ah cruel death, and who is there that can escape you,
If with your flames you burn
The highest summits?
Who will ever see in the world
Shepherd so joyous
That singing in our midst so sweet a rhyme
Shall strew the wood with foliage
And with lovely branches train shade over the waters?[18]

Ergasto laments the loss of Androgeo to death and his leader's ability to unite his fellow

shepherds through the power of song. A common attribute of the pastoral tradition was the

secondary role of shepherds as musicians, particularly vocalists. Thus, Ergasto's song in praise

of Androgeo's singing is exceptionally effective in portraying the shepherds' secondary

occupation as musicians, as song was usually included in their *otium* ("idyllic leisure") moments

of entertainment. Elevation of Androgeo's musical abilities projected a quasi-god quality upon

the deceased shepherd, who, according to Ergasto, enticed the trees to sprout an abundance of

leaves through the power of his song. Such an exultant account of Androgeo's abilities fosters

his role as the leader of this Arcadian clan of shepherds.

Themes of melancholy were only second to those of idyllic nature and beauty in *Arcadia*;

Sannazaro's Arcadian world is richly described through Ergasto's lament, thus both themes are

fused seamlessly in "Eclogue V." Ergasto further detailed his praise of Androgeo's affect on

their natural landscape in the following passages:

Altri monti, altri piani.
altri boschetti et rivi
vedi nel cielo, et più novelli fiori,
altri Fauni et Silvani
per luoghi dolci estivi
seguir le ninfe in più felici amori…[19]

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[17] Sannazaro and Corniani, *Arcadia*, 58. Quotation from Sannazaro's *Arcadia,* "Eclogue V," lines 32–39.
[18] Sannazaro and Nash, *Arcadia*, 62.
[19] Sannazaro and Corniani, *Arcadia*, 57. Quotation from Sannazaro's *Arcadia,* "Eclogue V," lines 14–19.

> Other mountains, other plains,
> Other woods and rills
> You see in heaven, and a fresher flower:
> Other Fauns and Sylvans
> Through pleasant summery spots
> Pursue the Nymphs in happier loves…[20]

> *Quale la vite a l' olmo,*
> *et agli armenti il toro,*
> *et l' ondeggianti biade ai lieti campi,*
> *tale la gloria e 'l colmo*
> *fostù del nostro coro.*[21]

> As the vine to the elm,
> And to the herds the bull,
> And as the waving grain to the pleasant fields;
> So have you been the glory
> And fulfillment of our band.[22]

From heaven, Androgeo was able to gaze upon Arcadia as a whole (the mountains, fields, woodlands, and streams, as well as the flora and fauna that inhabit Arcadia), which were all visible to him after death. In this passage, Ergasto was still hopeful of the peace that accompanied Androgeo in death. Androgeo could still experience the beauties of Arcadia, including love, through the living world. Additionally, Ergasto likened Androgeo's role as his leader to the natural world, for he was the overall support system of the shepherds, similar to how a tree trunk is necessary to grow individual branches and leaves; additionally, leaves are necessary to maintain a healthy tree. Therefore, Androgeo, Ergasto, and the other shepherds relied on each other, and their internal balance was shaken to the core upon Androgeo's death. Perhaps the Arcadian band of shepherds symbolized an ecosystem, which relied on multiple sources to maintain natural balance. These shepherds relied heavily on Androgeo's guidance, as demonstrated in their ceremonial service, as well as in Ergasto's lengthy lament. Although the

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[20] Sannazaro and Nash, *Arcadia*, 61.
[21] Sannazaro and Corniani, *Arcadia*, 57. Quotation from Sannazaro's *Arcadia,* "Eclogue V," lines 27–31.
[22] Sannazaro and Nash, 61–62.

shepherds were sorrowful over his death, Ergasto was the most upset, and took to song to express the tragic situation. His verses resonate many human emotions, including hope, sorrow, anger, and admiration. His final words ring with the optimism of immortality, as though Androgeo lived on through nature and through the songs of generations of shepherds to come. Ergasto strongly believed that Androgeo's legacy was not forgotten in Arcadia.

<p style="text-align:center">*****</p>

Italian art, particularly paintings, also instigated stylistic movements in Europe during the Renaissance era. Netherlandish painters, in particular, were inspired by Italian art, particularly the pastoral paintings of Titian. Titian, although primarily stationed in Venice, held great prominence across Italy, and was commissioned by many leading patrons of the early-sixteenth century, including Alfonso I d'Este, Duke of Ferrera, Pope Paul III, and Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V.[23] Early in his career, (ca. 1500), Titian joined the studio of his fellow painter, Giorgione, who became his master. Indeed, modern attribution of works between these two artists has caused concerns for art scholars today, both because of the similarity in style, as well as the fact that Titian completed many of Giorgione's paintings after his death (ca. 1510–1511).[24] *Pastoral Concert* (*Fête champêtre*, ca. 1509) was the most significant painting of Giorgione's to be completed by Titian, since the apprentice painter recreated the illustration in his own style and dedicated the work to his late master. Many similarities appear between the *Pastoral Concert* and other works by Titian, particularly his sketch, *Two Arcadian Musicians in a Landscape* (date unknown, ca. 1493–1576), which presents the same woman, potentially Venus, sitting and

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[23] Carlo Ridolfi, *The Life of Titian*, ed. Julia Conway Bondanella, Peter Bondanella, Bruce Cole, and Jody Robin Shiffman, trans. Julia Conway Bondanella and Peter Bondanella (University Park, Pennsylvania State Press, 2010), 85, 142–143. Interestingly, Titian had also painted the portrait of other artists, including Jacopo Sannazaro. See, Ibid., 64.

[24] Ibid., 63. Giorgione had died during a plague that had swept through Venice during the early-sixteenth century; Titian paid his homage and carried on the unfinished works of his master.

holding a recorder.[25] The central figure of the painting, however, is Giorgione, who appears as a well-dressed shepherd playing the lute.

Two shepherds are the primary subjects of *Pastoral Concert*, and they sit directly in the center of the painting; the red garb of Giorgione's character draws in the attention of the eye, especially since a portion of the second shepherd is covered by one of the nymphs. There is a level of disconnect between the two shepherds, however, as the lute player is dressed in elegant urban clothing, whereas the other man is dressed in humble garb more befitting the station of a shepherd. Furthermore, there is dichotomy between the interaction of the men and the women, as the shepherds appear to be in deep conversation, and do not acknowledge the nymphs. Similarly, the nymphs do not appear to make visual contact with the shepherds, as the nymph toward the left portion of the painting looks in the direction opposite of the men while pouring water from a vase, and the other nymph gazes off into the landscape behind the second shepherd. The females are nude, and between the two of them, expose the entirety of the feminine body to the viewer; their drapery was commonly found among classical Italian paintings, and was frequently utilized by Titian. The standing nymph's posture, as well as the smaller proportion of the females' heads, demonstrates Titian's innovation of Mannerist art, which fully affected the Italian arts by the 1530s.[26] In fact, Titian repainted the standing nymph, who had originally been looking toward the group; he intentionally gave her a more stylized posture by crossing her legs, twisting her torso, and turning her gaze away from the musicians.[27]

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[25] The illustration of *Two Arcadian Musicians in a Landscape* may be found in chapter one, figure 1.1, on page 38.

[26] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Mannerism," by Denis Arnold and Tim Carter.

[27] Christiane L. Joost-Gaugier, "The mute poetry of the *Fête champêtre*: Titian's memorial to Giorgione," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 141 (January, 1999): 2–3. Scholarly studies and x-ray examinations in 1931, 1936, 1938, 1949, and 1954 reveal the alterations made to Giorgione's original painting, which Titian used to make the work achieve his own vision.

Figure 3.1. Titian (Tiziano Vecelli), *Pastoral Concert*, ca. 1509–1511, oil on canvas, Louvre Museum, Paris. Permission granted by Art Resource, New York.

The nymph playing the recorder, who was the same female from *Two Arcadian Musicians*, was not originally in the painting, as she was the final subject added by Titian.[28] According to art scholar Rowland-Jones, the reoccurrence of this subject in multiple works by Titian may be due to the painter's extensive use of recorder symbolism. Titian frequently used the recorder as an accompanying object belonging to otherworldly creatures, particularly angels. Therefore, the recorder symbolizes mysticism, as the women performers portray inhuman or supernatural

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[28] Ibid., 3. This last character was painted in a thicker, glossier oil paint than the rest of the painting, which was consistent with Titian's other alterations; this particular addition is more obvious due to the lack of blending with previous figures.

beings.[29] Their nudity is another sign that these women were deities, such as the goddess Venus, as their bodies represent perfection and idealized beauty. Additionally, the recorder is surrounded by human symbolism, such as lust, indulgence, and even death.[30] Interpreting the nymphs as the product of lust, these women may be seen as mere fabrications of the men's imaginations or desires. Considering the presence of the recorder as symbolic of angels or death, the addition of the nymph holding a recorder may signify Giorgione's death.

Idyllic landscape is another important feature of Titian's visual representation of Arcadia, as inspired by Sannazaro's *Arcadia* poetry.[31] A tertiary pastoral subject, the distant shepherd, is shown in the background escarpment behind the shepherds' left shoulder; this shepherd's flock of sheep represents the only illustrated fauna in the painting. Green pastures and foliage of distant trees are the primary examples of flora, although the yellow tint to the grass and inclusion of brown-orange leaves suggest a change of season, perhaps from summer to autumn. As demonstrated in multiple literary sources, autumn and winter represent death and decay in both the natural world and human life; similarly, the sky is entirely overcast in grayish and gold clouds, which may suggest an impending storm or twilight. These visual traits further symbolize Titian's use of this painting as a memorial to Giorgione. Lastly, another interpretation involves

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[29] Anthony Rowland-Jones, "The recorder in the art of Titian," *American Recorder* 43, no. 2 (March, 2002), 8. There are many interpretations to the role of the women in *Pastoral Concert*. Rowland-Jones supports the claim that these women are nymphs who are invisible to the shepherds; Philipp Fehl (1957) and Edgar Wind (1958) also support this claim. An opposing interpretation, supported by Joseph Archer Crowe and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle (1871), Harold Wethey (1969) see the nymphs as being romantically involved with the shepherds. Further interpretations see the painting as depictions of Greek mythology, such as Orpheus and Calais (Erik Fischer, 1974) or Apollo and Paris (Elhanan Motzkin, 1990). See, Joost-Gaugier, "The mute poetry of the *Fête champêtre*," 4.

[30] Rowland-Jones, "The recorder in the art of Titian," 8.

[31] Ibid., 8. Rowland-Jones presents another interpretation as to why the men seemingly ignore the women, in that Sannazaro's Arcadian shepherds did not always acknowledge nymphs. Even so, Sannazaro has a considerable amount of melancholy surrounding unrequited love, so this statement likely emphasizes an odd scenario in *Arcadia* where the unrequited love role was reversed. Regardless, Sannazaro's *Arcadia* did influence the onset of pastoral repertoire, thus it may be presumed that Titian was indeed inspired by Sannazaro's elaborate physical descriptions of nature and landscape.

Giorgione's inclusion of the four elements in the four main subjects (from left to right): water, fire, earth, and air.[32] The first nymph pours water from a vase, and the red and brown clothes of the shepherds denote fire and earth; lastly, the nymph with the recorder, an aerophone, symbolizes air. Together, these four elements of nature embody all existence in the world of Arcadia.

Sannazaro and Titian were both Italian innovators of the Renaissance pastoral tradition. Sannazaro revived idyllic poetry in his *Arcadia*, whereas Titian utilized Sannazaro's physical descriptions to illustrate the landscape of Arcadia through the medium of painting in *Pastoral Concert*. Pastoral themes dominate both works of art, particularly in the subjects: shepherds and nymphs. Activities of *otium*, leisure, also surround these shepherds' stories, with music as a primary source of entertainment. Shepherds rarely participate in musical activities alone, however; thus, Titian's two shepherds in discussion could visually represent the dialogue of a poetic eclogue, as shown in Sannazaro's poetry. Interpretation of Titian's musicians as shepherds participating in a poetic eclogue solidifies the notion that the nymphs are fictive creations of the shepherds' tales. Frequently in pastoral repertoire, interactions between shepherds and nymphs end in unrequited love, as nymphs ignore or reject the shepherd, as in *Arcadia*; in contrast, the shepherds may ignore the nymph, as in Rowland-Jones's interpretation of *Pastoral Concert*. Regardless of the relationship or roles between these shepherds and nymphs, the latter are often referenced as the ideal woman, or an idealized beauty. Since these idealized women were unobtainable to the men who desired them, their existence symbolized the unattainability of Arcadia. Melancholic themes of death hold a similar role in pastoral repertoire, as death symbolized the frailty of human life in an otherwise "eternal Spring" of Arcadia. Both Sannazaro

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[32] Stefano Zuffi, *Tiziano* (Milan: Mondadori Arte, 2008), 32.

and Titian hint at themes of death in their individual works. Sannazaro's character Ergasto lamented the death of his shepherd leader, Androgeo, in "Eclogue V." Titian undertook a more personal attachment to death, as he completed *Pastoral Concert* as a memorial to the original painter and his master, Giorgione. Titian also hinted toward death through symbolism, particularly the addition of the recorder, the color of the foliage closest to the subjects, and the seemingly beginning stages of a storm shown in the clouds. Sannazaro's *Arcadia* and Titian's *Pastoral Concert* each demonstrate the Renaissance conception of pastoral ideals in in their specific artistic mediums (literature and art, respectively) as both men were among the first to incorporate pastoral themes in their works of art. Remarkably, both artists altered the history of Renaissance repertoire, as later poets, artists, and musicians took inspiration from their Arcadian themes and applied its archetypes to their own idyllic and rustic creations.

French Art and Literature

Italian pastoral ideals spread quickly through the remainder of the continent, particularly in France. Titian, for instance, held prominence in France with his portrait of Francis I, King of France.[33] Similarly, many northern Mannerist painters studied the styles of Titian and incorporated these characteristics as a part of their own personal style. In the literary arts, Sannazaro's *Arcadia* was translated into French by the middle 1540s, and had already begun affecting the influence of pastoral genres, particularly the eclogue, on French poets.[34] Many French poets, including Rémy Belleau and Honoré d'Urfé, Marquis de Valromey (1568–1625), reinvented the Utopian pastoral by replacing Arcadia with a regional location of France, thus creating a sense of relevance to French readers who were familiar with the geography of the

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[33] Ridolfi, *The Life of Titian*, 111.

[34] John S. Powell, "The Dramatic Pastorale and *Pastorale en Musique*," in *Music and Theatre in France, 1600–1680*, 160–188 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 160.

region.[35] Unlike other popular French pastoralists, such as Belleau and Pierre de Ronsard, Marquis d'Urfé's career was fully submerged in the Mannerist period of the late-Renaissance and early-Baroque eras. Many Renaissance pastoral works, including Sannazaro's Arcadia (1504), Jorge de Montemayor's (ca. 1520–1561) Diana (ca. 1559), Belleau's Bergerie (1565), and Tasso's Aminta (1573), and the pastoral works of Ronsard and Petrarch inspired d'Urfé's most famous novel, *L'Astrée* (1607–1627). Although *L'Astrée* is considered an early-Baroque novel, the work is clearly a product of Renaissance pastoral thought.[36] As a pastoral romance, *L'Astrée* portrays the many emotions, both positive and negative, of love. Marquis d'Urfé's highly complex story set in the Forez region of France, which follows the adventures of two lovers, the shepherd Celadon, and the shepherdess Astrea. From the very beginning, however, Celadon's and Astrea's love is a constant struggle, as the shepherd's failed suicide and the shepherdess's belief in his death cause the two characters to depart on their own disparaging journeys.[37] Throughout the text, d'Urfé intertwined tales of their separate adventures with seemingly unrelated narratives to evoke a sense of nostalgia through *ekphrasis* by defining his French setting as a true Arcadian Utopia.[38] Ultimately, the plot always returns to Celadon or Astrea through a series of letters and poetry.

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[35] Melinda A. Cro, "Pastoral Geography and Utopistic Considerations in Honoré d'Urfé's *L'Astrée*," *Moreana* 51 (June, 2014): 115. D'Urfé's *L'Astrée* was set in Forez, which takes up portions of the southeastern modern provinces of Loire, Haute-Loire, and Puy-de-Dôme. See, *The Encyclopaedia Britannica: A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, Literature and General Information*, s.v. "Loire."

[36] *L'Astrée* contains six books (which contain multiple "books" or chapters within each larger "Part") encompassing almost 5,400 pages, although only books one through three were completely finished by d'Urfe (books one, two, and three were published in 1607, 1610, and 1619, respectively). For the purpose of this study, only content from *Book (Part) One* will be introduced and analyzed. His story was completed posthumously in 1625–1626. Similar to Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, *L'Astrée* is set in a *prosimetrum* form, alternating between verse (primarily sonnets) and prose. Unlike *Arcadia*, however, the prose is very extensive, and only brief verses are interspersed throughout the novel, which are not in the form of eclogues, but rather sonnets, madrigals, and chansons, and other poetic forms.

[37] Cro, "Utopistic Considerations in Honoré d'Urfé's *L'Astrée*," 127.

[38] *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, s.v. "Ekphrasis," by G. G. Starr.

Celadon first approached Astrea in the fields where their flocks were combined into one herd. Yet, to Celadon's surprise, Astrea meets him with "so much coldness that winter does not bring such chills and ice."[39] After Astrea's jealous allegations of Celadon's unfaithful betrayal, which were false, she denounced their love, breaking her promise to him, who was still madly in love with the shepherdess. This short "Madrigal" from "Book One" was written by Celadon mere days before his "death," and came into the possession of Lycidas, his brother, before Celadon's disappearance:

> *Ie pourray bien dessus moy mesme,*
> *Quoy que mon amour soit extreme,*
> *Obtenir encor ce point,*
> *De dire que ie n'ayme point.*
>   *Mais feindre d'en aymer un'autre*
> *Et d'en adorer l'œil vainqueur,*
> *Comme en effet ie fay le vostre,*
> *Ie n'en sçaurois auoir le cœur.*
>   *Et s'il le faut, ou que ie meure,*
> *Faites moy mourir de bonne heure.*[40]

> I have indeed the self-control,
> To force my wayward tongue to move
> Though love consumes my mortal soul,
> And falsely say: I do not love.
>   But praise another's winning eye
> And feign for her the am'rous art,
> When truly t'is for thee I sigh—
> For that I'll never have the heart.
>   And if I must, or failing, die,
> Let death not wait, but hasten nigh.[41]

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[39] Honoré d'Urfé, *Astrea: Part One*, trans. Steven Rendall (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1995), 9. Quotation from d'Urfé, *L'Astrée, Book I*. Original French: [*…à quoy elle respondit & de visage & de parolle li froidemêt, que l'hyuer ne porte point tât de froideurs ny de glaçôs.*]. See Honoré d'Urfé, *L'Astrée de Messire Honoré d'Urfé: Premiere partie,* ed. Simon Rigaud Marchand (Lyon: Librairie rue Merciere deuant S. Antoine, 1771), 4.

[40] D'Urfé and Marchand, *L'Astrée*, 16. Quotation from d'Urfé, *L'Astrée*, *Book I*, "Madrigal," lines 1–10. This short madrigal contains two quatrain stanzas and a final couplet at the end. The exterior quatrain and the final couplet have a couplet (*aabb*) rhyme scheme, while the interior quatrain has an alternate (*abab*) rhyme scheme. Meter is varied, although most lines of the "Madrigal" are decasyllabic.

[41] D'Urfé and Rendall, *Astrea: Part One*, 16.

Celadon was so devastated by Astrea's lack of trust in him that he would rather face death than live with the truth of their broken love. After an attempt at reasoning with the shepherdess proved unsuccessful, he took her advice to rid himself from both their lives and jumped in the Lignon River.[42] Astrea, overcome with fear that Celadon died at her expense, collapsed to the ground. Upon her awakening, Lycidas rushed to the shepherdess to mourn their loss together. Yet, Astrea remained true to her belief of Celadon's betrayal, which set Lycidas into a fury. Lycidas used Celadon's song to attempt to convince Astrea of his brother's innocence, yet the shepherdess's anger remained unmoved, despite the distress his death caused her. Unknown to them, three river nymphs took pity on Celadon, and revived him from near death. Eventually, Celadon met the druid chief, Adamas, who convinced Celadon to disguise himself as the shepherdess Alexis to win back Astrea's favor.[43] Alexis's and Astrea's interactions created an interesting relationship, which has led to many modern theories of homoeroticism in *L'Astrée*.[44] Naturally, both Astrea and Celadon (Alexis) were thrown into fits of confusion regarding sexual identity, which caused Astrea to have a vividly violent dream regarding the assault on the human heart when love is betrayed. After her dreadful vision, Celadon revealed himself as Alexis; his and Adamas's plan was not received as well as they had hoped, however, for the shepherdess once again rejected his love in order to protect her own reputation among other shepherdesses and nymphs of the forest.

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[42] *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v. "Lignon du Nord." The Lignon River is a large river in southern France.

[43] Laurence A. Gregorio, "Silvandre's Symposium: The Platonic and the Ambiguous in *L'Astrée*," *Renaissance Quarterly* 52, no. 3 (Autumn, 1999): 783.

[44] Ibid., 789. See also, Laurence A. Gregorio, "Implications of the Love Debate in *L'Astrée*," *The French Review* 56, no. 1 (October, 1982): 38–39.

Interestingly, Astrea is associated with the Greek goddess of justice (Astraea), yet her actions portray the complete contradiction of righteousness.[45] Of further interest is Astrea's association with innocence and purity, which the shepherdess attempts to maintain throughout the novel. In complete disregard for Celadon's feelings, Astrea remains cold and distant from him to prevent her personal reputation from becoming tarnished. Much like the goddess Astraea's scale of justice, d'Urfé's Astrea must balance the debate "between 'amour' and 'pitié' on one side, and 'raison' and honneur' on the other" throughout "Book Two" and "Book Three."[46] Sadly, the scale did not remain in balance, as Astrea reasoned to keep her honor, rather than pitying Celadon and keeping their love. Celadon, anguished by Astrea's second dismissal, sang about his love lost:

> *Dessus les bords d'une fontaine*
> *D'humide mousse reuestuë,*
> *Dont l'onde à maints replies tortue,*
> *S'alloit esgarant par la plaine,*
> *Un Berger se mirant en l'eau,*
> *Chantoit ces vers au chalumeau :*
> *Cessez un iour, cessez, la belle,*
> *Auant ma mort d'estre cruelle.*[47]

> Beside a moss-bordered spring
> Whose rippling waters flow
> Onto the greening plain below
> And lose themselves meandering,
> A shepherd, seeing his image there
> Played his pipe and sang this air:
> My sweet, do not 'til death delay
> But love me now while it's still day…[48]

> *Mais quoyles beaux yeux des Bergeres*
> *Se trouueront aussi trompeurs,*
> *Que des Cours les attraits pipeurs?*
> *Doncques ces beautez bocageres,*
> *Quoy que sans fard dessus le front,*

[45] *Encyclopedia of Greco-Roman Mythology*, s.v. "Astraea."

[46] Clifton Cherpack, "Form and Ideas in *L'Astrée*," *Studies in Philosophy* 69, no. 3 (July, 1972): 325.

[47] D'Urfé and Marchand, *L'Astrée*, 148. Quotation from d'Urfé, *L'Astrée*, *Book Four*, "Chanson," lines 1–8.

[48] D'Urfé and Rendall, *Astrea: Part One*, 98.

Dedans le cœur se farderont,
Et n'apprendront en leurs escoles,
Qu'à ne donner que des paroles?[49]

But shall shepherdesses's lovely eyes
Then prove as false as the entreats
Of courts and even kingly suites?
Shall beauties who 'midst flocks arise
Although they paint their faces not,
Paint their hearts in every spot,
And in their schools this only learn,
That words alone are love's return?[50]

These stanzas of Celadon's "Chanson" are quite pastoral in nature. From the physical

descriptions of the gently flowing spring to the green pastures where the shepherd keeps his

flock, d'Urfé calls upon both common flora and fauna of the pastoral tradition. Yet, the shepherd

remains hopeful, exemplified by the continued presence of spring imagery. Hence, he continued

to sing and play his hornpipe in hopes that his love would soon arrive. By the fourth stanza,

however, the shepherd begins to realize that his lovely shepherdess would not uphold her end of

the deal, for love is a fickle prospect throughout the entirety of *L'Astrée.* Celadon, then, is

convinced that Astrea's love was entirely a farce.

Iadis fur tes bords, ma Bergere
Disoit, sa main dans ma main:
'Dispose le fort inhumain
De nostre vie passagere ;
Iamais, Celadon en effect
Le serment ne sera deffait,
Que dans ceste main ie te iure,
Et vif, & mort ie t'aymeray,
Ou mourant, dans ma sepulture
Nostre amitié I'enfermeray…'[51]

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[49] D'Urfé and Marchand, *L'Astrée*, 149. Quotation from d'Urfé, *L'Astrée*, *Book Four*, "Chanson," lines 25–32. Celadon's song was 40 lines long, divided into five octaves with primarily nine syllables per line. The rhyme scheme is an enclosed rhyme followed by two couplets (*abbaccdd*).

[50] D'Urfé and Rendall, *Astrea: Part One*, 98.

[51] D'Urfé and Marchand, *L'Astrée*, 610–11. Quotation from d'Urfé, *L'Astrée*, *Book Twelve*, "Memories," lines 41–50. Celadon's "Memories" is a 90-line poem divided into nine 10-line stanzas, which have varied syllable length, but hover around 9-syllable lines. Each stanza has a unique rhyme scheme (*abbaccadad*) containing an enclosed rhyme, followed by a couplet, and finishing with an alternating rhyme.

Once, upon these banks, Astrea said,
Her hand in mine: 'Cruel fate
Determines the course and rate
Of our life's ephemeral thread.
But never in our life's run,
Dear Celadon, shall be undone
The oath I swear to you today.
Alive and dead I shall love you,
Or if I die, in my grave I say,
Our love shall be enclosed too…'[52]

Rocher, où souuent à cachette
Nous nous sommes entretenus,
Que peuuent estre deuenus
Tous ces Amours que ie regrette?
Les Dieux tant de fois inuoquez
Souffriront-ils d'estre moquez,
Et d'auoir la priere ardante,
D'elle, & de moy receue en vain,
Puis qu'ores son ame changeante,
Payes ses Amours d'un desdain?[53]

Stone where often in concealment
Each spoke with the other one,
Since then, what can have become
Of all these loves that I lament?
Will the gods we so often invoked
Allow themselves to be so mocked,
And permit the prayers we imparted
So ardently to be received in vain,
Since now she is so fickle-hearted
As to repay her loves with cold disdain?[54]

In the final "Book Twelve" of *L'Astrée*, Celadon sat down to reminisce of his story thus

far, particularly in his misfortunate failure at winning Astrea's trust. Miserably, he recollected

Astrea comforting his spirit that her love was indeed eternal, yet cursed her fickle heart, whose

love had vanished at the first moment of personal struggle. Celadon questioned his gods, who

stood by and watched his sorrow unfold. Although the story of Celadon and Astrea continued

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[52] D'Urfé and Rendall, *Astrea: Part One*, 377.
[53] D'Urfé and Marchand, *L'Astrée*, 611. Quotation from d'Urfé, *L'Astrée*, *Book Twelve*, "Memories,"
lines 61–70.
[54] D'Urfé and Rendall, *Astrea: Part One*, 377.

into d'Urfé's successive *L'Astrée* publications, *Part One* leaves Celadon on the verge of

depression, for he had twice lost the love of Astrea, who had promised him her eternal affections.

Astrea, naturally, regretted her hasty decisions to abandon Celadon, but she allowed her pride

and reputation to obstruct not only her happiness, but Celadon's contentment, as well. Truly,

Astrea's failure at balancing the scale between honor and love proved devastating for the pastoral

couple, who seemed destined never to find the love they had lost during the opening prose of

d'Urfé's tale.

<div align="center">*********</div>

Despite Titian's presence in French royal portraitures, France lacked a true representation

of pastoral and landscape artwork during the Renaissance era. Pastoral themes may have

emerged in the backgrounds of portrait paintings, but these themes did not become a central

focus until the end of the Mannerist period, leaning toward the beginning of the Baroque era.

Netherlandish art, however, had begun utilizing Italian themes in their landscape painting. Pieter

Bruegel the Elder (ca. 1525–1569) was among the first northern-Mannerist landscape artists of

the Netherlands, and his landscapes were carried on by his son, Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568–

1625).[55] Hendrick van Balen (ca. 1575–1632) was a Flemish contemporary and follower of Jan

Brueghel the Elder. Van Balen was a prominent figure in Antwerp during his lifetime; aside from

his continuation of the development of Netherlandish landscape painting, van Balen was an

influential teacher and guild leader.[56] After van Balen's study in Rome, he acquired many Italian

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[55] Margaret A. Sullivan, "Bruegel the Elder, Pieter Aertsen, and the Beginnings of Genre," *The Art Bulletin* 93, no. 2 (June, 2011): 127. Pieter Bruegel the Elder's *Haymaking* (1565) set the standard for a new form of "genre" painting depicting people carrying on their daily routines set to an expansive landscape. Jan Brueghel the Elder continued these stylistic traits in his *River Landscape* (1607). See, Larry Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes: The Rise of Pictorial Genres in the Antwerp Art Market* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 225.

[56] Christopher White, *Anthony Van Dyck: Thomas Howard, the Earl of Arundel* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 1995), 30. Hendrick van Balen was a member of both the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke and

characteristics in his paintings, rather than the candid "genre" paintings of the Bruegel household. *Pan Pursuing Syrinx* (1615) was the outcome of van Balen's Italian influences, as the artist depicted the mythological chase between satyr and nymph, rather than illustrating common people following their habitual, everyday lives. The quasi-hopeful tragedy of Pan and Syrinx exemplifies the unrequited love narrative within a pastoral setting.

In ancient Greek mythology, Pan, god of Arcadia, was a philanderer who had his sights on Syrinx, an Arcadian nymph. Syrinx, contrarily, was a chaste follower of Artemis, and desired no interactions with Pan. One day while attempting to escape Pan and rape, she turned toward the river nymphs for assistance, who then turned Syrinx into a gathering of reeds. Syrinx's misfortune continued, however, as Pan sat down next to the river where she was transformed; he sighed heavily, which caused the reeds to reverberate with sound. Comforted by its tones, Pan cut the reeds from the water, and used them to make the first reed flute, called a syrinx.[57] Ultimately, the story of Pan and Syrinx is about both unrequited love and death, since Syrinx's mortal form was destroyed when she became an enchanted instrument created by Pan, who was also a god of music. Yet, in a sense, Syrinx gained immortality through imprisonment in Pan's flute. Indeed, the story reflects the tragedy of Syrinx at the hands of Pan, yet the creation of Pan's beloved instrument sheds some light upon the dark tale. To illustrate such themes, Hendrick van Balen used color, particularly shadows, to create a dichotomy between Pan and Syrinx.

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the Guild of Romanists; the latter guild allowed him to travel and study in Rome, where he further developed his mature style. During his lifetime, he had ascended to the position of dean within both of these organizations. Although neither van Balen nor the Brueghel painters spent any extended period in England, van Balen's pupil, Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641), became one of the most eminent Netherlandish painters in England during the early seventeenth century. See, Victoria Charles, *Anthony Van Dyck: An Historical Study of His Life and Works* (London: Parkstone International, 2004), 17–18.
[57] *Encyclopedia of Greco-Roman Mythology*, s.v. "Syrinx."

Figure 3.2. Hendrick van Balen, *Pan Pursuing Syrinx*, 1615, oil on copper. The National Gallery, London. Permission granted by Art Resource, New York.

Utilization of light casts Syrinx as a virtuous figure, with her fair complexion and innocent nudity, revealed as Pan grasps her drapery and appears to pull it off her body. Syrinx is also stepping out of a brush, and is exposed to sunlight, creating highlights across her skin. Syrinx's posture, particularly her arms and hands, demonstrate a Mannerist Renaissance style, rather than Baroque. In Mannerism, it was common to have one arm, Syrinx's left arm, remain elegant and

relaxed whereas the other arm, her right arm, is grotesquely stylized and twisted.[58] Pan, in contrast to Syrinx, represented the darkness, through his dark complexion, presence among the weeds, and full encapsulation within the shadows. Although van Balen's chosen scene depicts unrequited love, the stormy clouds may project the end of the story, which is the death of Syrinx.

Apparent pastoral themes in *Pan Pursuing Syrinx* are its subjects: a satyr and god of the wilderness, shepherds, rustic music, and God of Arcadia, as well as a forest nymph. Other primary pastoral characteristics include the abundance of flora and the presence of animal symbolism. Pan and Syrinx emerge from a woodland thicket, surrounded by trees, undergrowth, bulrush stems with spikey blooms, yellow lilies, and other various flowers. Bulrush plants, as well as the amphibious fauna, represent the couple's proximity to water, where Syrinx will meet her untimely end. Interestingly, the frog hints at the end of the mythological story, as well, as these amphibious creatures were commonly used to symbolize metamorphosis in literature.[59] Thus, the isolation of the frog as the only fauna of the painting foreshadows Syrinx's transformation into water reeds. Truly, Hendrick van Balen utilized pastoral themes in a completely new way for the Netherlandish School, as pastoral and mythological subjects were primary, rather than secondary, features of the painting. Although van Balen was considered a Baroque painter, *Pan Pursing Syrinx* demonstrates decisive Mannerist characteristics of Renaissance art.

Hendrick van Balen was one of the first Netherlandish painters to move from landscape painting into pastoral art during the late-Mannerist period. Similarly, French-native painters did not explore pastoral themes during the Renaissance era, although early Baroque painters drew

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[58] *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Mannerism, 3. Formal language, V. Anti-classicism and subjective expression," by Manfred Wundram.
[59] *Continuum Encyclopedia of Animal Symbolism in World Art*, s.v. "Frog." Frogs also symbolized procreation and fertility, which could further represent Pan's desire to rape Syrinx.

from Renaissance literature when creating French pastoral traditions in art. Nicolas Poussin

(1594–1665) was the leading French classical painter of the Baroque era, and his most

significant pastoral painting, *Et in Arcadia ego* (1637), demonstrated these classical influences in

a true pastoral work of art (refer to Appendix B, figure B.9 for the illustration).[60] Inspired by the

shepherds' lament over Androgeo's death in Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, Poussin visually recreated the

scene with Ergasto and other shepherds standing over Androgeo's tomb reading the famous

inscription, "*ET IN ARCADIA EGO*" ("I, too, am in Arcadia").[61] Even though Poussin's painting

displays Baroque stylistic characteristics, its thematic material was inspired by the first true

Renaissance pastoral, and consequently, epitomized the Renaissance pastoral tradition. Poussin's

painting depicts three shepherds and a shepherdess, draped in classical attire, surrounding the

front of Androgeo's grave. Each shepherd draws attention to the inscription on the tomb. The

surrounding landscape is desolate and mountainous, reflecting the state of death in nature. Very

few trees have foliage, and the recognizable laurel tree barely lives with very few budded

branches. Shadows and dark skies of the setting sun represent the frailty of mortality within

Arcadia, especially the shadow of the shepherd examining the inscription, which casts darkness

upon the tomb.[62] Poussin's paintings visually represented the completed transition into Baroque

painting, although *Et in Arcadia Ego* embodied the painter's desire to realize the essence of

human emotion through poetic interpretation, rather than highlighting the idealized human forms

or rich majesties of natural landscape, like his Italian counterparts.[63] *Et in Arcadia Ego* was

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[60] Pierre Rosenberg and Keith Christiansen, *Poussin and Nature: Arcadian Visions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), vii.
[61] Ibid., 173–174.
[62] Lawrence D. Steefel, Jr., "A Neglected Shadow in Poussin's *Et in Arcadia Ego*," *The Art Bulletin* 57, no. 1 (March, 1975): 100.
[63] *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Poussin, Nicolas," by Hugh Brigstocke.

Poussin's pastoral experiment to harken back to the Renaissance ideals of Sannazaro's poetic

innovation.

Honoré d'Urfé, Hendrick van Balen, and Nicolas Poussin all represent pastoral repertoire

that had characterized the ideals of the late-Renaissance "Mannerist" period during the early

Baroque era. During the first quarter of the seventeenth century, England was still engaged in

Mannerist ideals, which justifies the appropriateness of classifying these works as quasi-

Renaissance/Baroque amalgamations. Many of their physical attributes, such as incorporation of

perspective or classical drapery, are indeed Baroque, particularly in the visual arts; nevertheless,

the stories and themes portrayed in d'Urfé's *L'Astrée*, van Balen's *Pan Pursuing Syrinx*, and

Poussin's *Et in Arcadia Ego* represented a major school of thought quite relevant during the

Renaissance. Themes of death, in particular, surrounded each of these works. The bitter

argument between the shepherd Celadon and his shepherdess lover, Astrea, caused him to

attempt suicide. Syrinx, in turn, sealed her own fate by allowing a river nymph to transform her

into reeds, which left her vulnerable to Pan, who further transformed her into a reed flute. Lastly,

Poussin depicted Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, which had reignited the pastoral tradition in Renaissance

Italy, in his painting of the tomb of a shepherd, likely Androgeo from Sannazaro's "Eclogue V."

Such themes were brought out in the literature and paintings through references to autumn and

winter; cold emotions, dark skies, and barren lands deprived of flora and fauna all represent the

desolate emotions of these sorrowful months. Furthermore, unrequited love stirs similar

emotions among the pastoral subjects. The story of Pan and Syrinx, after all, illustrates Syrinx's

attempted escape from Pan, who would have likely raped her and stole her innocence and purity

if she were caught. Yet, Celadon and Astrea exemplify themes of unrequited love the most of

these three selections. As a true Greek tragedy, these two pastoral lovers were the only beings, both mortal and immortal, in the way of their own happiness.

English Art and Literature

England, the final location to demonstrate ideals of late-Renaissance Mannerism, had many similarities with France regarding the pastoral tradition. Literature, in particular, was saturated with pastoral themes through a variety of genres, especially eclogues. Edmund Spenser's collection of eclogues, *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579) took inspiration from earlier pastoral works of both Italian and French poets, including Petrarch, Sannazaro, d'Urfé, Ronsard, and Belleau, as well as classic sources, such as Virgil. For instance, Astraea was a mythical and pastoral subject of several works, including Sannazaro's "Elegy VIII" (*Elegies: Book I*, ca. 1495, published posthumously in 1535), d'Urfé's *L'Astrée*, and Virgil's "Eclogue IV" (*Eclogues*); Spenser used the latter poem as the basis of his "Aprill" eclogue of *Shepheardes Calender*.[64] Thematic material was also inspired by early pastoral literature, particularly the association between seasonal characteristics and human emotion; Spenser centered his eclogue collection on this concept. Interestingly, celebration of life and joy found in "Aprill" and "Maye" gradually disappears as the monthly eclogues of the *Shepheardes Calender* move further into the calendar year. Spenser organized his *Shepheardes Calender* to reflect the life of man through representations of the seasons as, "the constant change seen in the alternation of the seasons from winter to summer and back to winter again is an orderly change. There is an orderly balance in nature's interaction of the procreative principle of spring and summer with the destructive

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[64] Hande Seber, "The Virgin Queen of the 'Aprill' Eclogue," *Journal of Faculty of Letters* 27, no. 1 (June, 2010): 223. Poetic use of Astraea as a pastoral character symbolizing justice and allegorical representation of monarchs, such as Queen Elizabeth I, further solidifies the importance of classic Greek and Roman literature in unifying the pastoral tradition during the Renaissance era.

principle of autumn and winter."[65] Hence, spring represents new life and youth, summer is

adulthood and survival, autumn is harvest and decay of strength and winter is man's inevitable

death. Themes of unrequited love and especially death are prevalent in the autumn and winter

months of *The Shepheardes Calender.* "November," the first month of winter, brings shortened

days and an abundance of gray, as "the fayrest floure our gyrlond all emong, is faded quite and

into dust ygoe…" and "the field doth fade."[66] The decay of flora, particularly grassy fields and

flowers, marks the end of Arcadia's eternal spring, thus relating to the frailty of both human life

and idealized beauty.

"November" was a reminder of winter's sadness, as well as a memorial for the character

Dido, whose identity remains anonymous. Spenser also clearly states that "November" was in

direct imitation of Marot's *l'Eglogue sur le Trespas de ma Dame Loyse de Savoye* (1531), the

first French eclogue of the Renaissance.[67]

> In this…Æglogue he bewayleth the death of some mayden of greate bloud, whom he calleth
> Dido. The personage is secrete, and to me altogether unknowne, albe of him selfe I often required
> the same. This Æglogue is made in imitation of Marot his song, which he made upon the death of
> Loys the Frenche Queene: but farre passing his reache, and in myne opinion all other the
> Eglogues of this booke.[68]

Throughout Spenser's eleventh eclogue, Thenot and Colin mourn the arrival of winter and the

implications of death in the winter months. Specifically, these two shepherds lament the death of

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[65] Patrick Cullen, *Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), 122–123.

[66] Edmund Spenser, "November," in *The Shepheardes Calender, Volumes 1–3*, lines 75–76, 83, ed. Heinrich Oskar Sommer (London: John C. Nimmo, 1890), 90. "November" consists of 209 lines containing primarily 10-line stanzas of Colin's, Spenser's allegorical character, poem (Rimes), as well as dialogue of varied length between Colin and Thenot. Regardless of stanza length, Spenser strings together chain rhymes to follow the pattern of *abab bcbc cdcd dede,* etc., throughout the entire poem. Spenser also incorporated a loose iambic pentameter in the dialogue sections, where most lines are decasyllabic, although Colin's poem has a refrain of two quadrisyllabic lines that enclose a final 10-syllable line; in these instances, the text of the shorter line repeats: "O heavy Herse! O careful Verse!"

[67] Clément Marot, *Œuvres Lyriques*, ed. Claude Albert Mayer (Athlone Press, 1964), 321. Louise of Savoy died in 1531, and Marot was charged with her elegy, which he completed later that year.

[68] Spenser and Sommer, 87. Quotation from "Argument" of *The Shepheardes Calender*, "November."

the beautiful Dido, daughter of the "great Shepherd," similar to how Ergasto and his clan

mourned the death of their leader, Androgeo. Each phrase uttered by these two shepherds is full

of melancholy. Thenot had attempted to break the slumbering spell of sorrow cast over them,

although Colin quickly reminded him that it was not "the time of Merry-mak[ing]."[69] In truth,

Thenot had merely sought comfort in Colin's singing abilities. Yet, Colin's obsession with death

meant neither shepherd could escape the cruel truth of Dido's demise, as well as his own future.

> But if sad Winter's Wrath, and Season chill,
> Accord not with thy Muse's Merriment;
> To sadder times thou maist attune thy Quill,
> And sing of Sorrow and Death's Dreriment,
> For dead is Dido, dead alas and drent!
> Dido, the great Shepherd his Daughter sheen:
> The fairest May she was that ever went,
> Her like she has not left behind I ween.[70]

Thenot, again, attempts to persuade Colin into song during this stanza. Yet, instead of

singing of joy, which was his original desire, Thenot asked Colin to "sing of Sorrow."

Furthermore, Dido, whose death is commonly associated with suicide, is first recognized within

this passage of the eclogue; indeed, Dido's story is a common Greek tragedy.[71] Interestingly,

modern academics have attached Dido's character in "November" to Queen Elizabeth I, although

many of these theories remain unconvincing.[72] These scholars draw connections between

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[69] Ibid., 88. Quotation from Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender*, "November," line 9.

[70] Spenser and Sommer, 88. Quotation from Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender*, "November," lines 33–40.

[71] *Encyclopedia of Greco-Roman Mythology*, s.v. "Dido." Dido's original mythos provided her role as a princess, who committed suicide after the death of her husband, Sychaeus, prompted another sudden, unwanted marriage. Virgil later adapted her story to the better-known tale of her broken marriage with Aeneas, the son of Venus. In Virgil's adaptation, Dido broke her vow to her late husband when she agreed to marry Aeneas, to which Jupiter told Aeneas he must leave Dido at once. Immediately after his departure, Dido had committed suicide.

[72] Annabel Patterson, "Re-opening the Green Cabinet: Clément Marot and Edmund Spenser," *English Literary Renaissance* 16, no. 1, *Studies in Renaissance Historicism* series (Winter, 1986): 60. Paul E. McLane (1961) proclaimed that "November" expressed the general grief expressed by Spenser, Sidney, and other Englishmen toward the prospect of Elizabeth I's marriage to Francis, Duke of Valois, under the charge of Catherine de' Medici. Patterson elaborates on this concept further, stating that the symmetrical

Spenser's use of Dido and John Lane's use of Dido in his elegy for Elizabeth I after her death.[73] Ultimately, in order for these theories to appear logical, Spenser may have used Dido as a predictor of Elizabeth I's future reign, which would have been at risk if Elizabeth had married into the French royal family. A more significant observation made by Patrick Cullen does not focus on the death of Dido, but rather, Colin's lament over his own inevitable death.[74] In fact, Colin was significantly older than Thenot and the other shepherds, and his death was alluded to in the calendar months, whether through his refusal to participate in youthful endeavors, such as song and dance, or by rejecting compliments from other shepherds in favor of self-pity.[75] "November" then represents multi-faceted levels of self-anguish, unrequited love, and death, including the confrontation of one's own inevitable death.

> The feeble Flocks in Field refuse their former Food,
> And hang their Heads, as they would learn to weep:
> The Beasts in Forest wail as they were wood,
> Except the Wolves, that chase the wandring Sheep,
> Now she is gone, that safely did hem keep.
> The Turtle on the bared Branch,
> Laments the Wound, that Death did lanch.
> O heavy Herse!
> And Philomel her Song with Tears doth steep:
> O careful Verse![76]

Colin finally agreed, although begrudgingly, to Thenot's persistent pleas to hear his song, though complaining of "how [his] Rimes been rugged and unkempt," as though unworthy of an

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connections between Colin's song in the "April" and "November" eclogues represented Spenser's split loyalties between England and France, with Elizabeth as the potential connecting thread. See Annabel M. Patterson, *Pastoral and Ideology: Virgil to Valéry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 121.

[73] John Lane, *Elegie upon the Death of the High and Renowned Princesse, Our Late Souveraigne Elizabeth* (London: John Deane, 1603). Lane used quotes from both Spenser's "Aprill" and "November" eclogues, which are considered to have represented the queen.

[74] Cullen, *Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral*, 91. Cullen also sees Dido as being synonymous with Rosalind, who was Colin's lost love. Through his song, Colin was reflecting on the perfection of Rosalind, thus, his sorrow over Dido's death was merely heightened by Rosalind's betrayal.

[75] Ibid., 87, 93.

[76] Ibid., 91. Quotation from Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender*, "November," lines 133–142.

audience.[77] The excerpt of Colin's lament, shown above, is filled with pastoral themes intertwined within his overall melancholic message. Fauna, in particular, are referenced in almost every line of this stanza; creatures of fields, forests, water, and air all lament death, except for the sly wolf, which preys on these animals in their weakness. Although Colin denounced *otium*, he revered music as a medium for expressing sorrow, represented in the nightingale's tearful song. Such interwoven concepts of life and death, Arcadian and Mantuanesque, joy and sorrow, and youth and maturity created an elaborate canvas for future English poets to continue the pastoral tradition throughout the remainder of Mannerism.

Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender* was received well by the general populous, and marked the beginning of the pastoral tradition in Renaissance England in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. As England moved into the early-seventeenth century, pastoral literature continued to grow in the hands of poets, particularly Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Walter Raleigh (ca. 1552–1618), and William Browne (ca. 1590–1645). Walter Raleigh, a close colleague of Spenser's, gained prominence in the court of Queen Elizabeth I, and he was imprisoned in the Tower of London after her death for conspiring against King James I.[78] Although he was later executed for treason, he was considered one of the leading poets of Elizabethan England.[79] One of Raleigh's short pastoral poems, *The Nymph's Reply to the Shepherd* (1600), demonstrates common themes of unrequited love.[80] Similar to Spenser's use of winter to personify death, Raleigh utilizes the coldness of winter as synonymous to the lack of love.

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[77] Ibid., 88. Quotation from Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender*, "November," line 51.

[78] Patrick Fraser Tytler, *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh: Founded on Authentic and Original Documents* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1844), 351–352.

[79] Ibid., 39. Sir Walter Raleigh's personal connection to the queen led him to gain esteemed political appointments during her reign. Most importantly, the poet-explorer assisted his queen in her endeavors to colonize North America.

[80] Raleigh's *The Nymph's Reply to the Shepherd* is a short, individual poem of 24 lines, consisting of six quatrains. The rhyme scheme is set in couplets (*aabb*) throughout, and Walter maintained a steady iambic

If all the world and love were young,
And truth in every Shepherd's tongue,
These pretty pleasures might me move,
To live with thee, and be thy love.

Time drives the flocks from field to fold,
When Rivers rage and Rocks grow cold,
And *Philomel* becometh dumb,
The rest complains of cares to come.

The flowers do fade, and wanton fields,
To wayward winter reckoning yields,
A honey tongue, a heart of gall,
Is fancy's spring, but sorrow's fall.[81]

Raleigh's *The Nymph's Reply to the Shepherd* combines the thoughts of youth with love, yet youth is but a fleeting moment among the grander scheme of time. For the nymph, who did not age, love with a mortal shepherd may be a brief moment of time, therefore she could not pursue the shepherd's inquiry of romance, even though it may bring her momentary delight. The fact that the poem was written from the perspective of a female, and her ultimate rejection of her shepherd lover, is an interesting twist on the theme of unrequited love, especially considering the poet was not a female. Other pastoral themes (particularly portrayals of flora and fauna) of despair are prevalent throughout the poem; birds cease to sing, flocks vacate the fields, flowers wilt and die, and roses rot. Similar to Spenser's calendar theme, the death and decay of life is immersed in the seasons of autumn and winter. Consequently, love is a youthful endeavor only truly enjoyed during the abundant seasons of spring and summer. Many poets, playwrights, and musicians carried on these Renaissance pastoral themes through the end of English Mannerism.

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tetrameter throughout. This particular meter, with the inclusion of couplets, was common in the medieval works of Chaucer. See, Xingzhong Li, "A central metrical prototype for English iambic tetrameter verse: Evidence from Chaucer's octosyllabic lines," in *Studies in the History of the English Language II: Unfolding Conversations*, ed. Anne Curzan and Kimberly Emmons, 315–370 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2004), 315.

[81] William Gerber, *Love, Poetry, and Immortality: Luminous Insights of the World's Great Thinkers* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, B.V., 1998), 57–58. Quotation from Sir Walter Raleigh, *The Nymph's Reply to the Shepherd*, lines 1–12.

Another English poet renowned for his Elizabethan pastoral charm was William Browne. Although the poet lived much later than his Renaissance pastoral colleagues did, his most influential pastorals were still written during late Mannerism in England. Between the years 1613–1615, Browne completed his larger collection entitled *Britannia's Pastorals* (*Book I*, 1613; *Book II*, 1615), as well as *The Shepheard's Pipe* (1614), which was Browne's own set of eclogues.[82] In *The Shepheard's Pipe*, "Eclogue IV," Browne demonstrates the tragic themes of death within a pastoral setting.

> Autumne it was, when droop'd the sweetest floures,
> And Rivers (swolne with pride) orelook'd the bankes,
> Poore grew the day of Summer's golden houres,
> And void of sapp stood Ida's Cedar-rankes,
> The pleasant meadows sadly lay
> In chill and cooling sweats
> By rising fountaines, or as they
> Fear'd Winters wastfull threats.
> Against the broad-spred Oke,
> Each winde in fury beares;
> Yet fell their leaves not halfe so fast
> As did the Shepherdes teares.[83]

As revealed in the eclogue "Argument," William Browne had dedicated "Eclogue IV" as a memorial to his beloved friend and fellow noble, Thomas Manwood, allegorically portrayed as Philarete. The fourth eclogue resembles more closely an elegy, since no character dialogue designates the poem as a true eclogue. Although, it is presumed that the poem was from the

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[82] Frederic William Moorman, *William Browne: His Britannia's Pastorals and the Pastoral Poetry of the Elizabethan Age* (Strassburg: K. J. Trübner, 1896), 9. Browne's original *The Shepheard's Pipe* consists of seven eclogues. After Browne's death, poets such as Christopher Brooke, George Wither, and John Davies added more eclogues to the work. "Eclogue IV," is 180 lines long, and divided into fifteen 12-line stanzas.

[83] William Browne, *The Works of William Browne: Containing Britannia's Pastorals, the Shepherd's Pipe, the Inner-Temple Masque, and Other Poems*, vol. 3, ed. William Thompson (Delburgh: T. Davies, 1772), 60. Quotation from William Browne, "Eclogue IV," *The Shepheard's Pipe*, lines 13–24. An alternating rhyme scheme (*ababcdcd*) predominates, although the last four lines have mixed rhymes (eg: *befe*, *eafa*, *efgh*). Similarly, the meter of each line is varied; the first four lines consist of a loose iambic pentameter (between 9-syllable and 11-syllable lines), while the remaining eight lines resemble an iambic trimeter with predominantly 6-syllable lines.

perspective of Browne himself, even if he did not allegorically place himself as a character in this eclogue. Browne spoke fondly of his deceased friend, a shepherd who cared just as deeply for his flocks as he did for *otium* activities. Philarete was best known for his musical ability, especially when playing his pipe.[84] When he died and his pipe broke, Browne called for his fellow shepherds to never again play Philarete's tunes, as though joy through music could never be attained again. As Philarete passed into a Heavenly world, Browne mourned the eternal night created by his absence, which directly opposed the Arcadian ideals of eternal spring. Mortality again disrupted the seemingly flawless Arcadian world, reinforcing the fragile state of idealized perfection.

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Art and painting in both France and England was restricted to portraits of courtly patrons, which minimized visual representations of pastoral themes. Despite the lack of pastoral art in England during the Renaissance, early Baroque painters continued to utilize themes idealized in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Indeed, the rise of landscape art and pastoral themes as primary subjects in English and Welsh art did not occur until the Baroque era, near the middle of the seventeenth century.[85] The turn of the seventeenth century also saw an increase in native English painters, although courtly patrons still hired many Netherlandish painters. King Charles I, son of James I, had dedicated many resources to rebuilding the royal art collection from 1620–

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[84] Rowland-Jones, "The recorder in the art of Titian," 8. The presence of the pipe, similar to a recorder, may be symbolic of Philarete's (Manwood's) passing, with the breaking of his pipe a metaphor for the moment of his death.

[85] *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Landscape, 1. Landscape from the Ancients to the Seventeenth Century," by Christopher Fitter. Although the earliest examples of landscape art is found in the Baroque era, the genre did not come to full fruition until the eighteenth century. See, *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "England, III: Painting and graphic arts, 3. c. 1620–c. 1830, (ii) Landscape painting and graphic art," by Brian Allen.

1640.[86] Charles I had many portraits completed by the Flemish painter, Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641), who later contributed portraitures and other paintings to Charles I's collection. For instance, van Dyck gifted his pastoral painting entitled *Rinaldo and Armida* (ca. 1628–1632), which was based on mythological themes from Torquato Tasso's epic poem *Gerusalemme liberata* (*Jerusalem Delivered*, 1581), to Charles I after van Dyck had left the English court.[87] Anthony van Dyck was trained by the Flemish artist, Hendrick van Balen, and studied the styles of Titian and other Italian masters in Genoa, thus his mature cosmopolitan style reflected a culmination of Renaissance and Baroque styles.[88] *Rinaldo and Armida* demonstrates classic Italian styles of the Baroque era though also reflecting the Renaissance themes of unrequited love and betrayal found in Tasso's poetry.

Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered* was a mythological retelling of the First Crusade of the Roman Catholic Church against the Muslim people of Jerusalem.[89] Among the many characters in Tasso's epic, the tragic story of Rinaldo and Armida had captivated many artists, including Anthony van Dyck. Armida, a witch, wanders into a Christian army camp, seducing the soldiers and turning them against each other, where she finds Rinaldo, asleep. She abducts Rinaldo and makes plans to slay him, but instead falls in love with him, and casts him into feeling affections for her. Her spell was broken when two of Rinaldo's soldiers showed the knight's reflection to him so he could see his state; at that moment, Rinaldo became aware of the situation and

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[86] *Historical Dictionary of Baroque Art and Architecture*, s.v. "Charles I of England (1600–1649)," by Lilian H. Zirpolo.

[87] Lionel Cust, *Anthony Van Dyck: An Historical Study of His Life and Works* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1905), 85. Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* was one of the many Italian works translated into English during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I.

[88] Charles, *Anthony van Dyck*, 17–18. Anthony van Dyck brought these Baroque styles to England in the beginning of the seventeenth century, and is considered the founder of English Baroque art, particularly in portraitures. See, Ibid., 133.

[89] Torquato Tasso, *Jerusalem delivered: or, Godfrey of Bulloign: an heroic poem*, 4th ed., trans. Edward Fairfax (London: J. Purser, 1749).

overcame Armida's sorcery. After Rinaldo escaped, Armida was distraught; she first attempted

to kill him, failed, and then prepared to commit suicide before Rinaldo stopped her. Van Dyck

selected the scene of Armida finding Rinaldo asleep, shown in figure 3.3, in the moment Armida

falls in love with Rinaldo and puts him under her spell. Cherubs and a water nymph surround the

couple, looking quite worried at the current situation, as Cupid in the clouds prepares to strike

the witch with his own enchantment, saving Rinaldo's life. The physical action of these outlying

figures direct the eye toward the central subjects, with Armida dominating the painting over

Rinaldo to symbolize her magical power over him in that moment. *Rinaldo and Armida* was

greatly inspired by the style of Titian, whose works van Dyck had studied extensively. These

styles are evident in the use of classical drapery of the main subjects, as well as the subdued

color palette of primarily brown and gold hues and the use of red to direct the eye toward

Armida. Even with these Titianesque stylistic characteristics, the painting is clearly Baroque.

Mannerist traits, such as awkward body positions, inhuman proportions, and flattened

perspective are not present in van Dyck's painting. In fact, the Baroque revival of spatial

extension promotes the landscape in the background of *Rinaldo and Armida*.

   Although the story of Rinaldo and Armida does not emphasize pastoral elements directly,

Tasso was very much a pastoral poet, and had included pastoral elements throughout *Jerusalem*

Delivered, particularly in the story of Tancredi, Clorinda, and Erminia, which is another subject

utilized by van Dyck in painting.[90] Van Dyck enjoyed riddling his paintings with an assortment

of flora, particularly "trees, berries, brambles, plants, and ferns."[91]

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[90] Ibid. Anthony van Dyck painted a portrait of his wife, Mary Ruthven, as Erminia dressed in Clorinda's armor. See, Cust, *Anthony Van Dyck*, 285.

[91] *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Van Dyck, Sir Anthony, V. Critical reception and posthumous reputation, by Michael Jaffé.

Figure 3.3. Sir Anthony van Dyck, *Rinaldo and Armida*, ca. 1628–1632, oil on canvas, Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore. Permission granted by Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore.

Such attention to detail was certainly present in *Rinaldo and Armida*, particularly in the

foreground and middle ground surrounding the primary subjects. Small flowers of blue, white,

and yellow hues, along with sedge plants, add life to the otherwise dark flora, as the twisted tree

with uncovered roots and virtually black leaves create an overall tone of despair or urgency. The

distant enchanted forest found in Tasso's tale covers the right portion of the background, and it, too, is covered in dark foliage, as faraway mountains extend into sight just behind the nymph. Additionally, van Dyck extends this darkness into the stormy clouds surrounding the cherubs and Armida. Interestingly, the proximity of these clouds to the subjects juxtaposes the fog from a classic background to the middle ground of the painting, where they are low enough to cover the branches of the trees. Prominence of shadows is an allegorical representation of Armida's practice of dark magic used to force Rinaldo into falling in love with her. Dichotomized against this overall darkness is Tasso's iconic pastoral dusk, which Van Dyck highlights through the distant sunset skies that gleam with bright shades of gold and blue. This portion of the painting may represent the Christians' final victory over Jerusalem, which decisively ended their gruesome crusade.

<p style="text-align:center">*****</p>

During the Renaissance era, melancholic themes of unrequited love and death were interlaced with the framework of the pastoral tradition, as demonstrated in the abundance of these topics in works of art and literature. These six aforementioned works demonstrate either the frailty of life through death, the pain of a broken heart, or both themes. In literature, sorrow, whether over death or love, is usually referenced in conjunction with the decaying seasons of autumn and winter, or the decay of the aged human body. Art displays sorrowful themes through dark colors, disconnection between subjects, inclement weather depicted in the sky, or an absence of life, particularly shown in flora and fauna. Titian's *Pastoral Concert* depicts unrequited love in an intriguing way through the interpretation of the nymphs as mere apparitions of the shepherd's imaginations; these women reflect idealized, as well as unreachable, beauty. Unobtainable love in Raleigh's poem *The Nymphs Reply to the Shepherd*

has a nymph mourning over her inability to follow what excites her heart, for she knew that love with a mortal shepherd was equivalent to the fleeting warmth of spring and youth. Likewise, Hendrick van Balen's *Pan Pursuing Syrinx* and Anthony van Dyck's *Rinaldo and Armida* depict mythological tales that entail the pursuit and rejection of love, either from the perspective of the male stalker, Pan, or the female enchantress, Armida. In poetry, Honoré d'Urfé's epic *L'Astrée* casts the tale of two lovers, Astrée and Céladon (Astrea and Celadon), who quarrel after the shepherdess believed her lover to be unfaithful, which led Celadon to attempt suicide, comparable in plot to Tasso's story Rinaldo and Armida. Similarly, Spenser's Colin in the "November" eclogue of *The Shepheardes Calender* rejects the humors of life after his lover, Rosalind, turned unfaithful and left him for another shepherd. Spenser's Colin, as well as Ergasto from Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, "Eclogue V," and Browne's "Eclogue IV" from *The Shepheard's Pipe*, mourn the death of a specific person: Dido, Androgeo, and Philarete (Thomas Manwood), respectively. Poussin's *Et in Arcadia Ego* painting is a direct reflection of Sannazaro's elegiac eclogues, whereas Titian's *Pastoral Concert* was completed as a memorial to his late master, Giorgione. The revival of Greek and Roman mythological tragedies encouraged period artists to create richly detailed stories depicting the darker emotions in Renaissance repertoire, which is demonstrated in these literary and artistic compositions.

Death and unrequited love as thematic material molded well into the nature of the pastoral tradition since it was used to illustrate the volatility of Arcadia's idealized beauty. For the shepherds, shepherdesses, and otherworldly creatures inhabiting Arcadian worlds, Arcadia was always on the unfortunate edge of either a utopian paradise or a dystopian nightmare; youth, love, and eternal spring were the shining beacon of hope, but were often crushed by the onset of maturity, grief, or the plummet into wintery weather. In fact, winter—or the absence of spring—

surrounded numerous pastoral poems pertaining to death or damaged love. Change in the seasons was a natural course of the pastoral world, as exhibited in Spenser's *Calender*; ultimately, shepherds relied on the spring and summer months to easily support their flocks. Decaying fields and other flora made life more difficult for livestock, yet allowed predators, such as wolves, to thrive. Thus, the natural laws of the ecosystem developed into seasonal themes in pastoral poetry, and the association between winter and melancholy. In literature, fields, flowers, and trees all decay, birds refuse to sing, and shepherds only sing of despair during the sad months of winter. Artists manipulated these themes and painted dark, barren landscapes scarcely populated with flora or fauna, as well as distraught shepherds, shepherdesses, and nymphs. Inspired by the tragedies of ancient Greek and Roman mythos, the pastoral tradition was the perfect medium for exploration of humankind's darkest emotions.

Melancholy in Music

Unrequited love and death were also prevalent themes in Renaissance vocal songs, as this music was often based on pre-existing poetry. Love and its misfortunes, in particular, was the subject of vocal music since the medieval era, especially in France. *Menstrels*, specifically *troubadours* and later *jongleurs*, were poet musicians specialized in vernacular verse.[92] Troubadours were influential in the creation of *fin' amors* ("refined love") themes, which idealized refined love through "the longing, the secretiveness, the sense of illumination, [and] the almost manic-depressive succession of moods."[93] Hence, love was surrounded by intense joy and

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[92] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Minstrel." French Jongleurs, English jogelours, and Italian gioccolatores – regional subsets of minstrelsy and its cognates – were professional secular poet-musicians that were either itinerant or tied to specific courts. Due to lack of extant documentation, mystery surrounds the genre's true identity, such as whether or not minstrel musicians were instrumentalists or vocalists, and is a large reason to the various names for specific regions or types of performers (for example: juglares/juglars/joggleurs, remedadores, bufones, trobars, etcetera).
[93] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Troubadours, 3."

security, as well as conflict and tension. In the earliest poems of unrequited love, the desired

lover was often admired from afar, as social or political boundaries prevented the acceptance of

their forbidden love. The *pastourelles* of Marcabru (ca. 1130–1150) and other troubadours fit

well into the form of goliards; accordingly, the most famous collection of goliards, the *Carmina*

Burana, contained many pastourelles.[94] In the *Carmina Burana*, shepherdesses often

encountered and rejected the affections of a knight, although the knight often took her love by

force; this "rejection motif" is the most common theme of pastourelles during the medieval era,

and is linked to social class boundaries.[95] Toward the end of the medieval era, polyphony

became more widespread; consequently, troubadour poetry and chanson ("song") comfortably

transformed from monophonic to polyphonic textures.[96] Adam de la Halle (ca. 1245–1285) was a

famous French *trouvère* who composed both monophonic and polyphonic chansons, as well as

the first dramatic pastourelle entitled *Robin et Marion* (ca. 1282–1283). De la Halle's polyphonic

chansons instigated the further development of secular polyphony in France throughout the

remainder of the medieval era, which set the foundation for pastoral themes in Renaissance

chansons.

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[94] Patrick Gerard Walsh, *Love Lyrics from the* Carmina Burana (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 76. The *Carmina Burana* is a collection of eleventh-, twelfth-, and thirteenth-century poems. Pastourelles, medieval pastoral romances involving the dialogue between a shepherdess and a gallant knight, were included among these texts. Four pastourelles are found in *Carmina Burana*: "Estivali sub fervore" (no. 19), Exiit diluculo (no. 28), "Lucis orto sidere" (no. 50), and "Vere dulci mediante" (no. 51). See Ibid., "Introduction," xxiii.

[95] Cooper, *Pastoral: Mediaeval into Renaissance*, 68. In regard to realism, the combination of courtly and rustic love was not befitting the stations of the knight and shepherdess, who belonged to very different social classes. This form of "forbidden love" may have been popular to early troubadour poets, but over the course of the early Renaissance era, themes shifted dramatically. By the sixteenth century, relationships between shepherds and shepherdesses were the most common romance in pastoral repertoire.

[96] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Chanson, 1. Origins to about 1430," by Howard Mayer Brown and David Fallows. The term "chanson," similar to "minstrel," designates a variety of French songs from monophony through polyphony, including popular songs, folk songs, or songs sung in the court.

By the sixteenth century, French musicians had freed chanson composition from many of its limiting medieval practices, such as scaffolding additional voices over the borrowed *cantus firmus* ("fixed song").[97] Rather, musicians utilized manipulation and imitation of small motives. Emphasis on points of imitation created more independent, balanced voice lines, which led to the decline of *formes fixes* ("fixed forms") of the previous two centuries. As the sixteenth century progressed into the 1540s and 1550s, French chanson composers preferred lyricism and homophony while the Franco-Flemish School maintained a high level of imitative and contrapuntal textures.[98] Thomas Crecquillon (ca. 1505–1557) was among this generation of Franco-Flemish composers, alongside Jacob Clemens non Papa (ca. 1510–1555) and Adrian Willaert (ca. 1490–1562). Crecquillon spent most of his mature career as a musician, singer and unofficial composer, of Emperor Charles V's chapel, where he composed mostly chansons and motets, as well as masses.[99] Although he predominately wrote French chansons, his compositional techniques varied from French homophonic styles to Netherlandish contrapuntal styles, or some combination of the two. Of the over 200 chansons he composed, Crecquillon's "Ung gay bergier" (*Premier livre des chansons a quatre parties*, 1543) was one of his most widely circulated compositions.

Ung gay bergier prioit une bergiere was an anonymous narrative poem of a lewd nature. Crecquillon followed the "Parisian" practice of employing light-hearted, ridiculous, and possibly obscene texts in his chansons.[100] The shepherd of this poem attempts to woo a shepherdess into

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[97] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Chanson, 2. 1430 to about 1525."

[98] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Chanson, 3. 1525 to the mid-16th century," by Howard Mayer Brown and Richard Freedman. These madrigals resemble motets in texture, except they are generally shorter and contain more defined sections than motets.

[99] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Crecquillon, Thomas, 2. Works," by Barton Hudson and Martin Ham.

[100] David Crawford and G. Grayson Wagstaff, eds., *Encomium Musicae: Essays in Honor of Robert J. Snow* (Hillsdale: Pendragon Press, 2002), 616.

sexual activities, but is rejected. In turn, the shepherdess harshly replies, "I think the way you speak is dishonest, Do not believe I would commit such bad behavior."[101] From this statement, she appears to glow in chastity and purity, yet her continued reply reveals a much more sexual motive surrounding her rejection: "You do not have the spear that I need."[102] This final phrase exposes the shepherdess's sexual desires, and how the shepherd would not be successful at meeting those requirements. As the text flowed freely from one line to another, the chanson followed a loose through-composed form, which was common practice of the genre. This form is "loose" due to the repeated "final" section of the work, which equates to nine measures in modern notation. Furthermore, incorporation of various textural styles was loosely applied, as Crecquillon did not strictly follow either the Netherlandish or Parisian styles. His Netherlandish roots were more prevalent, however, as polyphony and imitative counterpoint dominates the four-voice chanson, as shown in the opening measures depicted in figure 3.4. Homophony is demonstrated most prevalently in the middle section of the work, where Crecquillon modulated from the initial duple meter (imperfect tempus, minor prolation) to a triple meter (perfect tempus, minor prolation), presented in figure 3.5. The metrical modulation highlights textural changes with less active rhythms and a lilting motion through a long-short pattern. After five short measures, the musician quickly shifted back into a duple meter and returned to the active rhythms and textural complexities of the primary section. Due to thick textures, Crecquillon balanced his chanson with straightforward rhythms and few "over-bar" syncopations.

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[101] Quotation from Thomas Crecquillon, "Ung gay bergier," lines 4–5. Original French: [*Vostre parler je trouve malhonneste,/ Ne pensez pas que feroye tel default*]. The chanson consists of 7 lines of text in a *terza rima* chain rhyme scheme (*ababcbc*). This section is likely a mere incipit of a larger poem, which Crecquillon commonly practiced in his text settings.
[102] Quotation from Crecquillon, "Ung gay bergier," line 7. Original French: [*Car tu n'as pas la lance qui me fault*].

Figure 3.4. Thomas Crecquillon, "Ung gay bergier" (1543), mms. 1–4. Imitative counterpoint.

Figure 3.5. Crecquillon, "Ung gay bergier," mms. 27–31. Metric modulation.

"Ung gay bergier" consistently follows the Parisian preference to lyrical, simple melodies. Melodies are primarily stepwise in motion, and leaps of more than a third are quite uncommon in the upper voices. Although the four voices are equal in importance and melodic passages, the tenore and bassus voices contain more harmonic functions, thus larger leaps of perfect intervals are more common. Melodic range typically extends within an octave or ninth surrounding the pitches G and D, depending on the voice part, which is brought to the forefront during the many scalar passages, particularly in the duet passages of measures 20–23, shown in figure 3.6. Emphasis on G as a recitation tone, particularly in the lower voices, also denotes the G Mixolydian mode. Selection of this mode denotes the pastoral tone of the chanson, as G Major

is considered the rustic key.[103] Therefore, many internal cadences, as well as the final cadence, resolve on G. Only the final cadence, however, contains a full triad G major chord; significant internal cadences contain only a perfect fifth interval instead of the full chord, which was a common practice in chansons during the first half of the sixteenth century.

Figure 3.6. Crecquillon, "Ung gay bergier," mms. 20–23. Passing dissonances through scalar patterns.

Lastly, Crecquillon's harmonic language was rather conservative, and resembled the Parisian style more than the Franco-Flemish School; dissonances were primarily used in passing situations, such as the descending scales of figure 3.6. In general, Crecquillon reserved his elaborate harmonic language for the more complex motet genre, and remained true in many aspects of the Parisian style in his French chansons. Crequillon and the Franco-Flemish School continued to influence not just French secular music, but also the development of the madrigal genre in Italy.

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Netherlandish composers, such as Verdelot and Arcadelt, dominated secular music in Italy during the first half of the sixteenth century. Consequently, early madrigals resembled

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[103] Rita Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Ann Harbor: UMI Research Press, 1983), 171

chansons of the same period, particularly in texture; mixtures of thick contrapuntal polyphony and declamatory homophony were quite common.[104] When Italian-born composers began to take over the madrigal scene in Italy, the genre quickly flourished into a new style different from French and Netherlandish music of the preceding decades. Andrea Gabrieli (ca. 1532–1585) was critical in the development of "hybrid" madrigals, which fused the exclusive styles of light and serious forms into one genre.[105] For instance, Gabrieli's hybrid madrigals were typically greater in textural complexities, writing for up to twelve voices, yet he also emphasized three-part, transparent textures in high tessituras to create "bright colors" and explore tone painting. His late madrigals, including "O in primavera eterna" (*Il Lauro Secco* à *cinque voci*, 1582), laid the groundwork for future *seconda pratica* ("second practice") composers, such as Luca Marenzio, to further innovate on his new madrigal style.

"O in primavera eterna" expresses the desire for an eternal Arcadian spring in the face of winter's onset; the anonymous poet is struck by the swiftness of winter and by the talents of the wind, which left the trees dead and his feelings of love in contempt.[106] Again, the association between sorrow and winter rises to the surface of this pastoral poem. Interestingly, wind is given distinction in the poem through personification, and Gabrieli responded to this feature through word painting. As wind moves swiftly, so do the pitches on the word *vento* ("wind"), which is treated melismatically in multiple voices, presented in figure 3.7. The cantus voice, in particular, presents this compositional device, as *vento* is stretched over eight pitches, which is the longest melisma in the entire madrigal. A stylistic characteristic that Gabrieli's madrigal shares with

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[104] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Madrigal, II. Italy, 16th century," by James Haar.

[105] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Madrigal, II. Italy, 16th century, 7. The 1570s: hybrid styles," by Anthony Newcomb.

[106] Andrea Gabrieli, "O in primavera Eterna." This short, 7-line poem has a couplet (*aaabbaa*) rhyme scheme with an additional line added to the end of the first couplet.

Crecquillon's chanson is the employment of a through-composed form, which was a common practice of the serious madrigal forms. Through-composed works have more structural freedom, and Gabrieli blurred separation between the lines of the poetic stanza through nearly constant polyphony.

Figure 3.7. Andrea Gabrieli, "O in Primavera Eterna" (1582), mms. 9–12. Melismatic word painting.

Figure 3.8. Gabrieli, "O in Primavera Eterna," mms. 1–4. Homorhythmic duets.

During his later compositional years, particularly the 1580s, Gabrieli had softened the thickness of his polyphonic textures. In "O in primavera eterna," he composed homorhythmic duets to create the effect of polyphony, and even imitative counterpoint, without the excessively thick textures commonly associated with other serious, five-voiced madrigals of the former decades, see figure 3.8. These duets are primarily set in octaves at the onset of the phrase

containing the long-short-short pattern and then break into various harmonic intervals after the first three pitches. Some duet passages, such as the one in measure 4, begin on the interval of a perfect fifth, rather than the perfect octave. Gabrieli does include full, five-part imitative counterpoint, which is in contrast to the thinnest call and response texture on the text *che t'ha svelta* ("who gave you swiftness"). Homophony, on the other hand, is only scarcely used, appearing typically only at the beginning of select phrases and never in all five voices.

Figure 3.9. Gabrieli, "O in Primavera Eterna," mms. 20–23. Rhythmic motives.

Compositional variation is also prevalent in rhythmic and melodic motives, although they are not terribly complex, either. Rhythms focus around a long-short-short motive, either modern quarter/eighth/eighth or dotted-quarter/eighth/quarter patterns, shown in figure 3.9. The latter of these long-short-short motives is fully incorporated in the contrapuntal section beginning in measure twenty, whereas the former is highly prevalent in the duets at the head of the composition. Melodies are surprisingly lively throughout, with many skips and leaps interjected into the predominately stepwise motion in all voice parts. Measures 20–23 outline a C major triad, with an added F placed on a weak accent leading into the G cadence. Resolution on the G central tone denotes the G mixolydian mode, further supporting the rustic themes of the text. Furthermore, many internal cadences land on either the modern G major or D major chords,

which creates the tonic-dominant relationships that eventually move modal harmony into tonality during the Baroque era. By the end of the sixteenth century, madrigals had lost favor to new genres in Italian music. As new Baroque harmonic ideals and musical genres were established in Italy at the turn of the seventeenth century, the English School of Madrigal interestingly reverted to Italian characteristics of the serious madrigal forms, which were all but ignored during Thomas Morley's late-sixteenth century generation of composers.

<div align="center">*****</div>

Madrigals originally disseminated in England through translations and imitations of Italian serious madrigals first introduced to England by Nicholas Yonge.[107] With the help of Thomas Morley, lighter madrigal forms, such as balletts and canzonets, gained great popularity in England. After Morley's death in 1602, however, madrigal publication dramatically declined, especially as composers moved away from the lighter forms Morley had perfected. Many remaining composers of the English Madrigal School returned to the serious madrigal, particularly the styles of late-Italians of the *seconda pratica*. Textual and harmonic language expanded, as English-born composers utilized more elaborate chromaticism and more prominent text painting in their music than was ever present in the lighter genres of the late-sixteenth century.[108] Nevertheless, English composers were quite reserved with chromatic passages in comparison to their Italian counterparts. Subtle uses of chromaticism over extended durations were used in a modulatory manner, which is a natural effect of the development of modern

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[107] Eric Lewin Altschuler and William Jansen, "Musica Transalpina and Marenzio's Interpolator: Gentlemen at Large," *The Musical Times* 144, no. 1885 (Winter, 2003): 20. Nicholas Yonge (ca. 1560–1619) published a collection of Italian madrigals, *Musica Transalpina* (1588), translated into English.
[108] Joseph Kerman, *The Elizabethan Madrigal: A Comparative Study* (New York: Distributor Galaxy Music Corporation, 1962), 212. Thomas Morley incorporated neither chromaticism nor text painting as a primary feature of his balletts or canzonets.

tonality.[109] John Wilbye (ca. 1589–1638) was one English composer who utilized chromatic

passages in his madrigals, whereas Thomas Weelkes (ca. 1576–1623) was famous for

incorporating text painting to emphasize the poetic text. Wilbye and Weelkes were the leading

serious madrigal composers during the early seventeenth century, despite publishing only two

collections of madrigals each. Wilbye was much more influenced by Morley's compositions than

Weelkes was, thus the former composer incorporated more emphasis on homophonic textures

over polyphony. Even so, Wilbye's *Second Set of Madrigales* (1609) is considered one of the

leading collections of English madrigals from his epoch.[110] "Come Shepherd Swains," a

madrigal published in his second collection, epitomized his mature style.

"Come Shepherd Swains," like many English poems and madrigals of the late-

Renaissance era, were richly saturated with pastoral themes; in this case, these subjects are also

surrounded with the despair of death, since the work was anonymously written after the death of

Queen Elizabeth I, whose poetic narrative often associated her as the Summer's Queen.

> O, She that was your Summer's Queen,
> Your days' delight,
> Is gone and will no more be seen;
> O, cruel spite! Break all your pipes
> That wont to sound with pleasant cheer,
> And cast yourselves upon the ground
> To wail my Dear!
>
> Come, shepherd swains,
> Come, nymphs, and all a-row
> To help me cry: Dead is my Love,
> And, seeing she is so,
> Lo, now I die![111]

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109 Ibid., 218.

110 *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Wilbye, John," by David Brown.

111 Quotation from John Wilbye, "Come Shepherd Swains," lines 7–18. The entire text of the madrigal is 18 lines, which is much longer than typical poetic settings, and. The poem does not appear to have a consistent rhyme scheme.

The poet requests the shepherds to break their pipes and join him in his anguish, for the cheerful sound of their music was not befitting his melancholic mood, similar to William Browne's fourth eclogue of *The Shepheard's Pipe* depicting the pipe as a symbol of death. Death of his beloved has pushed this shepherd into despair, and wishes for death to befall him, as well. Certainly, Wilbye's madrigals were starkly different from the lighter genres that were renowned throughout England. Morley's texts reflected the happy, beautiful Arcadia, whereas Wilbye thrived in setting the darker themes of the pastoral tradition. "Come Shepherd Swains" is a serious madrigal, which has a very loose ternary (ABA') form (and may even be considered through-composed)—a rather unusual trait when compared to the madrigals of Morley, yet common in serious forms. Textures were widely varied, with a balanced blend between homophony and polyphony. For conveying the text, however, homophony is more striking in this madrigal, especially at the beginning of the work displayed in figure 3.10, where the texture helps portray the solemn mood.

Figure 3.10. John Wilbye, "Come Shepherd Swains" (1609), mms. 1–7. Homophonic texture.

In the opening passage, Wilbye maintained a homorhythmic duet in two of the three voices, so that only one voice at a time breaks apart from the full homophonic texture. Phrases in full polyphony are short-lived, always returning to the united texture, which typically introduces and concludes each line of text. In fact, a characteristic of Wilbye's mature style was using

transparent textures to create various tone colors, including the haunting effect achieved through
"Come Shepherd Swains."

Another feature Wilbye used to create interesting tone colors was the use of high
tessituras in the upper voice parts. The cantus of "Come Shepherd Swains" is particularly high,
surrounding the top of the treble staff for nearly the entire composition. In the melodic passage
of the cantus voice during measures 37–38, figure 3.11, Wilbye used an ascending octave scale
to paint the text "pleasant cheer." Despite the lively melody matching the positive text, the mood
of the poem was still dreary, which is reflected in the minor third interval between the climax of
the cantus phrase on G and the final pitch of the motive of E. This section is also reflective of the
rhythms and melodies used throughout the remainder of the work.

Figure 3.11. Wilbye, "Come Shepherd Swains," mms. 36–39. Rhythmic and melodic word painting.

Although the cantus voice line contains faster pitches during other moments in the madrigal, the
ascending scale of figure 3.11 is the most active melodic line of the entire work, due to the
extended duration of these shorter, faster pitches spanning two full bars. Only one other motive
in measures 23–24 demonstrates faster rhythmic variety and note durations shorter than a *fusa*
(eighth note). Similarly, melodies are simplistic and emphasize smooth melodic contours through
stepwise motion. Most leaps over the interval of a third are perfect; still, Wilbye does include
uncomfortable intervallic leaps to add tension to the tone of the work. In particular, the composer

used chromatic alterations to create diminished fourths, shown in figure 3.12, which otherwise sound as consonant thirds, but appear visually alarming in the manuscript. Although the chromatic diminished fourth was not the most-disturbing interval used in "Come Shepherd Swains," it was clearly the most consistent, occurring nine times throughout the entire composition. The most uncomfortable leaps occur in measures 7–8 and 17 in the inner altus voice. In measures 7–8, Wilbye used the cross relationships of C and C♯ to create a diminished octave. This leap introduces the first instances of the word "dead" in the madrigal, another example of text painting.

These chromaticisms were part of Wilbye's harmonic language, as well. Accidentals were placed on pitches to alter a major third into the darker minor third to emphasize the tone of the overall poem. In fact, the whole madrigal is set in the minor A Aeolian modality. Yet, Wilbye expanded his harmonies past the tonic A-minor and dominant E-major chords of this pre-tonal composition, which further demonstrates the transition from modality to tonality during the early seventeenth century. Measures 15–21, as shown in figure 3.12, present a variety of triadic harmonies in the internal cadences, including G major and D major, suggests a modal modulation to G due to the prevalence of tonic-dominant relationships during this middle passage. This modulation is important in establishing the madrigal's rustic tone, despite the overall "tenderness" portrayed by the prevalent A-minor tonalities. Interestingly, Wilbye's implementation of A minor solidifies Elizabeth I's virgin narrative, as the key was considered reflective of "pious womanliness and tenderness of character."[112]

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[112] Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics*, 121. Original German from Christian Fredriech Daniel Schubart's treatise, *Ideen zu einer Aesthetik der Tonkunst* (1806): [*A-moll, fromme Weiblichkeit und Weichheit des Charakters.*]

Figure 3.12. Wilbye, "Come Shepherd Swains," mms. 15–21. Diminished fourth melodic interval.

Another interesting feature, commonly practiced in minor modalities of the Renaissance era, was the inclusion of the Picardy third in the final cadence, which altered the diatonic A minor chord to an unusually spirited major tonality. Selection of the Picardy third was not merely for the purpose of tradition, however, as the major chord could represent the shepherd's liberation from his pain through death. In the end, Wilbye's setting of "Come Shepherd Swains," which mourned the death of Queen Elizabeth I, demonstrated a new level of expressivity among English madrigals.

Wilbye and Weelkes were the most influential composers of the final English Madrigal School of the Renaissance era. Other composers composed either only one collection of madrigals or various single-work manuscripts, with little development on the genre. In fact, most of these composers primarily wrote keyboard music, and only experimented in the genre of madrigals. One such late-Mannerist English composer was John Ward (ca. 1589–1638). Unlike Wilbye, who utilized Morley's lighter forms practices in his serious madrigals, Ward's personal madrigal collection was entirely serious. Despite his somber style, Ward maintained a high level of pastoral texts as the basis for his compositions, and even used poems from Sir Philip Sidney and Michael Drayton.[113] Ward looked more toward his Italian contemporaries, rather than his

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[113] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Ward, John," by Michael W. Foster, et al.

English colleagues, for inspiration. Consequently, Ward was able to evoke a level of expressiveness rarely equaled by other English composers. "Out from the Vale" (*First Set of English Madrigals*, 1613) demonstrates many of these Italian characteristics.

Although Ward selected mostly known passages from pastoral poets such as Michael Drayton, John Philip Sidney, or Jorge de Montemayor, *Out from the Vale of Deep Despair* is an anonymous poem regarding a subject's despair over having lost Daphne's love.[114] As Daphne was an Arcadian forest nymph, it is presumed that the mournful subject of this poem was indeed a shepherd.

> Out from the vale of deep despair,
> with mournful tunes I fill the air,
> to satisfy my restless ghost
> which Daphne's cruelty hath lost.
> O'er hills and dales in her dull ears,
> I'll send my notes with bitter tears.[115]

The poetic text of "Out from the Vale" is metaphorical in that the subject represents his love lost as equivalent to death. Rejected by Daphne, the shepherd symbolically takes up music of a sorrowful nature to ease his spirit, in hopes of his music reaching Daphne's ears from across the countryside. In reality, these tunes are merely the shepherd's own sad cries. Ward's compositional style was profoundly influenced by the serious madrigals of his Italian counterparts, thus his tendency toward solemn texts fit his style more so than the light-hearted pastoral texts of his Elizabethan colleagues, such as Morley. As "Out from the Vale" is a serious madrigal form, two primary characteristics of the work include a through-composed structure and an emphasis on polyphonic textures. Ward was able to create a wide range of textures

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[114] *Encyclopedia of Greco-Roman Mythology*, s.v. "Daphne." In Greek mythology, Daphne was pursued by Apollo, but changed into a laurel tree by the river god Peneus. Saddened by her transformation, Apollo turned a laurel branch into a crown, which became one of his mythological symbols.

[115] Quotation from John Ward, "Out from the Vale," lines 1–6. The poem has 6 lines with a couplet (*aabbcc*) rhyme scheme.

through various combinations of the six voice parts. He balanced his madrigal by alternating

between thicker polyphonic textures and thinner homophonic or homorhythmic sections. For

instance, Ward paired voices into duets when he wanted to create his thinnest textures, as shown

in figure 3.13 depicting an excerpt of the middle section of the madrigal. Both of the duet

phrases, first in the cantus/quintus and second in the altus/sextus, occur at the interval of a third.

During the duet passage, the other four voices either rest or sustain a drone.

Figure 3.13. John Ward, "Out from the Vale" (1613), mms. 34–41. Duet texture.

In contrast, Ward incorporated very dense textures through full, six-part imitative counterpoint,

shown in figure 3.14. During these measures 64–68, Ward also uses the most active rhythms,

including scalar ascending runs. Typical rhythms are very slow with long, sustained durations to

match the melancholic tone of the text. Both the beginning and the end of "Out from the Vale"

utilize the longest pitch durations, as the interior sections employ faster rhythms. Ultimately, the

texture and rhythms of the work are dependent on the underlying text of the poem.

Figure 3.14. Ward, "Out from the Vale," mms. 64–68. Imitative counterpoint.

Ward used his rhythmic and melodic passages to imitate the text on multiple occasions. Interestingly, the imitative section in measures 64–68 could represent the echoing of the shepherd's song through the countryside. He also painted the "o'er hills" text with either an ascending leap or the aforementioned ascending scalar motive. Another interesting use of word painting includes the descant drone of the "mournful tunes" portion of the poem, illustrated in figure 3.15. These high wails are symbolic of the shepherd's own association with a "restless ghost" as his cries extend out into the pastoral world for all to hear, including Daphne. Melodically, this passage is static in most voices, although the sextus and bassus still contain many large interval leaps. If any larger leaps occur, they are typically followed by a leap in the other direction, typically to the previous note, or by stepwise motion in the opposite direction to offset the leap. This trend is a common theme throughout the entire madrigal, as the upper voices emphasize small stepwise motion and smooth melodic contours, while the lower voices provide more harmonic foundation, which naturally creates more skips, especially when shifting from a tonic to a dominant harmonic function. Written in the G Aeolian mode, "Out from the Vale" resembles the G-natural minor tonality that was beginning to emerge during the early

seventeenth century. G minor adequately portrays the shepherd's "discontent" and "resentment" toward Daphne after she betrayed his love.[116] The strong association with tonality is demonstrated through constant triadic harmonies and tonic dominant relationships, which are established by the prevalence in cadences on D major through raised F pitches and G minor, the primary tone of the work. There are also internal cadences on the relative B♭-major chord, as well as the parallel G-major chord at the conclusion of larger sections, shown in figure 3.16. G-major chords in this minor modality are the result of the raised third of the chord, which is referred to as a Picardy third. The final cadence utilizes the Picardy third to end on a major tonality despite the poem's sorrowful message, which musically symbolizes the pastoral themes of the poem. In this instance, it appears as though the Picardy third placement was utilized due to tradition, since there is no evidence in the text that the shepherd was in any way hopeful about his situation.

Figure 3.15. Ward, "Out from the Vale," mms. 16–21. Descant drone word painting.

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[116] Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics*, 122. G minor represents many negative human emotions of sorrow, namely "discontent, uneasiness…resentment and dislike." Original German: [*Mißvergnügen, Unbehaglichkeit…Groll und Unlust.*]

Figure 3.16. Ward, "Out from the Vale," mms. 85–89. Chromatic melodies and final cadence harmony.

During this final section, Ward also utilized many chromatic melodies that created a modern melodic minor ascending scale leading into the dominant D-major cadence. Whereas his use of chromaticism was conservative, Ward's influence by Italian composers was evident, as his English contemporaries were wary of chromatic alterations to the diatonic melody. Such harmonic, melodic, and textural tendencies are exemplary of Ward's mature compositional style. His English contemporaries, such as Thomas Morley, Thomas Weelkes, and John Wilbye, influenced his musical output; his emphasis on serious madrigal forms, however, came from Italian compositions. As one of the final English composers of the Renaissance madrigal genre, Ward reintroduced highly expressive Italian qualities to England, which corresponded with the rise of tonality and expressive vocal music, particularly opera, during the Baroque era.

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Changes in secular Renaissance compositions naturally affected the output of pastoral music throughout the Mannerist period. Although French repertoire had utilized pastoral themes since the beginning of the Renaissance era, the subject was not popularized in Italy until the mid- to late-sixteenth century with the development of lighter madrigal forms. England, in particular,

gravitated toward pastoral themes allegorically to fulfill the narratives surrounding the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, the Virgin Queen of Shepherds. Concerning the solemn themes of death and unrequited love, the poetic selections set for these thematic works reflect the serious nature of the compositions. Crecquillon's "Ung gay bergier" followed the French troubadour tradition of turning love into a game, thus his light-hearted text is reflected in the active melodies and rhythms of the chanson. Crecquillon's incorporation of both Parisian and Netherlandish styles, particularly in texture, in his French chansons demonstrate the influence of the Franco-Flemish School on the development of the Italian madrigal during the early- and mid-sixteenth century. Netherlandish composers continued to dominate the Italian madrigal scene until the third quarter of the century, where Andrea Gabrieli and his Italian contemporaries rose to national fame. Italian musicians had taken the highly polyphonic, thick textures of the Netherlandish style and added Italian features, such as word painting (also known as madrigalism) to their compositions. The rise of *seconda pratica* musicians led a truly Italian madrigal style, as Gabrieli, Marenzio, Monteverdi, and other composers introduced lighter madrigal forms. Gabrieli's "O in primavera eterna" was a "hybrid" madrigal, or an amalgamation of serious and light genre characteristics in one composition. For instance, this madrigal is through-composed, although there is division between sections of poetic text. Additionally, homophonic textures were used sparingly in favor of polyphony, yet the use of homorhythmic duets reduced the density of the full-voiced textures. Gabrieli helped create the path that the next generation of Italian madrigalists took to develop the madrigal further in Italy. Morley followed this last Italian generation in the creation of the English Madrigal School, which emphasized lighter forms, especially canzonets and balletts. Both John Wilbye and John Ward practiced the serious madrigal forms of their Italian counterparts, rather than Morley's lighter styles. After the death of Morley (1601) and Queen

Elizabeth I (1603), madrigals dramatically decreased in popularity. Both Wilbye and Ward

utilized darker texts for a majority of their compositions, as well as serious madrigal

characteristics, ranging from decreased reliance on homophony, use of chromatic harmonies and

melodies, and less sectionalized, through-composed forms. Through the return to Italian ideals at

the end of northern Mannerism, these composers foreshadowed the rise of Baroque ideals in

England, which had begun in Italy at the turn of the sixteenth century.

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Unmistakably, the abundance of melancholic subjects in the arts of the Renaissance

demonstrates the sheer importance of personal exploration through human emotion during the

epoch. Unrequited love, in particular, was incorporated in literature and music since the medieval

era, and grew in popularity during the Renaissance. In the pastoral world, unrequited love and

death conveyed dystopian perspectives on the inevitable fall of Arcadia, or Utopia. Renaissance

music and art were very successful at orchestrating these themes primarily found in literature.

Focusing on the poetic text of the selected musical examples, one can determine many

comparable features to pastoral literature, as well as visual illustrations of art. For instance,

Gabrieli's "eternal spring" of "O in primavera eterna" is equivalent in context to Astrea's

"eternal love" for Celadon from d'Urfé's *L'Astrée*. Eventually, this love becomes scorned and

broken, which equates the ideal Arcadian state with the frailty of human emotions. Furthermore,

the visual representation of "unpleasant trees" in Gabrieli's madrigal are visually represented in

the twisted tree Rinaldo fell asleep under in Anthony van Dyck's painting of *Rinaldo and*

Armida from Torquato Tasso's epic *Jerusalem Delivered*, which represents a more desolate

landscape, rather than the lush, healthy Arcadian spring. Tasso's story of Rinaldo and Armida is

a perversion of the typical tale of unrequited love, since Rinaldo (the male soldier) is the one

who rejects the woman, Armida. Titian's painting *The Pastoral Concert* also illustrates a varied interpretation on unrequited love, as the two nymphs may be construed as inventions of the shepherd's imaginations. Crecquillon's chanson "Ung gay bergier" also varies from the remaining texts in that his poetic approach to unrequited love was much more light-hearted, as was common in Renaissance France. Even so, the statement of unrequited love is virtually the same: the shepherdess rejects the shepherd. The Greek mythological story of Pan and Syrinx, as portrayed in Hendrick van Balen's painting of *Pan Pursuing Syrinx*, demonstrates the same subject, except the shepherdess is a nymph and the shepherd is a satyr. Furthermore, typical instances of unrequited love may be found in Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, particularly "Eclogue I," where Ergasto's love was rejected, and d'Urfé's Astrea, who rejected the love of Celadon. Lastly, the pastoral women of Crecquillon's "Ung gay bergier," d'Urfé*'s L'Astrée*, and Sir Walter Raleigh's *Nymph's Reply to the Shepherd* withhold romantic interests with their potential partners due to personal pride.

Death was also a popular theme in pastoral repertoire, as the relationship between death and the end of Arcadia's eternal spring was firmly united. Seasonal changes are often metaphorical in pastoral repertoire; this statement is exemplified in the negative associations between death and the seasons of autumn and winter. During these depressing months, flora and fauna are rarely represented. Typical flora, including brush, flowers, and trees, are often scarcely portrayed or illustrated in such a way as to allude to the melancholic themes, such as the dark foliage of van Dyck's *Rinaldo and Armida*. Poussin's *Et in Arcadia ego* also illustrates a desolate earth surrounding Androgeo's tomb, which was inspired by Sannazaro's "Eclogue V" of *Arcadia.* Comparably, Titian's *Pastoral Concert*, completed as a memorial for his late master Giorgione, depicts the change in seasons through darkening skies and non-green foliage of the

trees surrounding Giorigione's character. John Wilbye's madrigal "Come Shepherd Swains" predicts the disappearance of spring upon the death of his "Summer's Queen," Queen Elizabeth I. English poet William Browne also depicted summer with England's Golden Age, which is associated with Queen Elizabeth I, in his "Eclogue IV" of *The Shepheard's Pipe.* Furthermore, Elizabethan poet Edmund Spenser laments "Winter's Wrath" in his "November" eclogue from *The Shepheardes Calender.* Colin, a shepherd of "November," mourns the death of Dido, whose character various scholars believe to be an allegorical representation of Elizabeth I, and reveals his own obsession of death through mourning the loss of his love Rosalind, who left him for another shepherd.

Connections between unrequited love and death are common, after all, as Syrinx's death through transformation, as foreshadowed by the presence of animal symbolism in *Pan Pursuing Syrinx*, is the result of rejecting Pan's advances. Additionally, Astrea's rejection of Celadon caused his attempted suicide and near death. Similarly, Rinaldo prevented Armida's suicide after he rejected her and her own plot to kill him had failed. In music, John Ward's "Out from the Vale" demonstrates a mournful shepherd, who metaphorically refers to himself as a ghost after Daphne has rejected his love. Another example of pastoral traits intertwined with death and heartbreak is the role of music in the mourning process. Cheerful music performed for entertainment is not acceptable in many of these works, as stated in Wilbye's madrigal, where the mourning shepherd calls for his fellow shepherds to "break all your pipes," and Spenser's Thenot calls for Colin to "sing of Sorrow and Death's Dreriment." Sorrowful song is also reminiscent of mourning or crying, as Sannazaro's Ergasto laments over Androgeo's death through song, and Ward's shepherd cries "mournful tunes" over Daphne's betrayal. These brief analyses only touch the surface of the impact melancholic themes had on the output of pastoral

repertoire during the Renaissance era. Further exploration of the impact of these themes, as well as other chapter implications, will be finalized in the subsequent portion of this study.

<center>**EPILOGUE**</center>

During the 15 March 1576 Parliamentary Session, Queen Elizabeth I of England

referenced pastoral themes in her speech against Parliament's demand for her marriage:

> And touching dangers chiefly feared: first, to rehearse my meaning lately unfolded to you by the lord keeper, it shall not be needful, though I must confess mine own mislike so much to strive against the matter as, if I were a milkmaid with a pail on my arm, whereby my private person might be little set by, I would not forsake that poor and single state to match with the greatest monarch.[1]

In this passage, Queen Elizabeth I equated herself to a common female subject of pastoral

poetry, a modest milkmaid.[2] Thus, Elizabeth I's knowledge of such pastoral themes demonstrates

the widespread popularity of the pastoral tradition in Renaissance English repertoire, and her

personal association with the genre denotes her acceptance of the idyllic narratives bestowed

upon her by poets, musicians, and artists. Undoubtedly, Elizabeth I influenced the thematic

material of the arts during her reign as Queen of England, which was dominated by pastoral

subjects, idyllic landscapes, and allegorical representations of Elizabeth. The English pastoral,

however, embodied the culmination of pastoral development during the Renaissance era, which

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[1] Elizabeth I, Queen of England, *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, ed. Leah S. Marcus, et al. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 170.

[2] Helen Cooper, *Pastoral: Mediaeval into Renaissance* (Ipswich, D. S. Brewer, Ltd., 1977), 193. Milkmaids held similar roles to shepherdesses or nymphs in pastoral poetry, particularly as the ideal woman or the epitome of simplicity. Associating these traits with Queen Elizabeth I could represent her physical characteristics, such as her fair complexion, or personal narratives, such as her virginity or purity. Specifically, Elizabeth I's "milkmaid" reference is derived from her own remark to her prison guard, Sir Henry Bedingfield, while imprisoned in the Woodstock Palace during 1554–55. Upon hearing a milkmaid singing and performing her daily tasks in Woodstock Park, Elizabeth I mentioned, "that milkmaid's lot was better than hers, and her life merrier." See, Elizabeth I, *The Girlhood of Queen Elizabeth: A Narrative in Contemporary Letters*, ed. Frank Arthur Mumby (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909), 186. During the subsequent Baroque era, many poets continued to associate Queen Elizabeth I with the milkmaid character, including Sir Thomas Overbury's "A Fair and Happy Milkmaid" (*Characters*, 1614), Richard Brathwaite's *Whimzies* (1631), and Izaak Walton's "The Milk-Maids Song" (*The Compleat Angler*, 1653). In fact, "The Milk-Maids Song" is a direct quotation of Christopher Marlowe's poem *The Passionate Shepherd to his Love* (published posthumously ca. 1599), which inspired Sir Walter Raleigh's poem *The Nymph's Reply to the Shepherd* (ca. 1599–1600). See, Cooper, *Pastoral: Mediaeval into Renaissance*, 193.

began in Italy during the late-fifteenth century. Northern expansion of the pastoral tradition throughout Europe—from Italy to France and the Netherlands, and lastly to England—ultimately inspired the themes predominately utilized in English secular vocal music during the late-Renaissance era. The impact of the pastoral tradition in unifying the arts, establishing national pastoral identities, and founding the English Madrigal School are recognized through this study of pastoral literature, music, art, and drama from these countries. Specifically, pastoral themes examined throughout each chapter included 1) depictions of idyllic landscape and *otium*, especially the shepherd's leisurely activities of singing and dancing, 2) allegorical depictions of monarchs or patrons, demonstrated most consistently in English repertoire, and 3) the melancholic and often conflicted human emotions surrounding unrequited love or the death of pastoral subjects. Various combinations of these themes are found throughout the Renaissance pastoral tradition, regardless of artistic medium.

Landscape, allegory, and melancholy were among the most prevalent themes common to all pastoral arts, and thus formed the foundation for analysis in each, as supplemented by modern scholarship.[3] Idyllic landscape, represented through descriptions or depictions of green grass or foliage, vast plains, distant mountains, and an abundance of flora, was the heart of the pastoral tradition since its ancient Greek and Roman origins. This first theme, explored in the first chapter, also presents the role of pastoral subjects in the literature. In Renaissance repertoire, works that emphasized Arcadian landscape and lifestyle often illustrated the world in a positive manner as a utopia. Shepherds, frequently joined by shepherdesses or nymphs, partook in

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[3] For example, see, Anthony Rowland-Jones, "The recorder in the art of Titian," *American Recorder* 43, no. 2 (March, 2002): 7–13. See also, Jeremy L. Smith, "Music and Late Elizabethan Politics: The Identities of Oriana and Diana," *Journal of the Musicological Society* 58, no. 3 (Fall, 2005): 507–558. These sources, among others, contextualize each work's role in the pastoral tradition, as well as provide insight to modern interpretations of the compositions' elements, such as theme, plot, and symbolism.

leisurely activities, particularly singing and dancing, as well as their daily activities of tending to flocks. Conflict within these Arcadian thematic works was conservatively applied and typically caused by the interaction between shepherds and mythological gods or goddesses, which served as a reminder of their own mortality; conflict was, after all, an inevitable fate for subjects (both mortal and immortal), and a theme incorporated beginning with the tragedies of ancient Greek literature. Whereas Renaissance works of this nature, including Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, Pieter Bruegel's *Hay Making*, Thomas Morley's "Now is the Month of Maying," and Francis Pilkington's "Rest, Sweet Nymphs" epitomized the pure ideals of the classical pastoral tradition, these works also served as the foundation for more complicated thematic material. For instance, many Renaissance pastoralists utilized the genre as a medium for allegorical expression, as presented in the second chapter.

Artists frequently honored specific patrons or monarchs in their works by characterizing them allegorically as shepherds, shepherdesses, nymphs, and gods or goddesses. Alternatively, artists may have dedicated their works to specific patrons, although these works did not always contain allegorical characters of their benefactors. Inclusion of noble patrons, particularly royalty, as subjects in pastoral repertoire allowed the genre to increase in popularity throughout Europe, as these patrons primarily controlled artistic output during the Renaissance era. As royalty travelled from one country to another, such as Catherine de'Medici's relocation from Italy to France through marriage, or as pastoralists dedicated their works to monarchs from other countries, such as Pierre de Ronsard's *Elegies, Mascarades et Bergerie* dedicated to Queen Elizabeth I, pastoral themes and ideals disseminated across Europe with greater ease. Other works that revered patrons through allegory include Poliziano's depiction of Lorenzo de' Medici's rural villa in "Ambra" (*Silvae*), Ambroise Dubois's *Diana the Huntress* illustrating

Gabrielle d'Estrées, and representations of Queen Elizabeth I in Michael Cavendish's "Come Gentle Swains" and Thomas Tomkin's "See, see the Shepheards' Queen." As the pastoral genre became an important convention in Renaissance repertoire, common universal themes of the epoch were naturally assimilated into the pastoral tradition. Melancholic human emotions, stressed in the third chapter, were particularly valuable in conveying adversity in Arcadia. Death symbolized the dystopian perspective of Arcadia as the inevitable end of existence, especially human life. Furthermore, unrequited love realized the unobtainability of idealized perfection by associating the loss of a perfect love with human's failed existence in Arcadia through the destruction of the natural world. Works of this theme, including Honoré d'Urfé's *L'Astrée*, Titian's *Pastoral Concert*, John Ward's "Out from the Vale," and John Wilbye's "Come Shepherd Swains," epitomized Greek tragedy through rusticity, which further emphasized the dichotomy between Arcadia's utopian and dystopian characteristics. Ultimately, melancholic subjects, as well as themes of Arcadian landscape and allegory, shaped the development of the Renaissance pastoral.

English pastoralists, in particular, applied thematic material in their works with a unified purpose. As pastoral repertoire gained popularity in England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, pastoral poets, musicians, and playwrights utilized the genre to demonstrate their admiration or criticism toward their monarch. Accordingly, under Elizabeth I's sovereignty, pastoral repertoire flourished in late-Renaissance England. Pastoral repertoire drew inspiration from narratives surrounding Elizabeth I, particularly her association with the month of May and her purity as the Virgin Queen, and even cultivated new narratives that identified Elizabeth I as the Shepherd's Queen. English musicians incorporated these themes and narratives throughout a majority of English madrigal repertoire. Of significance, the primary mood of English madrigals shifted

dramatically after the death of Queen Elizabeth I. Elizabethan madrigals took a livelier style as inspired by the Italian light madrigals, which were characterized by fast tempos, straightforward rhythms, animated melodies, and predominately-homophonic textures. Poetry chosen by composers described physical attributes of Arcadian landscape, especially green grass, groves, hills, and valleys. Additionally, activities of *otium* dominated the cheerful tone of Elizabethan madrigals, which featured dancing, chanting, singing, and playing bagpipes and lutes. In contrast, late-Renaissance Jacobean madrigals returned to the serious style previously abandoned by the late madrigalist, Thomas Morley. Serious madrigals varied from lighter genres with slower tempos, sustained rhythms, through-composed forms, and chromatic melodies. Interestingly, many of these late madrigals applied serious or sorrowful tones; characters of Elizabethan madrigals associated with death or unrequited love often denounced joyful music and replaced it with mournful tunes symbolic of tearful lamentation. Remarkably, Queen Elizabeth I was a central subject of both Elizabethan and Jacobean madrigals, which demonstrated her subjects' loyalties even after her death, as evidenced by the selected repertoire. Furthermore, the shift in tone after Queen Elizabeth I's death may be associated with her role as a primary subject of pastoral repertoire; many Elizabethan madrigals sang praise of their Shepherd's Queen, whereas Jacobean madrigals lamented her death. Most importantly, pastoral themes were a central characteristic among many English madrigals, whether they were the light, cheerful madrigals of the Elizabethan era, or the serious, solemn madrigals of Jacobean England.

Considering the prevalence of pastoral themes in Elizabethan music and literature, an investigation of the dissemination of these subjects in Renaissance repertoire northward from its Italian origins to England was imperative in determining the establishment of England's pastoral tradition. Therefore, categorizing thematic material by national origin solidified this concept of

northern expansion. Italian, French, Netherlandish, and English artists created their own national identities within the general Renaissance pastoral tradition, which influenced the development of pastoral themes throughout the progression of the fifteenth century. Italian repertoire, namely Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, emphasized many of the characteristics of classic literature, since descriptions of landscape and nature often surpass the role of pastoral subjects, who primarily lived off the land and enjoyed a leisurely lifestyle, as central figures of poetry. Of course, there are exceptions to this primary theme, even in Sannazaro's work, as conflict, typically death or unrequited love, occasionally influenced the shepherds' merry lives; these secondary themes are also present in the classical works of Theocritus and Virgil, who served as inspiration for Sannazaro. Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, in turn, became the point of departure for future pastoral artists. Rather than manipulating Virgil's and Sannazaro's Arcadia, many French poets chose to add a sense of realism to their literature through *ekphrasis*, depictions of place-name locations in France. Rémy Belleau's *La Bergerie* and d'Urfé *L'Astrée* both invoke nostalgia by setting their poetry in real French locations, Joinville and Forez, respectively. These poets aimed at expressing the thought that, whereas Arcadia was nonexistent, ideal beauty could still be found in rural locations of France. French poets also dedicated many pastoral works to their monarchs, although this characteristic was incorporated more consistently in English repertoire. A large majority of pastoral literature and music was dedicated to their monarch, Queen Elizabeth I, rather than the few staples of French literature. Furthermore, the English repertoire contains the highest percentage of music containing pastoral themes, as English madrigals originated during the dominance of the pastoral tradition in England. Madrigalists in England were greatly influenced by their Italian contemporaries, and adapted both their light and serious madrigal styles from the Italian madrigal styles. Similarly, art in England rose from the foundation created

by Netherlandish painters, who were inspired by the Italian masters of Renaissance art. Literature, however, was the true groundwork of the English pastoral tradition. Poets such as Edmund Spenser and Sir Philip Sidney, whose works were based on the compositions of Virgil, Sannazaro, Belleau, and Ronsard, established idyllic themes and bucolic literature in England during the last quarter of the fifteenth century. Thus, the English pastoral was the amalgamation of Italian, French, Netherlandish, and English characteristics after the tradition had completed its northern journey across Europe from Italy to England. These pastoral characteristics became the standard thematic material used by the English Madrigal School, which created an entire generation of pastoral madrigals in Elizabethan England.

Numerous scholarly studies reinforce presented information, particularly on the development of pastoral ideals in Europe and England throughout early music history: the Antiquity, Medieval, and Renaissance epochs.[4] These scholars support the belief that the Renaissance continuation of pastoral repertoire was an important phase in the growth of the genre. There are contemporary scholars, however, who do not support the Renaissance pastoral as a substantial individual tradition, but rather consider it a perversion of the true classical pastorals of Theocritus and Virgil.[5] This perspective on pastoral repertoire is shown to be unsound through the analysis of Renaissance literature, music, and art that are now canonic works of the pastoral tradition. Notwithstanding, the diversity of selected topics, specifically the pastoral influence of Italian, French, and Netherlandish literature, art, and music on the development of English pastoral repertoire, especially madrigals, created limitations on

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[4] Secondary support sources include, Helen Cooper, *Pastoral: Mediaeval into Renaissance* (Ipswich: D. S. Brewer, Ltd., 1977). See also, Sukanta Chaudhuri, *Renaissance Pastoral and its English Developments* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

[5] Secondary opposing sources include, S.K. Heninger, Jr., "The Renaissance Perversion of Pastoral," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 22, no. 2 (April–June, 1961): 254–261. See also, Alexander Pope, *The Prose Works of Alexander Pope*, ed. Norman Ault (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1936), 297.

individual composition analyses, as many discussions only scratch the surface of major issues, including contextualization, artist intention, or thematic implication. Similarly, the selected works are a mere sample of the overall pastoral tradition, and do not encompass every possible variation of Italian, French, Netherlandish, and English pastoral ideals. Therefore, further engagement with scholarship regarding specific elements of the pastoral tradition would complement a more complete understanding of topics covered in this study.[6] Despite these limitations, the study's individuality in unifying the arts through pastoral themes should not remain unnoticed. Current scholarship has not yet explored the expansion of the pastoral tradition during the Renaissance and its simultaneous influence on the dominance of idyllic thematic material in English madrigals. Certainly, of the primary national styles examined, England's pastoral tradition was the most uniform application of thematic material, particularly in music, whose central figure was the illustrious Queen Elizabeth I, or the "Shepherds' Queen" who ruled "the shepherds and nymphs of Diana" during the months of "Spring, clad in all gladness." Thus, this thesis serves as a point of departure for future study regarding the magnitude of pastoral repertoire during the Renaissance era, particularly in the literary, visual, and performing arts during Elizabethan England.

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[6] For further reading in literature, see, Patrick Cullen, *Spenser, Marvell, and Renaissance Pastoral* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970). For further reading in art, see, Sara Trevisan, "The Impact of the Netherlandish Landscape Tradition on Poetry and Painting in Early Modern England," *Renaissance Quarterly* 66, no. 3 (Fall, 2013). For further reading in music, see Joseph Kerman, *The Elizabethan Madrigal: A Comparative Study* (New York: Distributor Galaxy Music Corporation, 1962). See also, Lionel Pike, *Pills to Purge Melancholy: The Evolution of the English Ballett* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004).

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APPENDIX A

LETTER FROM INSTITUTIONAL RESEARCH BOARD

Office of Research Integrity

September 10, 2015
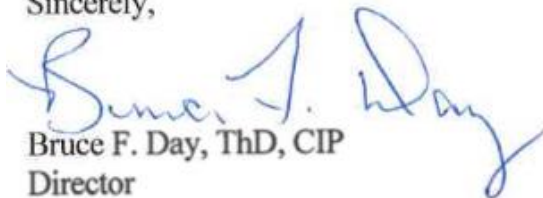
Danielle Van Oort
507 Fir Avenue, Apt. B4
Oakes, ND 58474

Dear Ms. Van Oort:

This letter is in response to the submitted thesis abstract entitled *"The English Madrigal and its Pastoral Influences"*. After assessing the abstract it has been deemed not to be human subject research and therefore exempt from oversight of the Marshall University Institutional Review Board (IRB). The Code of Federal Regulations (45CFR46) has set forth the criteria utilized in making this determination. Since the information in this study does not involve human subjects as defined in the above referenced instruction it is not considered human subject research. If there are any changes to the abstract you provided then you would need to resubmit that information to the Office of Research Integrity for review and a determination.

I appreciate your willingness to submit the abstract for determination. Please feel free to contact the Office of Research Integrity if you have any questions regarding future protocols that may require IRB review.

Sincerely,

Bruce F. Day, ThD, CIP
Director

APPENDIX B

SUPPLEMENTARY FIGURES

Figure B.1. Giorgione, *The Tempest*, ca. 1510, oil on canvas. Accademia, Venice. Permission granted by Art Resource, New York.

Figure B.2. Titian, *Venus with an Organist and Cupid,* from the *Venus with a Musician* series, ca. 1550, oil on canvas. Museo del Prado, Madrid. Permission granted by Art Resource, London.
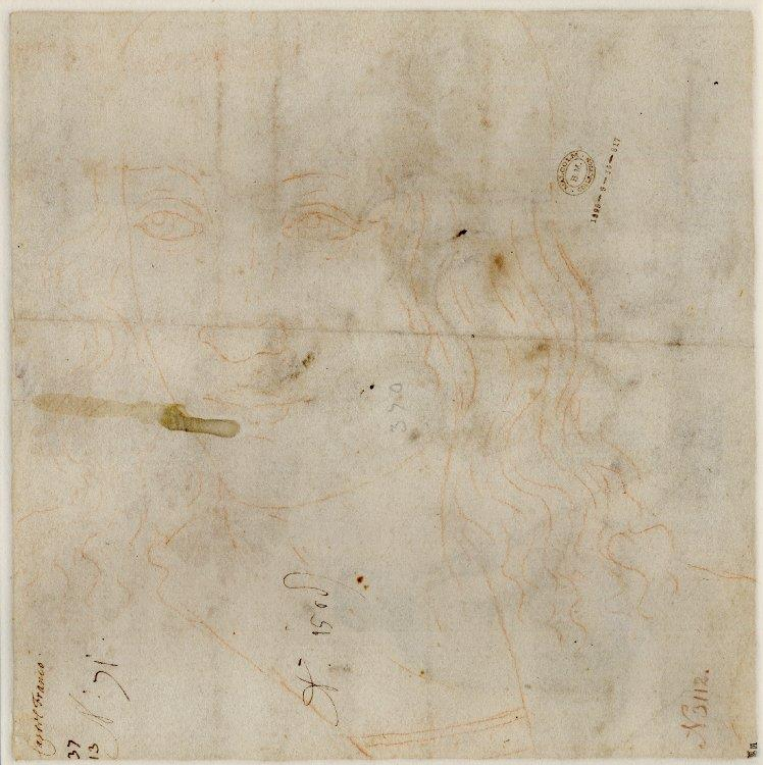

Figure B.3. Titian, *Two Arcadian Musicians,* verso, ca. 1508, ink drawing on paper. The British Museum, London. Permission granted by The British Museum, London.
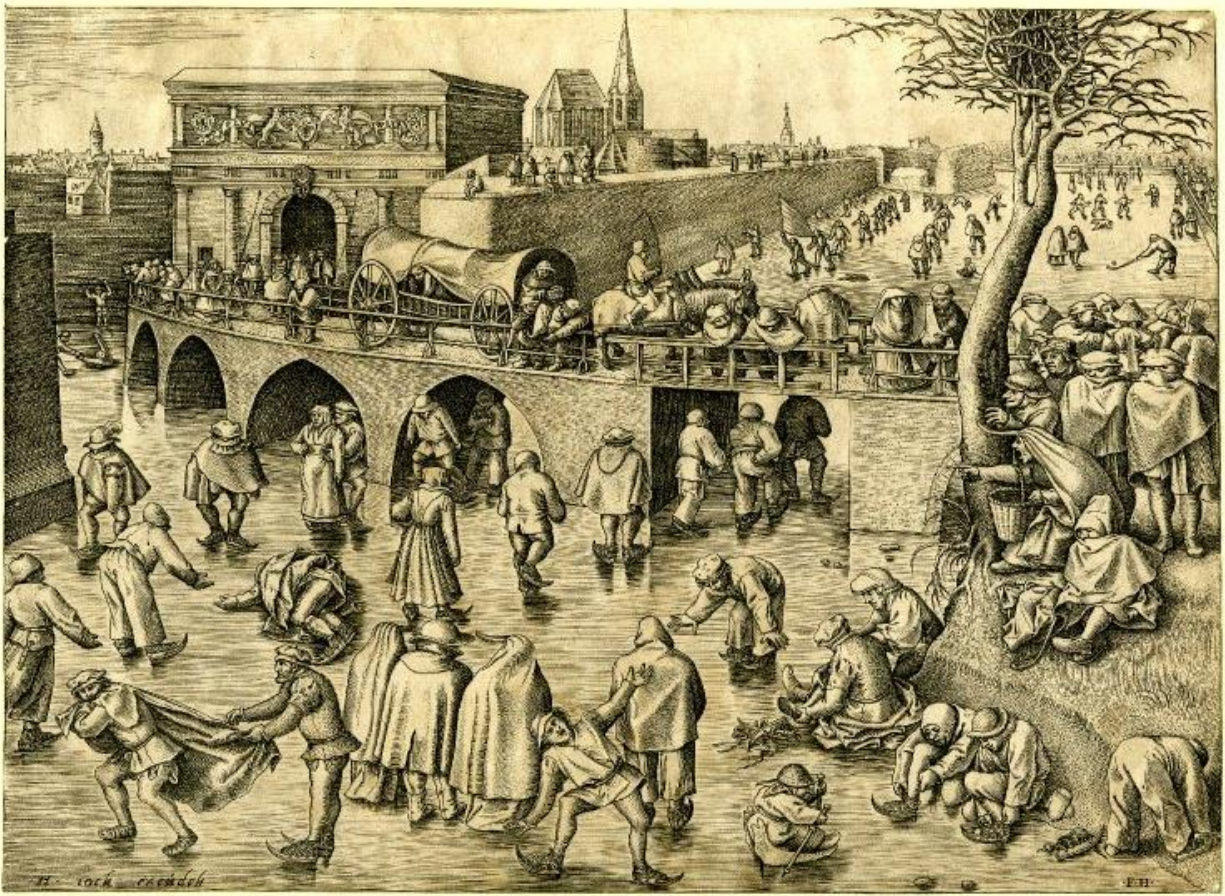
Figure B.4. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Ice Skating Before the Gate of St. George*, ca. 1558, print. Private collection, not on display. Permission granted by The British Museum, London.

Figure B.5. Thomas Morley, "Now is the Month of Maying," 1595, mms. 9–13. Comparison to Orazio Vecchi, "So ben mi ch'a bon tempo," 1590, mms. 9–13.

Figure B.6. School of Fontainebleau, attributed to Luca Penni, *Diana the Huntress*, 1550, oil on canvas. Musée du Louvre, Paris. Permission granted by Art Resource, New York.

Figure B.7. Hans Eworth, *Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses*, 1569, oil on panel. Private collection, Windsor Castle. Permission granted by Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2016, London.

Figure B.8. Anonymous, "Green Man," foliate head carving, date unknown (14th century). St. Hugh's choir of St. Mary's Cathedral, Lincoln. Permission granted by Richard Croft.

Figure B.9. Nicholas Poussin. *Et in Arcadia ego*, ca. 1637, oil on canvas. Musée du Louvre, Paris. Permission granted by Art Resource, New York.